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This issue completes the fourth volume of SPECTRUM. From all over the world we have received letters from readers telling us what the articles have meant to them in their Christian growth. Thank you for these expressions of confidence and encouragement.

As we look forward, we expect to publish increasingly important papers. The quality of the articles that have been accepted, and the importance of the subjects with which they deal, promise rewarding reading.

I invite you at this time not only to renew your own subscription but to persuade others to subscribe. You may want to take advantage of the special gift subscriptions available. If each subscriber would add five or more new readers, we would extend the influence of SPECTRUM substantially.

May God bless you richly during 1973.

MOLLEURUS COUPERUS

Humanity and Apocalypse: Confronting the Holocaust

ALBERT H. FRIEDLANDER

5

*Wer bin ich? Einsames Fragen treibt mit mir Spott. . . .
Wer ich auch bin, Du kennst mich. Dein bin ich, o Gott.*

Who am I? Lonely inquiry is a cruel sport. . . .
Whoever I may be, Thou knowest me. Thine am I, O Lord.

D. BONHOEFFER, *Widerstand und Ergebung* (*Resistance and Surrender*).

Self-definition is a lonely personal quest. Who am I? A rabbi, a teacher, brought into your midst to tell you what cannot be told, to remind you of what our age cannot ignore, but has suppressed. George Steiner, the brilliant Socratic gadfly of our times, has noted in *Language and Silence* that the Word was there at the beginning but not necessarily at the end. And he cites Karl Wolfskehl:

Und ob ihr tausend Worte habt: Das Wort, das Wort ist tot.

And if you have a thousand words, the Word, that Word is dead.

I also have no words to bring you into the darkness. I do not even have the silence which might accomplish this. There *are* those who could lead you into the innermost circle of the Inferno: Elie Wiesel . . . Eugene Heimler . . . Primo Levi . . . the witnesses; the survivors. And the word has not completely died. It lives with the poets. Theodor Adorno once said that no poems could be written after Auschwitz. Then came Paul Celan, arguably the greatest German poet of postwar times; and Adorno retracted that saying. Sylvia Plath sang the song of Lady Lazarus; and Nelly Sachs wept for the children. But Nelly Sachs lived in the twilight zone and died alone. And Paul Celan and Sylvia Plath rushed into death because it seemed brighter than life. Already Hoelderlin had noted:

Indessen duenkte mir oefters

*Besser zu schlafen, wie so ohne Genossen zu sein,
So zu barren, und was zu tun indes und zu sagen,
Weiss ich nicht und wozu Dichter in duerftiger Zeit.*

Better to sleep, than to be without comrades.
And I do not know how to wait, what to do and what to say
And why to be poet in a time of want.

Who wants to be a poet at a time like this? But we need them: they are today's prophets, remembrancers who give us our awareness of the night — and who may also let us know when dawn is breaking. We need also the remnants of language which have been preserved through them. Commenting on the Peasants' War, Friedrich Engels noted that "in a religious epoch, even revolutionary ideas have to be expressed in a religious rhetoric." In apocalyptic times, religious ideas have to be communicated in that anguished stammering which is all that remains when the darkness closes in. And at that time, our religious differences almost disappear. We are united in terms of *whatever remains* of our humaneness, and through our glimpses of the Infinite entering the finite. And so we will now join together and share our perplexities, our anguish, and the small spark of hope left to us. We will attempt to confront the Holocaust.

I

The organizers of this Congress set a specific task for our endeavors with which we can commence. The initial prospectus contained the following paragraph:

The humanizing of man in an apocalyptic world: The civilized world with which this century began has become the apocalyptic world with which it moves towards its end. Item: the Holocaust! The historical circumstances which made it possible for this impossibility to happen have at least in part to do with the history of the religions of the Western world. The problem of the role of religion in the humanizing of man cannot ignore the inhumanity of modern times.

Much of this is accepted by all of us here at this Congress. We recognize the twentieth century as the Age of Brutality. Hindsight enables us to note a steady progression into darkness commencing most clearly in the trenches of World War I. It was von Falkenhaym and Haig who first used the concept of the body count in modern warfare, who saw the trenches as blood pumps, and who played the numbers game. Vietnam is only the last remake of that movie. But there are enough histories and historians who can, and do, chart the course of the unfolding evil before us. The origins of totali-

tarianism are clear to us. And I trust that we have not forgotten that the Nazi state pioneered in our time a number of innovations which are directly related to the Holocaust: *It was the first openly criminal state in which inhuman acts were applauded and made the norm; and it managed to win over the minds of its citizens.* We hear much today of those who spoke out at the very beginning and at the very end. The time has not yet come that we can forget the reverberating silence that sent millions to their death.

Let us take a frank look at the suppositions underlying the statement that the Holocaust "has at least in part to do with the history of the religions of the Western world." Let us discuss Christianity here. I know all about the Judeo-Christian heritage which is Western Civilization. I like it. And I accept full responsibility for the evils of our society, as I have accepted its blessings. Almost three thousand years ago, Judaism taught the doctrine of communal responsibility, and to this day our penitential prayers on the Day of Atonement take us into the recognition that the sins of our society are our own sins.

But while the act of evil links aggressor and victim in a fratricidal pattern, the distinction between them endures. *In the beginning*, Cain held Abel responsible for being a victim. *In our own time*, here in America, the black community is castigated for having been brutalized by a system which promised equality but proved to be flawed in its color vision. *And yesterday*, as Jews entered the death camps, there were those who criticized them for not fighting against machine guns with their bare hands, or who indicated, really, that the "Jews had brought it on themselves"! Surely, the brutality of our time does not only consist of napalm and bombs: it is found in words and thoughts.

As to Christianity's involvement with the Holocaust: perhaps it were better for a Christian to state this than for a Jew. Yet I remember long afternoons in an East Hampton garden spent in the company of Paul Johannes Tillich; and much of what I say and teach comes from him. Wilhelm Pauck at Union Theological Seminary taught me to appreciate Martin Luther — I still feel that "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" was more than a pamphlet written by Luther in a moment of weakness. And if I link Luther with the German madness and see a relationship to the Holocaust, I do so because I want to understand Christianity through its great men whose failings reflect the failings of Christianity. We cannot judge on the basis of weak men who claimed to be God's representatives but surrendered to dictators. We can judge attitudes that recur again and again within the faith.

Leo Baeck's classic essay on Christianity as the romantic faith underscores

the emotionalism that blurs the sharp ethic of the Christian call for social justice. This romanticism was endemic in fascism as well. Carl Schmitt, a lover of Streicher and Hitler (now back in business in West Germany), defined political romanticism as “subjectivated occasionalism” in which everything can become romanticized and nothing matters. In 1919 he admitted that “the core of political romanticism is that the romantic . . . wants to be productive without becoming active . . . without [assuming] responsibility.” Religious romanticism faces the same dangers; and a concordat between religion and the state unites common emotions within both structures which evade ethical controls and find their own existence sufficient self-justification. Fascist actions were often condemned by Christianity; but they were carried out by professing Christians and by those who felt their Christianity to be a subservient but substantive part of the state that commanded its individual members to act in this inhuman fashion.

Religion’s task of humanizing man is curtailed when secular and religious authority become intertwined. Perhaps that is one lesson for the history of religion rising out of our exploration of the Holocaust. I fear that it is not the only lesson. Religion on its own can also misdirect human emotions and separate man from fellowman. It can stress human guilt — in an effort to promote repentance — to the point where everyone is totally guilty and where guilt therefore ceases to have meaning. It can stress the Divine to the point where the human is lost. It can accept the Holocaust as part of God’s plan — but only by substituting human vision for the Divine. Christianity has made all of these mistakes; and Judaism has made most of them.

II

The loftiest vision of Christianity is that of the Cross. Non-Christians can only view it with the deepest respect, and marvel at the self-sacrifice, at the devotion and service to fellowman kindled among those whose spirits are truly at Calvary. And yet there is a danger in that vision. One Jew was crucified on that hill. Six million Jews died in the gas chambers of Europe. There are those who would say that Auschwitz and Golgotha are the same. They are not the same. They can never be the same. Six million sacrifices as a vicarious atonement? It is blasphemy to think so.

It is even wrong to put these deaths into a framework where one begins to think of six million martyrs testifying of their faith to the world. They were not martyrs. They were victims. Their skins became lampshades, their fat became soap, their golden dentures became loot, and their prayers were not heard. Their death was tragedy, not testimony. They died as human be-

ings and nothing more. Their murderers survived, less than human, still part of our contemporary society.

Christianity can only come to terms with Auschwitz under the sign of the Cross. Is man still redeemable after this ultimate collapse of his humanity? Does Golgotha still illuminate the human situation? Juergen Moltmann's most recent book addresses itself to this problem:

In the New Testament the question "Who is man?" points towards the one man, Jesus of Nazareth [deserted by God and man] . . . concerning whom it is stated *Ecce Homo!* But at the same time God's answer is given: "I will be with you!" . . . Faith unites the recognition of God and self-recognition within the recognition of the Christ. The Crucified One is the "mirror," says Calvin, in whom we recognize God and ourselves. For in his cross there is revealed, together with the misery of human forsakenness, the love of God which accepts man in his state of misery.¹

9

The Christian theologian Simon states that "by holding the mirror of Auschwitz before Golgotha we remove the veil of unreality from the latter; by contrasting Golgotha with Auschwitz we bring the latter into a wider morality and give spiritual meaning to the meaningless."²

Gruenewald's altarpiece of the tortured face and mangled body comes to replace Raphael's serene vision of the crucified Jew. It may well be that the contemporary Christian gains a deeper understanding of his God by pouring the full measure of human suffering now known to man into that moment of history which was Golgotha. But if there were aspects of Auschwitz at Golgotha, the non-Christian will still challenge the notion that Golgotha gives morality and meaning to Auschwitz. For Moltmann, *Ecce Homo* and *Ecce Deus* are *one word* written upon the Cross at Golgotha. Those standing outside that mystery who look at Auschwitz can only say *Ecce Homo*. (Perhaps, as Klasemann noted last night, we come also to *homo absurditus* alongside of *Deus absconditus*.)

The Christian sees the suffering of one person at Golgotha and finds it encompassing all human suffering, including Auschwitz. In the core of the suffering upon the Cross he discovers the love which will assuage all pain. Man is both impotent and heroic, the protagonist of a tragedy resolved *outside* the arena of its performance. For the Jew, the process is reversed. He starts with the six million victims of Auschwitz, and moves from there to the single man who must confront his own Auschwitz. In the words of Rabbi Ignaz Maybaum:

The Cross, as the poetic symbol of suffering, hides the truth. Auschwitz . . . is the truth mankind must face. The Irish who perished in their great famine perished in their Auschwitz. The young boys who died in 1914 in the mud of Paaschendsele died

in their Auschwitz. The soldiers who died at the Somme and at Verdun . . . the soldiers, airmen, and sailors of the second world war, the Russian prisoners who were starved to death in Germany, the Russian peasants who were destroyed like useless cattle by Stalin, the men, women, and children who died in the air raids, the victims of Hiroshima and of the air raid on Dresden, they all died in their Auschwitz; they died because what happened was a monstrosity [and not a poetic tragedy].⁸

Auschwitz can never be Golgotha. Golgotha is the attempt to bring man through the limits of human weakness into the confrontation with God. Auschwitz demands that man must confront his own monstrosity and take full responsibility for it. Those who ask, "Why was God silent?" are influenced by a tradition challenged by the Jew — who still wants to know: "Why was man silent?"

10

It is passing strange that, at the moment of asserting human culpability for the monstrosities of life, Judaism also asserts its hope that man can survive and regain his humanity. Every human being is a new hope, an individuality in which aspects of the Divine are revealed. He cannot be defined: *individuum est ineffabile*. Man is made in God's image; as the Talmud interprets this, the Divine imprint does not create men like identical coins; each is unique, each is in God's image.

A reconciliation between Judaism and Christianity can take place at this point; the discovery of man leads to the awareness of God, just as the awareness of God must lead the Christian to the awareness of man. And the mystery of individuality leads to respect between differing faiths. Differences remain. There is an ancillary insight here for those of us who teach comparative religion courses: one must learn to listen to nuances. Confronting Auschwitz, one could select Jewish and Christian statements which would give the impression that there is absolute agreement between these religions as they confront the ultimates of human suffering. We are *not* agreed. But we respect each other's grief and walk our own way. At the end of time, the roads converge and become one.

III

Meanwhile, how shall we live with each other in the shadow of Auschwitz? Can we confront the past and present monstrosities out of the resources of our religious traditions? Or are these to be abandoned? Can we still talk of the resources of our democratic traditions? Or is this to be abandoned? Are we still brothers?

In the realm of human relationships, the problem of theodicy becomes the quest for the *Mitmensch*, the fellow human being. Some years ago a public letter was published in which a Jew addressed a fellow human be-

ing on the problems of life after Auschwitz. The author of this letter was Guenther Anders. He entitled it *We Sons of Eichmann* and addressed it to Klaus Eichmann, the son of Adolf. The text evidences a deep concern for a young man living under the shadow of the past. It deals with our generation in our monstrous time.

Anders emphasizes the horror of Auschwitz which has made itself at home in all areas of our apocalyptic age. He summarizes the specific *monstrosity* of Auschwitz:

What is monstrous?

1. That there was an institutional and factory-like extermination of human beings: of millions.

2. That there were leaders and assistants for these actions, namely — *slavish* Eichmanns (men who accepted these tasks like any others and excused themselves on the basis of commands and loyalty); *dishonorable* Eichmanns (men who fought to obtain these posts); *stubborn* Eichmanns (ready to surrender all of their humanity in order to enjoy total power); *greedy* Eichmanns (men who did the monstrous precisely *because* it was unbearable to them — and they had no other way of proving to themselves that nothing could shake them); *cowardly* Eichmanns (men who were delighted for once to do the infamous with a good conscience, that is, as not just something no longer prohibited, but as something which was commanded).

3. That millions were brought and kept within a condition in which they did not know of this. And they did not know of it, because they did not want to know of it; and they did not want to know of this, because they were not supposed to know of this — that is, millions of *passive* Eichmanns.

11

Once more, Auschwitz is here used as a mirror. It is not Golgotha which is reflected, but our own home and that of our neighbor. Anders is aware of this: he recalls the immediate past to avert the immediate future.

One of the causes of Auschwitz was — technology. Anders cries out that "our world, despite the fact that we discovered it and built it, has become so enormous that it has ceased to be 'our' world in a psychologically verifiable sense. It has become 'too much' for us" (p. 22). Our actions now have effects which are beyond our awareness. This conflict between man and his technology has been noted earlier; the concept of alienation has been assimilated into modern life. Yet Anders sees a new dimension here, a growing darkness. In the last century, man suffered from lack of knowledge; in our time, man suffers from too much knowledge, from intentionally produced false knowledge. And if our intellect is insufficient or misdirected, this also applies to our feelings. All of us know this. The death of an infant moves us; the death of six million people simply stuns our senses.

We are Eichmann's sons, removed from the consequence of our actions, inheritors of a dark past, actors in new monstrosities which poison the continents and destroy our immediate neighbors. We are also victims. While

we distinguish between those who killed and those who were killed, we recognize that the monstrosities which were perpetrated in those days have etched themselves into the structure of our corporate existence. The fine edge of our sensibilities has been worn away by the monstrosities of our age. The six o'clock news is the most brutal program on television — and we do not even turn it off. Each day, murder and destruction flicker across the screen as part of our home life. Is it any wonder that we have learned to live comfortably with the knowledge of the death of the six million? We can keep a body count of our own, right in the privacy of our living room.

Which came first? Did the new monstrosities wipe out our knowledge of Auschwitz? Or was it our inadequacy of dealing with the Holocaust which gave the new monstrosities, the Belsens of today, their place within our society? The encapsulated traumas of our childhood must be confronted at some stage of our growing-up period. How else can we become more humane? Our various religious disciplines may be of help at this point — confession is a way of self-confrontation. Nor can history be ignored: the passive, greedy, cowardly Eichmanns who staffed the camps are still among us — where they have not been replaced by new recruits. Which machine are they serving, and how many of us serve the same establishment?

The complexities of modern existence make it difficult to discover the answers. Yet there are moments in every life when we break out of the structure, when we are no longer controlled but, suddenly, are in control. And then we can be human beings. We can be humane. We can reach out toward our fellowman. And our shared suffering and our shame can be a bridge and can cease to be a barrier. Auschwitz — remembered within the community of human fellowship — can then become a question addressed to God. Then. But not until then.

IV

Meanwhile, how shall we bring our exploration of the Holocaust to a conclusion? When Dante left the Inferno, he once more looked up at the stars. And I am a witness for the Jewish tradition which will not end a prophetic reading on a note of despair, but will continue in the text until words of hope have been expressed. We may query the initial announcement of this Congress which noted that “nothing seems so irrelevant in the modern world as religion.” The presence in our midst of Dorothee Solle and others is a welcome reminder of the relevance of religion in our time. In Europe, we find a biblical concern with human needs in the “theology of revolution” which combines Moltmann’s theology of hope with radical

change. As one definition would have it: "[The theology of revolution means that] the qualitative new future of God has united with those who are now oppressed, set aside, and persecuted; that, therefore, this future does not begin on top, at the peak of 'progressive society,' but at the bottom, with its victims."⁴ And our exploration of myth and symbols assures us that not only theology but also the sanctuary is open to the struggle for the rehumanization of man.

Jews do not often "do" theology — we have no word for it in the Hebrew language. But our experience of the Holocaust, our rediscovery of the land of Israel, and our involvement in the open society have led to a verbalization of our religious thinking. The outer structure of it parallels Christian thought; and I am pleased rather than embarrassed that I can thus pay tribute to my old teacher Paul Tillich and my new friend Heinrich Ott. (Mind you, reconciling these two becomes a problem.) Sometimes, this involvement brings rabbis beyond the boundary as they move through death-of-God theology into the Dionysian fields of Brown and Kean. Even then, Jewish thought finds itself stimulated by its rebels and will not let them go — whether their names be Elisha ben Abuya, Spinoza, Freud, Marx, or Bloch.

Our neighbors teach us. But the foundation of our thinking is still the Bible and the rabbinic interpretation, a *shalshelet ha-kabbalah* (a chain of transmission) which has lived through all the generations of Jewish life and speaks through us in testimony of the encounter with God. The Jew has lived with the problem of theodicy since Abraham pleaded for the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah: "Should not the Judge of all the earth do what is just?" The Book of Job expresses it most clearly — but I am afraid that Job has been grossly misused in our time. It is a work utilized to achieve instant recall of all dimensions of the problem: human suffering, the distant God, and the encounter. Its misuse has created the illusion that one has controlled the situation because one can discuss it! Even Job's friends had more sense; they waited for seven days and seven nights. Those who entered the inner circle of hell can find themselves expressed in this book. But while all of us are survivors, we are more inheritors; we are the next generation. Our book is the Book of Ezekiel. More than constantly reliving the anguish, we have to relieve the pain, we have to bind up the wounds, we have to start again. We have seen new life. Our function and our self-understanding rise out of a prophetic text which is unmistakably priestly and pastoral. These are the functions that we query in religion. The prophet, after the Churban (Destruction) of 586 B.C., could see them in life. Can we?

The Second Churban took place in the year A.D. 70. At that time the rabbis began to stress a new aspect of God whose suffering, involved presence — the Shekinah — went into exile with the people. The dialogue between man and God continued — the personal God of the Bible and the questioning figures of the Abrahams and Jobs of rabbinic times. It has changed little in modern times. The modern Jewish thinkers who have expressed themselves most clearly on the subject of Auschwitz are those who have remained within the rabbinic tradition and who formulate the experience of the last two thousand years within the pattern of rabbinic logic: Emil Fackenheim and Leo Baeck.

Leo Baeck is already considered one of the classic Jewish teachers of modern times. He died in 1956, and his hundredth anniversary will be observed next year. His importance to a theology of the Holocaust rests not only in his teachings but in his life. His last major work, *This People Israel*, was partly written in the concentration camp. Within the innermost circle of hell, he remained a teacher; and he taught the human dimension where God is encountered. What is man? And where is God? Man is defined in the interrelationship with fellowman, with the *Mitmensch*; and God is encountered at that point.

Different traditions within contemporary religion use the concept of the *Mitmensch*. Baeck drew its modern formulation out of the teachings of Hermann Cohen, the founder of the neo-Kantian Marburg school, who was also the great teacher of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig. The outer structure of Baeck's teachings was thus related to the language of Kant and his successors. In some ways, this has proved a barrier to his thoughts — we all know colleagues who empty their shelves every five years in order to remain fully contemporary! Kant! (Dare I even mention Hegel's influence on Fackenheim?)

Our inheritance from Leo Baeck does contain a stress upon duty and an ethical rigorism — but this is derived from the rabbis of the first century and not from German idealism. Out of the concentration camp there came a teaching concerning man whose inner tensions bring him to the knowledge of God. Man encounters the mystery — and it brings him to the ethical commandment. Man acts in an ethical manner — and finds himself before the mystery. The near and the far God are part of the polarities of existence. It was Buber and not Baeck who tried to explain some aspects of the Holocaust by stressing the far God, the God who has hidden his face for a moment. But when Martin Buber asked himself, "Can one still call to God after Auschwitz?" he shared Baeck's answer: "Do we stand overcome be-

fore the hidden face of God? . . . No, rather even now we contend, we too, with God, even with Him. . . . We await his voice, whether it come out of the storm or out of a stillness; . . . we shall recognize again our cruel and merciful Lord."⁵ God is far and will be near. He is near, and he will be distant. But in the darkness, and after the darkness, he can be found within the area of human interrelationships, in the I-and-Thou encounter, in the actualities of social existence.

Heinrich Ott notes that God is found within *Mitmenschlichkeit*:

It is in this sphere that the question of God must be articulated and worked out for theology. It is here that the concept "God" must be explained and defended. It is here that one thing must be shown: within the human stance, within the interrelationship between men, i.e.: in the *Mitmenschlichkeit* there is a noticeable, understandable and meaningful, and expressible difference when God is accounted to be a reality. That which is named "God" must here make its appearance. And it is here that we must be responsible for God to man.⁶

Theology works together with philosophy. A common language is discovered, and one can then discuss God as a Process, or a limited God. (Hans Jones' Ingersoll Lecture on Immortality always almost convinces me.) There is excitement in listening to Cobb and Altizer weigh the immediate future against the apocalyptic (pantheism versus panchristism). But Leo Baeck teaches the God of the rabbis: "God is the place of the world, but the world is not His place;" that is the distant God. But God is also the near God, the personal God. The constant experience in the realm of human interrelationship is a testimony that cannot be ignored.

Nor would I have you ignore the Jew who has walked through the darkness and still reaches out toward his fellowman in love and hope. As Emil Fackenheim has noted, he has learned a special lesson at Auschwitz: his right to survive. It is not a new statement. Hobbes, Spinoza, and Freud have all stressed the universal and ineradicable tendency of human beings to preserve themselves, to think of themselves first and foremost.⁷ But there is a different sound in Fackenheim's statement:

Jews are forbidden to hand Hitler posthumous victories. They are commanded to survive as Jews, lest the Jewish people perish. . . . Jewish life is more sacred than Jewish death. . . . The Voice of Auschwitz commands the religious Jew after Auschwitz to continue to wrestle with his God in however revolutionary ways; and it forbids the secularist Jew (who has already, and on other grounds, lost Him) to use Auschwitz as an additional weapon wherewith to deny Him. . . . The Voice of Auschwitz commands Jews not to go mad. It commands them to accept their singled-out condition, face up to its contradictions and endure them. . . . The Jew after Auschwitz is a witness to endurance . . . "mir zeinen do": we are here, exist, survive, endure, witnesses to God and man even if abandoned by God and man."⁸

Here is an often quoted, authentic Jewish response to Auschwitz. It has been criticized as inadequate, as replacing the Voice from Sinai with a demonic voice. This is not Fackenheim's point. He affirms the Jew's role as a witness *even* when he is far from God and man. Ultimately, a witness speaks to someone and is a spokesman for someone. The demonic exists in the world, in the *Mitmensch*. (Blake's vision of the demonic is pure innocence.) It obscures the reality of God: it is not God. The affirmation of the task points toward the Divine even where the word falters and is inadequate. Theologians use mythic language here in an effort to enlarge human understanding. Paul Schutz tells the parable of the lost father; Emil Fackenheim uses the open thought-structure of midrash; Hans Jonas weaves a Platonic myth in which God suffers at every Auschwitz rising out of the Divine self-limitation which permits human freedom.

"Elu v'elu divre elohim chayim" — these and our other attempts are the words of the living God, human attempts to walk through the darkness. They are part of human freedom — even when they fail to understand God's freedom to reveal himself and to conceal himself, to present himself in the *Mitmensch* and wait to be found, to be encountered. "Eh'yeh asher Eh'yet" — God is He-Who-Is, existence ever renewing itself, God encountered where he will be encountered. Where man comes to say "thou," he moves into the dimension "where this word is not valid simply for a specific individual but valid for the whole horizon of existence." With the Book of Daniel, we move through messianic hope to eschatological hope: "Go thou thy way till the end be" (Daniel 12:13). In the darkness of the way, we must all learn from each other, aware that we work within our limitations but must move beyond them.

And so we return to the poets.

"Mir zeinen do" — we are here.

Let us close with a story told by Elie Wiesel. There was a madman who burst into a synagogue in eastern Europe, in Nazi territory. The Jews were assembled for prayer in the synagogue; and he screamed at them: "Shhh. Not so loud. God will hear you. Then he will know that there are still Jews left in Europe!" But on another occasion, years later, Elie had a different ending: "They continued to pray. Each day, the shammas commenced the service by striking upon the pulpit and exclaiming: 'Gott, mir zeinen do.' When he was the last one, he still cried out: 'God, I am still here!'"

And we are still here.

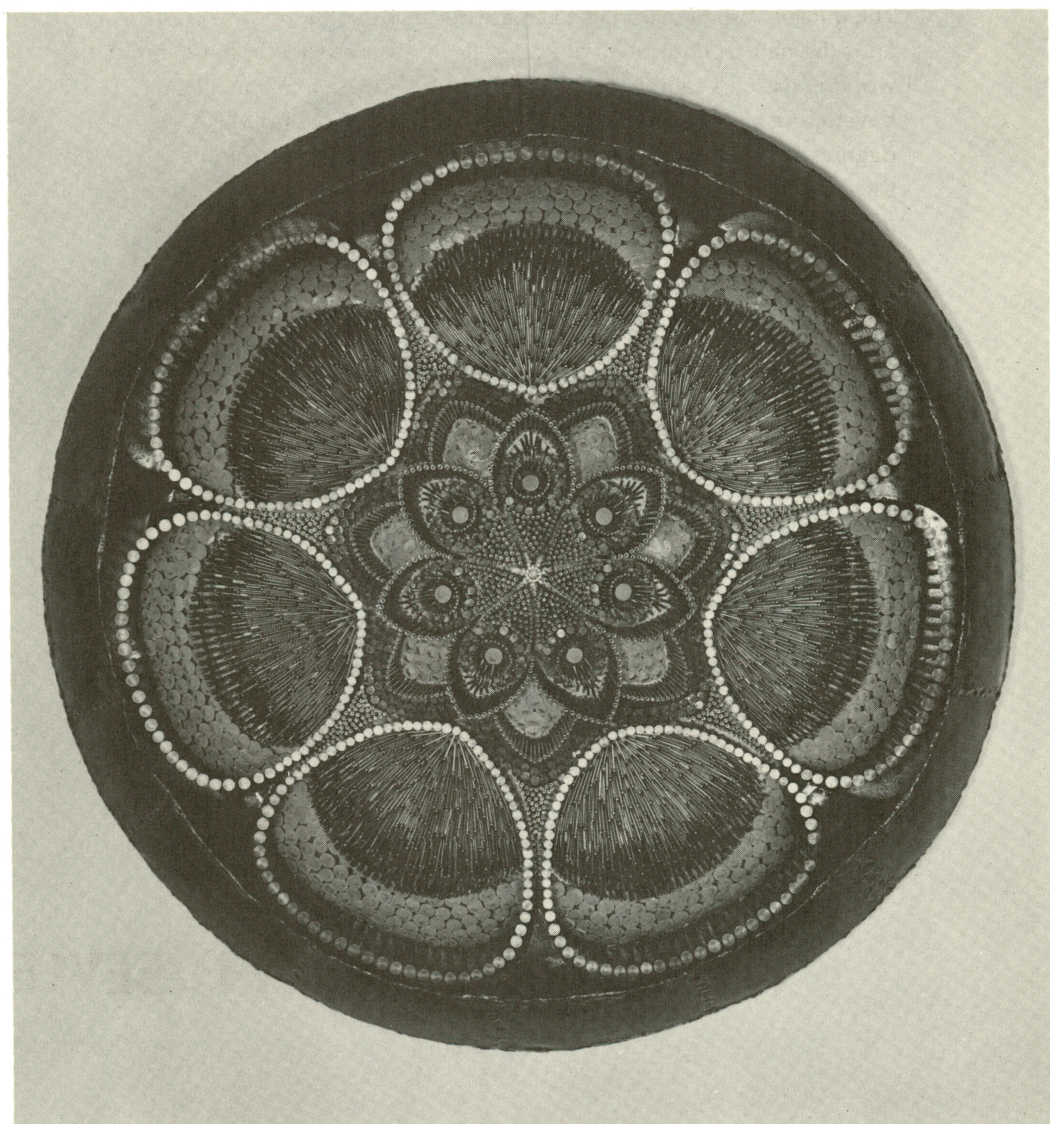
All of us.

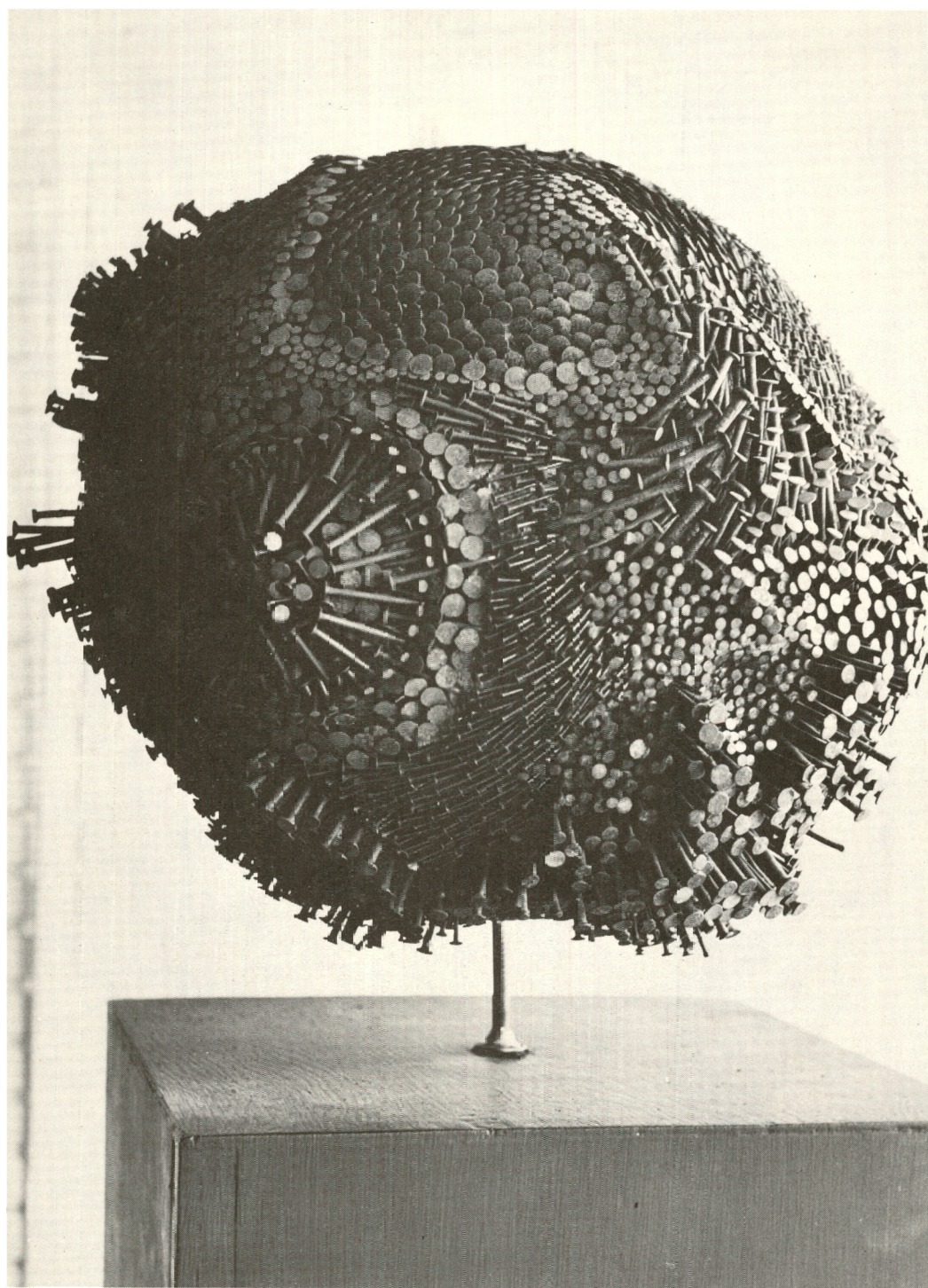
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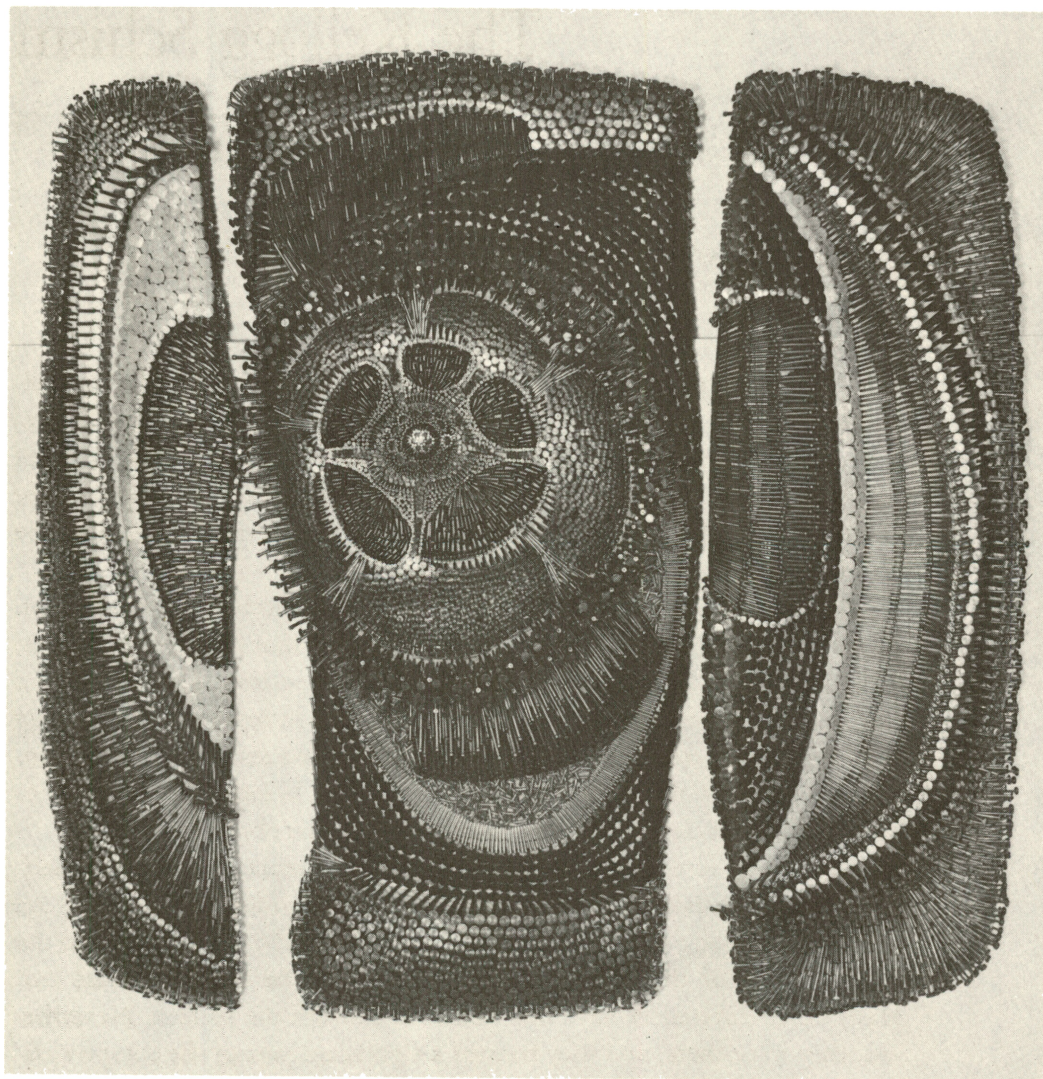
The unusual use of materials to create his "nail sculpture" works of art is the natural outgrowth of Robert Seyle's experience from boyhood working with his cabinetmaker father, he has said. He began developing his ideas in this form while earning B.F.A. and M.F.A. degrees from Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. Now in his middle thirties, Seyle has exhibited and sold his works widely in major cities of the United States. They grace galleries, museums, a church, and a YMCA building. They range widely in design, dimension, weight, and color. Seyle's versatility shows not only in the remarkable effects he achieves with ordinary carpenter's nails and wood but in works that personalize his home: chests, shutters, pottery, vases, mosaics, some oil paintings, and clay modeling. He and his family live at Camarillo, California. For his nail sculptures he buys nails of different kinds and sizes in fifty-pound boxes from local lumber companies.

WORKS OF ROBERT H. SEYLE









The Kellogg Schism

THE HIDDEN ISSUES

23

RICHARD W. SCHWARZ

During the controversy over the concepts expressed in John Harvey Kellogg's book *The Living Temple*, Ellen White received a vivid representation of a ship about to collide with an iceberg.¹ "An authoritative voice cried out, 'Meet it!' " There was no doubt in her mind as to the significance of this command. She was to speak out boldly and at once "regarding the errors that were coming in among us."

I have frequently marveled at the aptness of the iceberg representation. Among the first things one learns about icebergs is that the greatest portion of the berg is hidden beneath water; the visible portion is usually only a small fraction of the whole. Why did God choose to represent the Kellogg "problem" as an iceberg? Quite likely because only a small part of the danger of Kellogg's theological ideas, which Ellen White labeled "akin to pantheism," was clearly visible to most contemporary observers.

A secondary interpretation of the iceberg representation suggests itself. Through the years since 1902 pantheism has been widely publicized as the reason for Kellogg's expulsion from the church in 1907. This has been the "visible" part of the iceberg, the part that could be clearly pointed out. Many other differences have lain obscured beneath the surface. Nevertheless, they were there, and they formed a significant part of the complex circumstances that led to Kellogg's being separated from the church to whose program of medical work he had contributed more than a quarter-century of strenuous endeavor.

One of the primary things to be kept in mind is that Kellogg's differences with church leaders did not begin in 1902. He was almost continually embroiled in controversy with one or another church leader after he became superintendent of the Western Health Reform Institute in 1876. Even his chief backer, James White, found himself out of step with his youthful protégé, and Kellogg subsequently joined forces with George I. Butler and Stephen N. Haskell in a successful effort to relieve Elder White of leadership responsibilities.

The causes for these numerous controversies were many and varied. Of central importance, however, was Kellogg's observation that there was a wide and uncalled-for difference between Adventist teaching and practice in healthful living — particularly when it came to the renunciation of flesh foods in the diet. For instance, although Ellen White had begun to advocate vegetarian diet in 1864, it was not until thirty years later that she felt able to banish meat completely from her household. She herself had continued to eat flesh foods, occasionally at least, as late as 1891.² This undoubtedly encouraged a number of Adventist ministers to slight many of the health reform doctrines, and Kellogg believed these men purposely undercut the vigorous efforts he was making to get Adventists to discard tea, coffee, and meat. He was particularly irked to find conference leaders asking for chicken or steak when eating at the sanitarium during attendance at General Conference sessions.³

Adventist history is replete with individuals who fasten onto a particular aspect of doctrine and seek to make all else subservient to it. Ellen White found it frequently necessary to warn Kellogg against thinking that the health teachings and medical work were all-important and censoring those who did not agree with him.⁴ An example of the central position Kellogg attached to healthful living can be seen in his statement to Ellen White that it seemed

very clear . . . that those who meet the Lord when he comes will be above the power of disease as well as above the power of sin and that they will reach this condition by obedience to the truth [health reform]. . . . It seems to me very clear . . . that the sealing of God is a physical and moral change which takes place in the man as the result of truth and which shows in his very countenance that it is the seal of God, and that the mark of the beast is the mark of the work of the beast in the heart and it changes the body as well as the character and also shows in the countenance. It seems to me our people have been wrong in regarding Sunday observance as the sole mark of the beast. . . . The mark of the beast . . . is simply the change of character and body which comes from the surrender of the will to Satan.⁵

Thus Kellogg appears to have considered the practice of health reform doctrines to be intimately bound up with spiritual growth and perfection.

With such a viewpoint it was easy to hurl condemnation at "the General Conference Committee and a few of the leading men," who, Kellogg maintained, "have been against our work for the greater part of the time during the last eighteen years, and the ministers have been educated against us and to believe that they were the divinely appointed leaders of the people, and when they have seen the people following truths which they have not preached, the disposition has been to belittle these principles and truths, and to direct the people's attention away from them."⁶ This complaint about the adverse leadership of the ministry in matters of healthful living was nothing new. Kellogg had written a quarter of a century earlier that a backsliding from health reform practices had taken place among Adventists because "the ministers discourage the people by their example."⁷

Unfortunately, Kellogg's criticism of the ministry did not stop with his justified concern over their incomplete conversion to health reform. He became critical of what he considered to be their misuse of funds: they appropriated too much money for personal travel and were too niggardly in support of medical missionary endeavors. Preachers, the doctor complained, got "in the habit of managing everything" and were "determined to do so."⁸ He could sarcastically remark that many Adventist ministers preached "only for a living" and were able to earn more in this way than their talents would allow them to bring in through some other livelihood.⁹

During the 1880s and early 1890s, Kellogg wangled invitations to many camp meetings, where he promoted healthful living and tried to enlist talented young people as health evangelists or "medical missionaries." He traveled to these meetings at his own expense, and was frustrated when he was assigned only the early morning (five o'clock) service; saw tea, coffee, and canned salmon on sale at the provision tents; and had prospective medical missionaries persuaded to devote their time and efforts to bookselling instead.¹⁰

Canvassing was a particularly touchy area as far as Kellogg was concerned. In the 1880s he began publishing his own books and hiring his own subscription agents because he was dissatisfied both with the financial arrangements offered him by the Review and Herald Publishing Association after James White's death and because he was convinced that his health books were not being pushed as vigorously as they should be. "The love of money seems as strong an incentive with our canvassers as the love of truth," he grumbled, "and it seems to me a little more so."¹¹

Later he criticized Review and Herald managers because he considered the wages they paid too high. The scale made it difficult for him to get satisfactory help at the sanitarium at what he considered "reasonable" rates. Although personally very generous in aiding any individuals in need, Kellogg was never able to take a very liberal attitude toward wages for sanitarium employees. Anything that put pressure on him in this area was certain to be regarded with suspicion.¹²

Both finances and pride were undoubtedly involved when Kellogg's cereal and protein creations failed to receive the reception he felt they deserved in church circles. He accused some church leaders of defaming the products until it became apparent that these might be financially successful — at which time he observed "a most greedy disposition . . . on the part of the ministers . . . to take possession of our Food Business and utilize it for building up Conference enterprises."¹³

In Kellogg's day most Adventist ministers lacked the advantage of much formal education beyond grammar school. This lack contributed to the doctor's feeling of superiority toward his ministerial colleagues. He considered many of these men ungrateful because of their opposition to his projects and teachings, even though he had "had occasion more than once to shield and protect at my own personal expense, ministers who had been guilty of the deepest sins, even crimes against God and men."¹⁴

Although available evidence makes it difficult to evaluate all of Kellogg's complaints against Adventist preachers, it seems reasonable to suspect that some were justified, at least in part. Significantly, as he became embittered against the ministry, he disparaged them "in every way that he could" and adopted toward them an "autocratic, arrogant and haughty" manner. Not surprisingly this "bred ill feeling," and many of the clergy became more than ever prone to question and condemn any Kellogg project or teaching.¹⁵

II

In the decade that preceded his final separation from the church, a number of specific policy disagreements intensified Kellogg's distrust of church leaders. Particularly vexing to the doctor was a growing suspicion that ministerial leaders were determined to dictate policy and practices to be followed in medical institutions. He was dubious about the ability of the Foreign Mission Board to select, train, and place medical missionaries. These activities, he maintained, should instead be carried out by the Medical Missionary Board which he headed. "It seems incomprehensible," Kellogg wrote, "that men should get so exalted in their own estimation as to form

conceptions that a preacher is so much superior to a doctor or a doctor so much inferior to a preacher, that the doctor, or even a company of Christian doctors, would not be capable of directing their own work, in which they have been trained for years, while the preacher, who has had no experience in the work whatsoever, becomes, by virtue of his ministerial license, competent to direct the physician or the nurse."¹⁶

In the early 1890s Kellogg began to lay plans to assure his continued undisputed control of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. He professed to believe that during these years there was a persistent "effort on the part of W. C. White and others to get the Sanitarium under control of the General Conference. It required constant vigilance to baffle the various plots and schemes that were set in motion."¹⁷

The need to secure a new way to continue the legal life of the sanitarium after the expiration of its original charter in 1897 provided the doctor with an opportunity to solidify his position. He devised a plan for organizing a new Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolent Association that was to purchase the sanitarium from the original stockholders through merely assuming the institution's outstanding debts. This plan was accomplished without major difficulties on July 1, 1898. Kellogg himself composed the governing articles of the new MSBA.¹⁸ Although old stockholders were allowed to become members of the new association and also to nominate an additional member for each share of stock held in the original Health Reform Institute, each MSBA member had to sign a "declaration of principles."

In this declaration they agreed that the association was to be a nonprofit institution and that work at the sanitarium was to be carried on in "an undenominational, unsectarian, humanitarian and philanthropic" way. Although members had also to declare a belief in God, the Bible, and the principles of Christianity, there was no provision that they be Seventh-day Adventists. The association articles also provided that voting at business meetings had to be done by members *in person*. At any meeting to elect trustees it was possible for the association members who were present to suspend or drop from membership any member who was considered to be out of harmony with the principles upheld at the sanitarium.¹⁹ Kellogg utilized these last two provisions to expel many Adventist leaders from the MSBA after his own expulsion from the church.²⁰

At the time of the sanitarium reorganization, some church leaders had expressed concern over the projected labeling of the sanitarium as "undenominational" and "unsectarian." Kellogg assured them that this wording was necessary in order for the sanitarium to "have the advantages of the

statutes of the State; as a hospital, it must be carried on as an undenominational institution. It can not give benefits to a certain class, but must be for the benefit of any who are sick. The institution may support any work it chooses with the earnings of the Association, but cannot discriminate against any one because of his beliefs."²¹ Satisfied by the explanation, the questioners withdrew their opposition to this wording.

It soon developed, however, that Kellogg's explanation about the ease with which the earnings of the association could be dispersed was inaccurate. The statute under which charitable institutions were chartered prohibited them from sending any earnings outside the state of Michigan. Some church leaders expressed the idea that Kellogg had deliberately plotted to take advantage of this provision so that he might build up his interests in Battle Creek, a charge which he hotly denied.²²

Certain statements Kellogg had begun to make were undoubtedly partially responsible for the increasing suspicion expressed as to his actions during the rechartering of the sanitarium. At the start of 1903 he stated to a newspaper reporter that the sanitarium had "no connection with the Seventh-day Adventist denomination as such" and that "membership in the Association governing it is as open to a Catholic as to a Seventh-day Adventist."²³ This certainly appeared to be out of harmony with a statement Ellen White had made more than twenty years earlier. "It was the purpose of God," she wrote, "that a health institution should be organized and controlled exclusively by S. D. Adventists."²⁴

Under no circumstances was Kellogg willing to see the sanitarium pass under direct church ownership or control. He vigorously opposed a resolution (considered at the 1903 General Conference session) that recommended that all institutions being operated by the church be placed under direct church ownership. Even before the resolution was passed he announced: "I expect you will pass it; but I want you to know that I object to it and do not expect to be bound by it in anything I have anything to do with."²⁵

III

During the five years preceding 1907, relations between Kellogg and top church administrators — particularly Arthur G. Daniells, William W. Prescott, William C. White, and Irwin H. Evans — deteriorated rapidly. Kellogg had been at perhaps the height of his power within the church in 1901. By that year employees under the direct supervision of the Kellogg-controlled International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association totaled about 2,000. This was approximately 500 more than were employed

by the General Conference Association.²⁶ The doctor had also persuaded the General Conference president, George A. Irwin, to agree to a larger than usual representation for the church's medical institutions at the 1901 General Conference. At this gathering, Kellogg was elected a member of both the twenty-five-member General Conference executive committee and the Board of Foreign Missions. In addition he retained his position as head of the IMMBA.²⁷ This same General Conference abolished the office of president and gave chief authority between conference sessions to an executive committee. Daniells was elected chairman and Prescott vice-chairman of this committee.

At first Kellogg's relations with Daniells appeared to be on a better basis than with almost any top Adventist leader since James White. By the early fall of 1902, however, he was writing about Daniells, "I think he is running his course pretty fast. I am sorry for he has so many excellent traits and qualifications for his position; but when a man puts on a king's cap, he has got a pretty hard row to hoe."²⁸ Several weeks later the doctor commented that Daniells, who was now signing documents as General Conference president in spite of the 1901 reorganization, was "a very determined man and has made up his mind that he is going to run things according to his idea, the ideas of other men do not seem to be of much account to him."²⁹ By mid-December Kellogg had decided that there was "a more pronounced and ruling spirit than I ever saw before, and more concentration of power, and an eager attempt to gather in more. 'We will help you if you will obey us' is the edict which has gone forth, 'We will obey God and trust Him to help us' is our reply."³⁰ Shortly before this, at the Fall Council of Adventist leaders, some of Kellogg's supporters on the General Conference executive committee had attempted to replace Daniells with Alonzo T. Jones as the committee chairman. Although this attempt failed, it was regarded by many as a clear signal that Kellogg had abandoned hope of working in harmony with Daniells.³¹

What caused the break between Kellogg and Daniells? The doctor traced it to the fall of 1901 when he claimed that "Prescott and Daniells formed a plot to oust [Edward A.] Sutherland [then president of Emmanuel Missionary College] and put Prescott into the Berrien Springs school. I discovered the thing and took such a strong stand against it that I broke it up. They have been after me ever since, and Prof. Prescott's objection to the book [*The Living Temple*] was an after thought."³² Be this as it may, relations between Daniells and Kellogg appeared cordial until after a trip to Europe in the summer of 1902 which both men took with a number of other

church leaders. Several events appear to have taken place in the course of this trip and openly to have soured relations between the two.

Close association during this trip convinced Kellogg that his clerical associates were not practicing vegetarians — something he felt to be inexcusable. He subsequently raised this point at a meeting of the General Conference executive committee. Daniells did not at that time deny that he had eaten flesh foods, although he later claimed that he had not, but refrained from saying so in order not to appear better than his brethren. While generally preaching vegetarianism, Daniells did not believe in being what he considered “fanatical” on the subject.³³ Throughout the rest of Daniells’ life Kellogg pointed him out to associates as a “meat-eater.” When he heard of Daniells’ death in 1935 he implied to friends that death had been by cancer, and that this was related to Daniells’ refusal to follow a vegetarian diet.³⁴

Of perhaps more immediate importance was Daniells’ refusal to give blanket approval for purchase of a sanitarium site in England until after the money became available. At a later date Kellogg vividly recalled this experience:

Daniells straightened himself up against the wall and looked down upon me in a most imperial and kingly way while I stood before him pleading with the tears running down my face, as I never plead with any man in my life; to be reasonable and not to take the position which would compel our medical men to act independent of him. I showed no resentment and no haughtiness, but plead with him as one brother would plead with another, not to take such a belligerent attitude. His committee had declared that it was a sin to be in debt . . . and announced that this was their financial policy; took a stand against the opening of the Sanitarium in England and then came home and stated to Sr. White that my position was exactly the very opposite to what it was.³⁵

At the time that he assumed leadership of the General Conference, Daniells found the church organization and most of its subsidiary institutions struggling under a heavy load of debt. Following counsel from Ellen White, he decided to retire these debts as quickly as possible and keep all future expansion on a cash basis. Kellogg did not share Daniells’ fear of debt. Although he disliked it, his own experience led him to believe that it was frequently necessary and should never stand in the way of an opportunity to expand medical missionary work. After all, he wrote, “I have paid more debts with the work of my own hands than any other man in the denomination.”³⁶ Kellogg considered Daniells’ cash policy “impractical and unreasonable.” “He proposes to force it upon everybody and denounces everything which does not agree with it,” the doctor wrote. “This is where he is making a mistake.”³⁷

Daniells later related to friends that during the 1902 European trip he had learned that Kellogg was not the firm believer in Ellen White's divinely appointed mission that he claimed to be. Daniells related that when on one occasion he had spoken to the doctor about one of Mrs. White's testimonies, Kellogg had replied, "Pooh. Do you know where she got that testimony? I gave it to her and she gave it out as coming from the Lord."³⁸

Daniells apparently also decided that it was necessary to limit Kellogg's tendency to push and dominate a situation. He told a meeting of the General Conference Committee at which Kellogg was present that the doctor had "an imperious will" that had to be broken. Kellogg found it hard to forget this remark.³⁹ Such an occurrence made it easy for Kellogg to believe a statement he claimed to have heard from Evans "that Daniells, Prescott and White had formed a compact to break me down and destroy my influence, and he knew it and could prove it. He told Magan he had letters that would prove it."⁴⁰ At other times, however, Kellogg could refer to Evans as "a schemer" and opine that "most of the difficulties we have been passing through have been due to the influence he had with Elder Daniells and Prof. Prescott."⁴¹

In the later stages of the controversy Daniells insisted that persons stand up and be counted for or against Kellogg. In 1906, for instance, shortly after Dr. William S. Sadler received his degree from American Medical Missionary College, Daniells asked him to make a public denunciation in the Battle Creek Tabernacle of Kellogg's heresies. When Sadler refused, he was told that he could consider his church service at an end (at that time he was a licensed minister as well as a physician).⁴² Another Kellogg intimate, Percy T. Magan, later expressed the view that he had been driven into virtual exile for a dozen years because he was critical of the way Daniells had treated Kellogg.⁴³

IV

Several other issues further inflamed the differences developing between the church's ministerial and medical leaders. After the disastrous fires at the sanitarium and the publishing house, attention finally began to be paid to Ellen White's counsel to scatter out from Battle Creek. Kellogg saw in this an effort to scare away the helpers on whom he depended to keep the sanitarium going. Kellogg complained to W. C. White:

Prof. Prescott seems to have lost his head completely. He has read in public extracts of things your mother has written, and the interpretation he has put on them has created on the part of certain ones a spirit of terror and consternation, and on the part of others a spirit of bitterness and rebellion, and has set the local newspapers, and more

or less the leading newspapers of the country, to deriding us. I see nothing to be gained by this kind of tactics or by making a laughing stock of ourselves. Prof. Prescott's view seems to be that the time has come for Seventh-day Adventists to leave Battle Creek; that those who do not go are likely to be destroyed if they stay, or be burned up or destroyed by an earthquake or some other horrible catastrophe.⁴⁴

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Early in 1903 Kellogg advised leading Adventist educators that the increasing standards being established by the states for admission to medical school made it advisable to have a high school or college-type institution in Battle Creek where AMMC students could make up deficiencies. He proposed that the old charter of Battle Creek College be reactivated to establish an examining faculty which would utilize AMMC and sanitarium personnel. Through this reestablished college, legally acceptable grades, diplomas, and degrees could be issued. Kellogg stressed that he did not want to compete with Emmanuel Missionary College, but simply to meet a need of students already in Battle Creek.⁴⁵ But the proposal elicited a strong negative reaction from church leaders, who interpreted it as being counter to Ellen White's counsel and tantamount to nullifying the decision of the 1901 General Conference to relocate Battle Creek College in Berrien Springs.⁴⁶

By this time church leaders were becoming convinced that Kellogg's attitude toward Ellen White and her counsels had changed radically; that he no longer considered her divinely led, but was endeavoring to impugn some of her "testimonies." "The assertion is being heralded everywhere," Kellogg wrote at the start of 1906, "that I have taken a stand against the Testimonies and against Sister White, that I was trying to undermine faith in the Testimonies. That certainly is not true."⁴⁷ Yet a careful study of available Kellogg letters would seem to indicate that a change had taken place. "In recent letters sent," Kellogg wrote Ellen White in 1899, "there are many things very incomprehensible and which indicate very clearly that most incorrect representations have been made to you." Here we find the first implication that Ellen White was writing incorrectly because of misinformation. "Duplicate copies," Kellogg went on, "have been sent to various ones who are busily circulating them and the taunt is heard on every hand, 'I told you so.' 'I've been expecting this,' 'Just what I knew was true,' etc. I have been accused of being a plotter and a schemer and a selfish, covetous, ambitious wire puller."⁴⁸ The doctor was deeply wounded by this use of confidential materials which pointed out some of his weaknesses, so much so that he felt there was no alternative but "to disconnect from the work as quickly as possible."⁴⁹ Although he did not carry out this resolve, it seems that he had turned a corner in his attitude toward Ellen White.

In the decade after 1895, Kellogg received many pointed letters from Ellen White indicating where changes in his attitudes and activities needed to be made. A quick survey of the main points covered may clarify the picture. On July 15, 1895, he was advised against continually investing more money in the work at Battle Creek, which, Ellen White indicated, was already too overgrown.⁵⁰ In 1898 he was reproved for not sharing with other fields (particularly Australia) more of the gifts and loans tendered the sanitarium.⁵¹ The following year he was told that he spent too much time, strength, and money on the wrong enterprises, on perfecting "invention after invention."⁵² Ellen White also reacted to the implication that she wrote on the basis of misinformation. This, she indicated, was the tactic always used by those who did not want their own plans to be interfered with. Kellogg was inclined to read those portions of her messages which sustained him, she commented, while neglecting her warnings and cautions.⁵³ Two months later she expressed the opinion that God had not given Kellogg the job of carrying out the extensive social uplift programs he had begun in Chicago, and money was being misused in these activities.⁵⁴

These reproofs were followed in March 1900 by a pointed criticism of Seventh-day Adventists establishing undenominational institutions. Ellen White then went on to warn Kellogg that he was disregarding the distinctive Adventist message, wrongly engaging in criticism of the ministry, and attempting to make medical missionary work all-important.⁵⁵ Next came a reproof for threatening to separate the work he was directing from the church. But it was better for him to do this, she stated flatly, than for him to be allowed to dictate his way in everything. Kellogg was no longer a safe teacher, she said, but a man in need of conversion.⁵⁶ On several occasions during 1901, Kellogg was warned not to try to bind sanitariums, health food companies, and medical workers all under his direct control, for such actions would place too much power in human hands, leading to oppressive actions which would be very harmful.⁵⁷

Of all Ellen White's reproofs, however, Kellogg's correspondence would seem to indicate that two matters she raised particularly rankled in his mind; on these two points he repeatedly advanced the argument that she wrote on the basis of misinformation, and hence inaccurately. The first of these items dealt with her account of a vision in which she had been shown a large and expensive building used in connection with the Chicago Mission. God did not want Adventist funds to be used to erect such a building, she wrote.⁵⁸ No such building existed at this time, although during Kellogg's absence in Europe one of his associates, Dr. Alfred B. Olsen, had

drawn up plans for a large building to be used in Chicago by the American Medical Missionary College. When Kellogg returned he vetoed this plan, perhaps because of what Ellen White had written, although he later claimed:

I did not stop the erection of a building in Chicago because of the Testimony. It never occurred to me that the Testimony about buildings to harbor the unworthy poor had any reference whatever to a building for a Medical College. I only spoke against the erection of a medical college because we had no money to do it with, except by taking it from the Sanitarium, and that we could not do, because our charter forbids it.⁵⁹

Mrs. White later explained to Kellogg that her vision about the large building in Chicago had been given in the way that it was so as to prevent its construction. With his knowledge of the entire situation, she felt he should have discerned this.⁶⁰ Although he did not contradict this statement at the time, he later hinted that he did not see how he could be expected to understand this when Ellen White had not understood it herself. He called attention to the fact that at the 1901 General Conference, after considerable debate "in Sister White's presence," a motion was passed at William C. White's suggestion, to raise \$100,000 to erect a medical college building in Chicago. "No hint was given that any one had been shown that it was wrong to put up a building in Chicago for the medical school."⁶¹

Kellogg also clearly thought that Ellen White had not dealt rightly with him in the matter of the rebuilding of the sanitarium in Battle Creek following the disastrous fire in 1902. Nearly a dozen years before this fire Ellen White had written, "I sincerely wish that the Sanitarium were miles away from Battle Creek. From the light given me of God, I know this would be better for its spirituality and usefulness."⁶² She had subsequently written many letters to Kellogg counseling against the continual enlargement of the work in Battle Creek and holding up the desirability of scattering it in various locations.⁶³ She did not offer any counsel, however, directly after the fire itself, nor did Kellogg write for her advice. Instead he called together the top church leaders, and after long discussions it was decided to rebuild in Battle Creek. Daniells, Spicer, Cottrell, and most of the others concurred. The only objectors were Magan and Sutherland.⁶⁴

Finally, nearly six months after the fire, Ellen White wrote to Kellogg. The Lord had permitted the sanitarium to burn, she indicated, not so that a larger one could be built in its place, but so that many smaller ones, scattered throughout the country, could replace it. She later publicly stated that "when the Sanitarium . . . was burned, our people should have studied the messages of reproof and warning sent them in former years and taken

heed."⁶⁵ Several years later, material was circulated in Battle Creek by some church leaders which indicated that two days after the sanitarium fire, Ellen White had been shown that the institution should not be rebuilt in Battle Creek. Kellogg was furious. "If the Lord showed this to Sister White two days after our fire," he wrote, "what excuse can be offered for the withholding of this information for four months and until we had reached the fourth story? The *Review and Herald*, and our local papers containing complete reports of what we were doing were sent to Sister White, and how she could permit us to go right ahead and get into such awful trouble, when she had in her hands information from the Lord that we ought not to do it, is a mystery which some one will have to explain before we get through with this business."⁶⁶

V

35

Just how had the events of 1896-1906 affected Kellogg's relationship to Ellen White and her work? Late in 1905 he wrote, "I maintain the same position I always have. . . . I recognize the Lord's teachings in the Testimonies. I shall stand by that and no matter what she says or does I shall maintain this position. I am convinced that it is possible for her to err, and that there have been some errors, but I shall maintain that this fact does not weaken my faith nor change my attitude."⁶⁷

It is interesting that when Kellogg was finally disfellowshipped from the Battle Creek Tabernacle on November 10, 1907, there is recorded no public mention of pantheism — the visible part of the iceberg. Instead, after citing the doctor's nonattendance and nonsupport of the local church, Malcolm M. Campbell expressed the opinion that Kellogg was antagonistic "to the gifts now manifest in the church" and "allied with those who are attempting to overthrow the work for which this church existed." His charges were supported by two local elders of the congregation, veteran Adventist workers Augustin C. Bourdeau and George W. Amadon, who had held a seven-hour interview with Kellogg a few days earlier. The approximately 350 members present then unanimously voted to drop John Harvey Kellogg's name from the church rolls.⁶⁸ The iceberg had been met. The ship was terribly shaken, but it sailed onward.

Can we learn from this experience that which may help us to meet future bergs further ahead with perhaps less damage to the ship?

REFERENCES AND NOTES

Note: The following symbols indicate the location of sources:

- EGW - Ellen G. White Estate, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Takoma Park, Maryland.
- MSU - Museum, Michigan State University.
- RBF - Race Betterment Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan. Much of this collection, but not all, has been subsequently transferred to the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- LLU - Vernier Radcliffe Library, Loma Linda University.
- AU - History Department, Andrews University.

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- 1 Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, book one (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1958), pp. 201-208.
- 2 E. G. White to John Harvey Kellogg, May 15, 1891 (K-10-1891) and May 17, 1894 (K-46-1894) ; Kellogg to E. G. White, March 25, 1894, EGW. In later years Kellogg used to recount his chagrin at hearing one of the White sons order a chicken for "Mother's" Sabbath dinner, when the butcher's wagon passed through the campgrounds on Friday during camp meeting. The doctor was not altogether consistent in this attitude, however, as during the trying days following James White's death, he advised Mrs. White to eat "a little fresh meat" as a health measure. See Kellogg to E. G. White, September 17, 1881, EGW.
- 3 Kellogg, Health principles, *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, p. 185 (March 1, 1897) ; General Conference proceedings, *The Daily Bulletin of the General Conference*, pp. 82-83 (February 26, 1899). Kellogg had a point. I remember vividly one now rather elderly Adventist telling how disillusioned she had been when, after hearing a General Conference leader give a strong health reform sermon, she had seen the same individual a few hours later in a local restaurant eating a large steak.
- 4 E. G. White to Kellogg, ca. January 1893 or 1894 (K-86a-1893), EGW.
- 5 Kellogg to E. G. White, June 28, 1898, EGW.
- 6 Kellogg to E. G. White, February 15, 1900, EGW.
- 7 Kellogg to William C. White, April 12, 1875, EGW.
- 8 Kellogg to E. G. White, October 18, 1896; April 11 and 14, 1897; April 14, 1898, EGW.
- 9 Kellogg to Stephen N. Haskell, March 30, 1903; June 18, 1905, MSU.
- 10 Kellogg to E. G. White, July 14, 1893; March 20, 1895, EGW.
- 11 Kellogg to W. C. White, August 31, 1884, and June 19, 1885. Kellogg to E. G. White, March 20, 1895; January 9, 1896; and November 5, 1901, EGW.
- 12 Kellogg to E. G. White, October 2, 1891; April 21, 1892; March 21, 1893, EGW.
- 13 Kellogg to E. G. White, December 16, 1896, EGW.
- 14 Kellogg to E. G. White, November 4, 1901, EGW.
- 15 Percy T. Magan to Roy A. Falconer, August 4, 1921, Magan papers LLU.
- 16 Kellogg to E. G. White, May 4, 1897, EGW. A determination of the actual goals and viewpoints of church leaders must await the opening of Adventist archives for historical research.

- 17 Kellogg, My first and last word (typescript dated December 16, 1907), RBF; Battle Creek Sanitarium minutes, April 8, 1905.
- 18 Battle Creek *Daily Journal*, July 1, 1898; January 8, 1903.
- 19 *Medical Missionary Conference Bulletin*, pp. 2-5 (March 9-14, 1899).
- 20 Battle Creek Sanitarium minutes, July 7, 1906; July 25, 1908; January 16, 1909.
- 21 *Medical Missionary Conference Bulletin*, p. 5 (March 9-14, 1899).
- 22 Stenographic report of a special committee meeting held in the office of Arthur G. Daniells in Battle Creek, October 30, 1902, RBF.
- 23 Battle Creek *Daily Journal*, January 8, 1903.
- 24 E. G. White, *Testimony for the Physicians and Helpers of the Sanitarium* (n. p., 1879), p. 31.
- 25 General Conference proceedings, *The General Conference Bulletin*, pp. 74-80 (April 6, 1903).
- 26 Carl Dicmann Anderson, The history and evolution of Seventh-day Adventist church organization (PH.D. thesis, American University 1960), pp. 225-226.
- 27 Kellogg to E. G. White, March 3, 1901, EGW; General Conference proceedings, *The General Conference Bulletin*, p. 66 (April 5, 1901); Organization of General Conference Committee, *The General Conference Bulletin*, p. 377 (April 22, 1901).
- 28 Kellogg to George I. Butler, October 7, 1902, MSU.
- 29 Kellogg to Butler, October 30, 1902, MSU.
- 30 Kellogg to E. G. White, December 13, 1902, EGW.
- 31 Daniells to C. C. Nicola, July 30, 1906, copy MSU.
- 32 Kellogg to Haskell, April 5, 1904, MSU. By late 1902 concern was being expressed by William W. Prescott and William A. Spicer concerning the pantheistic aspects of *The Living Temple*. That this played an important part in the Kellogg-Daniells break has long been recognized in Adventist circles. For a brief summary of this aspect, which lies outside the scope of my article, see LeRoy E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1971), pp. 349-356.
- 33 Daniells to L. C. Leake, February 18, 1906, copy MSU.
- 34 Numerous Kellogg associates have related accounts of the doctor's criticism of Daniells as a "meat-eater" to me. It evidently became something of an obsession with him.
- 35 Kellogg to Butler, May 2, 1904, MSU. See also Kellogg to E. G. White, December 1902, EGW. It would be most interesting to know the Daniells' version of this conversation. Unfortunately his correspondence files are not yet open to researchers.
- 36 Kellogg to Haskell, February 8, 1905. See also Kellogg to Butler, March 1, 1905, MSU.
- 37 Kellogg to Butler, October 30, 1902, MSU.
- 38 Because of the unavailability of Daniells' private papers, this account is unfortunately secondhand. Roderick S. Owen to Kellogg, June 16 and 21, 1907, MSU. Owen named "Elder Sanborn" as having heard this account directly from Daniells. Whether this was Isaac Sanborn or A. R. Sandborn is not clear, but circumstances would seem to indicate the latter, at that time vice-president of the East

Michigan Conference. It would be extremely interesting to know the "testimony" in question.

- 39 Kellogg to E. G. White, December 1902, EGW; Alonzo T. Jones to Daniells, January 26, 1906, copy MSU.
- 40 Kellogg to Haskell, April 5, 1904, MSU.
- 41 Kellogg to W. C. White, January 21, 1903, EGW.
- 42 Personal interview with Dr. William S. Sadler, September 22, 1960.
- 43 Magan to Spicer, August 6, 1928, Magan papers LLU.
- 44 Kellogg to W. C. White, January 21, 1903, EGW.
- 45 Kellogg to leading Seventh-day Adventist educators, January 20, 1903, Griggs papers AU.
- 46 Prescott, The reopening of Battle Creek College, *Review and Herald*, pp. 4-5 (August 27, 1903).
- 47 Kellogg to Butler, January 1, 1906, MSU.
- 48 Kellogg to E. G. White, March 8, 1899, EGW. It seems evident that the persons who received these duplicate "testimonies" did not use them with the caution Ellen White intended.
- 49 Kellogg to E. G. White, March 8, 1899, EGW.
- 50 Letter K-45-1895, EGW.
- 51 Letter K-138-1898, EGW.
- 52 Letter K-215-99, EGW.
- 53 Letter K-215b-99, EGW.
- 54 Letter K-33-00, EGW.
- 55 Letter K-41-00, EGW.
- 56 Letter K-74-00, EGW.
- 57 Letters K-180-01 and K-199-01, EGW.
- 58 The first mention of this instance appears to have been in 1899 (see E. G. White to Kellogg, October 5, 1903 [K-245a-03], EGW), but I have been unable to locate such a letter in the White Estate. It is possible that it was a handwritten one, of which no copy was made for the files. This sometimes happened.
- 59 Kellogg to Butler, January 1, 1906, MSU.
- 60 Letter K-239-03, EGW.
- 61 Kellogg to Butler, January 1, 1906, MSU. Such a resolution was passed, offered by W. C. White and seconded by Daniells. See International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association minutes from *The General Conference Bulletin*, p. 290 (April 17, 1901) and p. 341 (April 19, 1901). The money was never raised, however, nor was the building erected.
- 62 E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, volume eight (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association 1904), p. 134.
- 63 As examples see Letters K-43-95, K-45-95, and K-10-99, EGW.
- 64 Kellogg, The rebuilding of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, *Review and Herald*, pp. 21-23 (April 8, 1902); Magan to G. A. Roberts, October 6, 1936, Magan papers LLU.

- 65 E. G. White to Kellogg, August 6, 1903 (K-124-02), EGW; E. G. White, Our duty to leave Battle Creek, *Review and Herald*, p. 18 (April 14, 1903).
- 66 Kellogg to Butler, January 1, 1906, MSU. The material circulated in Battle Creek was quite likely copies of the Ellen G. White manuscript 76, 1903, dated February 20, 1902, two days after the sanitarium fire. A close reading of the manuscript does not indicate that Mrs. White had been shown at that time that the sanitarium should not be rebuilt in Battle Creek, but she does counsel a review of her earlier warnings against building too largely in this city.
- 67 Kellogg to Haskell, December 27, 1905, MSU. This statement appears to me to be about as accurate a description of Kellogg's views as it is possible to get at this time. He accepted the general teachings of Ellen White as containing divine truths, but he was not willing to accept all of her specific counsels and reproofs, excusing himself in this on the basis that in such cases she was acting on the basis of misinformation.
- 68 Minutes of an Adjourned Business Meeting of the S. D. Adventist Church, Battle Creek Tabernacle, November 10, 1907, document file 453a (copy), EGW; Malcolm N. Campbell to Daniells, November 11, 1907, copy EGW.

My Years with John Harvey Kellogg

ALONZO L. BAKER

40

I was closely associated with John Harvey Kellogg from September 1939 to June 1942, serving in the dual capacity of field secretary for his eugenics and genetics organization, the Race Betterment Foundation, and associate editor of his monthly journal, *Good Health*. In the span of those thirty-three months I spent many, many hours with the venerable doctor as he went over the details of his connection with the Seventh-day Adventists, from that day in 1876 when he became medical superintendent of the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek down to his expulsion from the church thirty-one years later in 1907.

I

In 1907 I was thirteen years old and a seventh-grade student at the Healdsburg, California, Adventist church school, then adjunctive to Healdsburg College. I was being reared by an older sister, Alma E. McKibbin, who was a Bible teacher at the college. We lived in a house belonging to Ellen G. White. She had built a commodious two-story, four-bedroom, four-fireplace home on Powell Avenue at the dead end of Johnson Street in Healdsburg, a mile and a quarter from the north campus of the college. She and her family lived there for some time; but when she left for a long stay in Australia, the house became a rental property, and my sister was the renter. When Mrs. White and her family and helpers returned from Australia, she elected to live near the "health institute" (later St. Helena Sanitarium) forty miles east of Healdsburg, but periodically she came to Healdsburg to speak in the large Adventist church and to visit her property where "Sister McKibbin and her little brother Lonnie" lived.

The house was set on three acres of good soil that had been planted to almond, cherry, pear, and plum trees and an assortment of table grapes. There was also a large plot for vegetable gardening, a barn with stalls for six horses, a shed for carriages, and plenty of room for hay storage. All this Mrs. White had completed before her Australian sojourn. On her return she was most anxious to see how the trees and grapes had grown. The first time she came to visit us, she spent little time in the house but was out and all over those three acres, with a running commentary: "How is the fruit off that Bellflower apple tree? You know Bellflowers are my favorite apple. They don't have that variety in Australia. I can scarcely wait until apple season comes this year and I can have a Bellflower apple to munch on! . . . Has late frost or freeze often killed your Tartarian and Royal Ann cherries?"

I had a flock of forty chickens which were my own property. Mrs. White asked, "How many eggs do you get each day? Do you sell eggs to your neighbors? How much a dozen do you get? To what use do you put your egg money?" When I told her that all the money I earned from the chickens and from hoeing weeds for the neighbors went to pay my tuition at the church school, she patted me on the shoulder and said, "Work, thrift, and responsibility for a boy of your age are all so essential," then said to my sister, "I commend you for teaching your little brother how to work and become responsible and dependable." Mrs. White came to see us several times. I was always elated and awestruck, for my sister had told me many times that Mrs. White was a prophet of God in our time just as Isaiah and Elijah and Nehemiah were God's prophets for their day.

One Sabbath afternoon some of my sister's teaching colleagues came to visit our invalid mother, and discuss the "big news" — the expulsion of Doctor Kellogg from the Seventh-day Adventist church. They and my sister discussed the situation for most of an hour. Finally, Warren E. Howell, secretary of the General Conference Department of Education, said, "Perhaps none of us here this afternoon knows enough of the facts to pass final judgment on Doctor Kellogg, but one thing I am certain of: the General Conference brethren would not have taken such drastic action except they were fully justified in doing so; and in so acting they were in reality doing the will of God, for we all know that the General Conference is one of God's agencies for finishing the work."

All this time I was sitting in the far corner of the living room listening intently. I had no idea of the import of the Kellogg affair, but after Howell's speech I considered the Kellogg matter settled, and settled correctly for all time to come.

In September 1910 I was enrolled in the preparatory school at Pacific Union College (the successor of Healdsburg College). Soon after the fall term began, Arthur G. Daniells, president of the General Conference, spent a weekend at the college, speaking several times. That was the first time I had ever seen or heard a president of the General Conference, and in awe I sat in my seat in the chapel throughout the several sermons, listening with much the same attitude as a devout Roman Catholic would listen to the voice of the holy pontiff. During seven years at PUC I sat at the feet of such dedicated Adventist teachers as Charles W. Irwin, Harry W. Washburn, Eugene W. Farnsworth, Charles C. Lewis, M. Wallace Newton, E. J. Hibbard, and Arthur O. Tait. (Later I was associated with Tait for twenty-one years in the editorship of the *Signs of the Times*.)

From this background one may correctly conclude that in 1939, when I arrived in Battle Creek to work with Kellogg, I was wary of what the attitudes of Kellogg might be toward the Adventist church.

II

In the nearly three years I was with Kellogg, the total time he spent talking of the sequence of events (from the 1890s down to 1907) which led to "the break" surely reached the 1,000-hour mark. And he had documentation for some of his assertions. For example, the resolution of expulsion from the church has no reference whatever to the alleged heresy of pantheism. He showed me copies of letters from church officials in Battle Creek and Mrs. White in Australia, telling Mrs. White that he had "purchased large buildings" in downtown Chicago and was planning to start another Battle Creek Sanitarium there, whereas the truth was that he had leased a building in Chicago for the purpose of housing, feeding and giving medical care to plus providing evangelism for some of the very poor in Chicago's slums, chronic alcoholics, prostitutes, and "slum bums" in general.

Kellogg's concluding statement at all such seminars with me was, "You see, Baker, I did not leave the denomination; the denomination left me." I never accepted that terse summation a hundred percent, although the longer I lived in Battle Creek, the more I was convinced there were two sides to the 1907 break. And by no means did I accept at face value all of Kellogg's asseverations concerning his onetime relation to the church. I checked around the Battle Creek community, particularly among Adventists there.

For example: Mrs. Baker and I were friends of the Judds and the Steinels. Judd was then first elder of the Tabernacle Church and had been for years, and his wife was, or had been, a leader in most activities of the church and

of Battle Creek Academy. The Steinels were also staunch Adventists and longtime bearers of major responsibilities in the Tabernacle Church. Both Judd and Steinel had been officers of the Battle Creek Sanitarium for most of their lives and were close associates of Doctor Kellogg. The Judds and Steinels, and at least a score of other longtime officers and pillars in the Tabernacle Church, all told us that in their judgment the break of 1907 was basically a personality clash between John Harvey Kellogg and Arthur Grosvenor Daniells, the General Conference president in 1907. They said, in sum: Doctor Kellogg was intellectually the most brilliant man the Adventist church had in his day. (At that time most of the ministers and officials rarely had more than a grammar school education.) He was a creative personality. He had new methods for the healing arts. He wanted to expand the health work. He was aggressive when he had plans he wanted carried out. His thought processes, comprehension, and imagination usually outran those of "the brethren." This made him impatient with those of slower thought and action.

On the other hand, the General Conference officials doted on conformity. To them a nonconformist was unthinkable, and a nonconformist who could and did think faster than they, who had greater visions for a health program than they could imagine at that time, was doubly unthinkable. Hence they said, "Let us be rid of this troubler in Israel." So they did rid themselves of him!

Not only persons long associated with Kellogg in the Battle Creek Sanitarium both before and after the break, but many graduates of Kellogg's medical school, the American Medical Missionary College, felt much sympathy for him, most of them insisting that if a more Christlike spirit had been used in dealing with Kellogg, rather than the spirit of retaliation and vindictiveness, the parting of the ways could have been avoided.

Among AMMC graduates whose devotion to Adventism has never been doubted and who feel "the brethren" were not blameless in the Kellogg affair are Archie W. Truman and Henry W. Vollmer, each in his nineties now. Percy T. Magan, onetime president of the College of Medical Evangelists (with whom I shared the editorship of *Health*, a monthly publication of the Pacific Press), several times summed up his version of the Kellogg affair in his inimitable Irish brevity: "That was a fight between Daniells and Kellogg; no kingdom can have two kings at one time." Magan's cryptic words may tend to oversimplify a very complex situation existing in the early twentieth century, but more people who were on the spot in those troubled days have agreed than disagreed.

III

Seventh-day Adventism stands in great debt to John Harvey Kellogg.

Ellen G. White declared the Adventist health program to be the "right arm of the third angel's message." Who gave this health program a scientific, laboratory, experimental basis? John Harvey Kellogg.

Upon whom did Ellen G. White rely for many of her expositions on healthful living? John Harvey Kellogg. In Battle Creek she often dropped by his office to ask, "Well, doctor, what have you been doing in your laboratory recently? What new light do you have on vegetarianism? Do you have any additional findings on drugless treatment by hydrotherapy?" During the years he was developing his health regimen, Kellogg spent much time explaining it all to Mrs. White. He gave her scores of papers he prepared on health topics. These she used as a basis for much of her writings on health.

Who was the inventor, discoverer, and developer of many health foods? John Harvey Kellogg. It was in his laboratory that the first dry breakfast cereal, cornflakes, was developed. He pioneered in developing coffee substitutes, meat substitutes, and (as a prime source of protein) peanut butter. The very words *Granola* and *Zwieback* were words coined by Kellogg for two of his well known foods.

Who among Adventists launched the medical missionary idea and program? John Harvey Kellogg. He was the first to advocate the training of medical doctors and nurses who would combine the healing arts with soul-saving. And he did more than advocate it. When he set up his medical missionary center in the Chicago slums, and later the American Medical Missionary College, he practiced what he preached.

Who put the Seventh-day Adventists on the map more than any one person? John Harvey Kellogg. Because of his reputation and influence as a physician and surgeon, because of the efficacy of many of his healing methods, and because of his compelling personality, Kellogg was the first Seventh-day Adventist to have world renown. More people heard about John Harvey Kellogg, Seventh-day Adventist, than ever heard of all the General Conference officials put together up to the "great schism" of 1907.

One may ask, "But what about after the Adventists dropped his name from the church rolls?" Kellogg kept the Sabbath right up to the last Sabbath of his life. His two institutions, one in Michigan and one in Florida, always observed the seventh-day Sabbath. When I was in his employ, he would ask almost every Sunday, "Baker, did you go to church yesterday? What did the preacher talk about? Did you get a blessing from the service?"

I spent three winters with him at his sanitarium at Miami Springs, Florida.

Frequently on Sunday afternoon it was the custom to have a lecture outside on the beautiful grounds. The free lectures were open to the patients and also to the people of the entire Miami area. Inasmuch as his hearing was somewhat impaired during the three winters I was with him, he had me introduce the speakers and preside at the question periods after the lectures.

Kellogg's national and international reputation was so great, even though he was in his ninetieth year, that men and women of distinction were happy to speak for him without charge. He often invited them as his guests at the institution for a week in return for their lectures. The last winter I was with him, Kellogg had such illustrious speakers as these: Will Durant, then in the concluding phases of writing his famous ten-volume *The Story of Civilization*; Sir Wilfred Grenfell, famous Labrador explorer and missionary; Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Methodism's most successful missionary to India; Roger W. Babson, noted economist and a longtime friend and patron of Kellogg; and John L. Lewis, then head of the United Mine Workers.

Every one of the long and varied list of speakers was in the sanitarium when the Sabbath came and things slowed down and closed up. They all knew the reason: Kellogg was a Sabbathkeeper and once a Seventh-day Adventist. Whether in the church or not, Doctor Kellogg kept the faith.

IV

One Sunday morning in Battle Creek after his usual inquiry about my attendance at church on Sabbath, I asked, "And just what did you do all day yesterday, Doctor, if I may ask?"

"In the morning," he replied, "I read from my Bible in John's story of the life of Christ. John, as you know, Baker, was closer to Christ than any other of the twelve. In the afternoon I had Freddie [his masseur and chauffeur] drive me out to the cemetery, for I wanted to pray beside Mrs. White's grave there. After I read from the book of John in the morning, I took down *The Desire of Ages* and read a chapter there which dilates on what I had read from John. You know, don't you, Baker, that Mrs. White's book on the life of Jesus is the greatest ever written?"

By a strange coincidence the grave of Ellen White and the grave of John Harvey Kellogg are not too distant from each other — symbolic perhaps of the fact that Doctor Kellogg and Ellen White were warm friends during her lifetime. More than a quarter of a century after Mrs. White's death in 1915, Kellogg still found comfort in reading from *The Desire of Ages* and praying beside the grave of his longtime friend.

The Gospel — Good News or Bad?

LOUIS VENDEN

46

There was once a landowner who went out early one morning to hire labourers for his vineyard; and after agreeing to pay them the usual day's wage he sent them off to work. Going out three hours later he saw some more men standing idle in the marketplace. "Go and join the others in the vineyard," he said, "and I will pay you a fair wage;" so off they went. At midday he went out again, and at three in the afternoon, and made the same arrangement as before. An hour before sunset he went out and found another group standing there; so he said to them, "Why are you standing about like this all day with nothing to do?" "Because no one has hired us," they replied; so he told them, "Go and join the others in the vineyard." When evening fell, the owner of the vineyard said to his steward, "Call the labourers and give them their pay, beginning with those who came last and ending with the first." Those who had started work an hour before sunset came forward, and were paid the full day's wage. When it was the turn of the men who had come first, they expected something extra, but were paid the same amount as the others. As they took it, they grumbled at their employer: "These late-comers have done only one hour's work, yet you have put them on a level with us, who have sweated the whole day long in the blazing sun!" The owner turned to one of them and said, "My friend, I am not being unfair to you. You agreed on the usual wage for the day, did you not? Take your pay and go home. I choose to pay the last man the same as you. Surely I am free to do what I like with my own money. Why be jealous because I am kind?" Matthew 20:1-16 NEB.

What kind of person is this vineyard owner anyway?

Back and forth he goes between his vineyard and the marketplace all day, hiring workmen as late in the day as an hour before sundown. And then, when the day is over, he ends up paying them all the same amount — a full day's wage!

Is he kind and generous — or mentally unbalanced?

Is he fair and just — or simply capricious?

Is he trying to make people happy — or to make trouble?

Is this really a generous thing he does — or only a clever and certain way to start a riot?

It all depends on the group in which you find yourself.

If you've worked all day long in the burning sun, you probably hate his guts! But the maddening fact is that you're hard put to say exactly why. In your pocket is the wage you worked all day expecting to get. It's the full amount for a full day's work. So how can you honestly say the boss has been unfair?

Yet there's something horribly wrong about what he's done. He's turned the world upside down. In some way everything has been radically upset, and you don't like it. Somehow this isn't the way things are supposed to be. You feel deeply wronged, cheated. Yet you have exactly what you bargained for and expected.

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If you worked only that last fading hour in the cool of the day, you probably think this fellow is one of the greatest and best you've ever met. In your pocket is a day's pay, and you only worked an hour! Why did he do it? There's just no explanation — no possible reason you can think of, except perhaps that he's a kind, generous, big-hearted man.

As bystanders, we can't help feeling a tug of sympathy for those who worked all day long. The word of kindness and grace that overlooks the perseverance of these early laborers seems to have something wrong with it. But looking at it another way, we have to admit the owner has been fair. He has paid the wage agreed on. He has not been capricious. He has not given to one group at the expense of the other. He has been fair, but fairness has been transcended by goodness. Generosity has not excluded justice, but included it. The owner's justice forms a background that makes his goodness appear as goodness and keeps us from accusing him falsely. He is more than just — he is generous and kind.

And that's exactly what makes the situation so perplexing. On the one hand, we can't blame the men who worked all day for grumbling and feeling robbed. But on the other hand, why is it that kindness and generosity end up making people angry? How in the world can you grumble against goodness? Instead of arousing opposition, shouldn't such kindness be greeted with joy?

There's something ironic about the fact that had those who worked all day been paid first and gone home without knowing what happened afterward, they would have been perfectly content. The real rub comes not in that they have been treated badly — but in that someone else has been treated just as well without deserving it!

And maybe here is where we come close to the heart of the issue. What kind of world is it in which the word of grace encompasses and transcends the realm of law? Is such a word good news or bad? Is it to be welcomed with joy or rejected as a disaster? Is the world created by the gracious word of the gospel the heaven we seek or the hell we flee?

It all depends.

The men who worked through the heat of the day understand and are comfortable in a world of law. Here *they* are in control. By their efforts they can establish their own security and status; they can earn their wage. Life founded on unvarying law means they can take care of themselves. This is their understanding of existence, and with this they feel secure. The owner can say to them in all fairness, "Take your pay — what you have earned — and go home." They are excluded from the source and atmosphere of grace. Goodness has invited them to go beyond law and the barriers that law constantly erects between men to prevent their rejoicing in a fellow human being's good fortune. But they are incapable of going beyond — barred by their own understanding of existence. Kindness and generosity infuriate them, because such qualities threaten their basis of security and existence.

In a world created by the word of grace, by kindness and generosity, where everyone receives the same pay, how can you distinguish between the industrious and the lazy, between the good and the bad, between the righteous and the sinner? Law, commandments, religion — all of these provide such a handy and necessary way to discriminate between the righteous and the wicked. What will happen if you turn these upside down? Isn't there something indiscriminating and even irresponsible about one who would pass out rewards on the basis of kindness rather than according to some level of performance or achievement on the part of the receiver? What a travesty that careless taxgatherers and fishermen should find themselves, without any prolonged rehabilitation, brought into the full assurance of God's merciful forgiveness, having done nothing to deserve it!

But there are those for whom the word of grace means the only hope they have ever known. They see clearly enough that there is no chance for them by their efforts ever to merit a reward at all. The world of law dooms them to despair. Then to their surprise they find in their hand a full day's pay, and the kindness of the owner captivates their lives. Life for them means dependence on and rejoicing in the generosity of another. Not out of their own resources but through his abundant kindness do they live in freedom and

peace, able to enjoy another person's good fortune because they are always conscious of their own.

The great delight of these recipients of grace generates coldness and hostility in the hearts of those who've worked all day long. For the day-long workers the gospel is bad news, the worst there could ever be! And there is only one thing to do to a person who comes along turning the world upside down — eating with publicans and sinners, speaking the word of grace to any and all who will hear and receive.

Crucify him!

Scholarship and the Millennium:

A REVIEW ARTICLE

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SYDNEY ALLEN

Now that *black*, *chicano*, *women's*, and even *Oriental-American* histories have been "canonized" in the pages of university catalogues, it may be possible for another neglected American minority-in-search-of-its-identity to claim a place among the studies deemed worthy of pursuit. Christians in what has been called the *third force* (the first two being mainstream Protestantism and Roman Catholicism) have been poorly supplied with information about their own origins, a situation that opens the door to all kinds of paranoias. (The person who compared religion to sex in the range of its possibilities for good and for evil in the human personality was dead right.)

I

Jesus plainly stated that he would *return* to earth. He has not yet done so. The vast majority of Catholic, orthodox, and mainline Protestant Christians are willing to place the biblical statements about the Second Advent in the same category as the statements about "whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do" — that is, in the category of mysteries. Other Christians believe that this promise of Jesus constitutes man's only hope. Still others, going even further, claim that predictions are warranted as to the time when that return event will take place. The latter have been called millenarian because their doctrine places the Second Advent either before or after the thousand years mentioned in Revelation, the last book of the New Testament.

It used to be that one could ask a Protestant which denomination he be-

longed to and thereby get some fairly straightforward information about the person's beliefs. But this is often no longer the case. Most of the denomination-producing schisms resulted from nondoctrinal issues in the first place, and nearly all of the issues are of little significance today. To find out what a Protestant believes these days, one is much better advised to ask him whether he is a liberal, an evangelical, or a fundamentalist. In other words, the principal division of opinion is denominational only to the extent that denominations have aligned themselves with these three philosophical options. Included in most of the mainline groups are both clergymen and laymen whose convictions range across the spectrum.

The third-force groups tend to be at the conservative end. Fundamentalism has played an important role in American intellectual history, but we are still far from understanding its true character. Potential scholars in the third-force groups would naturally be best equipped for the work of clarification of the character and origin of fundamentalism. Few of them have taken on the job, however, for reasons that are explained later on. Ernest R. Sandeen¹ is an exception who has set a high standard in his contribution to a subject for which LeRoy E. Froom has laid the indispensable foundation.

Reared a fundamentalist, Sandeen attended Wheaton College (the Illinois school made famous by Billy Graham) and then went on to the University of Chicago. Here Sidney Mead suggested that he seek out the historical sources of fundamentalism. The result is the most important study since Froom's four-volume work of two decades ago.²

The study of grand aggregates such as "movements" does not admit, of course, of the kind of precise distinctions that are possible in other taxonomies, but the method must not be expected to yield neater results than the subject allows. Tidy minds shy away from the study of nebulae, but such studies are important nevertheless. Fundamentalism belongs to the class of nebulous phenomena.

Sandeen has combined exhaustive research after the model of Daumier with the boldness of a Toynbee to come up with a new and fruitful explanation for fundamentalism. It is the child of millenarianism, he says. Sandeen believes that the study of Bible prophecy and concern with the time and manner of the world's end is the "mysterious bond" that unified the many manifestations that were given the name fundamentalism in the 1920s.

This view comes as a surprise to most students, for millenarianism *as such* played a minor role, if any role at all, in such celebrated confrontations as the Scopes trial and the battle for the pulpit of the Riverside Church in New York City. If Sandeen is right — and I think he is — he deserves credit for

going behind the appearances to get at what is hidden. But how does it happen that the apogee of a movement could be so unrelated to its perigee?

The answer is that those who challenged fundamentalism in the 1920s were nonmillenarian; indeed, they were largely antibiblicist. Their objection to fundamentalism was not that it interpreted the books of Daniel and the Revelation in such and such a way; they saw it as an obstacle in the way of a "scientific education" for their children. Consequently, fundamentalists came before the public eye as the defenders of a certain view of the origin of the world rather than as what they had been conspicuous for previously: a certain view about the world's *demise*.

Neat minds will point out that some of the obvious progenitors of fundamentalism — such Princeton theologians, as Hodge, Warfield, and Machen, for instance — were either a-millenarian or antimillenarian. But Sandeen has an answer for this objection. He argues that (*a*) around the turn of the century millenarianism made an alliance with nonmillenarian Protestant orthodoxy in order to fight common enemies such as biblical criticism and evolutionary philosophy; (*b*) this alliance broke down during the 1920s as the fundamentalists lost every battle they joined; (*c*) fundamentalism-millenarianism went into a subsequent decline from which it did not recover until the appearance of the evangelicals in the early 1950s through such "ministries" associated with the name of Billy Graham as Fuller Theological Seminary in California and *Christianity Today*, the flourishing rival of the more liberal *Christian Century* religious newsmagazine. Sandeen does not say so, but there is evidence that in their new incarnation as evangelicals the fundamentalists have been winning battles and may soon reduce the influence of traditional liberalism to a position not much stronger than that of the fundamentalists during the 1930s and 1940s. If my speculation proves to be correct, Sandeen's book will come into its own.

II

Meanwhile, the nugatory distinctions between fundamentalist and evangelical, and between *cult* and *church*, continue to count for something in the pecking order of contemporary Protestantism. Millenarian is ranked very low — down with the people who still argue for the superiority of the *Textus Receptus* and the King James Version. Thus, it is not surprising to learn that scholars who have considered themselves evangelicals (or, with the movement of the same name in nineteenth-century England in mind, neo-evangelicals) do not relish being told that their spiritual forebears include the likes of Edward Irving, William Miller, and John Nelson Darby.

Some students try to make a case for tracing fundamentalism from the Princeton theologians. Marsden has argued that millenarianism, although it is *one* of the precursors of Protestantism, is not *the* common denominator of the movement.³ He says that opposition to liberal theology, anti-evolution, biblical literalism, revivalism, separateness of the church from the world, and individual moral purity (as seen in abstinence from dancing, cardplaying, and theatergoing) are features of fundamentalism with as much right to be considered central as the millenarian feature. An attitude of *antiworldliness* was the basis of all these "ism" phenomena, he says.

Alas, however, it is difficult to define antiworldliness — and even more difficult to isolate it in historical research. A better denominator than antiworldliness is needed. The possibility should be considered that *rejection of scientific method* may lie behind both millenarianism and the other features mentioned by Marsden. The millenarian frame of mind sees one, and only one, enterprise as worthy of human exertion: the proclamation of God's kingdom in all the world. Its attitude toward "pure" research is akin to that of the ex-president of General Motors who, while United States Secretary of Defense, snorted about people who try to find "why grass is green."

Undeniably, millenarian-fundamentalist groups have established scientific institutions of respectable caliber. Nevertheless, the moment scientific method is allowed to examine the postulates underlying millenarian thought is a critical one for fundamentalism. Like Sandeen, many a child of fundamentalists has arrived at that moment and been changed by it.

On the other hand, many youth of today are coming at millenarianism as if it were a new phenomenon on the face of the earth. To some extent the Jesus people are influenced by the views contained in Hal Lindsey's vivid *The Late Great Planet Earth*⁴ and can be heard to predict that Jesus is sure to come within this decade. If any proof of Santayana's maxim is needed — that those who refuse to learn from history are condemned to repeat it — here it is.

III

Why have we had to wait so long for a study like Sandeen's?

Well, good scholarship is always scarce, but some communities encourage it more than others. Fundamentalist schools have high standards in some areas — higher than in more liberal schools on such matters as Greek and Hebrew, for instance — but in other sensitive areas there is little tolerance for new directions.

Wiebe (whose Mennonite forebears went through a millennialist phase

early in their history and have recently been heavily penetrated with the dispensational scheme of Darby) describes the situation as follows: "To have too much is to want more. New ideas, book learning, singing in several voices are unnecessary and dangerous. The desire for knowledge leads to pride and self-deception. To long for change is to fight one's destiny. Fighting one's destiny is rebellion against God. Man's duty is to obey, pray, work, and wait in terror for God's wrath."⁵

Froom is an example of a scholar who has made a contribution to the history of millennialism-fundamentalism from within the movement.⁶ In my opinion, his documentation was the necessary precondition for the Sandeen study. Coming to his material without the conventional biases of the academic historian, Froom brought to the attention of the tiny segment of the scholarly world interested in such things a vast amount of data that it seemed determined to ignore. Because Froom's purpose is apologetic, he displays biases. But do his biases blind him more seriously than the biases of conventionally trained historians who have bypassed such matters as the millennialism of Christopher Columbus?

Probably not. But we must insist that it would be better to have our history straight — without apologetic intent. The principal obstacle is one of the aspects of a fundamentalist's minority condition. The potential scholars in fundamentalist communities generally attend schools operated by their denominations, and usually these persons take employment in one of such schools. This practice is widely believed to restrict their freedom to come out with unpopular conclusions.

And what is to keep these scholars from pursuing their vocation elsewhere? It would be idle to deny that prejudice against a known fundamentalist exists in the academic world. So the mere getting of a job is not at all easy, even for the possessor of the proper credentials. Beyond this, there is the difficulty of making a midcourse adjustment (the hesitation of most people when facing a move that will bring the frown of relatives and colleagues, and even spouses and children) plus a host of other factors that lead the fundamentalist who contemplates "going outside" to feel rather like a patriot contemplating treason.

The fundamentalist school's nominal commitment to academic freedom notwithstanding — if a member of an accrediting association begins to snoop in this area, he must find a faculty member who has arrived at an unwelcome conclusion and has suffered for it. Such people are hard to find. They are in a position similar to that of the television newsman who claims to have felt the "chilling effect" of a governmental threat to withhold his

station's license. Either the investigations are not carried out or the conclusions are altered to fit the stomachs of the audience.

Along with obvious economic aspects, then, the principal motive for scholarship in fundamentalist schools is the concern to show that conventional conclusions are invalid and that the sect has been right all along. Given this situation, we are the more grateful to Sandeen for his contribution. We hope that it will stimulate further studies in social, psychological, economic, and theological history.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (The University of Chicago Press 1970).
- 2 LeRoy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, four volumes (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1950-1954).
- 3 George Marsden, An article defining "Fundamentalism," *Christian Scholar's Review*, pp. 141-151 (Winter 1971).
- 4 Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House 1970).
- 5 Rudy H. Wiebe, *The Blue Mountain of China* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1970), p. 100.
- 6 Froom is a Seventh-day Adventist.

REVIEWS

Millenarianism and Adventists

DONALD R. McADAMS

THE ROOTS OF FUNDAMENTALISM: BRITISH AND AMERICAN
MILLENNARIANISM 1800-1930

By Ernest R. Sandeen

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1970 328 pp \$12

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Historians of fundamentalism have assumed that fundamentalists are different from other conservative Protestants and that fundamentalism is "merely a reaction against the liberalizing tendencies of modern thought," especially evolution and biblical criticism (p. x). The only attempt to explain why some Christians react strongly against these forces, while the majority have not, is that of H. Richard Niebuhr in 1944. He identifies fundamentalism with rural America and modernism with urban and industrial America.

Sandeen has shattered this traditional view with a book of impressive scholarship. He argues that fundamentalism existed before, during, and after the controversies of the 1920s that included the Scopes trial and the schisms in the Presbyterian and Baptist churches. He separates the fundamentalist movement from this fundamentalist controversy and shows that fundamentalism is a "self-conscious, structured, long-lived, and dynamic entity with recognized leadership, periodicals, and meetings" (p. xiii). This movement was essentially millenarian in origin, drawing its leadership largely from Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist ministers and operating outside sectarian lines by means of Bible and prophetic conferences, particularly the annual summer meetings in Niagara, and from periodicals such as *Truth* and *Watchword*.

Sandeen begins his history of the millenarian movement with its revival during the era of the French Revolution. He traces its growth and development in Britain and America to midcentury, and then shifts his emphasis to America for the remainder of the book. The influence of British millenarians in America is emphasized throughout, especially the influence of John Nelson Darby, whose theory of futurism, or dispensationalism (which regarded an any-moment Second Coming of Christ as a secret rapture), after 1844 replaced the Millerite historicist position tied to the prophetic timetable that is so familiar to Seventh-day Adventists. Thereafter, until 1890, the millenarians battled to prove themselves respectable Bible students and to escape association with William Miller's Adventists, who were pictured in the popular mind "as a band of fanatics ready to don ascension robes" (p. xvi). By the end of the century the millenarians had succeeded in making their views widely known and had obtained the

respect of conservative Protestants and their cooperation in an effort to stem the tide of liberalism.

As a result of this endeavor and because of their defense of an infallible Scripture — defense so necessary to their literal interpretation of the Bible — the millenarians acquired the name fundamentalists. But the alliance with the conservatives failed. Modernism was not contained, and the conservatives eventually turned their backs on the millenarians, choosing broad churchmanship and general evangelical harmony in preference to accepting the strict subscriptions and inevitable schism that the fundamentalists demanded. Already feuding and separating because they could not agree on how to interpret the inerrant Scriptures, the fundamentalists withdrew. But the movement did not die out. It flourishes today under another name, evangelicalism, and has rallied behind such national leaders as Billy Graham.

This book provides especially interesting reading for Adventists, for the part dealing with events before midcentury is also part of Adventist history. Sandeen shows how much Adventism was a part of the larger theological ferment and how many beliefs dear to Adventists came out of this period. After 1840 there was the progress of a movement which, though similar to the Adventist movement in many ways, had given up historicist premillenarianism for the dispensationalism of Darby and lacked the unified organization that distinguished developing Adventism.

Sandeen has provided new material that may significantly revise one's view of fundamentalism. He has argued his case with skill and with an elaborate apparatus that makes disagreement difficult. Included is an impressive annotated 25-page bibliography that provides lists of periodicals, primary sources, and secondary works on nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century millenarianism.

The bibliography suggests many topics for study by Adventists who are interested in their own history. Sandeen's references to Francis D. Nichol and LeRoy E. Froom are of special interest to Adventists. Nichol's *Midnight Cry*, the main source for Sandeen's comments on Miller, is identified in the bibliography as "a good study of William Miller." Although he never refers to Seventh-day Adventism in the text, on Froom's *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* Sandeen writes:

No simple citation of this monumental work will suffice to give credit to the achievement of this scholar or to warn the unwary of the pitfalls into which he may fall by following Froom's guidance uncritically. *Prophetic Faith* is denominational history in the old style, which is to say it is a defense of Seventh-Day Adventist doctrines as the apostolic truth passed down through the centuries without interruption or depletion. Although never acting the part of the bigot or writing polemic, Froom nevertheless produced a strongly partisan history, championing openly the cause of historicist premillenarianism against allegorizers, millennialists and future premillenarians. Furthermore, Froom has no concern with anything but history of dogma, and even dogma is narrowly construed. The result is that the work is useful as a reference work, astonishingly accurate in its references to particular men and events, but virtually without historical merit when Froom lifts his eyes above the level of the catalog of the British Museum. But for anyone interested in pursuing the study of millenarianism, Froom's volumes, which cover a period stretching from the Fathers down to the middle of the nineteenth century, provide invaluable bibliographic and reference service (pp. 288-289).

The Andrews People

MAURICE D. HODGEN

THE WISDOM SEEKERS

By Emmett K. Vande Vere

Nashville: Southern Publishing Association 1972 288 pp \$7.95

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The Wisdom Seekers is a history of Andrews University (Berrien Springs, Michigan) from its founding as Battle Creek College in 1874 until 1968. Events are related in chronological sequence and organized around dominant people — usually administrators, but also teachers, students, and staff members. This is a narrative written to emphasize the *people* of the college, and with a desire not to “overmoralize” but rather, as the author says, to let the readers themselves deduce “His teaching in our past history.” Vande Vere achieves his aim with a large degree of success. In only a few instances (too few in my opinion) does the book provide an analysis of events in terms of influences or consequences; but the parade of people continues throughout in sufficient detail to warm the hearts of old grads and to interest the general reader.

The book opens with a brief description of Battle Creek and of Adventist beginnings and developments in that region between the late 1850s and the opening of the college in 1874. From then on, events on campus dominate the perspective. Although the main events in the early part of the book, treating the Battle Creek period, will be familiar to readers of Adventist history, the richness of detail does much to lift this volume above popular histories. And when the early period is passed — those years in which Battle Creek College was almost all there was of Seventh-day Adventist formal education — Vande Vere carries the reader through a detailed and almost always sympathetic treatment of events: the move to Berrien Springs; the rise and departure of educational reform; the gradual emergence of a college in fact as well as in name; and the transition to Andrews University.

The general reader with a taste for history, whatever his connection with the college, will find rewards for his interest throughout the book, except perhaps in the tedious lists of events that appear in several chapters. Only true love could note, for example, the repair of the vocalion organ in 1913-14, or the installation of an electric dishwasher in 1920-21, or the host of similar trivia. There is synthesis and evaluation: the community and General Conference differences that led to the 1882 closing of Battle Creek College are examined; events leading to the move from Battle Creek and the power struggles that led to the departures of Edward A. Sutherland and, much later, of Floyd A. Rittenhouse are touched on. But what these may involve in terms of forces or large issues in the development of a Seventh-day Adventist view of education — indeed, just what the dimensions of these forces or issues were — is identified only occasionally, and then briefly.

The contents of the book have been derived from a variety of sources such as diaries, personal reminiscences, and publications from academic, church, and student groups. The author was fifteen years in searching out what must be a fascination of material. Yet the reader has no way of sharing the sources. A brief (and obscure)

note informs that "footnotes, bibliography, and rosters of student leaders and the faculty are deposited in the Heritage Room of the James White Library at Andrews University." For historians this is a serious defect that limits the usefulness of the book — and at a time of renewed interest in the subject within the Adventist church. A similar weakness is evident in the two biographical essays included as appendices. One hopes that neither is a definitive study; either is sufficiently attractive to provide stimulus for such study. A brief bibliographical essay may be too much to ask for in such appendices, but the absence of the standard scholarly apparatus is unfortunate.

Most college histories are written to sustain the fires of memory, glowing in the minds of alumni. Others are written with this goal as secondary to that of writing history as well as reminiscence, and excellent models come to mind: Samuel Eliot Morison's writing about Harvard; Carstensen and Curti's writing about Wisconsin; Frederick Rudolph's volume on Williams College between 1836 and 1872; the brief but competent studies of Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore by Burton Clark. The strength of these and their kind is that they provide more than narrative. They provide synthesis and interpretation, setting origins and growth in a context.

In this, *The Wisdom Seekers* disappoints. We look almost in vain for information about other developments that may illuminate events at Battle Creek or Berrien Springs: developments of church structure and of regional loyalties within and beyond the boundaries of North America; the emergence of other Adventist colleges; a description of the general college climate in the Midwest, or of the times and society of which all these were part. The absence of context isolates the narrative and leads to the impression that growth and development toward the present were inevitable. Emmanuel Missionary College's chicken-raising president, parochial board members, and educational reformers are all equally interesting in this view, but important largely as surface diversions that conceal ineluctable forces.

The author raises the issue of "the hand of God in history," if only to avoid joining it. The topic has become something of a talisman to the general believer in Seventh-day Adventist teachings and a conundrum to many historians in the church. From his comment in the preface, Vande Vere, a professional historian, seems to assent to the likelihood, at least, of divine participation in the episodes of Adventist history, but nonhistorians and historians alike are shortly cast adrift in the narrative, with small comfort or guidance — just the hope that their disappointment not be too great. The general reader may find ground for complaint that the author teases; his colleagues may inquire why a historian should mention divine involvement at all.

Among books about Seventh-day Adventist education, *The Wisdom Seekers* is a welcome addition because so little history has been written — Dick's study of Union College (Lincoln, Nebraska) is the only other comparable volume — and because the author does provide a detailed and connected narrative of Andrews University based almost entirely on primary sources, many not used before. Moreover, in terms of the stated goals, Vande Vere has succeeded in achieving an emphasis on people and a freedom from what he calls "moralizing." Whoever wishes to read or write about Seventh-day Adventist education is in his debt. Yet, despite these considerable merits, the absence of scholarly apparatus, the lack of an adequate social context, and the dominantly narrative approach contribute weaknesses to the volume as history.

Adventism from the USA to Scandinavia

NIELS-ERIK A. ANDREASEN

BIBLICISM, APOKALYPTIK, UTOPI: Adventismans historiska utformning i USA samt dess svenska utveckling till o. 1939

BIBLICISM, APOCALYPTIC, UTOPIA: The historical development of Adventism in the United States and in Sweden to about 1939

By Ingemar Lindén

Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia, 19.

Uppsala: Gummessons Boktryckeri 1971 494 pp (paper)

Orders from outside Sweden to be sent to the distributors: Almqvist and Wiksell, Gamla Brogatan 26, 111 20 Stockholm, Sweden

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The stated purpose of the author is to present as "broad and objective a picture of the Advent movement as possible" (p. 17). For this reason the sources must be examined critically from their political, sociological, theological-dogmatic, and psychological aspects, and the "church historical method" must be employed (p. 17). With this objective in mind, Lindén takes distance from other treatments of the subject. Some of these have been limited to a treatment of the Millerite movement, or to some aspects of it.¹ Other studies have focused on Adventism but are either mainly descriptive² or written from a confessional or an apologetic viewpoint.³ Only one of these investigations, that of Everett N. Dick, is complimented with "an obvious striving for objectivity" (p. 15).⁴

Though these later works have influenced the understanding of the Adventist movement in the 1840s (Nichol), and cannot be passed by in an investigation of the Millerite movement (Froom), they must be read "critically" because of their apologetic nature (p. 15). This is particularly so with regard to Nichol and Froom, who portray Adventism "more or less in a deterministic way, as the result of a transcendental event, sovereign and far above the factors which affect the making of religious movements" (p. 15).

I

Having thus laid the competition safely to rest, Lindén sets himself to his task of describing the early history of Adventism in the United States. The story of Adventism begins with the story of the Millerite movement. That movement was notable, first, for biblicism, mainly in its preoccupation with the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse. Second, the movement was thoroughly apocalyptic, proclaiming the imminence of the end of the world, an event that would take place at the parousia sometime in 1843 — subsequently postponed to 1844. Third, the movement was distinguished by utopian ideas, particularly through its concern with antislavery and tem-

perance. However, the Millerite movement was "more of a normal event, typical of its time, than has been admitted by many earlier scholars who themselves have not studied the primary church historical sources" (p. 59).

The Albany conference in 1845 brought the Millerite movement to the realization that it had run out of time, but it also led to the crystallization within that movement of a radical (left-wing) minority group which understood the 1844 event as one that closed the door of God's grace to the world. It is within this group that the birth of Seventh-day Adventism is to be sought (p. 67).

The early history of Seventh-day Adventism cannot be understood, Linden recognizes, without attention to Ellen G. White (referred to throughout his book as EGW). And since study of EGW has thus far not been comprehensive, or "scientific," Linden turns to this task (p. 101).⁵ EGW's relationship to Adventism is seen in two ways. First, she was a product of her time. Visionary religious leaders fostered in isolation from the established churches and in the biblical apocalyptic imagery belonged in the "utopian optimistic milieu" of the American frontier culture (pp. 108-109). EGW was a visionary whose ecstatic messages, if viewed phenomenologically, were distinctive of frontier religion (p. 110). Linden takes exception to common explanations of the visions: hysteria, epilepsy, hallucinations, mesmerism, etc. (p. 115). However, he describes the visions as cataleptic-like conditions and cites the opinion of William S. Sadler, a physician, that the end of the "open visions" in her middle life should be associated with the menopause (p. 111).

Second, EGW was intimately related to the rapid development of the left-wing Millerites into what became the Seventh-day Adventist church. Thus, in the 1840s EGW followed the radical Millerites' so-called "Shut Door" theory (1844 meant the end of God's saving grace to anyone who rejected the proclamation during the months before the October 1844 date). Here Linden takes strong issue with Nichol's interpretation of EGW's visions of this period, especially his conclusion that she had no visions supporting the abortive Shut Door theory (pp. 74-84).⁶ This conclusion may be coupled with another, namely, that EGW commonly made new views or methods (viz., the Sabbath, p. 86; tithe, p. 121; health, p. 147) legitimate through her testimonies based on visions. Since the Shut Door theory was abandoned by EGW and by Adventism in the 1850s, Linden concludes that EGW's positions, though based on visions, could at times be overruled by herself and her followers, as in the case of the Shut Door theory. This conclusion is rejected by those who consider all her visions to have been a gift of the Holy Spirit.

The exclusive Shut Door view of Adventism was abandoned by EGW as early as the 1850s (p. 128), and was positively rejected in her books *Steps to Christ* and *The Desire of Ages*, which reflect both the internal religious experience of Christians such as the Moravians and the Methodists and the imitatio-Christi-theology of perfectionism found in her *Testimonies* (pp. 132-133). By her influence on the 1888 Minneapolis conference and through the two books mentioned, Adventism came to express its affiliation with the theology of the American evangelical churches rather than exclusively with apocalyptic and utopian ideas (p. 135).

Two further topics are given attention. First, *health reform*. In the early years of her ministry EGW had little interest in it. She is quoted as claiming around 1850 that

praise to God, loud shouting, and anointing with oil would secure healing for the sick (pp. 146-147). However, after an 1863 vision she gradually adopted a variety of health reform programs (p. 147). Although influenced by the health reform leaders of her time, she added her own eschatological ideas, perhaps ascetic motives, and a measure of moderation (pp. 153-154). Second, *eschatology*. The eschatology of EGW must be understood in the light of the apocalyptic movements of her time (p. 163) and of the social and political conditions (Sabbath persecutions in the South) of the 1880s and 1890s (pp. 162-163).

The conclusion to be drawn from Linden's treatment must be that the influence of EGW in the Seventh-day Adventist church is the result of long development, that the content of her guidance did not spring full grown, and that she was affected (perhaps unconsciously) by many traceable influences on her messages to the church through visions and written testimonies. No matter what one thinks of her visions, this way of looking at EGW tends to produce an attitude at variance with how her life and work are portrayed by the Ellen G. White Estate in Washington, D. C. The official view, Linden feels, has a tendency to idealize EGW, and in some cases it has been removed from historical reality (pp. 166-167).

II

In the second section of the book Linden treats Adventism among the Swedish people. Swedish immigrants, particularly Baptist congregations, became interested in the ideas of Seventh-day Adventism. Later (1905), a powerful Swedish department was established in the General Conference (p. 189). This dynamic department insisted on working exclusively for Swedish immigrants and their descendants (p. 191), and it came to influence the development of Adventism also in the homeland.

Seventh-day Adventism was brought to Scandinavia by a converted Danish immigrant, John G. Matteson (b. 1835). Because of initial opposition in Denmark, he made his headquarters in Oslo, Norway, and from there the movement spread to Sweden. The Scandinavian Adventist church is discussed from the outset as an American church seeking entrance and adjustment in a different geographical, political, and cultural situation. Is there such a thing as Swedish Adventism? If so, how does it differ from the parent church? The correct answers to these questions would hold tremendous implications for Adventism's self-understanding.

Linden points out that Matteson's theology was influenced by his "individualistic exposition of Adventism" (p. 221). For example, his sermon collection did not include one sermon on EGW as the charismatic leader of Adventism, a fact that Linden relates to Matteson's recognition of a "negative disposition toward an American prophetess which was prevalent in Norway" (p. 225). This attitude developed into a mistrust between EGW and her son William C. White, on the one hand, and Matteson on the other: "Ellen G. White's critical disposition toward Matteson was complemented by his distrustful attitude toward her" (p. 226). Matteson is also supposed to have been introduced to Uriah Smith's unofficial view of the "Spirit of prophecy" in the 1880s by Smith himself (p. 226). "It is obvious," says Linden, "that Matteson attempted to suit Adventism to the Scandinavian religious ecology, viz., his view of EGW" (p. 227).

In Sweden, eschatological and apocalyptic ideas preceded the arrival of Seventh-day Adventism from Norway (pp. 232 ff.). It was introduced through the usual methods of literature distribution, revival meetings, and the work of itinerant lay preachers. Again, the nucleus of the Adventist congregations came from the Baptists. The energetic offensive (prepared by Adventist literature) began in 1880, and by 1886 ten congregations had been established, with 250 members and an additional 73 Sabbathkeepers (p. 258).

The work in Sweden had the special interest of the American church leaders — including EGW, who was present in 1886 at the important Orebro conference where the ties between the Swedish and American Adventists were reaffirmed (pp. 276-278). She emphasized the importance of kindness and courtesy in Christian work; plans were laid for added efforts in the literature work and the revival meetings; the ethical and theological principles of the church were drawn up; and the church headquarters were moved to Stockholm. Fourteen years later, at the turn of the century, there were 756 church members in Sweden, of whom 176 lived in the capital (p. 297). Though the author considers Scandinavian Adventism an acclimatized form of the parent church since the time of Matteson, he credits the American influence and its more aggressive methods with having done much to further the progress of the movement in Sweden.

That progress was seen especially in the health work. The emphasis on health has its roots in the utopian tendencies in the Millerite movement, in the scientific (notably the biological) interests of the 1800s, and can be related to an "immanent eschatology" in line with the theories in vogue at that time. Moreover, it introduced Adventism to scientific work (p. 300).

Before discussing the impact of the health message on Scandinavia, Linden examines in some detail the conflict between John Harvey Kellogg, founder of Adventism's health program, and the church. He portrays it as a struggle over the role of the medical work of the church, not over theology, and thus over the future direction of the church (p. 337).

The Scandinavian equivalent of Kellogg was a Danish physician named Carl Ottosen, who studied under Kellogg at Battle Creek for a time and who later returned to Denmark and founded Skodsborg Badesanatorium, a Battle-Creek-like institution near Copenhagen. He was a good physician, a great lecturer, and an able administrator. Like Kellogg, he also fell into conflict with the church. Linden quotes a complaint made in 1905 by Arthur G. Daniells before William C. White about Ottosen: "I brought him into my room, and we spent many hours in conversation concerning these questions. He asked many questions which led to the most penetrating discussion of the whole situation. We separated without me knowing anything about the position he holds. *Therefore I cannot escape the suspicion that he is very sympathetic towards Dr. Waggoner and Dr. Kellogg*" (p. 346).

Unlike Kellogg, however, Ottosen added to his roles as physician, author, administrator, and lecturer, that of "Adventist pastor." He participated in church work on the Sabbath (p. 345). Like Percy T. Magan, he was able to navigate between the Scylla and Charybdis in the "treacherous denominational politics during the Kellogg crisis" (p. 346). Thus no open split occurred between the two spheres of Adventism

in Denmark. That was also true of the medical work in Sweden, which developed along the lines it took in Denmark, though on a much smaller scale.

Without giving any explanation, Linden skips the development of the Swedish Adventist church during the years 1900-20. The story is resumed with a church isolated from the United States, its progress slowed by excessive administration and by evangelistic methods that were no longer effective (pp. 384-385). Why Linden says nothing whatever about these significant developments is puzzling.

The years 1920-39, on the other hand, are marked by a revived American influence on Swedish Adventism, and by Swedish reaction to it. The new American influence on Swedish Adventism is centered in the administration of Gustaf E. Nord, Swedish-American pastor and principal of Broadview College. In 1920 Nord became leader of the Adventist church in Sweden, and his leadership brought a regeneration to Swedish Adventism. He and his associates renewed the emphasis on Adventism's peculiar position in Christendom: its relation to the Reformation; its opposition to the Roman Catholic church; its emphasis on the law, the Sabbath, and eschatology (p. 401). The American approach to evangelism, reinforced by American gospel songs, brought results. From Nord's meetings in Stockholm, 35 members joined the church in 1922, 19 in 1923, and 24 in 1925 (p. 395).

Parallel with this "Americanization" of Swedish Adventism, another trend of home-born Swedish "moderate" (but not schismatic) Adventism appeared — differing from Swedish-American Adventism not in doctrine but only in method and style, notably in public evangelism and in its relationship to other Christian churches (p. 405). The leading voice in this development, Carl Gidlund's (p. 402), did not stress that which separates the Adventists from other Christians but stressed that which unites all evangelical Christians (p. 403). Gidlund emphasized the authority of the Bible for Christians and made no reference to "EGW's 'inspired' writings" in his public meetings, though he certainly gave them a place in the congregation and in the baptismal classes. "To read EGW in the light of her own history can be said to be a sign of European Swedish Adventism during this period" (p. 403). Also, the interpretation of 1844 removed this event from the act of atonement understood to be completed at the Cross (pp. 403-404). These developments diminished Adventism's isolation in Sweden and furthered ecumenical relations with other churches (p. 404).

The reaction to the American influence was completed in the 1930s. By 1936 Nord left his position as principal of the college. Though the Swedish-American pastors continued their work, 1939 saw the end of their offensive (p. 434).

The description of these developments in Swedish Adventism from 1920 to 1939 raises the question of Christianity and culture within the framework of Adventism. One gets the impression that Linden feels that Adventism must take cognizance of the culture around it (cf. p. 387). At the same time this chapter of the book appears less persuasive than some others. Some lines seem to be overdrawn, and one is left to wonder about the accuracy, not to mention the objectivity, of the author. This uncertainty is not put to rest by the chapter notes, which date many interviews in March 1971. Since the book was apparently published in April or May 1971, the impression that this last chapter is still in the making is hard to resist.

A book as large as this one, and covering such a scope of material, cannot avoid

containing weaknesses — and this one does have some. In places it reads like a survey, but elsewhere it reveals scrutiny of the sources and thoughtful insight. Unfortunately there are intolerably many typographical mistakes.

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- 5 See E. Schick, Ekstase in Protestantismus, in Theodor Spoerri's *Beitrage zur Ekstase* (New York: Karger 1968).
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Two other important works, neither of which is characterized by scientific methods, are Francis D. Nichol's *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1951) and D. M. Canright's *The Life of Mrs. E. G. White, Seventh-day Adventist Prophet; Her False Claims Refuted* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company 1919).
- 6 See Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics*, pp. 202-238.

In Pursuit of Adventist History

WILLIAM M. LANDEEN

BIBLICISM, APOKALYPTIK, UTOPI: Adventismans historiska utformning i USA samt dess svenska utvikling till o. 1939

66

This essay falls into two unequal parts. The first part (pp. 1-167) deals with the origins and development of Adventism in the United States to 1888. The second part (pp. 168-446) deals with the beginnings of Adventism among Scandinavian immigrants in America and the spread of Adventism to the Scandinavian countries by the help of these immigrants until the movement gathered its own momentum, which is traced with emphasis on Sweden to 1939. The author's own summary of his thesis, translated into English by B. B. Beach, is appended for English readers (pp. 447-465). Pages 446-494 contain bibliography and *varia* incident to the author's research.

Linden observes that, to date, historical research in Adventism has been divided and disconnected. He proposes to view its various aspects (political, sociological, theological-dogmatic, and psychological) as objectively as the sources indicate. To achieve this end he uses the historical method employed in writing church history.

When William Miller (1782-1849) arrived on the scene, the young American republic was already displaying those characteristics that would distinguish its history, to wit: aggressive expansion; restless democracy, with rights for the common man; a rough-and-tumble social makeup; and an assortment of religious beliefs showing both conservative and strong emotional character. The utopian ideal of Christ's Second Coming was present, and entire settlements had been founded in this spirit. Revival preaching by lay pastors sought to prepare settlers for the impending parousia.

The greatest of these lay preachers was William Miller, who first concluded that the parousia would occur during the year between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. He later revised his chronology, on the basis of the Book of Daniel, and set the date for Christ's coming at April 18/19, 1844. Christ not having appeared at this time, two of Miller's disciples reset the date as October 22, 1844, a conclusion Miller did not accept. The group who adopted this new date (April-October 1844) was known as the "Seven Months Movement."

After the "Great Disappointment" (when Christ did not come as expected on this latest date), from the mass of disappointed Adventists, one small group (whom Linden includes among the "left wing" and "radicals") refused to give up their faith in the 2300 days prophecy of Daniel 8:14. Further study led this part of the "radicals" to reach the conclusion that on October 22, 1844, Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary took on the character of a judgment of the saints — called the "investigative judgment" — and that the parousia would take place whenever this judgment was completed. From this as a basic article of faith, the small group went on to discover other articles of belief that today distinguish the Seventh-day Adventist church.

On one point of late Millerite doctrine, the group of Sabbatarian radicals emerging

in 1845 encountered difficulty. Two Millerites, Joseph Turner and Apollos Hale, developed the idea after the Great Disappointment that only those who had a part in the Seven Months Movement had hope of salvation. Christ's moving into the "most holy" part of the heavenly sanctuary on October 22 had "shut the door" (Matthew 25:10) to salvation for sinners. Turner and Hale had developed this idea in order to salvage the confused left wing of Miller followers after the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844.

Linden finds that Sabbatarians like Joseph Bates, James White, Ellen G. White, and others accepted the "shut door" doctrine and continued to hold to it until 1851. He summarizes his argument thus: "There is strong evidence pointing to the conclusion that the Whites abandoned the extreme Shut Door notions at about the same time, and then went on to become ardent missionary apostles, who wholeheartedly supported Miller's Open Door views in such a way that they did not place any limitations on God's saving people outside the fold of 'the little flock scattered abroad.' This may be said to be an unusual development in a religious movement. The other thing that is remarkable in this connection is the hesitation of some Adventist historians and leaders to accept this historical development as it actually took place" (p. 451).

Notwithstanding the author's careful investigation and cogent reasoning, I feel that the foregoing needs further elucidation. The earliest Seventh-day Adventist group, coming out of the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844, developed a whole body of theological articles of faith during a period of nearly seven years: the Sabbath, conditional immortality, adult baptism, the services of the Lord's Supper, and the Second Coming of Christ. And in 1849 the group began to publish *Present Truth* to tell the world what Seventh-day Adventists stood for.

For whom was all this theological debate and activity intended? For sinners? No; they were excluded by the Shut Door idea. For saints? Likewise no; by the same line of reasoning they were within the Shut Door.

The strange thing about the Shut Door doctrine is that, according to Linden, it prevailed among the Seventh-day Adventist Miller group for nearly seven years. Miller's entire proclamation of the parousia lasted only eight years, but the theological stalemate of the Shut Door required seven years to be abandoned. And for three years of this time the Sabbatarian Adventists were publishing *Present Truth*, telling the world what they stood for.

The second milestone in the history of Seventh-day Adventism was the creation of a formal organization in 1863. Without it, the worldwide interests of the message of Adventism could not have been furthered. The author analyzes the problems incident to organization: the strong opposition, the skillful leadership of James White, and the special share of Ellen G. White in assuring members that this was God's way of leading his people into the universal task of proclaiming the imminent return of Christ the Lord.

There followed more than three decades of rapid expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist church in all aspects of its work. Its great work of missions began, its publishing interests went beyond the United States, its concepts of healthful living became known, its program of education for its youth was established. And toward the end of the period, the theological basis of the movement was strengthened and broad-

ened greatly by a fresh approach to the doctrine of righteousness by faith, as debated and accepted at the General Conference session in Minneapolis in 1888.

In this development the name of Ellen G. White became increasingly important. The author devotes an entire chapter to her charismatic gifts and claims (pp. 191-196). Using the methods of contemporary church historians, he reaches the conclusion: "The source of material shows beyond any doubt that in Ellen G. White Protestantism has one of its visionaries."

However, in this chapter as well as throughout the dissertation, where reference is made to the work of this acknowledged spiritual guide (on whose contributions the Adventist church has bestowed the name "Spirit of prophecy"), many readers will be troubled by the author's attempt to categorize her status as a charismatic leader according to the concepts of the current historical method. Some will question whether or not charismatic gifts should be subjected to such analysis. Are not the gifts of the Spirit as mysterious today as when Jesus conversed with Nicodemus about them in John 3 or when Paul wrote in 1 Corinthians 12 that the Holy Spirit gives them in the church as he wills?

Seventh-day Adventism reached Scandinavia via the emigrants from those lands. Often their religious experiences in the United States took them first into the Baptist faith and then into Adventism. Once there, they became ardent proselyters by letters and by literature among their friends and relatives in "the old country." Among such was John G. Matteson, who came to Adventism as a Baptist preacher in Wisconsin. In 1878 he was in Oslo preaching the Adventist doctrines so successfully that by 1879 the first legally registered church in Norway and in Scandinavia came into being.

Meanwhile, Adventist literature from the United States was doing its work. In 1880 Matteson organized Sweden's first Seventh-day Adventist church of 47 members at Grythytted. A young preacher, Jonas P. Rosquist, who had worked with Matteson in Oslo, had conducted a series of meetings in the community with success. Matteson himself felt in 1880 that Sweden offered better possibilities for Adventism than either Norway or Denmark. His evangelistic fervor took him to Stockholm, and in 1884 he organized a church of 14 members in Sweden's capital. Within a few months the congregation numbered 75 members. Meanwhile, in 1882 Sweden, with only 88 members, had been given provisional status as a conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Four years later, at the important conference of Orebro, the official Swedish conference was organized after the American pattern. Headquarters were moved from Grythytted to Stockholm and inevitably Matteson was the conference president. The irrepresible Dane was everything — administrator, evangelist, educator of new preachers, author, founder of schools and publishing houses, and translator — and he did everything well. Presently he returned to Denmark and there laid the foundations for a strong work in his native land. But his contribution to Seventh-day Adventism in Sweden was notable and lasting; by the turn of the century the membership of the Swedish conference stood at 756.

The decades of 1900-1920 witnessed limited progress in Swedish Adventism; but with the return of an era of peace in 1919, the General Conference began at once to reestablish relations with war-isolated Scandinavia. Gustaf E. Nord, a successful leader in Swedish-American Adventism, was made president of the Swedish conference in

1921 — and of the Scandinavian Union Conference one year later, with Stockholm as headquarters.

Nord was capable as organizer and financier in addition to being gifted as evangelist. Young Swedish-American evangelists were invited to return to Sweden and soon proved successful in preaching to Swedish audiences. Property was purchased in Stockholm for headquarters and made ready for use in 1923. Best of all, the Stockholm congregation of Seventh-day Adventists (which had existed since 1884, but without a representative center) dedicated the new *Advent Church* early in 1925. Two years later the Hultafors Sanatorium was purchased as a health center in Sweden; and before he ended his office as president in 1932, Nord had acquired the spacious property of Ekebyholm near Rimbo, between Stockholm and Uppsala, as a new center for the Swedish Mission School (which had existed since 1898 at Jarnboas, Sweden, under limited conditions).

Since its founding, the Ekebyholm school has grown into the Swedish Junior College and Seminary, a significant center for Swedish Adventist thought and culture. Its faculty, of which the author of this important study is a ranking member, is respected and competent.

A few small errors in the book should be noted. On page 98, line 4, should be read 1844 for "1884;" page 117, line 17, must read Portland for "Poland;" page 194, line 5 should be Bodén for "Bodin;" page 359, line 9 ff., gives the impression that the president of the Scandinavian Union Conference in 1925 was C. J. Raft, but he lived in Switzerland at that time and Nord was president.

The Search for the Historical Luther

ERWIN SICHER

MARTIN LUTHER'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

By William M. Landeen

Mountain View: Pacific Press 1971 218 pp \$2.25 (paper)

Probably more has been written about Martin Luther than about any man in history, with the possible exception of Jesus Christ. Despite the great mass of material already written, scholars continue their interest in Luther — more than a thousand studies appearing each year, according to the *Luther-Jahrbuch*.

Unfortunately, many of these studies have been polemical. Such friends and disciples as Cordatus, Melancton, Mathesius, and Spangenberg eulogized the reformer as the prophet of God, the noble and heroic champion of truth, the spiritual liberator of the world, even the very angel of Revelation 14:6 ff.

On the other hand, Luther's opponents, largely Catholics, denigrated him. Such contemporaries as Johannes Cochläus and Johann Pistorius characterized the re-

former as a priest of Venus, drunkard, megalomaniac, or even as the "Seven-headed Monster," the Evil One in human form.

After these contemporary writers, many people involved in the movements and ideologies that followed the Enlightenment were interested in the reformer and his thought. Romanticists viewed him as unique, a genius; nationalists claimed him as their forerunner; liberals saw him as an early advocate of liberty; and socialists regarded him as typically bourgeois. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Leopold von Ranke attempted to shift studies of Luther to a more scientific foundation. Since then, even auxiliary sciences such as sociology, economics, and psychology have made their contributions.

In the early twentieth century, two developments greatly aided in the search for the historical Luther. First, Karl Holl indicated the absolute necessity of considering Luther's theology as a key element in understanding the reformer. Second, the turmoil of two world wars broke down some of the hostility between confessions. The new ecumenism has greatly facilitated an honest reappraisal of Luther and his work. No longer obsessed by the phobia of the Seven-headed Monster, Catholics have freely searched for Luther. Many Protestants, on the other hand, also moved by the spirit of Christian brotherhood, have begun to look more honestly at Luther.¹ Protestant theologians have begun to note Luther's limitations. Lutheran Marc Lienhard has stated:

In matters relating to the doctrine of the ministry, has Luther taken into account the diversity in the New Testament? In his fight against monasticism, has he overlooked to some extent the eschatological dimension of the *Consilia Evangelii* and prepared unwittingly for Protestantism's surrender to the bourgeois spirit? Did not his indifference towards the church as an institution help the emergence of the State Churches? Was not his doctrine of the Holy Spirit bound too exclusively to the actualities of the Word and the Sacraments, to the neglect of the charismatic fullness which movements apart from official Protestantism, like Pentecostalism, rediscovered, perhaps with good reason?²

These are good beginnings. But many Christians, unfortunately, still accept and propagate the invalid and dishonest clichés of the past.³ This is particularly true of a great number of orthodox Catholics and Protestants. It is refreshing, therefore, to see an Adventist work on Luther which claims to allow the reformer to "speak his convictions regardless of inconsistencies, paradoxes, or exaggerations" (preface).

William M. Landeen, Emeritus Professor of History at Loma Linda University, believes that Luther's central concern in his early career was the problem of "sin and its cure," but that the cure escaped him for some time. Only slowly and "late in his pre-Reformation career" (p. 49) did Luther discover the answer to his restless search in the doctrine of "salvation by faith." The author argues that this doctrine was the great breakthrough that completed the reformer's "basic theological framework" (p. 39). After that, Luther made only minor changes in his theology.

Undoubtedly the concept of salvation by faith is Luther's historic contribution, and for it he deserves the respect and honor of all Christians. Still, Luther was no superman. He faced many human limitations. For instance, he was unable to escape his innate conservatism and "retained a great deal" (p. 81) from the Roman church, particularly in the case of liturgy and church forms, but also in doctrines (pp. 55, 63,

69). Thus, "the church that emerged under his leadership by 1530 was new, but it was also very much the old church; we might even call it the Roman Church renewed, reformed, and modernized" (p. 81).

The true meaning of the Sabbath,⁴ the Ten Commandments, adult baptism, communion, and the freedom of the human will all escaped him (pp. 167 ff., 98 ff., 115 ff., 129 ff.). Personally he was frequently harsh and stubborn. His relationship with Rome and many "radical reformers" was not always one of Christian charity.⁵ He called many honest Christians (and we Adventists often repeat him) "counterfeits," "fanatics," and "false prophets," even though they made many useful contributions to Christianity. For example, Andreas Karlstadt upheld the Ten Commandments, including the Sabbath.⁶ Marpeck, Schwenckfeld, and Bundy defended the doctrine of free will and personal accountability. Others stressed pacifism and "sanctification, and aspired, within their limits, to imitate Christ and the martyr-minded members of the primitive church." Significant also were their contributions to adult baptism, soul sleep, and the separation of church and state. They are even responsible for emphasizing abstinence, temperance, and world missions. These brave men and women of the Radical Reformation, George H. Williams feels, "deserve to have their testimony taken down anew before the less partisan tribunals of another age."⁷

Although Landeen refers to some of Luther's "inconsistencies and paradoxes," he admires Luther too much to draw from them conclusions that might help revise the way Adventists view Luther and the Reformation. Furthermore, while the writer's stated goal is to describe "Luther's central doctrines" (preface), his Adventist point of view causes him to overemphasize minor aspects. Such topics as "Sanctification" and the "Sabbath," to which Landeen devotes whole chapters, could easily have been included in sections entitled "Faith Alone" and the "Ten Commandments" — thereby retaining Luther's perspective.

Further, Luther's thought appears to be treated too statically. Probably this treatment could not have been different, in view of the author's assumption that Luther's theological framework was basically complete after his discovery of salvation by faith. Landeen proceeds to that event in a more or less chronological manner, taking into account the evolution of Luther's thought. But at that point he abandons this approach in favor of a topical method — which ignores any further development in Luther's thought.

The topical method, which has been employed elsewhere to great advantage, in this case accentuates a basic lack of unity in the book. Landeen is fully aware of the trends in recent Luther research. He even states that contemporary scholarship "seeks to set [Luther's] thought within a framework of theology where all his doctrines are related to one another to form a systematic whole" (p. 156). Further, he continues that Luther's writings "reveal a remarkable doctrinal and systematic unity" (p. 156). But this very unity escapes the author, and one is left with the feeling of an unnecessarily fragmented work. Luther's thought could have been organized around a central theme, such as his Christology, which some modern theologians consider the key to the reformer's theology.⁸ Such a holistic approach might have greatly enhanced Landeen's achievement. Although the author intended that Luther state his own case, the book would have been more readable (and burdensome repetitions might have been avoided) had Landeen paraphrased and analyzed Luther's words more often.

As a whole, the strengths of Landeen's work far outweigh the shortcomings. The research is impeccable. The statements are solid. The writing is very interesting and, on the whole, readable. The general Adventist reader will gain a good view of Luther and his thought. From the material Landeen presents, the perceptive reader can go beyond the author's own analysis and draw conclusions that will be helpful in bringing Adventist Reformation views closer in line with the present state of research.

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A collection of essays by Catholic authors (Lortz, Iserloh, Pesch, Hacker, McSorley, and Manns) can be found in *Catholic Scholars Dialogue with Luther*. Edited by Jared Wicks. (Chicago: Loyola University Press 1970).
- 2 La place de Luther dans le dialogue protestant-catholique actuel, *Positions Lutheriennes* (Paris 1965), pp. 86-87.
- 3 Richard Stauffer, *Luther As Seen by Catholics* (Richmond: John Knox Press 1967), pp. 71-72.
- 4 Luther said, "In our time there arose in Moravia a foolish kind of people, the Sabbatarians, who maintain that the Sabbath must be observed." (Landeen, *Luther's Thought*, p. 198).
- 5 Luther heaped abuse after abuse on the pope. Much is not reproducible, but some quotes with ellipses are given: "The pope is a . . . foe of God." "The pope . . . has emitted a great and horrible ordure here. . . . A wonder it did not tear his anus or burst his belly." "There lies the pope in his own dung." See Hartmann Grisar, *Luther* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Ltd.), volume four, p. 322.
Luther's attitude toward the radical reformers can be deduced from these statements: "Münzer, Karlstadt, Campanus and such fellows, together with the factitious spirits and sects, are merely devils incarnate." Caspar Schwenckfeld, like Agricola was a "mad fool possessed by the devil;" "it is the devil who spews and excretes his work." See Grisar, volume two, p. 376.
- 6 Luther remarked about Karlstadt, "Yes, if Karlstadt were to write more about the Sabbath, even Sunday would have to give way, and the Sabbath, that is Saturday, would be celebrated" (Landeen, p. 198).
- 7 George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1962), p. 863.
- 8 Maurer believes that "the central theme from which Luther's theology can be understood, in its principal parts, is the Christology." *Kirche und Geschichte*, volume one, p. 19.
Erich Seeberg in his *Luther's Theologie in ihren Grundzügen* (Stuttgart 1940), p. 24, states, "The principal point in Luther's theology is the view of Christ." Heino O. Kadai, on the other hand, says that "Luther's theology centers uniquely around the crucified Jesus." See the chapter entitled "Luther's theology of the cross" in *Accents in Luther's Theology* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House 1967). He simply repeated the original thesis of Walther von Loewenich, *Luther's Theologia crucis* (München 1933).

Does Man Have Options?

JOHN M. BERECZ

BEYOND FREEDOM AND DIGNITY

By B. F. Skinner

New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1971 225 pp \$6.95

This stimulating book raises a number of interesting questions and problems for Adventist scholars. Skinner presents a case that seems to be logical but that on close scrutiny is oversimplified. His is a lively presentation of an extreme behavioristic view, a polemic by a psychologist who enjoys writing. But it is not a compilation of data, a fund of psychological knowledge, or a serious threat to the Christian viewpoint.

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To understand Skinner's thesis, the reader must comprehend first what he means by *contingencies of reinforcement*. Skinner's analysis of behavior has three major considerations: (a) the occasion on which the response occurs; (b) the response itself; (c) the reinforcements (rewards) that follow the response. The *interrelationships* of these three considerations are termed "contingencies of reinforcement."

Like a skilled attorney, Skinner makes his case. He argues, cajoles, humors, persuades, attacks, defends, overstates — but never bores — as he attempts to build his case for radical behaviorism. He rejects the notion of "inner man," emphasizes the importance of environmental consequences, suggests that freedom is a matter of contingencies of reinforcement, observes that society is headed toward catastrophe, and suggests that impending societal demise can be prevented by the use of knowledge of reinforcement contingencies to engineer a culture that will not destroy itself. Let us look closely at his major points.

THE DEHOMUNCULIZATION OF MAN. The author contends that it is more profitable to study environmental consequences than to appeal to inner causes for explanations of man's behavior. His objection to talking about "inner man," the "mind," and the "intellect" is that these terms shortcircuit precise explanation of behavior by discouraging inquiry into environmental influences. "Autonomous man," in his words, "is a device used to explain what we cannot explain in any other way. He has been constructed from our ignorance; and as our understanding increases, the very stuff of which he is composed vanishes" (p. 200). "The mental explanation brings curiosity to an end. . . . If we ask someone, 'Why did you go to the theater?' and he says, 'Because I felt like going,' we are apt to take his reply as a kind of explanation" (pp. 12, 13).

THE ENVIRONMENT. Skinner uses analogies from biology, chemistry, and physics as a means of dismantling "inner man." Since the biological sciences made rapid progress when they abandoned the notion of homunculi, ethers, essences, etc., Skinner suggests that "as a science of behavior adopts the strategy of physics and biology, the autonomous agent to which behavior has traditionally been attributed is replaced by the environment" (p. 184); that "the direction of the controlling rela-

tion is reversed: a person does not act upon the world, the world acts upon him" (p. 211); that "a scientific analysis of behavior dispossesses autonomous man and turns the control he has been said to exert over to the environment" (p. 205); and that this "analysis leaves less and less for autonomous man to do" (p. 198). Quick to observe, however, that "a mere shift in emphasis from man to environment means very little" (p. 185), Skinner goes on to suggest that what is really needed is a careful analysis of the contingencies of reinforcement — that in addition to shifting our interest to the environment, we must go further and actively analyze, understand, and arrange the various reinforcement contingencies.

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY. If we accept these basic assumptions about the nature of behavioral phenomena, concepts such as *freedom* and *responsibility* are seen as mere illusions. "A scientific analysis shifts the credit as well as the blame to the environment" (p. 21). Skinner maintains that no one is actually free and that a subjective feeling of freedom is not an accurate guide: "Freedom is a matter of contingencies of reinforcement, not of the feelings the contingencies generate" (pp. 37-38). He advocates a carefully analyzed system of control in which the consequences of certain practices are clearly specified. "The fundamental mistake made by all those who choose weak methods of control is to assume that the balance of control is left to the individual, when in fact it is left to other conditions" (p. 99). "To refuse to control is to leave control not to the individual himself, but to other parts of the social and nonsocial environments" (p. 84). Thus in finding concepts such as responsibility, freedom, and dignity more misleading than useful in understanding man's behavior, Skinner holds to his customary position of rejecting mentalistic explanations and of looking to environmental contingencies.

ENGINEERING A CULTURE. Skinner wants to prevent "the catastrophe toward which the world seems to be inexorably moving" (p. 5). "There is nothing to be done about completely unpredictable difficulties," he states, "but we may foresee some trouble by extrapolating current trends. It may be enough simply to observe a steady increase in the number of people on the earth, in the size and location of nuclear stockpiles, or in the pollution of the environment and the depletion of natural resources; we may then change practices to induce people to have fewer children, spend less on nuclear weapons, stop polluting the environment, and consume resources at a lower rate, respectively" (p. 152).

The thrust of this book is that we have the technology and should employ it to reverse many of the factors that contribute to society's suicidal course. "A culture is very much like the experimental space used in the analysis of behavior. Both are sets of contingencies of reinforcement. A child is born into a culture as an organism placed in an experimental space. Designing a culture is like designing an experiment; contingencies are arranged and effects noted" (p. 153). Skinner suggests careful environmental analysis by laboratory principles of behavioristic psychology and subsequent modification of cultural trends so as to prevent ultimate devastation.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

A major criticism of Skinner's system is that he presents it in a deceptively simple way that assumes all his concepts have solid scientific backing and creates the impres-

sion that his is a rigorous scientific theory with broad scope. Such is not the case. In 1957, when Skinner attempted to explain language development similarly, a noted linguist took him to task: "Skinner's claim that all verbal behavior is acquired and maintained in strength through reinforcement is quite empty. . . . The terms borrowed from experimental psychology simply lose their objective meaning with this extension and take over the full vagueness of ordinary language."¹ Skinner's flair for overstatement, and for speculative application of rigorous laboratory terms to situations very different from those in which these terms were derived, is not a new development.

Another psychologist has written: "If all of man's learned behavior could be explained by contingencies of reinforcement, it follows that we should be able to prescribe a means for achieving an optimal culture free of wars, aggression, poverty, and boredom simply by prescribing the appropriate contingencies. Would that life were so simple! . . . As important as it may be to formulate the basic unit of analysis . . . it must also be recognized that this is but a small step on a long road of further experimentation and theory construction. To settle for less would be to resort to the very armchair philosophizing that Skinner has so effectively criticized in others."²

This is not to say that Skinner's theory fails to provide useful directions for further research, but rather that in its present form it has not been validated in the situations for which he prescribes its use. If his model works with pigeons and rats, this is not to say that it will work, or is even the appropriate model, for shaping society. It is important to distinguish clearly between Skinner's *scientific data* (which he discusses very little) and his *speculations* (which compose most of the book). Skinner's data are convincing and very useful for specific situations. But his speculations seem premature; and his implication that we have the behavioral technology to implement these speculations is a serious misrepresentation of the state of the science.

PUNISHMENT THEORY. In the face of growing evidence to the contrary, Skinner maintains that *aversive* (punishing) stimuli effect only temporary changes in behavior, and that these changes are difficult to specify. A number of articles and experimental studies have convincingly demonstrated that aversive stimuli can be quite useful in changing certain behaviors.³ In the case of many behaviors (e.g., smoking), the long-term negative consequences (lung cancer, heart disease) are outweighed by the immediate pleasurable effects. Association of an immediate aversive stimulus with the urge to perform the behavior makes possible a decrease of the intensity of such urges.

On one hand, Skinner maintains that "a person who has been punished is not thereby simply less inclined to behave in a given way; at best, he learns how to avoid punishment" (p. 81). But on the other hand, he views it as the task of the cultural designer "to accelerate the development of practices which bring the remote consequences of behavior into play" (p. 143). It is ironic that he regards some practices as "remote consequences" but is so biased against punishment that he does not view punishment as bringing into play "remote consequences." Thus, what he brings to bear on these issues are emotionally laden analogies, not scientific data. For example, he includes an excerpt from the writings of Joseph Maistre in which a gruesome description of an execution is given (pp. 79-80). This sordid account, offered as an ex-

ample of how persons justify using punishment, concludes with a veiled reference to God as the source of all punishment. To include under the umbrella of punishment anything harmful that one person does to another is a gross distortion and misrepresentation of the possible ethical uses of aversive conditioning. Actually, Skinner's aversive story is used to "condition" his reader against the use of aversive stimuli, to manipulate the unsuspecting reader for the following chapter on "alternatives to punishment."

SHAPING SOCIETY. Skinner's proposal that we solve global problems with a technology that has been useful in training pigeons or rats is intriguing, but his analysis fails to differentiate between *description* and *understanding*. To describe a culture in terms of contingencies of reinforcement doesn't mean that one understands it better for having done so. It is possible to describe all behavior in the entire world in terms of contingencies of reinforcement, but the description is empty if it ignores crucial differences between vastly differing situations. For example, Skinner is fond of comparing Los Vegas gamblers to pigeons in conditioning boxes — merely because both are responding to intermittent (not rewarded at each response) schedules of reinforcement. It seems highly unlikely that the gambler and the pigeon are even remotely similar in their motivation for seeking rewards. This is using laboratory language as a metaphor in a misleading way.

A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

ACADEMIC VS. APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY. *Academic*, or *scientific*, psychology has accumulated a large body of factual materials, most of which are ethically neutral. These data are not essentially pro-religious or anti-religious; rather they are a-religious in the best sense of the word.

When these psychological data are utilized to achieve practical goals, it is appropriate to speak of *applied* psychology. An individual psychologist's moral values and ethical standards come into play in this area. Psychological knowledge is not applied in a vacuum, but rather in the context of a value system; but that value system need not come from psychology.

The Christian has a clearly defined model of the universe, a picture of how man ought to function. He accepts the basic assumption that God's revealed truth about how man ought to live is the most accurate portrayal possible. The Christian applies knowledge from the various areas of psychology in the context of a scriptural model of man. Maintaining the distinction between *academic* and *applied* psychology, he finds it is possible to accept Skinner's data without accepting Skinner's model of man. (In this context it is worth noting that most of Skinner's book has to do with his *speculations* about how psychological knowledge ought to be applied. Hence, this book is more a portrayal of Skinner's model of man than it is a presentation of scientific data.) When religion and psychological science clash, the clash is usually not over the validity of data, but rather over the issue of how the data ought to be used — what the implications are for society and for men's relationships with God and with each other.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR BEHAVIOR. The assertion that it is impossible to live without being controlled is thought-provoking. Skinner prefers to study environ-

mental conditions that foster what may be termed responsible or irresponsible behavior, rather than to look at an individual's responsibility for his behavior. If one does not believe in supernatural forces, Skinner's analysis is highly plausible.

The Christian can agree that "the problem is to free man, not from control, but from certain kinds of control, and it can be solved only if our analysis takes all consequences into account" (p. 41). Skinner sees man as having no choice but to serve his environment. Christians view man as having the *option of choosing* either God or Satan as master. In Skinner's analysis, man is able to determine his destiny to some extent by manipulating (mastering) his environment. In the Christian perspective, man, although unable to manipulate God, can choose to trust God as benevolent master.

The Bible (Romans 6) makes clear that man is not free in the sense of being outside the constraints of universal laws, but is either under the control of Satan or under the control of God. Ellen White amplifies this: "Satan takes the control of every mind that is not decidedly under the control of the Spirit of God."⁴ The Christian can agree with Skinner on the major point that man cannot escape control. However, the Christian believes that behavioristic description of the world is not sufficient, in that it does not take into account the active, energizing agency of the Holy Spirit.

When man makes the choice — asks God to come into his life — the power to overcome past conditioning (to overcome sin) is a gift of God. The "new birth" experience is not a mere reordering of priorities or a redirecting of similar basic processes, but is an actual transformation that enables the Christian to become free from the conditioning effects of past behaviors. True, past patterns of behavior will not simply vanish, but through the power of the Holy Spirit the Christian may overcome whatever enslavements to sin he may have set up for himself. When Christ forgives man's sins, it is not a simple covering up of past mistakes, but in the truest sense an energizing, dynamic birth experience in which the Holy Spirit enables man to function to a maximum potential — in the words of John: "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God."

Likewise in the evolution of society, the Christian believes that God actively intervenes in order that his overall plan will be successful. Although it is difficult to specify on which occasion God has actively intervened (aside from where the Bible and Ellen White clearly state this to be the case), the Adventist view of history is one in which God does actively intervene. Thus, Skinner's analysis is again incomplete, for his view is that history is merely a series of accidental rewards or punishments that have shaped certain societal trends.

SUMMARY

Skinner's book may be more misleading than helpful to the average reader in terms of its portrayal of psychology, since it is not a compilation of psychological knowledge but a vigorous statement of philosophy by a contemporary behaviorist. However, the book can serve a useful function if it stimulates Christian scholars to examine their own assumptions and make a clearly articulated and convincing case for the Christian position. Adventist thinkers need to formulate a viable model of man, a defensible Christian perspective of history, and a consistent philosophical stance on societal issues.

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Obviously Brenda Butka [Autumn 1971] looks at [women's liberation] through the tinted spectacles of modern thought. For Seventh-day Adventists it is advisable to focus on this problem through the lens of God's original purpose for man and woman.

Let us commence with the genesis of woman at God's Creation: "Now the Lord God said, 'It is not sufficient that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper completing for him'" (Genesis 2:18, Amplified Bible). The divine intention and pattern was set at Creation. Woman was made to complement man. "Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and shall become united and cleave to his wife, and they shall become one flesh" (verse 24).

In God's pattern, however, woman was not meant to be a separate entity. Originally marriage implied a blending of the man and the woman. "For this reason a man is to leave his father and his mother and be united to his wife, and the two shall be as one" (Ephesians 5:31, Weymouth). This [implies] that man felt lonely, and the God who [created] him knew his makeup and knew that love and companionship were necessary for his physical well-being and for his emotional satisfaction. [These same needs were] effectually fulfilled in the woman. The love atmosphere created by this relationship would also be the right climate for their young children.

If the husband were a barrister and his wife were an executive in some business, both being involved with heavy responsibility, time-consuming work, and pressures, which one would be companion to the other? Who would be capable of creating the needed emotional love-climate for their children?

The devil's design is the breakdown of marriage and consequently the breakdown of society. This effect can be seen in the liberated loneliness of husbands and wives. Their homes become merely places to sleep and often not even the place to eat. Resultantly, hearts long for love and companionship. Sometimes a husband looks for another female who will stop and listen; then illicit lovemaking follows and the triangle is created! The warmth and cheer of the mother is not even in the home, and it's only a house for the family.

If women must be liberated in order to follow a career, let them be unmarried; and God's blessing will be on them as they devote their lives in such a capacity to benefit the world. Homemaking is a full-time occupation, and it is not possible to carry two important responsibilities at one time successfully. If wife-mother hopes for a healthy happy family, whose members will benefit the world in their adulthood, and she keeps her health in the process, hers is as great a challenge as any career in the world.

There is no [way] for the women's liberation movement to elevate women. But there is necessity to educate women to know and follow God's intended pattern for their effectual living. This expectation is recorded in Proverbs 31:26-28: "She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her."

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