When Prophecy Fails: The Validity of Apocalypticism

by Jonathan Butler

"Though St. John the evangelist saw many strange creatures in his vision, he saw no creatures so wild as one of his own commentators."

-G. K. Chesterton

In a contemporary short story, two computer analysts talk about what happens when prophecy fails.

"When I was a kid down in Louisiana," one recalls, "we had a crackpot preacher who said the world was going to end next Sunday. Hundreds of people believed him—even sold their homes. Yet, when nothing happened, they didn't turn nasty as you'd expect. They just decided that he'd made a mistake in his calculations and went right on believing. . . ."

For believers in Christ's Second Coming, the millenarian* story seems plagued by continual disappointment and failure. For many generations, the revolution, the expected cataclysm, the Second Coming has failed to materialize. Like the primitive Christians who very early experienced the delayed Parousia, many have since asked, "Where is our Lord's appearing?" Did Christ not prophesy, "Truly I say to you,

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you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes"?²

To believe in the Second Advent is to acknowledge delay and disappointment. How do believers reconcile themselves to this? Does their faith in Christ diminish as His greatest promise—the promise of His return—goes unfulfilled? Or do they find reason to go on believing?

In a study of prophetic disconfirmation, Leon Festinger and his colleagues at the University of Minnesota reported on a cult of flying saucer enthusiasts in the United States that expected a Martian invasion and an accompanying cataclysm by flood on a particular date and was, of course, "disappointed." The cult, however, did not grow disillusioned nor did it disintegrate as a result of the failed prediction. Instead, it found reasons for the failure ("rationalizations," these scholars said) which only fortified the believers in their faith and led them to share their faith

*Throughout the course of this study, apocalyptic, millenarian and premillennial are used synonymously over against postmillennial, the distinction being that with premillennialism the Second Coming precedes the thousand-year period of Revelation 20, while in postmillennialism the Second Coming follows the millennial phase. Premillennialists (apocalyptists or millenrians) generally are pessimistic about human efforts to usher in a millennium, and postmillennialists are optimistic about the human capacity to reform society, corresponding secularly to revolutionaries and reformists.

with others. Thus, the thesis of the book: prophetic disconfirmation in a millenarian community results in an increased fervor and proselytizing activity, rather than the opposite.³

The story of the New Testament community tends to corroborate this thesis. Postponement of the Second Advent did not diminish expectation among early Christians. Their eventual departure from belief in an imminent End should be blamed on other factors, not failed predictions. Once the apocalyptic stance has been taken, the believer holds to his faith though Christ does not return in the apostolic generation, though the year 1,000 A.D. passes uneventfully, though October 22, 1844, is followed by the morning after.

A reason for this is that apocalyptic faith is not based on the fulfillment of particular events and obviously not on the main event. Apocalypticism is a perspective on reality, a worldview or

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Weltanschauung (as theologians say), a Gestalt (as psychologists say). Apocalypticism is not discouraged by the failure of this or that prediction, this or that timetable of events or expected day. It is a way of looking at all events and all days. Faith precedes understanding, and apocalyptic faith precedes understanding "signs" that the world will end soon.

For the apocalyptist, the world is animated with these signs of the End. The election of a Catholic president, inflation and recession, crime, fashions, corruption in the White House, Sunday blue laws, an energy crisis—all appear as evidence that reinforces the faith in an imminent End. Pointing out ironies in the scheme (the Catholic president was rigid about church-state separation while the Protestant he defeated eventually proved to be more lax) does nothing to dismantle the apocalyptic framework itself.

When particular signs pass away without consequence, the believer, and the believer's children and grandchildren, find new signs to support their faith. It has been said, "Apocalypticism, like Hills Brothers' Coffee, is unbeatable because it is always reheatable."

In evaluating the apocallyptic perspective, it is instructive to look at the evangelistic "world-burner" himself. William Miller was the archetypal premillennialist (or millenarian). His world view was essentially pessimistic: man and his institutions were evil, history was in sharp decline, catastrophe was imminent as the world needed a radical transformation, a Second Coming, to enjoy peace and happiness and a new creation.

In recent years, social and religious historians increasingly have shown that Miller's anxiety should be regarded more as a characterization than a caricature of the early 19th century. Scholars used to emphasize the optimism and confident reformism of the Jacksonian period, but revisionist historians have been unearthing signs of uneasiness and turmoil in the era. The early waves of Catholic immigration and the increased power of the working classes in the cities frightened many with the prospect that a struggling democracy would be submerged by the "foreign" deluge. American republicanism was still regarded as extremely experimental after these few decades of its existence. Moreover, the established churches disappointed many by their wickedness and failure to pursue reforms in society. Natural phenomena alarmed the generation with further omens that something eschatological was about to happen. It was commonplace to expect the world was coming to an End.

Against such a backdrop, the Millerite prophetic charts did not stand out as the hysterical or sensational trappings of crank preachers. Miller shared the opinions of many respected, intelligent and level-headed contemporaries. Millenarian newspapers featured a column entitled "Signs of the Times," which reported gloomy events and phenomena that portended the End of the world. Ernest Sandeen notes that one of the frequent items in these columns was news of the explosion of a steamboat. "The steamboat harnessed new power and moved with

Volume 8, Number 1

unprecedented rapidity," comments Sandeen. "It was exciting, but it was also dangerous. The passengers knew that their voyage might possibly end by their being blown to smithereens. In such a world, millenarianism was not out of place. . . ." If there was braggadocio in this era over the inventiveness and progress represented in a steamboat, there was also insecurity about whether it would blow up in people's faces.

Miller's specific calendar prediction was rather incidental to his message. Miller had preached for 13 years that the Lord would come "about 1843" before conceding, with three weeks to go, that He would come on October 22, 1844. Does such an error invalidate Miller's entire worldview? He was wrong about one day, but was he wrong about human nature, social and political and ecclesiastical institutions, evil, goodness, history and the place of Christ in history? In other words, Miller was incorrect in predicting when the steamboat would explode, but he may well have been correct about the steamboat itself. Americans shook with the first explosions of an "Armageddon" at the Civil War, just as World War I eventually disturbed the progressive dreams of Walter Rauschenbusch and other Social Gospelers. After World War II, the bomb and Big Brother cast other apocalyptic shadows for such prophets of doom as George Orwell or Aldous Huxley. From this broad perspective, William Miller appears less alone and less wrong.

Nevertheless, that long countertradition of millenarians that preceded and followed William Miller has been a scandal throughout Christian history. William Blake reflected the incipient violence and hostility of the more typical millenarians in his poem "The New Jerusalem,"

I will not cease from mental fight, Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand Till we have built Jerusalem In England's green and pleasant land.

The usual millenarian has been an unsettling, outrageous figure in establishment eyes. The millenarian Joachim prompted Boniface VIII to remark in the 13th century, "Why are these fools awaiting the end of the world?"

Indeed, why?

First of all, millenarians are not Enlightenment men in their thinking. William Miller abandoned his deism, his watchmaker God, his confidence

in the rationality and perfectibility of man when he unrolled his prophetic chart in New England revival meetings. He was part of the romantic revolt against the Enlightenment.

One obvious example of the anti-Enlightenment flavor in apocalyptic interpretation is the matter of predictions. The Enlightenment viewpoint presupposes that biblical writers cannot actually foretell future events. The book of Daniel is dated late and seen, like the book of Revelation, as merely contemporary cultural comment. Biblical predictions are no more reliable than ordinary projections. In this vein, Albert Schweitzer viewed Christ as a deluded apocalyptic.

Though 19th century millenarians rejected the Enlightenment, they did sustain a marked rationalist strain. Like other evangelicals, millenarians rebelled against the Enlightenment by employing the weapon of Scottish Common Sense Philosophy. A sort of nonaristocratic rationalism, the new "common sense" kept America evangelical but not without substantial changes in the nature of evangelicalism. God was no longer the sovereign, vengeful and inscrutable Calvinist of Ionathan Edwards' Treatises: God was the cooperative Arminian, benevolent and understandable, of Ellen White's Steps to Christ. In Perry Miller's phrase, He became the "chained God" whose actions were comprehensible and predictable. Based on the evidence in Scripture and in nature and in one's own heart, it simply "made sense" to believe in the evangelical God.

The history of millenarian studies in the 19th century includes all conservative evangelicals, not simply sectarians like Seventh-day Adventists, Plymouth Brethren or Jehovah's Witnesses. And these evangelicals viewed the prophetic literature, particularly in Daniel and Revelation, as further evidence of the trustworthiness of the Bible and evangelical theology in general. Prophetic timetables, nations rising and falling, the natural phenomena of earthquakes and falling stars, the upheaval of labor strikes and riots, were presented as empirical evidence in this evangelical rationalism. The upshot was, perhaps, something of a pseudo-Enlightenment methodology that packaged a really anti-Enlightenment message.

However strong the rationalism of 19th-century millenarianism, Adventism is still left with a faith in Jesus Christ at the heart of its

message. The 2,300-day prophecy collapses like dominoes if Jesus Christ is not who He claims to be. Adventist faith is not based on archeological evidence that the restoration of the Jerusalem wall began in 457 B.C.; it is based on a belief in the nature of Jesus Christ. If one of the other miracle workers in Palestine prior to or after Jesus, if Bar Kochba in the early second century was, instead, the Messiah, the prophetic chronology becomes unreliable. If Jesus of Nazareth was the ordinary child of poor Palestinians who was immersed in the Hebrew Scriptures and apocalyptic lore and assumed an inflated self-image-that He was the fulfillment of messianic chronologies-then, again, the book of Daniel misled that man Jesus and it has misled the Adventist as well. In short, without a belief that Jesus is the Christ the prophetic charts have no meaning. When one believes in Christ, not only Daniel and Revelation but all Scripture is illumined with meaning.

Furthermore, millenarians are not Protestants the classical sense. Actually, western millenarianism dates back to Judaism and is usually too countertraditional and countercultural to be incorporated by the establishment religion of the moment. The degree of middleclass respectability in the Anglo-American millenarianism of the 19th century is rather atypical. Millenarians are generally "comeouters" who stand over against aspects of contemporary religion and culture and declare judgment and doom upon them. The apocalyptic monk Joachim hurled salvos at the 12th-century Catholic church, and Martin Luther drew upon Joachite literature in his attack on Catholicism in the 16th century. But Luther received some of the same treatment when Anabaptists sought to trigger the millennium in Germany. For reprisals, Luther suggested bloodying their mouths. And when Millerites finally carried the millennial logic a little too far, in the view of even their more sympathetic contemporaries within the New England theocracy, they were banished from mainline churches, burned in effigy and subjected to mob attacks. Thus, in a social and ecclesiastical sense, millenarians have been marked as anti-Protestant as well as anti-Catholic.

There is an ideological sense as well in which millenarians have leaned away from Protestant-

ism, and that is in the area of hermeneutics or in their method of interpreting Scripture. Essential to the Protestant Reformation was its insistence on interpreting Scripture in a univocal way. That is, the meaning for Protestants was the one meaning the biblical writer had intended. For millenarians, the Scriptures may take on equivocal meaning. The prophet's word or symbol may acquire not only the meaning that the prophet intended for his immediate audience, but also the meaning intended for the apocalyptic group that, generations later, breaks open the seal to the book. This is a typological system in which, as a prime example, the sanctuary service holds one meaning for the ancient Hebrews and a new significance for early Adventists. Millenarians make the rather non-Protestant assumption that not even Daniel and John the Revelator may have known as much as Uriah Smith or Ellen White about the books Daniel and Revelation.⁵

In contrasting Protestant and sectarian methods of interpreting Scripture, there is much to say for the vitality of the sectarian approach. In a sense, univocal Protestantism has fathered biblical criticism, an often bankrupt enterprise in relation to the contemporary faith community. The equivocal sectarian, on the other hand, finds contemporary meaning in the unlikeliest passages of Scripture. The Levitical sanctuary is a fossil for most of Protestantism, while the sectarian Adventist finds deep existential meaning in the subject.

For the ancient Hebrews and early Christians, the Bible was, above all, a living tradition. It was chanted and sung and spoken and shouted at feasts and funerals and synagogues and house churches long before it was written. Sectarians may tend toward a shallow understanding of the primary, historical meaning of the Scriptures, but they seem to intuitively grasp what the Bible meant to the Jews and early Christians; sectarians experience the Scriptures as a living, contemporary book. While the univocal Protestant interpretation may achieve a deeper comprehension of the historical and original meaning of the Scriptures, Protestants often lose a sense of the Bible as a living book which, of course, is fundamentally what it was for its earliest audiences.

This does not mean that sectarians do not

Volume 8, Number 1

have some explaining to do. The gospel commission implies making oneself understood. And if sectarians rely on their own private dialect of interpretation, they exclude others from the language of apocalypticism. Millenarianism in America, and elsewhere, has often become a rather esoteric endeavor (though this cannot be blamed on methodology alone). From the outset, Adventists seldom sought to justify their methods of interpretation to the uninitiated. Biblicism and millennialism were such pervasive elements of 19th-century America that it may have seemed unnecessary.

Finally, millenarians are generally among what H. Richard Niebuhr termed the "disinherited." The apocalyptist John wrote his Revelation on the rock of Patmos, not under a

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Roman arbor sipping sherbet. And it has been people in similar circumstances of deprivation and oppression who have been most responsive to his book. Apocalypticism has been the property of the poor and the persecuted, as other forms of revolutionism have been. Third World countries, seized by poverty, disease and malnutrition, may be convulsed by dramatic cultural upheaval and change. In just such situations, a revolutionary doctrine takes hold, like Communism (a secular millennialism), or a religious apocalypticism. This is so axiomatic of late that one might suggest (with tongue in cheek) a Marxian missiology: start revolutions in order to spread Christianity. Examples of disinherited apocalypticism range from the Black Muslims in America, to Pentecostals in Latin America, to the Cargo Cults of New Guinea (who anticipate the Advent as airplanes bringing supplies for their people). In each case, it is still the common people who gladly hear of the Advent.

To be sure, the social and economic upward mobility of millenarians is always a possibility. Bryan Wilson, a sociologist of sects, commented in conversation that when you meet a Seventhday Adventist you never know what sort of person he will be: intellectual or anti-intellectual, lower, middle, or upper-income, professional, craftsman or laborer. Wilson's comment is probably applicable to the Seventh-day Adventists of North America and Europe; among SDAs, however, over 80 percent reside elsewhere. Adventism enjoys five to eight percent membership increases yearly in the Third World countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, along with similar increases among the nonwhites of North America. White Adventism in the United States experiences only negligible net gains. Where there are conversions, these often come from among the culturally disinherited if not always from among the economically deprived. One need not be poor to be "going without" in a cultural sense.

Historically, moreover, apocalypticism has come in waves within Seventh-day Adventism. While it never submerges altogether, it is in crisis periods that apocalypticism becomes most prominent. During the Civil War, World War I, the depression '30s, World War II and the recent upheaval of the 1960s, Seventh-day Adventists have particularly exploited their Adventism. Between the Civil War and World War I, it was the salvationism of the "righteousness-by-faith" 1888 conference that eventually emerged, and in the aftermath of World War I, it was the trumpeting of an evangelical gospel that characterized a Carlyle B. Haynes, M. L. Andreason or an H. M. S. Richards.

During the depression, F. D. Nichol commented that Adventism was more relevant in adversity than prosperity. Membership increases were phenomenal during both wars and at the height of the depression (seven to ten percent annually), while membership plummeted immediately after the crises eased. In 1915, the year Ellen White died, the *Christian Advocate* observed that Adventists had enjoyed a ten percent annual increase due to "those evangelists who are reading the morning newspaper with one eye on the book of Daniel!"

Sometimes Adventist "crisis theology" has led to the embarrassment of false predictions. Interpreting the "Rorschach inkblots" of Daniel and Revelation, Adventists have often revealed more about their own dispossessed personalities than the Scriptures. Early Adventists did not expect the Civil War and slavery to end prior to the Second Coming. At the outbreak of World War I, many Seventh-day Adventist evangelists anticipated the conflict to be nothing less than Armageddon. Turkey was identified as the "King of the North" (in Daniel 11:45) that would aggravate the final events of history. By World War II, Adventists were gun-shy of such predictions, though they made one faux pax in saying the Jews would not reestablish themselves in the land of Palestine. All were further examples of prophetic disconfirmation.6

The social and cultural orientation of millenarians crystallizes in their view that history is in sharp decline. War, crime, corruption, malnourishment, ecological and energy problems, all indicate to premillenialists that the End time is the worst of times. The persecution and suffering of the minority group of millenarians also accompany these dark circumstances.

Thus, apocalyptists tend to be "come-outers" philosophically, theologically and culturally. We may locate them in provincial villages, as it were, at the rim of the modern world. Their perception of society and God may seem as far removed from modern secularism as a Tibetan monk is different from a New York scientist, or as a Jehovah's Witness is at odds with a Harvard Unitarian, or a Palestinian guerrilla is removed from an American suburban churchgoer. Apocalyptists generally resist an enlightened, Protestant, middle-class view of the world. (That is why a high churchman like Chesterton snubs them as wilder than the beasts of Revelation.) But for whatever it is worth, this makes millenarians akin to the vast majority of the earth's population which is neither enlightened, nor Protestant, nor middle-class. Adventist groups grow tremendously all over the world because they appeal to its largest constituency-those hoping for another world: not primarily middleclass women, for example, wanting to "get out of the kitchen," but women tired of having no kitchen at all.

There is the ever diminishing minority of

bourgeois westerners who still find solace in the optimistic prophecies of postmillennialism-the belief that man and his institutions are good, history is progressing upward, and peace and prosperity for the world are imminently realizable. In politics, a Franklin Roosevelt or a Lyndon Johnson seek to build a millennium domestically. A Woodrow Wilson or a Richard Nixon endeavor to enter the millennium through foreign relations. All experience their "disappointments." In science, hard-nosed empiricists of the laboratory look up from their research and, in the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin, dream utopian visions. One is reminded of Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s satirical quotation in The Sirens of Titan: "Every passing hour brings the Solar System forty-three thousand miles closer to Globular Cluster M13 in Hercules [says Ransom K. Ferm | -and still there are some misfits who insist that there is no such thing as progress." In religion, Harvey Cox, a sometime evangelist of postmillennialism, from his vantage point in the early 1960s expects society to grow at once more secular and more humane, while much of society, instead, turns suddenly religious and rather inhumane. Harvey Cox, too, has to fold up his ascension robes and contemplate failed predictions. The long tradition of

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American postmillennialism—from Jonathan Edwards to Richard John Neuhaus—has been a history of prophetic disconfirmation. Charles Finney, the famous evangelist of Miller's day, provides a notable example; at one point he predicted a millennium on earth within three years.

So, pre- and postmillennialists share a history of failed prophecies. Where they differ is the matter of worldview. Seventh-day Adventists Volume 8, Number 1

view their times as ripe for apocalypticism. Since the 1840s, Adventists have seen themselves and the world from an apocalyptic perspective. They have seen their time as the time of the End. Generations come and go, particular "signs" of the End grow obsolete, but Adventists sustain their apocalyptic faith. Their message does not herald a chronology of events so much as it calls for a new quality of life: a state of health and well-being, physically, psychically, spiritually, emotionally. If the Civil War does away with slavery and does not destroy the country, Adventist predictions fail but the essential call to an Adventist life continues. If Turkey is not the King of the North, and World War I is not Armageddon, the message still endures. Israel occupies Palestine, John F. Kennedy is not an Antichrist, race riots and student unrest are not the final "anarchy loosed upon the world," Sunday gas station closings are not the "mark of the beast," but there is still a distinctive Adventist quality of life.

Since John wrote that his was "the last hour"

and the events of Revelation "must soon take place," there have been Adventist Christians who took the apostle quite literally. Since the First Advent of Jesus Christ, according to these Christians, man has lived in "the last days." This, again, has not been an especially chronological category (as Jesus himself was nervous about timetables). Rather, the "new dispensation" has marked a new kind of time (kairos instead of chronos). The kingdom of God has already broken into man's world-since the first sayings and healings of Christ-and the kingdom will one day overwhelm the world. Apocalyptists, then, in the New Testament tradition, should speak more about what the kingdom is like than when it will come. For this is, finally, the test for the validity of apocalypticism (in the face of alternative worldviews): what sort of kingdom does the apocalyptist anticipate? What sort of kingdom has been already realized in him and the apocalyptic community?

On an individual level, apocalypticism certainly proves a valid way to face existence. Since every hour may be an individual's "last hour," every hour is precious and rich with meaning. A homely analogy illustrates the effects of apocalypticism. Generally speaking, grandparents have little time left—fewer minutes to the proverbial

midnight—and yet they live as though they have all the time in the world. They have time for small talk, long walks and grandchildren on the knee. The young parent, with more time, acts as though he has less. Busy, harried, grasping, he may miss the sanctity of the present moment. Here the grandparent understands what the parent may fail to understand. Eschatologically, the present is the only moment there is.

On a cosmic level, also, apocalypticism no longer requires the labored explanations it once did. Eighteenth-century theologians charted the flight of comets near the earth to show that the world would melt in fervent heat. None of these pyrotechnic treatises can come close to the impact of Hiroshima or Nagasaki on the modern consciousness. Man can destroy his own world, and the only language that really does justice to such a predicament is apocalyptic language.

Malcolm Muggeridge, the British journalist lately converted to Christianity, adopted a decidedly apocalyptic view of civilization. He writes, "The way of life of Western man today is the most horrible and degraded that ever existed on earth...And what's more," adds the septuagenarian, "it's breaking up so fast that, whereas I used to imagine it would somehow stagger on through my remaining years, I now think that these old eyes will see the crackup." Identifying the breakdown in social terms, Muggeridge says: "In a way, it's deliriously funny, of course-going to the moon when you can't walk with safety through Central Park, or for that matter through Hyde Park nowadays, after dark; fixing up a middle-aged dentist with a new heart in one part of Africa while in another part tens of thousands die of starvation in a squalid tribal war for which we, among others, provide the arms. . . . "7

In his latest book (his last?), the dean of American church historians—and another septuagenarian—Sidney Mead concludes on a rather uncharacteristic note of pessimism. The epilogue is worth quoting at length.

I have written these pieces with the chilling realization that we live today under the shadow of man's power to destroy all life on this planet. In a happier time of more primitive technology, James Russell Lowell could say that when God gave man a matchbox he knew that the framework of the world was fireproof. Today, with Loren Eiseley, I

feel that tomorrow I may be a fleck of carbon in the rubble of that world. This would be to go out with a bang. But it is equally likely that man will end more slowly, with a whimper, in an overcrowded world and an environment so dirtied by his refusal to control the pollution of his own nest that it can no longer sustain life. There are also the terrifying possibilities lurking in chemical and biological "weapons." I agree with Arthur Goldberg that probably man now has less than a 50 percent chance of survival.

Even an apocalyptic faith, of course, can be faulted for obsolescence. For Adventists to feed this vast, hungering earth's population with the message of the Second Coming, they must proclaim the end of the present age, not a past age.

They must lament today's torment, today's tyranny and persecution, not yesterday's. Signs for the 19th century grow obsolete in the 20th century. Natural disorders of the bygone era must yield to the ecological omens of our era. Tennessee chain gangs are superseded by the persecutions of some latter-day "Gulag Archipelago." It is the raging beasts of this present world that the believer needs slain by the Lamb of God. It is this desperate moment that he desires transformed into the brilliant millennium of a new heaven and a new earth.

Finally, then, while prophecies fail, apocalypticism is not a failure. Each generation of millenarians must, in turn, demythologize and re-mythologize its message. Apocalypticism is valid only as a view of the contemporary world, not a past world.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1. From "The Nine Billion Names of God," by Arthur C. Clarke, in Mayo Mohs, ed., Other Worlds, Other Gods (Avon: 1974), pp. 162-70.
- 2. Matthew 10:23 (RSV).
- 3. Leon Festinger, Harry W. Riecken and Stanley Schachter, When Prophecy Fails, Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. Festinger applies a theory of "cognitive dissonance" to the Millerites as well as the flying saucer cult. In my opinion, the thesis weakens in relation to the saucer cult as the community eventually dissipates and virtually vanishes after their disappointment.
- 4. Ernest R. Sandeen in Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., The Rise of Adventism (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1974), pp. 116-17; also Marvin Meyers, Jacksonian Persuasion, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957.
- 5. Norman O. Brown, Love's Body, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, Inc., 1966), pp. 191-231. Protestants must admit that the Bible itself follows irregular methods of interpretation by Protestant standards. Paul resorts to rabbinic rules of exegesis that the traditional Protestant would not feel at liberty to use. The

book of Hebrews transforms the meaning of the Old Testament sanctuary, again, in a way that Protestants could not abide with their own methodology. Admittedly, Hebrews does not fit comfortably into the Adventist scheme either, as Christ enters immediately into the Holy of Holies at his resurrection rather than waiting until 1844.

- 6. See Howard B. Weeks, Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969. See also my review of Weeks' book in Adventist Heritage (January 1974), 45-48.
- 7. Malcolm Muggeridge, Jesus Rediscovered, Family Library (New York: Pyramid Publications, 1969), p. 153.
- 8. Sidney E. Mead, *The Nation with the Soul of a Church* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1975), pp. 127-28.

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