

Reactions to 1919 Minutes
New Poetry and Sculpture

SPECTRUM

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ADVENTISM & AMERICA

Ellen White's Protestant World
Millenarians and Money
Cultivated and Vernacular Music

SPECTRUM

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About This Issue

The most fundamental empirical development within the Adventist community between the General Conference of 1975 and that of 1980 is the accelerating growth of the church outside the United States and Canada. During 1979, for the first time, the membership of a single division (Inter-America) has surpassed that of North America. Indeed, North America is now the residence of only 18 percent of the denomination's total membership. As the demography of the church becomes increasingly international, it is especially pertinent to explore the interrelation between Adventism and American culture.

Whether they proclaimed it as the recipient of God's special favor or decried it as faithless and idolatrous, the founders of the Adventist Church assumed the central significance of America. In this issue, SPECTRUM analyzes the close relationship which has always existed between developments in American society and Adventism. The essays by Jonathan Butler on Protestant life and thought and Chuck and Marianne Scriven on American music discuss the cultural attitudes affecting church teachings on apocalypticism and music. In addition, Eugene Chellis and Ron Graybill emphasize the social and eco-

nomical factors of the nineteenth century influencing Adventism. Don Ortner describes John Harvey Kellogg's shifting role in the developing science of anthropology and Margaret McFarland argues for a change in our past attitudes towards urban areas in order to meet the religious needs of twentieth-century America.

SPECTRUM is always pleased to publish the artistic accomplishment of contemporary Adventists. This issue includes a new poem by a respected English educator, A. J. Woodfield, and several pieces of ceramic sculpture by a young Adventist artist, Thomas Emmerson. The sculptures were first viewed by the public during Emmerson's M.F.A. show at the Art Gallery of the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles, May 1979. We are also always pleased to include our readers' responses to articles and letters published in the past. In this issue, Larry Geraty reacts to Lawrence Maxwell's letter concerning Geraty's report on the 1978 Geoscience Field Trip, and Malcolm Russell, a historian, and Henry Brown, a former missionary in South America, comment on our publication of the 1919 Bible Conference minutes.

The Editors

The World of E. G. White

And the End of the World

by Jonathan Butler

“When Protestantism shall stretch her hand across the gulf to grasp the hand of the Roman power, when she shall stretch over the abyss to clasp hands with spiritualism, when under the influence of this three-fold union, our country shall repudiate every principle of its Constitution as a Protestant and republican government, and shall make provision for the propagation of papal falsehoods and delusions, then we may know that the time has come for the marvelous working of Satan and that the end is near.”¹

While teaching at Union College, I was asked to preach the Sabbath sermon in Marysville, Kan. Inquiring Sabbath morning in the town of 3,500 as to the location of the church, I was sent successively to a Kingdom Hall, a perplexed Mormon for directions, and on to an Assembly of God meeting-house. Larger American cities are no more aware of who we are. The one-in-twenty New Yorkers who have heard of Seventh-

day Adventists commend us for our fine choir in Salt Lake City. A public this casual about our identity hardly feels threatened by Adventists. Where we are known at all — usually for our schools or community hospitals — we enjoy growing respectability, hardly qualifying us as potential targets of religious persecution. It sometimes strikes even Adventists as incredible that their American neighbors would violently chase them into the hills. And that is only one aspect of our eschatology that gives us pause.

How does the Americanness of Adventist eschatology serve outside of the America from which it emerged? The world, of course, now includes much more than the “Christendom” of Ellen White’s time. It takes in the non-Westerner and the non-Christian. Do we expect, as only one example, that the “whole world” wondering after the beast of popery will include Maoist Chinese or Soviet Russians? How will Adventists, equipped with scouting reports on a nineteenth-century beast, detect and identify twentieth-century enemies with their modern, more sophisticated weaponry?

Within contemporary American society Sabbatarianism is simply not a national issue that polarizes the major political parties as it

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did the nineteenth-century electorate. For most Americans, let alone people in other cultures, the Sabbath is really not a topic of concern at all. How, then, can the seventh-day Sabbath become the final issue of our time on the basis of which humanity decides its destiny?

Much of the Adventist understanding of the end of the world comes from Ellen White. The growing interest in exegetical, historical and theological analysis of her writings marks the fact that we now sense our cultural distance from Mrs. White and that we need these scholarly disciplines to fully appreciate her. In her illustrious 87 years (1827-1915), Ellen White virtually personified the Protestant period of American culture, and her writings offer a perspective on every major issue and event of the era.

Indeed, in the nineteenth century, it required little faith in Ellen White as a prophetess to believe the eschatological scenario in *The Great Controversy*. The book was written for a non-Adventist public, and much of its argument was familiar to evangelicals of the time. In the twentieth century, one must believe in Ellen White as a prophetess *before* one can accept many of the particulars in her eschatology. One must take *her word* for it — by faith — in a way that was not necessary 100 years ago.

Like other prophets, Ellen White made primarily contemporary comment and protest. Prophesying for Mrs. White was not crystal-ball gazing into a remote future. Her message proved compelling to so many people because she addressed herself to the issues and events of her day and pronounced a prophetic judgment on them. She preached the imminent end of the world around her. American Protestantism gone to seed would harvest the Apocalypse. The end of her era would bring the end of the world.² Ellen White remains an “other worldly” figure for us, then, not only because of her spiritual intensity, but also because she was warp and woof of that *other world* — Victorian Protestant America.³

What Victorians found distinctive about their age was change. Every era experiences

change, but Victorians were the first generation to take such notice of it, to describe their age as an *age of transition*. The “darkness” of the Middle Ages had been dispelled. The beast of Roman Catholicism had received the “deadly wound” at the time of the French Revolution. Modern intellectual and technological developments had a profound impact on everyone. These startling advances were considered “signs of the times,” indicating a shift not only from past to future but also from this world to another world. Thus, millennialism flourished. Unlike the twentieth century’s frequently blasé attitude toward change, Victorian Protestants, like Ellen White, interpreted their changing times in nothing less than eschatological terms. The immense developments in their world signaled that the world was about to end.

The age of transition produced doubt and uncertainty among Victorians. Old dogmas were called into question. The very idea of creeds proved unpopular to many. Yet, Victorians remained confident that “the Truth” could be ascertained. Science and religion were seen as a harmonious whole, especially early in the Victorian period. True religion could stand any investigation, including the scrutiny of true science. If Victorians discarded the old dogmas as superstition, they still believed in absolutes. The strong rationalist strain in Ellen White and other early Adventists, the assurance that truth — *the Truth* — could be sought and found, proved to be typically Victorian and remains a Victorian legacy among Adventists to this day. In society at large, however, the emergence of sciences like anthropology, sociology and history undermined Victorian certitude about possessing “the Truth.”

What made nineteenth-century America so different religiously from our time and place is the fact that then the nation could still be described as a “Protestant America.” In his book, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*, Robert Handy records the effort of evangelicals to make America a “Christian nation,” which for them meant a “Protestant America.”⁴ By and large, Handy finds the Protestants actually achieved their goal, and the Supreme Court in 1892 could speak of America as a “Chris-

tian nation.” Handy further argues that the America of the 1930s entered a post-Protestant era.

Under a different rubric, William Clebsch reaches the same conclusion.⁵ He shows that American politics, education, morality and nationality were once the religious impulses of a “sacred America,” while they came to realization “outside the temple,” in the realm of a “profane America.” For example, what used to be a “Protestant” public school system, with *McGuffey Readers* as a kind of Presbyterian catechism, now operates as a post-Protestant institution. As a nineteenth-century prophetess, Ellen White presupposed the sacred, Protestant America of her time. In *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation*, Mrs. White outlined the role of Protestant America in a “Christian dispensation.”⁶

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The disestablishment of religion and the separation of church and state led Protestants (in the nineteenth-century evangelical era) to Christianize America through persuasion rather than coercion. The post-Civil War was not just a period of defensiveness and retrenchment for evangelicals in the face of evolution and biblical criticism, social and industrial changes. Evangelicals also took the offensive in the notable and notorious crusades for a Sunday-Sabbath and prohibition, as the beginning of their attempt to Christianize an American civilization. Issues of personal morality, such as dishonesty, profanity, gambling, dancing and smoking, also preoccupied the Protestant churches.

The remarkable success of this drive to Christianize, really Protestantize, American life was not greeted with enthusiasm by everyone. Because Protestants were committed to the principle of religious freedom and to the voluntary method, they failed to see how coercive their thrust to make America Christian appeared to those, like immigrant Catholics, who did not entirely share their opinions. In fact, the Catholics at this time, and not the Adventists, were the real objects of Protestant intolerance.

Ellen White saw Adventism as a remnant of Protestantism, a true, unadulterated Protestantism. In her view, far from being non-Protestants, Adventists were super-Protestants. History was a popular vehicle for conveying theological ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and *The Great Controversy* serves as an example of this genre. The book celebrated the achievement of church-state separation in America as a legacy of Protestantism, and displayed a Protestant predisposition for strict Sabbath observance, temperance, law, order and morality. The Adventist prophetess diverged from nineteenth-century evangelicals regarding *which* Sabbath should be strictly observed only because she sought to carry out fully the logic of Bible-based Protestantism. Moreover, she protested the coercive measures to enforce Sunday observance as a departure from religious liberty. Mrs. White’s eschatology, then, anticipated that the evangelical dream of Protestantizing America would succeed in an oppressive way in regard to the so-called Christian Sabbath. This Protestant American achievement would actually snuff out the spirit of Protestantism in this country and trigger the Apocalypse.

In the twentieth century, however, changes in the religious situation have made the effort of Protestantize America seem increasingly unlikely. With the 1930s, the voluntary effort to maintain a Protestant America failed, illustrated by the failure of prohibition. The Protestant establishment of the nineteenth century, that at best only tolerated minority groups, passed through a

“second disestablishment.” What resulted was the religious pluralism of a Protestant-Catholic-Jewish America, or an even more variegated pattern that might be understood to include secularists.

There remain Protestant Don Quixotes, to be sure, tilting at windmills, and hoping to reintroduce the code and ceremony of a bygone era. Many of the contemporary problems treated under the church-state heading are carry-overs of the earlier Protestant America. Laws relating to the Sunday closings, for example, are largely an inheritance from the Puritan and evangelical phases of American history. Prayer and Bible reading in the public schools, the fitness of candidates for public office based on religious affiliation, and numerous other questions are really anachronistic remnants of a Protestant era. For Handy writes:

Since 1935, the debate over the relation of church and state has often been clouded by lack of clear recognition that the Protestant era of American history has indeed come to an end. If some Protestants continue to think and work as though the virtual identification of their religion and American civilization is still viable, or that with a little more effort America will become a Christian nation in their terms, they will be seriously hampered in playing a creative role for human good that a religious movement can exercise in a modern cultural situation.⁷

Insofar as historical realities call for a revision of Protestant aspirations, they also affect Adventist concerns. For if it is true that Protestants can no longer hope to Protestantize a pluralistic America, if WASPish Sunday legislation on a national scale is no more likely, say, than the return of national prohibition, then Adventists need to understand their eschatology in the light of realities.

Our pluralistic and more secular America simply does not embroil itself in the theological issues of an earlier Protestant America. “Every functioning society,” points out Robin M. Williams, Jr., “has to an important degree a *common* religion. The possession of a

common set of ideas, rituals and symbols can supply an overarching sense of unity even in a society riddled with conflicts.” Williams further comments that “men are always likely to be intolerant of opposition to their central ultimate values.”⁸ In nineteenth-century America, the Sunday-Sabbath, along with temperance, morality and a number of other Protestant concerns, corresponded with America’s “*common* religion.” And it was here the Protestants were “likely to be intolerant of opposition.”

In the twentieth century, on the other hand, Will Herberg tells us, “No one who knows anything about the religious situation in this country would be likely to suggest that the things Americans are ‘intolerant’ about are the beliefs, standards, or teachings of the religions they ‘officially’ acknowledge as theirs. Americans are proud of their tolerance in matters of religion: one is expected to ‘believe in God,’ but otherwise religion is not supposed to be a ground of ‘discrimination.’ ”⁹ In our time, contemporary political ideology rather than traditional religious orthodoxy is apt to involve one’s “central ultimate values.” Today’s “heretics” are not so much religious groups but communists, pacifists, ethnics or homosexuals. Religious groups, as such, are not pursued as scapegoats even in time of national crisis and disorder. Religious concerns, like Sabbath observance, are not viewed as vital to the nation’s destiny.

Quite the contrary was more nearly the case in a nineteenth-century Protestant America. Josiah Strong, a well-known Congregationalist contemporary of Mrs. White, provides a window into the thinking of that time. He wrote a best-selling book entitled *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis* to raise funds in support of the American Home Missionary Society, for which he served as president.¹⁰ In the book, he depicted the America of the mid-1800s in a present crisis. Most of the perils which disturbed Strong threatened in one way or another the Anglo-Saxon Protestantism in which, he argued, not only America’s, but also the world’s hope lay. The new immigration was the major peril, for it overran the country with Catholics, and struck both reli-

giously and ethnically at the foundation of American civilization. Strong worried that the Pope would possess America and make America Catholic. The influx of the Catholic immigrants opened a Pandora's box of intemperance, lax Sabbath observance, urban growth, and, among ex-Catholics, socialism and anarchy. Strong believed the vast accumulation of wealth and the resultant labor-management tensions caused a further problem. The exhaustion of public lands and a vanishing rural America concerned him, as did frontier Mormonism. Strong viewed this American crisis in eschatological terms. Linking the American destiny to the future of civilization, he said, "My plea is not, Save America for America's sake, but, Save America for the world's sake."

Ellen White described the American crisis in much the way Strong did. According to Mrs. White, Americans were being polarized by the very forces Strong had identified in *Our Country*: temperate and intemperate, labor and management, country-dweller and urbanite, republican and anarchist, Catholic and Protestant. While Mrs. White was more pessimistic than Strong — for her, the crisis in America augured an impending Apocalypse — prophetess and churchman agreed in identifying the American destiny with the fate of civilization at large. In the 1880s, Mrs. White hoped to save America, only a short time, for the world's sake. For both Strong and White, to lose either Protestantism or republicanism was to destroy America and, in turn, to end the world.

In the world of Ellen White and Josiah Strong, civilization itself seemed threatened. In *Our Country* and in *The Great Controversy*, such problems as anarchy and riot aroused apprehension. In 1877, the first earthquake of labor disorders had led to mob violence and bloodshed with the halting of railroads throughout the country. Labor upheavals followed shortly after the publication of each book. After the 1886 struggles with Jay Gould, came the Haymarket riot and a series of other disorders in the early 1890s. Immigrants, the cities, monopolies, poverty, alcoholism and lawlessness were blamed for

the precariousness of American civilization.¹¹ Ellen White believed that the Ten Commandments had a civilizing effect on the world. With God's law then in disrepute, civilization showed signs of deterioration. The Bible upheld America as a Protestant and republican nation, but with the Bible under fire from higher criticism, the nation itself was weakened, just as France had been for denying the Bible and God during the Revolution. Thus, Ellen White, like Josiah Strong, identified the problems of American civilization as spiritual problems, and in this case both still operated within the context of a sacred America.

The Protestant solution to the American problems came by means of a pietist brand of politics. Through political legislation Protestants hoped to eliminate the sins of intemperance and Sabbath desecration and, through the public schools, socialize the children of the "sinners" into a "righteous" value system.¹²

To Protestants, Catholics threatened American civilization at two points: temperance and Sabbath observance. Hard-drinking Catholic laborers were suddenly invading American city life, with their more permissive continental Sabbath unsettling Protestants reared on the ideal of American Sabbathkeeping. The Protestant crusade for stricter Sabbath observance was an effort to retain the Puritan strain within Protestantism, while the prohibition issue was largely new, a pietist nineteenth-century contribution of Protestantism to religious history.

The cause of temperance was advanced in behalf of Protestant American civilization over against late nineteenth-century challenges to it. "The rural, native, American Protestant of the nineteenth century respected Temperance ideals," writes James Gusfield. "He adhered to a culture in which self-control, industriousness, and impulse renunciation were both praised and made necessary. Any lapse was a serious threat to his system of respect. Sobriety was virtuous and, in a community dominated by middle-class Protestants, necessary to social acceptance and to self-esteem." By the 1830s and 1840s, abstinence became "a symbol of

middle-class membership and a necessity for ambitious and aspiring young men,” says Gusfield. “It was one of the ways society could distinguish the industrious from the ne’er-do-well; the steady worker from the unreliable drifter; the good credit risk from the bad gamble; the native American from the immigrant.” In the late nineteenth century, temperance activities were among the ways in which middle-class, Protestant America reacted to the development of a larger number of underprivileged, low-status Catholic laborers and unemployed in the society. “The Eighteenth Amendment,” writes Gusfield, “was the high point of the struggle to assert the public dominance of the old middle-class values. It established the victory of Protestant over Catholic, rural over urban, tradition over modernity, the middle class over both the lower and the upper strata.”¹³

By aggressively supporting the temperance forces, Seventh-day Adventists, and Ellen White in particular, displayed a strong commitment to Protestant America. Indeed,

“While Adventists expected the failure of Protestant America to usher in Armageddon, they did their best to postpone the inevitable—another example of the Adventist genius for mixing other-worldly and this-worldly concerns.”

Adventists showed their capacity to out-Protestant the Protestants on matters of temperance. While Adventists expected the failure of Protestant America to usher in Armageddon, they did their best to postpone the inevitable—another example of the Adventist genius for mixing otherworldly and this-worldly concerns.

For Ellen White, on the stump as a temperance speaker, the temperance issue was vital to the future of a Protestant America. She wrote: “The honor of God, the stability of the nation, the well-being of the community,

of the home, and of the individual, demand that every possible effort be made in arousing the people to the evil of intemperance. . . . Let the voice of the nation demand of its lawmakers that a stop be put to this infamous traffic.”¹⁴ And with the election year successes of prohibition in 1918, C. S. Longacre, editor of *Liberty Magazine*, exclaimed, “Let democracy triumph everywhere and in all things pertaining to civil relations, duties, and obligations.”¹⁵

In the nineteenth century, evangelical Protestants believed the Sunday-Sabbath to be an even more important factor than temperance for the future of American democracy. Writing on the Christian Sabbath in 1834, a college professor made Sabbathkeeping an act of patriotism. “Let every man who would lay claim to *patriotism* and be thought a *good member of civil society*, keep back his foot from polluting the Sabbath,” wrote John Agnew. It is clear “that the Sabbath-breaker strikes at the root of all that is peaceful and orderly, and opens the way for the spread of irreligion, infidelity, and moral death.” Agnew identified Sabbathbreaking as a kind of anarchism in writing, “The man who by his example weakens the pervading sense of obligation to God, and overthrows the authority of a Divine institution, does so much toward the ruin of his country, and is one of its worst enemies.” Here Agnew added, “He may not feel himself to be so, but he is so in reality.” Sabbathbreaking is “sapping the foundations of republican government,” and it is “laying the axe at the root of (the) country’s brightest hopes.” In short, “. . . republican government cannot exist without the pervasion of moral principle secured by the Sabbath.”¹⁶

In the 1860s, the great church historian Phillip Schaff commented on the importance of the Sunday-Sabbath in both religious and civil terms. Typically, Sunday blue laws in the South were upheld on a religious basis, whereas in the North they were supported in civil or secular terms. In Schaff’s view, the Sabbath was essential for public morals and the self-preservation of the state. It was commonly held at this time that the decline

of Sabbath observance could be blamed for the Civil War.

Evangelicals envisioned a Christian civilization comprised of a free, literate, industrious, honest, law-abiding, religious population. An inviolate Sabbath, where Protestant churchmen could hold captive an American audience, where evangelical preaching and programs were promoted, seemed vital as a means to fulfilling this Christian vision for society. In 1888, the year *The Great Controversy* was published, Senator H. W. Blair presented his forceful national Sunday legislation before Congress, and he returned with it again in 1889. About 1900, one Episcopal clergyman spoke “for the sanctity of our American Sunday” as “the palladium of our liberties, our government, our English civilization.”¹⁷ Many evangelicals were quite willing to rely fully on voluntary means in working toward a Christian commonwealth that worshipped on a “Christian Sabbath,” but there were a number who sought guarantees of the nation’s Christian character by constitutional amendment. The National Reform Association, formed in 1864, spearheaded this drive, and it was this right-wing movement that particularly disturbed Mrs. White and other Adventists.

Ellen White shared the evangelical idea that the Sunday-Sabbath was crucial to the future of civilization. Only, she turned the concept on its head by declaring that the enforcement of a Sunday-Sabbath would destroy America and civilization at large rather than improve the world. Like other evangelicals, she ascribed cosmic significance to the Sunday-Sabbath, but in a negative rather than a positive sense. The real confrontation between her and evangelicals on the sabbatarian issue involved the question of whether to protect the American republic and Anglo-American civilization with a national Sabbath or without it. Again, Mrs. White and other Adventists hoped to preserve a Protestant America by staving off Sunday legislation. In 1888 and 1889, an anxious Adventist minority contributed to the defeat of Blair’s Sunday legislation to prevent a Protestant apostasy and national ruin. As a prophetic people, Adventists used their voice to sustain the republic as long as possible,

borrowing time to preach Adventism throughout the world. Paradoxically, they wished to delay the end in order to preach that the end was soon.

In looking back, then, on nineteenth-century sabbatarianism, we see Protestant supporters of a sacred America identifying a spiritual problem — namely, Sabbathbreaking — as the albatross of American civilization. In this context, it was not so farfetched for Mrs. White to predict that *seventh-day* Sabbathkeepers would be “denounced as enemies of law and order, as breaking down the moral restraints of society, causing anarchy and corruption, and calling down the judgments of God upon earth.”¹⁸ Reflecting the thinking of her evangelical contem-

“Mrs. White’s predictions of the future appeared as projections on a screen which only enlarged, dramatized and intensified the scenes of her contemporary world.”

poraries on the Sunday-Sabbath, Mrs. White wrote, “It will be declared that men are offending God by the violation of the Sunday-Sabbath; that this sin has brought calamities which will not cease until Sunday observance shall be strictly enforced; and that those who present the claims of the fourth commandment, thus destroying reverence for Sunday, are troublers of the people, preventing their restoration to divine favor and temporal prosperity.”¹⁹ Mrs. White offered further evidence that she was part of a sacred America that could blame a religious minority even for natural catastrophes. “There are calamities on sea and land,” wrote Mrs. White, “and these calamities will increase, one disaster following close upon another; and the little band of conscientious Sabbath-

keepers will be pointed out as the ones who are bringing the wrath of God upon the world by their disregard of Sunday.”²⁰

Ellen White provided numerous clues to the fact that she was witnessing *in her own time* the breakdown of Protestant America. The American Protestant mimicry of Catholicism, the Protestant compromise of its earlier anti-Catholic attitude, troubled Mrs. White.²¹ In 1870, a landmark of interfaith history was achieved with the publication of *The Church Idea* by William Reed Huntington, an Episcopalian, setting forth a possible basis for Christian unity. While America’s early visions of church unity usually excluded the Catholics, by the 1880s Catholics such as Cardinal Gibbons supported Protestants in regard to Sunday legislation. Backing Sunday laws helped Catholic laborers and showed Protestants that Catholics could Americanize as well as anyone.²²

Writing for her contemporaries, then, in the *present tense*, the prophetess said, “In the movements *now in progress* in the United States to secure for the institutions and usages of the church the support of the state, Protestants are following in the steps of papists. Nay, more, they are opening the door for the papacy to regain in *Protestant America* the supremacy which she has lost in the Old World.”²³ Or again Mrs. White wrote, “Since the middle of the nineteenth century, students of prophecy in the United States have presented this testimony to the world. *In the events now taking place is seen a rapid advance toward the fulfillment of the prediction.*”²⁴ More generally, she wrote, “Romanism is now regarded by Protestants with far greater favor than in former years.”²⁵ Here the Oxford movement, Anglo-Catholics that emphasized ritual within Anglicanism, provided an illustration. And she continued, “There has been for years, in churches of the Protestant faith, a strong and growing sentiment in favor of a union based upon common points of doctrine.” So that eventually, she said, “Protestant America will have formed an image of the Roman hierarchy, and the infliction of civil penalties upon dissenters will inevitably result.”²⁶

Not only Catholics and Protestants were merging at the expense of the Adventist minority, but also another force as well loomed upon the scene — Spiritualism. From the time the Fox sisters arrived in New York City in 1850, Spiritualism enjoyed a phenomenal vogue in America. By 1870, it had reached its peak, and certainly could have been reckoned as a third force in Christendom.²⁷ Spiritualists claimed in many cases to be Christian, as Mrs. White indicated in her reference to their “nominal Christianity.” But the prophetess criticized Spiritualism because it was non-Protestant and unbiblical. Its use of the immortality of the soul belief contributed to the final eschatological conspiracy.

The alleged conspiracy of Catholic, Protestant and Spiritualist that Ellen White monitored in the 1800s very soon dissipated. In 1895, the Pope forbade further participation by American Catholics in interfaith congresses, and after 1900, he spoke out against this sort of activity as “Modernism.” For decades to come, Catholicism would express itself in terms of traditional orthodoxy, and “Americanizers” and interfaith types would refrain from the activities that had so alarmed Mrs. White prior to 1895.²⁸ Spiritualism, for its part, experienced an earlier decline than Catholic-Protestant interfaith gestures. By the mid 1870s, Spiritualists had clearly failed to win the endorsement of the scientific community, so necessary in its attempt to make religion an empirical science. Liberal clergymen still supported Spiritualism in the 1890s. Spiritualist groups did not necessarily reduce their numbers. Ecclesiastical opposition to Spiritualism continued to take it seriously to the end of the century. But R. Laurence Moore, the most recent historian of Spiritualism, has concluded that “‘spiritual philosophy’ ceased to have a significant influence on American religious thought sometime around 1875.”²⁹ Twentieth-century ecumenism surely has not included the successor to Victorian Spiritualism of parapsychology. The occult phenomenon of our era, quite a departure from either Spiritualism or parapsychology in its anti-scientific rather than pseudoscientific stance,

should be labeled post-Christian and seldom, if ever, “nominal Christianity.”

In the 1880s, however, it was still plausible for Ellen White to project that “when *Protestantism* shall stretch her hand across the gulf to grasp the hand of the *Roman power*, when she shall stretch over the abyss to clasp hands with *spiritualism*, when under the influence of this threefold union, our country shall repudiate every principle of its Constitution as a Protestant and republican government, and shall make provision for the propagation of papal falsehoods and delusions, than we may know that the time has come for the marvelous working of Satan and that the end is near.”³⁰ Certainly, this testimony was “*present truth*” for any Adventist in the 1880s, as the end seemed near, even at the door. To be sure, Mrs. White’s eschatology included the *future* as well as the *present tense*, but it was the *near future*. Her predictions of the future appeared as projections on a screen which only enlarged, dramatized and intensified the scenes of her contemporary world.

Mrs. White was herself a Protestant American whose biography offered an abridgement of America’s Protestant era. From her early days as a Methodist New Englander, she invested her considerable energies in the nineteenth-century Protestant concerns of millennialism and sabbatarianism, anti-Catholicism and antislavery, temperance and education. When *this* Protestant world began slipping away, Mrs. White was aghast. She saw the Victorian Protestant America declining in the face of religious and ethnic, intellectual and social changes. Mrs. White’s eschatology envisioned the end of *her* world.

With Victorian Protestant America on the wane, Mrs. White preserved in the Adventist community many aspects of its world. Anthony C. Wallace has defined a millenarian group like ours as “a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.”³¹ Seventh-day Adventist beliefs and attitudes on the Second Coming, the Sabbath, health, education, social welfare, church and state, big labor and the cities all show Adventism to

be a Victorian Protestant subculture sustaining itself long after the larger host society has disappeared. In the twentieth century, then, Seventh-day Adventists form a “cognitive minority” that holds on to an earlier, religious worldview in a new, more secular and pluralistic world.³² Nothing accounts for Adventist distinctiveness in this new era quite so much as the continuing impact of Ellen White on Seventh-day Adventists. Hence, if Victorian Protestant America has ended, Adventists continue to illustrate the remarkable vitality and human significance of that earlier vision. And, while the Second

“Adventist beliefs on the Second Coming, the Sabbath, health, education, social welfare, church and state, big labor and the cities all show Adventism to be a Victorian Protestant subculture. . . .”

Coming has not yet materialized, the Adventist culture provides an example of a kind of “realized eschatology” from which the world may benefit in our time.

What Seventh-day Adventists must fully acknowledge here, however, is the element of *prophetic disconfirmation*. The prophetess predicted that Protestant America would end with the passage of Sunday legislation, the repudiation of constitutional government, the persecution of the Saturday-keeping minority, resulting finally in the Second Coming. And in a sense, Ellen White was right. Protestant America *did* end, marked by the fact that no Sunday bill comparable in strength to Blair’s has appeared in Congress since the 1880s (due in part to the effectiveness of the Adventist lobby), and by the further fact that prohibition was repealed in 1932. The waning of Protestant America, however, did not end American democracy, nor did it precipitate an Adventist pogrom. It clearly did not lead immediately to the Second Coming.

Within her own lifetime, Mrs. White allowed for the *conditional nature* of prophecy. Christ might have come “long ere this,” she remarked. He might have come in the Civil War era when slavery was the sign of a failing democracy and an imminent Second Coming.³³ He might have come about 1888 when a beleaguered Adventist minority in Tennessee chain gangs and jails indicated America’s doom and the world’s demise. In both cases, the prophetess spoke eschatologically with one eye on the morning newspaper. She inspired a sense of relevance or “present truth.” Like other prophets before her, Mrs. White implied the conditional nature of earlier prophecies by making more current applications. This continual reapplication of Adventism of new times and places was vital to her prophetic ministry, and remains absolutely essential to the life of the movement since her time. This is the way the “*Spirit of prophecy*” operates in every era.

One hopes that David Stannard’s provocative analysis of the decline of Puritanism will not apply to Seventh-day Adventism: “. . . if in a given situation social structure continues to change without complementary changes in a particular group’s cultural life, that group in time becomes anachronistic, its cultural institutions lose their potency, and a sense of profound loss may well set in.”³⁴ There must be an ongoing interaction between the Adventist community and the changing social order for Adventism to remain viable. The prophetess stimulated this interactive process in her own time. It would be only sadly ironic if her writings were now used to stultify the creative process they once stimulated. This would be to retain the “letter” while losing the “*Spirit of prophecy*.”

From our survey of Ellen White’s eschatology within its cultural context, we see the main thrust of her message. It becomes clear that Mrs. White viewed the world from an *apocalyptic* perspective. In the current events of her time, she saw the rapid fulfillment of prophecy. The end was aborning. The Adventist prophetess did not look forward to another decade for the end to materialize. Her own decade held all the ingre-

dients of the Apocalypse. She expected the Lord’s *imminent* return. Without a knowledge of the cultural setting in the 1880s, the immediacy of her expectations cannot fully be appreciated.

In our time, Adventists embody the spirit of Ellen White’s message by preserving her sense of urgency. The heart of her message continues to be “the end is soon.” Here, Adventists take into account the new context, and preach that Christ could return in this new time. An apocalyptic people — to remain *Adventist* — must prophesy the end of the present world, not a past era or a remotely future one. From one generation to another, particular prophecies may fail or prove conditional, but apocalypticism is not a failure if it continues to provide a worldview for those living in the new generation. What we suggest here on a theoretical level many Adventist evangelists practice in *ad hoc* fashion as they continually rewrite sermons on “the last days.”

To lose Ellen White’s sense of immediacy is to lose the essence of the Adventist message. One hears the argument that a Protestant America no longer hovers menacingly over us as it did in the 1880s, nor do Adventists appear threatened as a religious minority in the way they were a century ago, but *sometime* in the future this could *conceivably* happen. With this, it seems to me, one abandons the *sin qua non* of apocalypticism — a sense of the *now*. By insisting on only the “signs of the times” of an earlier Adventism, one may actually weaken belief in an imminent end in our time. (One thinks of those lapsed Adventists who plan to return to church when a Sunday law reaches the floor of Congress.) If a message meant to inspire urgency now actually encourages lethargy, the essential ingredient of apocalypticism has been lost.

The sabbatarian persecution of southern Adventists and the Blair bill before Congress in the 1880s no longer serve as a sign of our times. However, the Sabbath as a symbol of human dignity should continue to find application, for wherever human dignity suffers, there the meaning of the Sabbath has been violated. Wherever religious freedom has been denied, there the Sabbath has been

snuffed out of man's weekly existence. In this sense, the spiritual destiny of mankind remains linked to democracy. For without human dignity, without freedom, in other words, without the meaning of the Sabbath, man faces the most Orwellian of futures.

After Solzhenitsyn's interview with the BBC in March 1976, on totalitarianism and a weakened, vulnerable West, William F. Buckley, Jr., put the question that ". . . if in fact you project the technology of totalitarianism along the same graph it has followed during the past century, mightn't it be predictable that even 10, 15 years from now such a phenomenon as Solzhenitsyn could not be permitted to exist?" Malcolm Muggeridge disagreed, and said the fact that he exists now shows "that technology can never wholly conquer man." Muggeridge then added that ". . . if you encased the earth in concrete there would still be a crack in that concrete, and through that crack something would grow."³⁵ Here one could add, totalitarianism is the "concrete" that apocalyp- tists have protested from the Apostle John to Ellen White. The "something" growing up through the crack is the meaning of the Sab- bath.

In our time, the democracies of the world certainly can be described as an en- dangered species. And it is the end of democ- racy in the truest sense that disturbs — and fills with expectancy — the Seventh-day Ad- ventist. Ellen White interpreted the perils that threatened democracy in anti-Catholic terms. In a Third World area like Latin America, Adventists now read *The Great Controversy* as though it were the morning newspaper. The cultural upheaval and change in these developing nations, the dom- inant presence of the Catholic Church, recalls the nineteenth-century American experience to which Ellen White addressed herself. However, the more ferocious enemies of democracy are totalitarianisms on the politi- cal right and left. How tragic that Seventh- day Adventists in the Germany of the 1930s identified only Catholicism as a beast and either ignored or supported Nazism.³⁶ The

history of evangelical prophetic interpreta- tion has shifted from an anti-Catholic framework in the nineteenth century to an anti-Communist one in the twentieth cen- tury, and as a result Hal Lindsay inspires his contemporary audience. As a matter of fact, George McCready Price in the last book he wrote, entitled *The Time of the End*, moved in this direction for an Adventist audience.³⁷ From this perspective, the beast of persecu- tion may not be WASP America, but Soviet Russia or Marxist Mozambique, or perhaps may include all three.

In conclusion, then, *The Great Controversy* interpreted history in terms of a cosmic battle between God and Satan, good and evil, which would reveal ultimately "Good News" about God. She was concerned with history only as it illuminated the spiritual drama of "meta-history" (in Berdyaev's phrase). In every era of history, "the great controversy" has taken shape in its own par- ticular way. From one era to the next, there are continuities in the historical struggle and there are dissimilarities. In Mrs. White's time, the polarization of good and evil oc- curred with its own singularity, and the prophetess pointed up with great specificity the nature of the struggle. What matters now is that the Gospel of Jesus Christ be com- municated with a similar degree of applicabil- ity to our time.

Only if *these times* are addressed with the message will Christ provide an answer to *our* problems. Communism, nuclear arms, en- ergy shortages or ecological disorders may be among the "beasts" and "signs" unantic- ipated by Mrs. White and other early Advent- ists. A prophetic message for those living near the end of the world should involve just that — the *world* — not simply the United States or the West. And issues like ecumenism or sabbatarianism should be viewed in the light of these post-Protestant and post-Christian times. The title of our discussion lends itself to a double entendre: when Mrs. White heralded the end of the world she spoke of the end of *her* world. Since Ellen White provided an eschatological perspective for her own time, in her spirit it is now up to us to provide one for our time.

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17. Quoted in *A Christian America*, p. 147.
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21. Ellen White herself concentrated more on the errors of the Pope than on Catholicism in general. The Pope's "Syllabus of Errors" in 1864 and the dogma of papal infallibility in 1870 had long since disturbed her sensibilities. See her chapter on "Aims of the Papacy," *The Great Controversy*, pp. 563-81.
22. Francis P. Weisenburger, *Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959).
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32. For the development of this useful concept, see Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, Anchor Books edition, 1969 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967).
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35. "Firing Line," Transcript of program telecast on PBS, March 27, 1976 (Published by Southern Educational Communications Associations), p. 10.
36. See Erwin Sicher, "Seventh-day Adventist Publications and the Nazi Temptation," *SPECTRUM*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 11-24.
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John Harvey Kellogg: His Role in American Science

by Donald J. Ortner

The life and professional career of John Harvey Kellogg span many of the most crucial years in the development of American science and medicine. Kellogg completed his training as a physician in 1875 at the age of twenty-three. However, he already had been editor of the journal *Good Health* since 1872 and had authored a book titled *The Proper Diet of Man* published in 1873. Throughout his life, he was a prolific writer contributing to a broad range of subjects primarily related to medicine and surgery. Anthropology and eugenics are two areas where Kellogg's interest in science brought him into contact with many of the leading scientists of his day. His interest in these topics provides the focus for reviewing one aspect of Kellogg's relationship with the American scientific community.

In 1917, Kellogg began what was to become an active correspondence with Aleš Hrdlička, the first curator of physical (biological) anthropology at the Smithsonian

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Institution. Hrdlička was the dominant force in establishing physical anthropology as a discrete discipline in the American scientific community. He was one of the founding members of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists and was the founder and first editor of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, which today is still the leading journal on the subject of biological anthropology. The correspondence between Hrdlička and Kellogg is archived in the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives. It provides insight into Kellogg's relationship with the scientific community of his day and is the major source of information for this essay.

My own interest in this aspect of Kellogg's life goes back several years to my earliest experience as a young physical anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution. While checking some bibliographical references in the second volume of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (1919), I noticed the name of John Harvey Kellogg listed as one of the associate editors of the journal. As editor of the journal, Hrdlička chose the first associate editors, including Kellogg. Since Kellogg's name is not known in physical anthropology today, the reason for this choice was not apparent. The corre-

spondence between Kellogg and Hrdlička suggests that Kellogg's appointment was based more on his ability to provide funds needed to establish the new journal than on his knowledge of human biology. To the extent that the correspondence typifies Kellogg's relationship with the broader scientific community, his role in science appears to have been restricted to coordinating marginally scientific conferences and stimulating research rather than conducting original research himself.

Kellogg's interest in, and contributions to, anthropometry and eugenics appear to have been the initial point of professional contact with Hrdlička, who himself had considerable interest in these areas. In a letter to Kellogg,¹ Hrdlička thanks Kellogg for his hospitality during Hrdlička's visit to Battle Creek Sanitarium, of which Kellogg was superintendent. Hrdlička states that this visit enabled him to satisfy a long-standing wish to know Kellogg personally. Previously, Kellogg² had indicated that he had known of Hrdlička's work for many years.

Despite this long-standing commonality of professional interests, correspondence between the two men was initiated by Hrdlička³ when he was attempting to generate financial and scholarly support for publishing the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. Kellogg⁴ suggests that the Race Betterment Foundation, the eugenic organization of which he was president, might be interested in the publication of the journal as a vehicle for publishing some of the data Kellogg had been gathering for several years on the subject of eugenics.

After visiting Battle Creek, Hrdlička wrote Kellogg a letter⁵ containing a caveat regarding the generally substandard quality of much of the research in eugenics and stating that such research could not be seriously considered for a scientific journal of the class he was trying to establish. This somewhat oblique put-down of Kellogg's research and that sponsored by the Race Betterment Foundation did not prevent Hrdlička from again requesting financial support for the journal. Indeed, Kellogg contributed several

hundred dollars over the next three years, apparently from his own resources and not from those of the Race Betterment Foundation. In addition, Kellogg used his considerable influence with wealthy patients in persuading them to contribute additional funds to get the fledgling journal established.

In early 1918, Hrdlička⁶ thanked Kellogg for his pledge of \$100 a year for three years and invited Kellogg to be an associate editor, stating that "it would be, besides other things, a slight recognition of your good lifework which bears such a close relation to applied anthropology." In the same letter, however, Hrdlička lists the other associate editors. At least one, and probably two or more of these associates, had made substantial financial contributions to the journal. While most of the associate editors had solid scholarly credentials, apparently a significant financial contribution may also have been an important criterion in being chosen an associate editor. Kellogg's involvement with the journal appears to have been limited to the role of financial patron.

While Kellogg provided support for scientific endeavors through personal financial contributions and by encouraging wealthy friends to follow his example, he also was involved in data collection. For example, he collected a considerable amount of data on his patients including anthropometric measurements, data of racial and family background, and medical histories which probably included information on the health of parents. Hrdlička recognized the research potential of such data if collected in a careful and systematic manner and suggested the possibility of collaborative research.⁷ He proposed that a female physician undertake this work, apparently since much of the research would be conducted on children.⁸ At that time, Kellogg had ten female physicians working at the sanitarium.

In June of 1918, Hrdlička spent four days at the Battle Creek Sanitarium training one of the female physicians in anthropometric techniques. During this visit, Hrdlička lectured the staff on "Man's evolution, past, present and future." In September 1919, he paid another brief visit to the sanitarium to have a physical checkup and to review the

progress of the research. Apparently, little progress was made, for Hrdlička visited the sanitarium again in December of 1920 and initiated collaboration with Dr. Wilhelmina Key. None of these efforts appear to have produced any published results.

However, in this context, there is an interesting exchange of letters between Kellogg and Hrdlička. In the first of these,⁹ Kellogg asked Hrdlička's opinion of Dr. Key and whether or not she would be able to carry on the research Hrdlička proposed. Hrdlička responded,¹⁰ indicating a favorable opinion of Dr. Key, but noting that her lack of interest in anthropology prevented her enthusiastic involvement in the research. He added that "she would of course do what you [Kellogg] told her, but I should like to have her undertake whatever work we may eventually decide upon largely on her own initiative [sic], and for her own scientific benefit."

The suggestion in this exchange of letters is that Kellogg's enthusiasm about anthropological research was not transmitted to his staff, who, of course, would have had to do the actual work. Hrdlička wisely appears to have sensed this and emphasized the importance of having the research interest arise from the initiative of the scholar and not be something imposed on them.

Although Kellogg himself claimed¹¹ that "nothing interests me so much as anthropology," it is quite clear that this interest was limited to subjects immediately related to his own professional interest in race betterment (eugenics) and that, most often, he was interested in seeing the research done, but not in doing it himself.

Another of Kellogg's research interests was diet and its importance to health. In this context, Kellogg engaged in a rather low-key debate with Hrdlička regarding the merits of a vegetarian diet. The correspondence on diet began in 1920, when Kellogg¹² asked for information regarding the foods of the American Indians, "particularly about the different plants, fruits, nuts, roots and greens of various sorts which they employed as food." After his return from an extended trip to the Far East, Hrdlička¹³ replied: "On the whole,

it may be said that none of the Indians, either tribally or individually, are vegetarians any more than they are obliged to be by the available supplies of game and fish." Hrdlička's comment directly contradicted the often repeated idea of Kellogg that primitive peoples had a more natural, and thus better, diet.¹⁴

Hrdlička, in a subsequent letter, twisted the scholarly knife a little more by citing a reference¹⁶ indicating that both the chimpanzee and gorilla eat small mammals and birds in addition to berries, fruit and roots. Kel-

"Uncontrolled research is completely inadequate for scientifically supporting any opinion, but it probably reflects Kellogg's own concept of research, in which one reaches a conclusion and then collects data to support it."

logg¹⁷ rather acidly responded: "I suppose that the big apes under some circumstances find it necessary to resort to flesh eating just as men under some circumstances find it necessary to resort to cannibalism. I think, however, there is no question in the minds of biologists that the primate as a class are frugivorous rather than omnivorous."

In 1924, Kellogg¹⁸ wrote Hrdlička about the possibility of collecting data on blood pressure in American Indian tribes, particularly from "those who still adhere pretty closely to their ancient modes of life, if there are such." Hrdlička,¹⁹ remembering Kellogg's interest in vegetarianism, replied that "the only tribes that would be suitable for the purposes expressed in your letter of February 11 are the Pueblos in New Mexico and Arizona. These are the most vegetarian of all our tribes in the United States with the exception of a few small tribes in the Sierras." Hrdlička even volunteered to go with Kellogg if their schedules were compatible. As with other proposed collaborative ventures,

this one failed to materialize, in part due to the complex and busy schedules of the principals.

The exchange of views and suggestions on diet between Kellogg and Hrdlička continued in subsequent correspondence with neither conceding anything. The last comment on the subject came from Kellogg,²⁰ written from Algiers, Africa. While there at a nature preserve, he conducted his own experiment on the eating habits of “apes.” (Undoubtedly, he was referring to the Barbary “ape,” which is a macaque, one of the Old World monkeys.) Kellogg took with him on his visit to the preserve a variety of foods, including bread, turnips, carrots, spinach, apples, oranges, chestnuts and beefsteak. He reported to Hrdlička that the baboons readily ate everything except the meat, which “they would not even touch. They turned away from it in disgust and threatened to go away, so I had to coax them back by offering them other foods.” This type of uncontrolled research is, of course, completely inadequate for scientifically supporting any opinion, but it probably reflects Kellogg’s own concept of research, in which one reaches a conclusion and then collects data to support it. There is no evidence that Hrdlička responded to this letter.

Another attempt at collaborative research was initiated in May 1922. Hrdlička was preparing a book on “Old Americans,” whom he defined as Americans “whose parents as well as all four grandparents were born in this country.”²¹ The purpose of this book was to characterize the biological changes which distinguish “Old Americans” from their predominantly European ancestors. For the study, large amounts of anthropometric data were necessary, particularly of long-established American families. Battle Creek Sanitarium, because of its prominent clientele, was a likely place to find such people. However, despite Kellogg’s support for extracting such data from hospital records, there is no indication in subsequent publications by Hrdlička that any research was accomplished.

In 1927, Kellogg invited Hrdlička to participate in the Third National Conference on Race Betterment held at Battle Creek, Mich.,

in January 1928. Hrdlička²² was probably reluctant to participate in view of his ambivalent attitude toward eugenic research, but agreed “for the sake of our old friendship.” The organization of the conference appears to have been deficient, and Hrdlička complained of this in letters written in December 1927. Hrdlička²³ was indignant that a reference to his participation had been omitted from a preview of the meeting published in the journal, *Science*. Finally, on December 26, 1927, he was notified by telegram that his paper was scheduled for the afternoon of the last day of the conference (January 6, 1928).

Although Hrdlička contributed a paper titled, “Race deterioration and destruction with special reference to the American people,” which was published in the proceedings, he did not attend the conference. His letter to Kellogg²⁴ clearly reveals his annoyance at being scheduled at the end of the conference. Hrdlička attributed his absence to a bad cold, yet while this may have been a factor, his pique over the real or imagined snub by the conference planners may have been equally important.

Reports at the Race Betterment Conference²⁵ focused on subjects such as improvement of life through better nutrition, the detrimental effects of alcohol and tobacco, the prevention of reproduction by so-called human defectives, and the evil eugenic effects of war. Racial mixture and the presumed detrimental effects of race mixture were also topics. The content of some of these reports and discussions was patently racist. Furthermore, Hrdlička’s paper is guilty of the same loose thinking that he had earlier attributed to much of the research done in eugenics. For example, his paper²⁶ concludes, “races, especially the further distant ones like the white and the negro, if the accumulated observations of anthropology count for anything, are not equipotential, or equally effective, or able, or resistant, and the results of their union will be the strengthening of the weaker, as seen in many of our mulattoes, but the weakening of the stronger constituent.” The “accumulated observations of anthropology” certainly do not support Hrdlička’s opinions today and probably did not in 1928.

With this brief look at the relationship between two remarkable men as a background, I should like to offer some observations on the nature of Kellogg's scientific contributions.

It is clear from the correspondence and the conference proceedings that Kellogg was known and respected by many, and probably most, of the leading American authorities in scientific disciplines related to medicine. What needs further clarification is whether this respect was for Kellogg's acknowledged organizational and fund-raising ability or his ability as a scholar. Many of the participants in the Race Betterment Conference were well-known American scientists and scholars. However, Kellogg's relationship with Hrdlička reveals that his contributions to science were largely limited to fund raising for scientific causes and in stimulating research by others through his enthusiastic support.

Kellogg's own contributions to science are primarily in the areas of technique rather than in rigorous controlled experimentation or innovative scientific ideas. The modern and somewhat invidious term applied to such people in scientific circles is "entrepreneur," but it may be too harsh to apply to Kellogg. Significant support for research by the federal government was still in the future. For example, the extramural research grant program at National Institutes of Health was established in 1946, while the National Science Foundation was not established until 1950. The role of scientifically curious people such as Kellogg in influencing wealthy people to support research before the existence of government support was undoubtedly very significant in the development of science. Furthermore, Kellogg's statements on eugenic problems, although largely intuitive, probably are as well founded as many of

the generalizations made by acknowledged scientists of his time.²⁷

In view of the several attempts at collaborative research between Hrdlička and Kellogg, a brief comment on the failure of such initiatives is appropriate. Both men were well established and undoubtedly set in their own way of working at the time they first began direct communication. Failure to collaborate partially reflects conflicting schedules, but probably of greater significance were fundamental differences in their conception of scientific research. Although Hrdlička was undoubtedly influenced by the prevailing ideas of his time and occasionally did slip into some poorly conceived modes of scientific thinking, there is little doubt that his approach to research was substantially more rigorous than Kellogg's. In addition, Hrdlička was directly involved in doing his own research. Kellogg, at least in his relationship with Hrdlička, demonstrates great enthusiasm for research, but little capacity to actually become directly involved.

The quantity of Kellogg's publications is impressive. Some of his opinions and observations were published in the most reputable medical journals of his day. However, in evaluating his publication record, it should be emphasized that most of his publications are reports of surgical procedures, essays on diet and eugenics reflecting his personal opinions and are not reports of scientific research. Furthermore, most of his publications were printed in journals he edited.

Clearly Kellogg's role in the scientific community of the early twentieth century is of considerable interest to our understanding of the history of American science. I would encourage a young scholar with more than my very modest skills in historiography to engage in a more careful and comprehensive analysis of this aspect of Kellogg's career.

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23. Letter Hrdlička to Kellogg, December 26, 1927.
24. Letter Hrdlička to Kellogg, January 13, 1928.
25. *Proceedings of the Third Race Betterment Conference* (Battle Creek, Michigan: The Race Betterment Foundation, 1928).
26. Hrdlička, "Race deterioration and destruction with reference to the American people," *Proceedings of the Third Race Betterment Conference* (Battle Creek,

Michigan: The Race Betterment Foundation, 1928), pp. 82-84.

27. The inclusion of what are racist statements (at least from a present-day viewpoint) in the proceedings of the Race Betterment Conference raises a question regarding Kellogg's own attitudes about the biological and social significance of racial variation. I am not sufficiently familiar with the entire scope of Kellogg's medical publications and personal life to evaluate this question. However, the fact that he had several female physicians on his staff and also had close relationships with disadvantaged children of different races, even taking them into his home, suggests a high degree of tolerance at a professional and personal level at a time when such attitudes were most unusual. See Richard Schwartz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1970), p. 152.

The *Review and Herald* and Early Adventist Response To Organized Labor

by Eugene Chellis

The “Gilded Age,” roughly that period from the end of the Civil War to the close of the nineteenth century, witnessed the emergence of a fundamentally new society in America. The great debate over slavery which had gripped the nation for so long was finally put aside, and the United States entered a turbulent period of transition from a rural, agrarian community to a modern, industrial world power. Huge corporations tied the country together with a network of railroads and telegraph lines. Giant trusts like Rockefeller’s Standard Oil empire mobilized the resources of the nation in search of greater profits. The industrial workman, however, rapidly becoming a cog in an economic machine, did not calmly accept his new status. Violence erupted in such incidents as the general railroad strikes of 1877, the Homestead Strike of 1892 and the Coal Strike of 1902, as labor organized to counteract the power of the “captains of industry.”

It was in this context that the Adventist response to the phenomenon of labor unions

developed. This study attempts to analyze Adventist comments on organized labor appearing in the official Seventh-day Adventist paper, the *Review and Herald*, during these early years of the church.¹ Little, if any, mention of labor organizations can be found in the *Review* before 1872, and the majority of the material discussed here was published between 1877 and 1903. Few of the articles were lengthy discourses; most were merely news items or editorials, some even reprinted from other publications. Nevertheless, they provide insight about the concerns of early Adventists and reveal influences that may have swayed their opinions.

Several of the themes running through articles in the *Review* were typical of the thinking of many Protestant churches of the time. More than they realized, Adventist writers and theologians conformed to the prevailing values, fears and prejudices of rural America. The flood of 23,000,000 immigrants arriving between 1860 and 1910 intensified traditional American nativist suspicions. Adventists, like many others, were quick to accept conspiracy theories identifying communists, foreigners or Catholics as sinister forces behind the labor movements, threatening, they felt, the very foundations of established gov-

Eugene Chellis, a graduate of Walla Walla College, is studying law at Yale University. Copyright by Eugene Chellis.

ernment and society. These, as well as other themes appearing frequently in the *Review and Herald*, were commonly held ideas among conservative Americans of the nineteenth century.

At the same time, Adventist writers approached labor issues from their own theological perspective. One unique factor in shaping the church's response to labor was Mrs. Ellen G. White, undoubtedly the single most influential person in Adventist history. While she carefully avoided the label of "prophet," Adventist leaders believed that Ellen White was divinely inspired, a messenger of God with the gift of prophecy for the church.² It was her husband, James White, who founded the *Review and Herald* and served as editor until 1864. She herself wrote numerous books and articles for publication, exerting an understandably lasting and powerful effect on Adventist thinking.

Adventists were driven by an evangelical fervor and a steadfast conviction of their own heaven-ordained role. In the conflict and violence of the expanding labor movement, they looked for evidence of the impending end of time. They saw unions as dangerous worldly associations restricting individual freedom of conscience. Bolstered by faith in their prophetic guidance, Adventists confidently maintained that all labor organizations were evil. But this confidence often colored or blurred their perception of events around them and elevated their conclusions into moral absolutes; doctrine obscured social issues. The reports in the *Review* of the 1894 Pullman Strike confrontation provide an outstanding example of Adventist reactions to the nineteenth-century labor movement.

Employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company lived in neat brick houses surrounded by flower beds, trees and parks in the "model" community established by sleeping-car magnate George M. Pullman. They had little choice, however, but to live in this company town where rents and utilities cost 20 to 25 percent more than in neighboring Chicago, and where Pullman controlled the stores, the library, the bank — even the church. Hit by falling sales in the depression

of 1893, the company laid off more than 4,000 of its 5,800 employees and cut wages of the rest by as much as 40 percent. Rents and utility charges, though, remained the same, with disastrous effects on the workers. Many were only partially employed, even at lower wages, and few earned enough to meet living expenses after rent was deducted from their paychecks.

On the other hand, the Pullman Company did not reduce the salaries of its officials or the regular dividends it paid to stockholders. When the company still made no adjustments in rents or wages after business began to improve, a committee of employees presented their grievances to corporate officials. Although revenue from the company's operating division was sufficient to have absorbed the losses of the construction division and still have left profits of over \$2 million after dividends, Pullman categorically refused to consider either higher wages or lower rents. Dismissal the next day of three members of their grievance committee sparked the Pullman workers to strike.

The American Railway Union, to which the Pullman employees belonged, voted to support the strike by refusing to handle Pullman cars on any railroad. Although the boycott was aimed only at the Pullman Company, railway executives responded by ordering the discharge of any worker removing a Pullman car from a train. Whenever one man was fired, though, the entire train crew would quit, and within hours, 60,000 men had stopped work, nearly paralyzing traffic on many of the nation's railroads.

Despite the union's promise to operate mail trains as long as Pullman cars were not attached, railroad officials refused to allow mail trains to move without the sleepers. United States Attorney-General Richard Olney then, ostensibly to keep the mail moving, obtained a federal court injunction against the strikers and arranged to have several thousand men, actually hired and armed by the railroads, sworn in as deputy U.S. marshals. The character of the strike changed dramatically when federal soldiers, also dispatched at Olney's request, arrived in Chicago. Violent rioting broke out and continued for several days, but after union lead-

ers were arrested and a total of 14,000 federal and state troops sent in to suppress the disorder, the Pullman Strike collapsed.³

At the height of the Pullman struggle, an editorial in the *Review and Herald* described the controversy as “the most gigantic strike ever known in the United States, and perhaps in the world.” According to the *Review*, the strike was caused by traveling agitators who urged railroad men “to fight to the bitter end,” leaving railroad owners justly enraged at the “entirely unnecessary paralysis of their traffic and the interruption of the business of the country.”⁴ When the strike ended, as it was “sure to do,” the *Review* noted “the decided loss in popular support for the strikers,” and concluded that labor unions were probably of no real benefit “even to the laboring man himself.” The law of supply and demand controls the price of labor, wrote M. E. Kellogg; only general prosperity, not union organization, could increase wages. To G. C. Tenney, another *Review* editor, the boycott had been simply “a gigantic and unjustifiable strike at the heart of the country’s commercial life.”⁵

Conscious or unconscious predispositions, however, or unawareness of critical details, fundamentally affected the Adventist response. The *Review and Herald*, official voice of the church, declined to examine the “real or fancied grievances” of the workmen. It overlooked that the railroad owners, far from being surprised by the strike, had deliberately chosen to become involved, hoping to destroy the American Railway Union. While making a point of the ultimate failure of the strike, the *Review* did not mention the part played by railroad-hired deputies in bringing about that failure; it ignored the role of government officials openly sympathetic to the railroads, particularly Attorney-General Olney, a former railway lawyer and a member of the board of several railroads.⁶ Though the editors of the *Review*, writing only weeks after the strike, could hardly have been expected to have had the benefit of a historical perspective, nevertheless these examples are rather typical of the early Adventist attitudes toward labor incidents:

. . . although it may now subside, and all

things again take their normal course, we shall see the same thing again probably far more intensified; for we are in the last days, and “distress of nations with perplexity,” is one of the evidences of the nearness of the coming of Him who “shall reign in righteousness.”⁷

Seventh-day Adventists very early adopted prevalent notions linking labor unions and strikes with the communist “International” movement. Conditioned by their belief in satanic forces behind earthly events, Adventists easily concluded that labor turmoil stemmed from a global, godless conspiracy. The Railway Strikes of 1877, touched off by a ten percent reduction in wages on eastern railroads, provide one example. Overlooking previous wage cuts totaling 35 percent in three years and longstanding worker resentment over arbitrary treatment by their employers, newspaper editorials across the country denounced the spreading violence as the work of communist revolutionaries. The headline of one paper announced “Chicago in the Possession of Communists.”⁸ Uriah Smith, successor to James White as editor of the *Review and Herald*, followed this lead in attributing the strikes to communist agitation:

Since the recent strike in this country with its accompanying riot, pillage and arson, it is ascertained that these troubles can be traced to the International Society of the United States, and that the great masses of American workmen are united in this secret organization. Surely the elements are rapidly accumulating for a time of trouble such as never was.⁹

Communism loomed as a threat to all cherished social, political and religious standards. The “International,” according to another 1877 article in the *Review*, was “the declared enemy . . . of every country and every religion, atheistical, anarchical and subversive of established notions of right and justice.” The bloody Paris Commune of 1871 excited fears of similar socialist uprisings in the United States: “To anyone not bereft of reason it is easy to see that [communism] would lead to the extinction of per-

sonal enterprise, to the arrest of the progressive march of the age, to moral stagnation and to social degradation.”¹⁰ Since this was their view of communism, Adventists not surprisingly saw labor organizations, which they believed to be associated with it, as tainted with similar evil characteristics.

To many in the nineteenth century, Adventists among them, communism was not the only dangerous foreign group bent on the overthrow of American government. Throughout the country, sentiment against socialists and immigrants ran strong; anarchism nearly caused hysteria. In May 1886, a

“Bolstered by faith in their prophetic guidance, Adventists confidently maintained that all labor organizations were evil. But this confidence often colored or blurred their perception of events. . . .”

bomb exploded while anarchist leaders addressed a crowd in Chicago’s Haymarket Square, touching off a riot that left 11 persons dead. Correctly or not, the anarchists were universally blamed for the bombing. Although organized labor joined in condemning the anarchists, the public generally associated labor with the incident as well.¹¹ And only a few months later, this theme also appeared in a *Review and Herald* article drawing connections between labor union activities and “foreign anarchists.”¹²

Large numbers of the immigrants pouring into America from Europe in the late nineteenth century were laborers who joined the early labor unions. As a result, unions became a target for the widespread distrust of all foreign-born. By 1893, the *Review* was warning that “all the trades-unions of the country are controlled by foreigners, who comprise the great majority of their members.”¹³ Though this may have matched the popular mood in the America of the 1890s, it remains a strikingly xenophobic statement for a people claiming to be a worldwide

church. Nor had this attitude died by 1905 when the *Review* was still linking international socialism with general strikes.¹⁴

Like a majority of Protestant clergy, Adventist leaders spoke out not only against socialists but also against “oath-bound secret societies” such as the Knights of Labor which these conservative churches feared might become socialistic.¹⁵ The tendency of early trade union movements to imitate the forms of Masonic orders was itself a cause of suspicion. In an 1872 article, G. I. Butler, president of the General Conference and later an editor of the *Review and Herald*, focused on the similarity of labor unions to organizations such as the Masons or Odd Fellows. To him, even the Grange was a suspect secret brotherhood, and it was obvious that these “secret combinations” such as the Crispins (a relatively innocuous shoemakers’ union with primarily political activities) were the cause of recent strikes in large cities. “Their secrecy and exclusiveness,” he wrote, “are contrary to the genius of the religion we profess.” Their “gripes and passwords” represented “a fragment of the dark ages of popery and monkish cunning.”¹⁶

Distrust of secret societies and organizations was not new with Adventism or Gilded-Age Protestantism. An active movement in the 1820s and 1830s had attacked the Masonic order as antireligious and undemocratic. It originated, interestingly, in the same western Vermont and upstate New York district, and at nearly the same time, as the millennialist movement of William Miller from which came the first Seventh-day Adventists.¹⁷ When she wrote about secret societies, Ellen G. White stressed their oaths of absolute loyalty to the order, employing many of the same arguments used earlier by the Antimasons.¹⁸

Adventist leaders did not seem to recognize that secrecy was almost a necessity for the early labor organizations. Workers who joined unions could be, and often were, victims of oppression by employers. Union members might be blacklisted or arbitrarily discharged; some suffered physical abuse. After the “Molly Maguire Riots” of 1875–76, though, secrecy became a disadvantage as the public began to associate secret labor

societies with criminal activity, riots and murder.¹⁹ Ironically, it was mainly Catholic pressure against the pseudoreligious elements of labor movements which forced the Knights of Labor, originally a secret order, to abandon much of their secrecy by 1879-81.²⁰

In 1886, the *Review and Herald* was still denouncing "secret" labor organizations.²¹ With the decline of the old Knights of Labor and the rise of the new and more open American Federation of Labor (AFL) during the late 1880s, however, secrecy was no longer a major issue. Even so, some writers for the *Review* continued to treat labor unions and secret societies as nearly synonymous.²²

As fears of foreign conspiracy and secret organizations diminished, apprehension was focused on the Catholic church as the threat behind labor agitation. Predominantly Protestant rural America instinctively distrusted Catholics as much as socialists or immigrants. Catholic recognition of efforts by the emerging AFL to gain tangible benefits for its members increased these misgivings. For example, when the Federation announced, months in advance, a strike for an eight-hour workday in the carpentry trade, the *Review and Herald* noted the development without much comment.²³ Announcement of a Catholic plan to moderate the conflict, however, prompted a sharp response: "The astute Leo is not slow to utilize this movement, as he has others of less magnitude, to the exaltation of that system of which he is the head. . . . It is not for the papacy to remain inactive at such a time." Without discussing either the justice of labor's demands for improved working conditions or the merits of the pope's proposal, the article nonetheless urgently warned against the "forces of Rome."²⁴

Anxiety about Catholicism's manipulating the labor movement was heightened when the pope in 1891 announced that the church should become more involved in social reforms. In his encyclical *Rerum novarum* ("Of New Things"), Leo XIII rejected socialism but deplored the dehumanization of workers by unrestrained capitalism.²⁵ To Adventists, with their distinctive views of

prophecy and eschatology, his encouragement of formation of Catholic trade unions suggested that unions were instruments of the Catholic church. By 1905, the *Review* reported that the AFL was controlled by Catholics and offered this remarkable prediction:

The boycott is the favorite weapon of the labor unions; a majority of the members of the American Federation of Labor, an organization composed of many labor unions, are Catholics. Catholics do not hesitate to make use of any organization through which it [*sic*] can further the interests of the church; when by a federation with apostate Protestantism and spiritualism the Catholic Church becomes the ruling religious element in this country, it will have the machinery already in running order for declaring a general boycott against those who refuse to worship the beast and his image or to receive his mark, . . . The Catholic Church never changes.²⁶

"The collective economic power exercised by unions raised the spectre of the 'mark of the beast' in Adventist minds. Many now felt that . . . labor unions might be used to enforce the Sunday laws they so dreaded."

The collective economic power exercised by unions raised the spectre of the "mark of the beast" in Adventist minds. They had long held that the prophecy of Revelation 13 referred to Sunday worship as a symbol of allegiance to Roman Catholicism.²⁷ Many now felt that under Catholic influence labor unions might be used to enforce the Sunday laws they so dreaded. Those who would not submit to this false religious authority, they believed, would be prevented from conducting business. "This is the modern boycott described in Biblical language," declared one writer. Ellen White added that those who refused to join unions would become "marked men." This volatile and rather

speculative theme linking union membership with the mark of the beast appeared repeatedly in the pages of the *Review*, especially after 1900.²⁸

Perhaps the most conspicuous cultural influence emerging from Adventist comments on labor, though, is a commitment to the ideal of self-sufficient individualism. The pioneering, equalitarian nature of nineteenth-century American society fostered a spirit of rugged independence. The Protestant ethic and concepts of free moral choice led many to adopt Social Darwinism's rationalization that the poor were poor because they were not fit to be rich. Seventh-day Adventists did not escape the influences of this individualistic philosophy. While Ellen White appealed for church members to work personally for the oppressed in the cities, she warned that joining trade unions would destroy individuality.²⁹

L. A. Smith, an associate editor of the *Review and Herald*, was especially vocal in supporting the right to work without joining a union, but the timing of his remarks is highly significant. President Theodore Roosevelt's intervention in the Coal Strike of 1902, appointing an arbitration commission which ultimately granted several of the miners' demands for better working conditions, had stirred widespread concern that unions were gaining excessive power. Beginning in 1903, the National Association of Manufacturers launched a campaign to turn public opinion against labor, attacking the "closed shop" as un-American and claiming that unions oppressed the workers.³⁰ In a series of articles also appearing in 1903, Smith too championed the cause of the "open shop" with emotional and patriotic appeals against anarchy, union monopoly and "government by labor unions." He even advanced the unlikely claim that trade unions would precipitate an industrial depression in which "the great mass of the unemployed will become desperate, and a struggle between them and the labor unions will be the result, attended by terrible rioting and destruction of property and life."³¹ While ready to report on abuses by labor, though, the Adventist press was generally less willing to admit the comparable practices of business.³²

One reason Adventists hesitated to support labor organizations as a step toward improvement of industrial conditions was their sincere belief that unions could not actually obtain benefits for workers. Trade unions, they argued, "are the greatest enemies of the workingman. Laboring men have suffered more from them than from oppressive employers." The struggles of the unions were often lightly dismissed as "utter blindness and folly," vain efforts with no chance of success.³³

If unions were an advantage to laboring men, reasoned M. E. Kellogg after the Pullman Strike of 1894, then workers should have been prosperous because the number of trade organizations had grown so large. In 1872, G. I. Butler wrote that even if unions could increase wages in all trades, workers would not benefit because prices would also rise.³⁴ It is true that prices might indeed have risen. But this approach assumed that producers could simply pass all increased costs on to the consumer. It did not consider the possibility that much of the cost of higher wages might have come instead from inflated profits because factory owners may not have been able, given nineteenth-century economic conditions, to further raise their prices in proportion. And it overlooked the dilemma posed by an isolated worker's unequal bargaining position against industrial employers not unwilling to organize and exercise their monopsony position against him. Such elementary logic may have been valid within the context of established notions of laissez-faire individualism, but it certainly failed to answer the problems of economic reality. It was more nearly a reflection of Adventism's conservative, agrarian background and lack of contact with the laboring classes.

In contrast to these cultural fears and prejudices which provoked such hostility toward organized labor, the theological arguments voiced in the *Review and Herald* were directed less against unions themselves than just against Adventist participation in them. Ellen G. White spoke very strongly against church members' becoming associated with secular labor organizations: "Those who

claim to be the children of God are in no case to bind up with the labor unions that are formed or that shall be formed. This the Lord forbids.”³⁵ Such seemingly unconditional counsel from one considered a messenger of God would obviously exert a considerable influence on other denominational leaders.

Ellen White repeatedly warned against joining unions and often condemned the lawless tactics employed by some labor groups.

“Rejection of the ‘here and now’ was basic to the early Adventist view of labor. They were a people with a mission. As Christians, they were seeking another world, and wages were not to be their concern.”

She did not, however, oppose the basic objectives — fair wages, decent working conditions and humane treatment — which they sought. Her earlier writings discussed only just wages and the problems of poverty; not until 1902 did she even specifically mention labor unions. She instructed church members to pay liberal wages to their employees. She deplored the miserable condition of the poor in large cities and urged individuals to aid the oppressed. She acknowledged that poverty may be the result of misfortune rather than indolence. These were progressive concepts in the nineteenth century.³⁶

Despite this apparent sympathy with the goals of labor, Adventists continued to oppose union membership on theological grounds: “The trades unions and confederacies of the world are a snare. Keep out of them and away from them, brethren. Have nothing to do with them.”³⁷ The biblical command not to be “unequally yoked together with unbelievers,” they felt, encompassed business associations and plainly applied to labor unions. Joining a union meant surrendering freedom of control over

one’s hours and wages to the organization, according to the *Review*, “in flagrant contradiction to the principles of the gospel.” Worse yet, no matter what his personal stand might be, every member of a union would bear full moral responsibility for any and all actions of the group, merely by virtue of his membership.³⁸

Union members in reality often acted quite independently, but Seventh-day Adventists subscribed to the currently popular belief in dictatorial control by union organizers. In 1886, L. A. Smith denounced “the tyranny of these secret organizations” whose “voice sounding from head-quarters must be obeyed as law.” Adventists not surprisingly perceived a threat to their own religious freedom in what they saw as the unions’ centralized authority. Though union leadership had, in fact, disapproved of the strike which he used as an example, Smith wrote that workers could give no other reason for their actions than an order from their leaders:

The members of the Knights of Labor obeyed without hesitating the command for the strike on the Missouri Pacific, notwithstanding their own interests were deeply involved. Would the same men heed less readily a command from the same source for the ostracizing of those who will not pay homage to the first day of the week?³⁹

At times, both Ellen White and writers for the *Review and Herald* acknowledged the injustices of the existing system. As early as 1877, for instance, Uriah Smith pointed to the condition of Pennsylvania coal miners “on the verge of starvation” demonstrating, he said, the “greed and oppression of capitalists.”⁴⁰ But for them, social inequities could never justify organization against established order, especially if opposition involved violence.⁴¹ They seemed more comfortable with a surface calm of passive submission to the industrial barons than with the confrontations that resulted when workers took direct action such as a strike or boycott trying to improve the conditions under which they worked. Ellen White particularly stressed the violent nature of labor organizations: “Violence and death mean nothing to them if their unions are opposed.”⁴²

Adventists, however, did not seem to always understand the nature and causes of labor violence. The *Review and Herald* in 1890 quoted with disapproval an article from the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* which argued that violence was preferable to submission and subjugation and warned that labor would organize secretly if not allowed to do so openly. Uriah Smith obviously could not accept these “frightful” possibilities. Yet, despite Adventists’ previous condemnation of secret societies, Smith appears to have entirely overlooked the article’s primary message that refusing to recognize labor organizations would merely force workers into secrecy, multiplying the dangers of crime and violence.⁴³ That “strikers have no respect whatever for any civil authority”⁴⁴ was the common belief.

Seventh-day Adventists frequently proclaimed the violence of the evolving labor movement as a “sign of the end.” The response to the disorder accompanying the 1894 Pullman Strike was only one example of this often-repeated theme.⁴⁵ Nearness of the end of the world was a fervent conviction of these early Adventists. In light of subsequent history, the actual prophetic significance of the unrest so vividly described might be debatable, but warnings of approaching doom were certainly consistent with the theology of the church and its sense of advent mission. And this mood was accentuated by the admonitions of Ellen White who wrote that labor unions would become “very oppressive” and would prove instrumental in bringing “a time of trouble such as has not been since the world began.” “Can [the people of God] not see,” she cautioned, “in the rapid growth of trades unions, the fulfilling of the signs of the times?”⁴⁶

But above and beyond anything else, in the final analysis problems of labor were only “a matter of secondary importance” to early Seventh-day Adventists. Their thoughts were on eternity as they anticipated the shortness of time. Although by 1905 one writer, K. C. Russell, was willing to concede that, in human terms at least, unions were the most effective defense of the laboring man against an oppressive capitalist system, he

immediately added that the Christian who has been “born again” must no longer see from this human point of view.⁴⁷

Rejection of the “here and now” was basic to the early Adventist view of labor. They were a people with a mission. As Christians, they were seeking another world, and wages were not to be their concern. “Let those have this world who will,” advised the *Review and Herald*. Christians were not to worry about the future; without thought or question they should accept God’s plan in faith, “knowing that thus all will be well in this present world, and we will have an abundant entrance into the world to come.”⁴⁸

This kind of statement, though, reflects at least some degree of wishful thinking. Whatever the world to come might be, obviously all was not well in the present world. One need only read works such as Upton Sinclair’s famous *The Jungle* to discover conditions far less than perfect. Wages were not the only complaint of labor; industrial safety precautions were virtually unknown and injury rates were appalling. In 1893, one of every ten railroad workers was injured and one of every 115 killed. The annual injury rate in the Pennsylvania mines during the 1890s was one of every 150; the death rate, one of every 400.⁴⁹

Seventh-day Adventists clearly saw themselves in a unique role. They were a chosen people — God’s true church in the last days — standing apart from the cares of the world:

We have all we can do to attend to our own work and far more than most of us are doing. We should live humbly, faithfully, and righteously in this world of sin. We should be honest in our deal [*sic*] with our neighbors, treat them kindly, and be friendly and courteous to all that we can benefit; but to unite in these worldly organizations, and become absorbed and interested in their objects, we think is contrary to the Scriptures.⁵⁰

To take either side would be a mistake, warned the *Review*: “Rather let us stand where, by our example and influence, we can proclaim the principles of peace and goodwill to all.” Adventists were constantly to look to Christ, wrote Ellen White: “We are now to use all our entrusted capabilities in

giving the last warning message to the world. In this work we are to preserve our individuality. We are not to unite with secret societies or with trade-unions."⁵¹

Adventists could not avoid recognizing that oppression and misery existed. But these, they held, were merely the inevitable result of the "inordinate greed" of man, his selfishness and his sinfulness. Temporary minor improvements in social conditions might be obtained, but Adventists, like most Protestants in general, believed that none of the fundamental problems of the world could be solved until the return of Christ: "[Earthly conditions] will change when Christ comes. In the kingdom of heaven we shall have better times."⁵² In the meantime, though, they often missed the tangible implications of social issues in their eagerness to draw religious conclusions. "If we see others suffering from the oppression of the world," wrote G. C. Tenney in 1894, "let us point them to Christ for rest and to his kingdom as that happy place where the shackles of sin will all be broken."⁵³ This was the Adventist preoccupation. With their vision focused on heaven, they sometimes failed to live in the present, too often misjudged the world around them, occasionally lost sight of a need for "better times" on earth.

It bears repeating that the scope of this article has been limited primarily to the *Review and Herald* and to comments dealing directly

with labor organizations. It has concentrated on exploring the historical context in which these early statements were made. Any attempt at fully understanding the Adventist position on labor would also need to examine a variety of other sources of Adventist thought, especially the writing of Ellen G. White dealing with social injustice and treatment of employees.⁵⁴ Yet, even from this initial inquiry, it is possible to discern some priorities and thought patterns which, in hindsight, made the nineteenth-century Adventist response to the labor movement to a large degree predictable.

Those early Seventh-day Adventists blended a genuine concern for the welfare of individuals, a background of conservative orthodoxy and a generous flavoring of the popular beliefs of the day with their own distinctive theology and a conviction that they were being led by prophetic instruction. While it should be emphasized that the reactions of the editors of the *Review* were certainly not unreasonable considering the information they probably had available to them, neither was their interpretation of the labor movement timeless. Their attitudes reflected a cultural and intellectual provincialism deeply rooted in an earlier revivalist heritage. A twentieth-century reexamination of their conclusions is needed.

Note: An earlier version of this paper was submitted for a seminar in history at Walla Walla College in 1976. I would especially like to thank Professor Carlos Schwantes for his assistance and advice.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, general church paper of the Seventh-day Adventists, first appeared in 1850. It moved several times during its first few years, but from 1855 until 1903 it was published weekly at Battle Creek, Mich., then was again transferred to its present location in Washington, D.C. The periodical is commonly known as the *Review and Herald* or often simply as the *Review*. (Hereafter citations will be to *R&H*.)

2. See, e.g., J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (n.p., 1892), p. 388.

3. One particularly well-documented study of the Pullman Strike is Almont Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike: The Story of a Unique Experiment and of a Great Labor Upheaval* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942; Phoenix Books, 1964). See also, among others, Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York: Macmillan, Free Press, 1966), pp. 201-4; and Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America: A*

History, 3rd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966), pp. 171-78.

4. M. E. K[ellogg], "The Great Railroad Strike," *R&H*, 71 (July 10, 1894), 438.

5. M. E. K[ellogg], "Labor Unions," *R&H*, 71 (July 24, 1894), 470-471; and G. C. T[enney], "The Outlook," *R&H*, 71 (Aug. 7, 1894), 502.

6. See Rayback, *History of American Labor*, pp. 201-3. The commission appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the strike concluded that the union was not guilty of provoking the violence and characterized the railroad executives' association as "illegal, dangerous to the public welfare, and wholly unjustifiable." Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike*, p. 120.

7. Kellogg, "The Great Railroad Strike," p. 438.

8. Rayback, *History of American Labor*, pp. 134-35; Dulles, *Labor in America*, p. 121.

9. U[riah] S[mith], "The Outlook," *R&H*, 50 (Oct. 11, 1877), 113.

10. "The Commune," *R&H*, 50 (Oct. 11, 1877), 113. This article was credited to a Philadelphia newspaper. However, when quoting other publications, editors of the *Review* were quick to point out views with which they disagreed. Thus unsigned articles or those reprinted without comment can be assumed to reflect, or at least be consistent with, opinions of the editorial staff. Also see [Uriah Smith], "The International-Communism," *R&H*, 39 (March 26, 1872), 116; "The Internationals," *R&H*, 43 (Jan. 20, 1874), 45; and "The Coming Storm," *R&H*, 62 (Apr. 14, 1885), 240.
11. Dulles, *Labor in America*, pp. 124-25.
12. L. A. S[mith], "A Poor Promise," *R&H*, 63 (Nov. 30, 1886), 752.
13. "American Boys and American Labor," *R&H*, 70 (Aug. 29, 1893), 551. This article is credited to the *Literary Digest* which, in turn, apparently reprinted it from "Topics of the Time: American Boys and American Labor," *Century Magazine*, 46 (May 1893), 151-52.
14. "Note and Comment," *R&H*, 82 (Dec. 7, 1905), 7.
15. See Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1949; Harper Torchbooks, 1967), p. 164.
16. George I. Butler, "Secret Societies," *R&H*, 41 (Dec. 17, 1872), 4-5. About the Knights of St. Crispin, see Henry Pelling, *American Labor*, Chicago History of American Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 54-55.
17. Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1962; originally published by University of Minnesota Press, 1944), pp. 68-69, 351. This same area, called the "burned-over district" by some historians because it was swept so often by the flames of various religious revivals, also produced Joseph Smith and Mormonism, and the spirit-rappings of the Fox sisters.
18. Ellen G. White, "Should Christians Be Members of Secret Societies?" (pamphlet, 1893) reprinted in *Documents From the Office of Ellen G. White Publications Concerning Controversial Matters in the Seventh-day Adventist Church: Collection I* (n.p., n.d.). Compare Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, pp. 351-58.
19. Following an unsuccessful coal strike in 1875, newspapers reported a rash of murder, assault and arson against mine officials and property. After the mine operators hired a detective, 24 miners were convicted of murder and conspiracy in a secret ring called the "Molly Maguires." Considerable evidence, however, indicates that the entire incident was planned by the mine owners in an attempt to destroy the union. See Pelling, *American Labor*, p. 60; and Rayback, *History of American Labor*, pp. 131-33.
20. Pelling, *American Labor*, p. 65.
21. L. A. S[mith], "The Coming Boycott," *R&H*, 63 (Sept. 14, 1886), 583.
22. See Clarence Santee, "Shall We Join Secret Societies or Unions?," *R&H*, 78 (Dec. 24, 1901), 829; and K. C. Russell, "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," *R&H*, 82 (Jan. 26, 1905), 9.
23. "A New Eight-Hour Movement," *R&H*, 66 (Jan. 8, 1889), 23; "The Eight-Hour Movement," *R&H*, 67 (Feb. 4, 1890), 71; and "The Eight-Hour Movement," *R&H*, 67 (Apr. 15, 1890), 231. Cf. Pelling, *American Labor*, p. 86.
24. L. A. S[mith], "The Industrial Revolution," *R&H*, 67 (Apr. 29, 1890), 267.
25. See Norman Rich, *The Age of Nationalism and Reform, 1850-1890*, Norton History of Modern Europe (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), p. 20.
26. "Labor Organizations and Catholicism," *R&H*, 82 (July 27, 1905), 5-6. Abandoning earlier claims, the *Review* now argued that socialists were trying to destroy the labor movement because it was Catholic-controlled.
27. See especially Uriah Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation: The Response of History to the Voice of Prophecy* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1897), pp. 595-624, 668 [rev. ed., *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Assn., 1946), pp. 601-19, 667].
28. L. A. Smith, "The Coming Boycott," p. 583; and Ellen G. White, Letter 26, 1903, quoted in Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald Publishing Assn., 1958), II, 142. See also Santee, "Shall We Join Secret Societies or Unions?," p. 829; L. A. S[mith], "Some Aspects of the Labor Question," *R&H*, 80 (Dec. 31, 1903), 5; and L. A. S[mith], "The Latest Development of Labor Unionism," *R&H*, 81 (Feb. 11, 1904), 6.
29. Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1885-1909), 6 (1900), 275-76 and 7 (1902), 84.
30. Dulles, *Labor in America*, pp. 190-95; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, pp. 210-15.
31. L. A. S[mith], "A Despotism Principle," *R&H*, 80 (Oct. 15, 1903), 7; see also "The Government Versus the Labor Unions," *R&H*, 80 (Oct. 1, 1903), 5; "The Danger of Irresponsible Power," *R&H*, 80 (Oct. 15, 1903), 6; "A State Greater Than the Union," *R&H*, 80 (Dec. 10, 1903), 5; and "Some Aspects of the Labor Question," *R&H*, 80 (Dec. 31, 1903), 5; all by L. A. Smith.
32. For instance, compare L. A. Smith, "The Latest Development of Labor Unionism," with the conclusion of the original article from which Smith draws: ". . . the methods employed by the new unionism . . . are essentially similar to those employed by capitalistic combinations. . . . It is as necessary to commend and encourage the able and honest labor leaders as it is to fight the corrupt boss. . . ." Ray Stannard Baker, "A Corner in Labor: What Is Happening in San Francisco Where Unionism Holds Undisputed Sway," *McClure's Magazine*, 22 (February 1904), 378.
33. "The Labor Question," *R&H*, 77 (Dec. 18, 1900): 803; "The Strikes in England," *R&H*, 53 (Feb. 27, 1879), 68.
34. Kellogg, "Labor Unions," p. 470; and Butler, "Secret Societies," p. 5.
35. Ellen G. White, Letter 201, 1902, quoted in Ellen G. White, *Counsels From the Spirit of Prophecy on Labor Unions and Confederacies*, comp. Dept. of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty (Takoma Park, Md.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, n.d.; hereafter cited as *Counsels*), p. 7.
36. White, *Testimonies*, 2 (1885; published as pamphlets, 1868-71), 156-61, and 6 (1900), 273-80.
37. L. A. S[mith], "The Spirit of Worldly Confederacies," *R&H*, 80 (Oct. 1, 1903), 4, quoting Ellen

G. White from *General Conference Bulletin* (Apr. 6, 1903), pp. 87-88; partially reprinted in White, *Selected Messages*, II, 142; and in White, *Counsels*, p. 8.

38. Russell, "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," p. 9; Butler, "Secret Societies," pp. 5-6; and G[eorge] I. B[utler], "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," *R&H*, 63 (June 22, 1886), 392.

39. L. A. Smith, "The Coming Boycott," p. 583. Compare Ellen G. White, Manuscript 145, 1902, quoted in *Counsels*, p. 5. But see Dulles, *Labor in America*, pp. 133, 143; and Rayback, *History of American Labor*, p. 162.

40. Uriah Smith, "The Outlook," p. 113; cf. "A Sad Report," *R&H*, 50 (Oct. 11, 1877), 114.

41. See especially "The Labor Question," p. 803.

42. Ellen G. White, Letter 93, 1904, quoted in *Counsels*, p. 10. See also Ellen G. White, Letter 292, 1907, in *Counsels*, p. 11.

43. [Uriah Smith], "Mutterings of the Coming Storm," *R&H*, 67 (Dec. 9, 1890), 760-61. The article is unsigned, but has been attributed to Smith, who was editor at that time.

44. Editorial, *R&H*, 76 (Aug. 1, 1899), 492.

45. Also see Uriah Smith, "The Outlook," p. 113; G. C. T[enney], "Be Patient, Therefore, Brethren," *R&H*, 71 (May 15, 1894), 310; editorial, *R&H*, 76 (July 25, 1899), 476; and editorial, *R&H*, 76 (Aug. 1, 1899), 492.

46. Ellen G. White, Letter 5, 1904, quoted in *Selected*

Messages, II, 141; White, Letter 200, 1903, quoted in *Selected Messages*, II, 142; and White, Letter 93, 1904, quoted in *Counsels*, p. 10.

47. Russell, "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," p. 9. See also Tenney, "Be Patient, Therefore, Brethren," p. 310. Cf. "The Labor Question," pp. 803-4.

48. "The Labor Question," p. 804; and Santee, "Shall We Join Secret Societies or Unions?," p. 829.

49. Pelling, *American Labor*, p. 81.

50. Butler, "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," p. 392.

51. Tenney, "Be Patient, Therefore, Brethren," p. 310; and White, *Testimonies*, 7 (1902), 84.

52. G. C. T[enney], "Are Better Times Coming?" *R&H*, 71 (July 3, 1894), 420. Compare Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," *American Historical Review*, 72 (October 1966), 76.

53. G. C. T[enney], "Lawlessness vs. Christianity," *R&H*, 71 (June 19, 1894), 392. See also J. O. Corliss, "A Terrible Calamity," *R&H*, 70 (June 20, 1893), 331.

54. For one such more general analysis, see the article by Carlos A. Schwantes, "Seventh-day Adventists and Organized Labor: The Formative Years, 1877-1903," *Adventist Heritage*, 4 (Winter 1977), 11-19.

Millenarians and Money: Adventist Wealth and Adventist Beliefs

by Ronald Graybill

Nothing is more exciting to a student of history than the discovery of a new source, particularly if it provides evidence for a new interpretation. One hundred years ago, a devout Adventist mother unwittingly provided just such a source. The mother was Ellen G. White. By making a scrapbook for her children, she unintentionally preserved important evidence for establishing the demographic profile of nineteenth-century Adventists. The information gained about the nineteenth century from this evidence conforms with that in little-known monographs about twentieth-century Adventism. Contrary to widespread popular and scholarly opinion, Adventism over a period of more than one hundred years has consistently been compatible with upward social and economic mobility.

Five of at least nine scrapbooks made by Ellen White are still extant. These are filled with clippings of moral and religious stories from various journals of her day.¹ As I was casually scanning one of these scrapbooks, I

noticed handwriting under the pasted-down clippings. Curious, I had the scrapbook microfilmed; then, after some experiments with the paper, I totally submerged the separate pages in water. The inferior paper of the clippings absorbed water quite rapidly, while the books they were pasted in resisted the moisture. It was then a simple task to scrape the clippings off with a knife.

The soaking and scraping revealed that Mrs. White had used as her scrapbook an old subscription account book for the *Review and Herald* from around 1860. Since the Adventist church did not formally organize until 1863, and membership lists from those early years are extremely rare, this list of 632 *Review* subscribers promised to be very useful. The names, scattered over the four states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Michigan and Indiana, covered the period from 1858 through 1862. Since the 1860 Federal Census of Population fell right in the middle of this period, it was possible to locate many of these early Adventists in the census reports and thus collect information about their occupations, nativity, educational patterns and wealth. From this investigation, I learned that the Adventists of 1860 were generally white, occupationally independent, distri-

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buted in a wide spectrum of economic statuses, but favoring the upper side of that spectrum. In short, these early Adventists were farmers, just as we always imagined them to be, but they were often a lot more wealthy than we had thought.

Scholars have long viewed millenarian movements such as the Seventh-day Adventist Church as resulting from economic, social, or political distress. Whether they have studied the early Christian church or a twentieth-century cargo cult, they have interpreted the anticipation of an imminent and

“Early Adventists were farmers, but they were often a lot more wealthy than we had thought.”

cataclysmic destruction of the present order as a cathartic, morale building, or revolutionary effort on the part of people suffering some intolerable discomfort.² America as well as Melanesia has known its millenarian movements, from the huge outpouring of apocalyptic fervor in the Millerite enthusiasm of the 1840s to the obscure flying saucer cult reported by Leon Festinger in *When Prophecy Fails*.³ Now I had a source which would allow a test of the common view of the social sources of millenarian movements by examining the economic status of Seventh-day Adventists in 1860. As the largest contemporary denomination to trace its roots back to William Miller’s revival, the Adventists have always been thoroughly millenarian in their dogma and ideology.

Elmer T. Clark, an influential sect-typologist, has applied the popular view of millenarian status to Adventists:

Adventism is the typical cult of the disinherited and suffering poor. Its peculiar world views reflect the psychology of a distressed class in despair of obtaining the benefits it seeks through the present social order and seeking escape through divine intervention and a cosmic cataclysm, which will destroy the world and the “worldly” classes and elevate “the saints”

to the position they could not attain through social processes.⁴

If Clark is right, then perhaps Ellen White used an old subscription book as a scrapbook because she was too poor to afford anything better. On the other hand, perhaps this “waste-not, want-not” way of doing things was indicative of a body of people — the Adventists — who through their frugality and hard work were reaching for treasures here on earth even as they anticipated more lasting ones in heaven. Thus the artifact itself — the scrapbook — presents a question which it can also answer: was millenarian Adventism, in its earliest days, made up from the poorer sort of people, families of modest means, or the comfortably well off? Who were these people? What relationships can be suggested between their ideology and their social and economic status? Adventism was, in 1860, a millenarian movement in the process of forming a sect. This study can help determine what role, if any, economic and certain other forms of deprivation played in the dynamics of this process.

Since this research involves a fair amount of statistical computation, it seems necessary, if the results are to be convincing, to review carefully each step in the process of handling the data. I will explain the method of selecting the sample, lay out the results, and test them for bias.

One point arises immediately. Since a subscription cost \$2 per year, more than a day’s wages for a typical laboring man in the upper midwest at that time, it is possible to raise the objection that the list automatically eliminates the poorest Adventists — those who could not afford the *Review*. However, the poor believers received the *Review* free of charge, the costs being covered by contributions from wealthier patrons.⁵ Out of the 632 subscribers on the list, I can locate 43 (or 6.8 percent) who got at least one volume (six months) of the paper free. A certain I. Cooledge of Gun Lake, Michigan, must have been the most pathetic case of all. Above his name was written: “Poor! Poor!! Poor!!! Poor!!!! Poor!!!!!”⁶

Since there were 2,500 subscribers to the

Review and Herald in 1860,⁷ it is obvious that this list of 632 names is not complete.⁸ Of the 632 subscribers, I have located 100 in the census of 1860. Seventy-four of these are from Michigan, a dozen from Indiana and 14 from Vermont and New Hampshire. Michigan's overrepresentation can be justified partly because Adventists were more numerous there, Michigan having already become the bastion of Sabbatarian Adventism it would remain throughout the nineteenth century.⁹ Also, Michigan Adventists are likely to have been fairly typical in economic status. Comparisons of my Michigan results with the composite totals for the other states bears out this assumption.

What was the pattern of Adventist wealth? The actual results of the study are better represented graphically than verbally, but they reveal that while Sabbatarian Adventists in 1860 distributed from the very bottom to the very top of the economic scales in their communities, they tended to concentrate in the upper half of the scale. Fifty-eight of the 100 sample households stood above the 50th percentile, 42 below (see Figure A).

The values of real estate and personal property are listed in the census for each household or economically independent member of the household. The wealth of a given individual is the result of combining

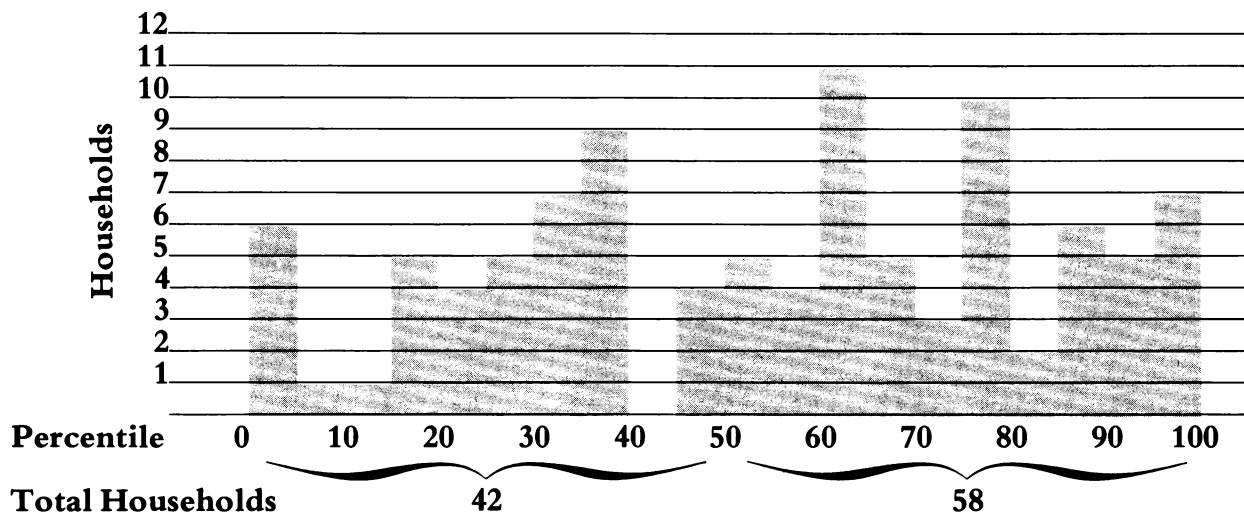
these two figures.¹⁰ Since I am not interested in absolute wealth, but in the economic standing of Adventists in comparison to others within their communities, I have assigned each Adventist a percentile rank in his community according to where he fell in a list of his neighbors from the wealthiest to the poorest. Each Adventist is ranked according to the distribution of wealth in the township or village in which he resided.¹¹

The most important source of possible bias in these figures lies in the fact that all the *Review* subscribers could not be found. Merle Curti has shown for a rural area, and Stephen Thernstrom for the city of Boston, that the poorer a person was, the less persistent he was in his place of residence.¹² If they are right, among all those who subscribed to the *Review* in 1858 or 1859 and not afterward, the wealthier subscribers were more likely than the poorer ones to be located in the 1860 census.

Nevertheless, the "persistence" factor is only a source of possible bias. The question is whether this particular sample is actually infected by it. Based on comparisons of the wealth of 1860 subscribers to those in 1858, 1859 and years after 1860, I do not believe the sample has been biased by the differences in persistency rates between poor and wealthy people.¹³

Figure A

Adventist Wealth, 1860



Part from their prosperity, perhaps the most striking fact about Adventists in 1860 is their overwhelmingly rural character. Farmers made up 78 percent of the heads of Adventist households, while only 38 percent of the Michigan population was composed of farmers (see Figure B). Only one Adventist lived in a city large enough to be divided into wards; only three lived in places large enough to be called "villages." All the rest, 96 percent, were scattered over the countryside.

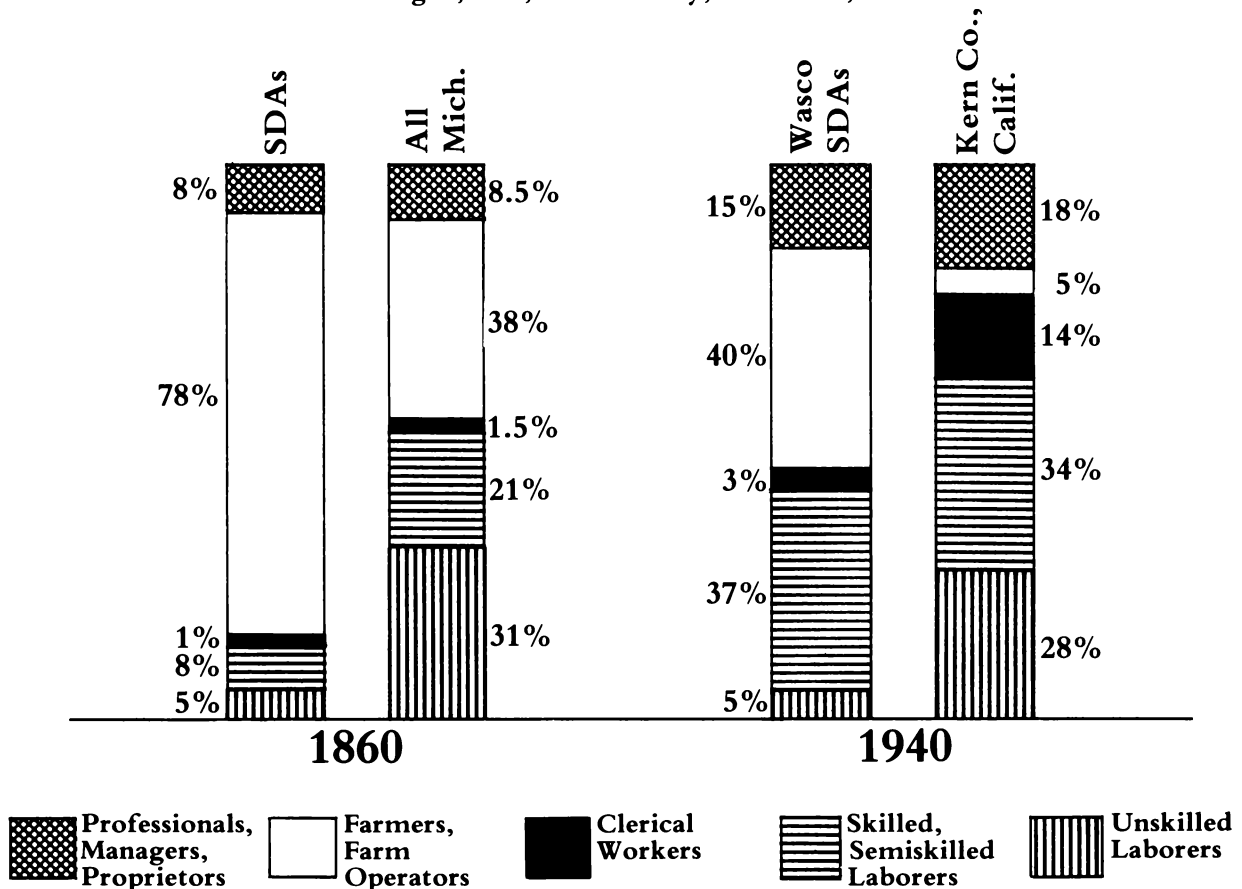
This rural aspect of Adventist life provides an important corrective to the economic profile of the group. Although some Adventists ranked in the very highest percentiles in their communities, their communities were ones which almost never included the very richest

people in their states. The wealthy lived in the cities. But unless we posit that Michigan farmers in 1860 felt deprived or dispossessed because they were not as wealthy as the druggist or the lawyer in the county seat or the bankers and industrialists of Detroit, this factor is not crucial to understanding the relationship of religion and wealth for this group. If we were talking about the 1890s when falling farm prices and economic depressions plagued farmers, the picture would be different, but in 1860 a Michigan farmer was probably not distressed by the disparity between his status and wealth and the status and wealth in the cities.

The Adventists who were not farmers tell another important fact about the group: the vast majority of nonfarmers controlled their

Figure B

Occupational Categories, Adventists and General Population, Michigan, 1860; Kern County, California, 1940.



*SOURCES: Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864), p. 249; Walter R. Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York, 1947), pp. 136-37; Bureau of Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. 2, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C., 1943), p. 557.

own work experience. Only five heads of Adventist households in my sample were laborers (three farm laborers and two day laborers), whereas Michigan as a whole had 31 percent laborers (see Figure B). Three Adventists were merchants (grocer, tavern keeper and “merchant”), five professionals (four physicians and one teacher), eight skilled craftsmen (blacksmith, brickmaker, gunsmith, shoemaker, daguerrean artist, cooper, master foundryman and master mason) and one a government employee (mail carrier).

It requires almost no theoretical speculation to understand why Adventism did not attract many laborers or why laborers, once they became Adventists, moved quickly to gain control of their own work experience. A poor believer in Wisconsin, writing during an economic downturn, put his finger on the reason — they simply would not work on Saturdays:

It is extremely hard times here for poor folks — the hardest I have known. And it comes harder on poor Sabbath-keepers (and we are all poor in this place), than on others because those who are able to hire choose not to hire those who will not work on the Sabbath; and some have even thought to starve them to it. But, thank God, I believe there are some who had rather starve than sin.¹⁴

Adventists did not differ much from their neighbors in the number of children they had or in the frequency with which those children attended school. Thirty-one percent of the persons in Adventist households were between the ages of 5 and 14, somewhat more than the 24 percent in the rest of the population of Michigan. Since 29 percent of Adventists had attended school in the year before the census was taken, whereas 26 percent of the general population of Michigan had, the percentage of Adventists attending school was lower, but only slightly lower, than the percentage of Michiganders. The difference is probably attributable to the rural nature of the Adventist population.

Review subscribers were also like their neighbors in racial and national backgrounds. They were thoroughly native and white. Of all Adventist heads of households

and their spouses, only 13 percent were from foreign countries. New England and New York were listed as birthplaces for 65 percent of the remainder. The rest hailed from various northern states.

The occupational and economic profile of Adventists does not necessarily discredit all efforts to explain the movement in terms of stress or deprivation. It does suggest that straightforward economic explanations are not adequate. Common sense would indicate that some sort of stress or deprivation was involved in individual decisions to join the Advent movement. People did not make the radical changes Adventism required if they were fully content and comfortable with their immediate circumstances and future prospects. The sources of discomfort, however, were as likely to lie in the psychic, religious and moral backgrounds of the individuals as in their economic statuses. This study provides no evidence to help identify what those discomforts might be; it simply seeks to establish that they were not overtly economic.

Once a person became a Seventh-day Adventist in 1860, he certainly experienced relative status deprivation — a sense that he was no longer able to command the deference and respect which he felt his character and accomplishments merited. Adventist hymns and personal religious testimonies from this period often express a keen sense of alienation from the larger society.¹⁵ Adventist beliefs such as millenarianism and the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath, the persecution and ridicule they received, as well as their geographic mobility and isolation all served to heighten their sense of alienation even as their religious ritual and ideology expressed a thriving sense of community within the group.

This study raises the further question of whether millenarian ideology might actually sustain efforts to accumulate wealth. I am satisfied that in the case at hand, a better understanding of the nature of Adventist millenarian ideology shows its compatibility and perhaps even positive correlation with upward economic mobility.

The common assumption is that millenarianism is passive, pessimistic and fatalistic; for it predicts the decline and doom of a world which can only be rescued by the miraculous and cataclysmic intervention of God. On the other hand, millennialism, which expects the Kingdom of God to emerge through the progressive betterment of mankind on this earth is thought to be optimistic and activistic. If this view of the millenarian mood holds true at all, it is certainly a misreading of Adventist millenarianism. Edwin Gaustad noted concerning Seventh-day Adventists that “seldom while expecting a kingdom of God from heaven, has a group worked so diligently for one on earth.” Winthrop Hudson repeated the comment, but neither scholar really tried to resolve the paradox that lay behind it.¹⁶ For that matter, few Adventists would recognize it themselves, although one solution lies right on the surface of the historical evidence. By the late 1850s, sabbatarian Adventists had abandoned all attempts to set dates for Christ’s return (their Millerite experience had inoculated them against that error), and they had also adopted an important explanation of the “delay” of the Parousia. They still felt the Second Coming was overdue, but now Christ was waiting for “His people” to get ready. “God will prove His people,” Ellen White wrote: “If the message had been of as short duration as many of us supposed, there would have been no time for them to develop character.”¹⁷

This interpretation of the delay in Christ’s coming made the ideological implications of their beliefs almost millennialist. They would usher in the Kingdom of God by achieving that state of spiritual preparedness for which God was waiting. I say “almost” millennialists because they did not abandon their insistence that the world as a whole was in a precipitous moral decline and that only the literal, visible Second Coming of Christ would reverse the trend. Their “millennialism” was a more private affair involving the perfecting of a saving remnant.

Nevertheless, for the believers themselves, the important thing was that there were tasks to be done and goals to be achieved before Christ could come. Although their rhetoric

may have sounded a note of alarm and foreboding to outsiders, the prospect of the Second Coming could only inspire them with the most exalted sort of excitement; for that event would vindicate all of their efforts as a group and individually. Thus, Adventist millenarianism was neither pessimistic, passive, or fatalistic, but perfectly consistent with a striving for human betterment in both spiritual and economic matters. Indeed, Ellen White linked morals and money in an 1861 *Testimony for the Church*:

I was shown [in vision] that in temporal matters R.F.C. was too easy and negligent. He has lacked energy, and has considered it a virtue to leave things to the Lord which the Lord has left to him. It is only in cases of great emergency that the Lord interposes for us. We have a work to do, burdens and responsibilities to bear, and in thus doing we obtain an experience. He manifests the same character in spiritual matters as in his temporal affairs. There is a lack of zeal and earnestness to make thorough work. All should act with more discretion and wisdom in regard to the things of God than they manifest in temporal things to secure an earthly possession.¹⁸

Even as she urged her fellow church members to display energy, zeal and earnestness in

“Adventist millenarianism was neither pessimistic, passive, or fatalistic, but perfectly consistent with a striving for human betterment in both spiritual and economic matters.”

their financial and spiritual endeavors, Mrs. White also advocated avoidance of any sort of economic entanglement with outsiders. “I saw that God was displeased with his people for being surety for unbelievers. . . . I saw that Sabbath-keepers should not be in partnership with unbelievers. God’s people trust too much to the words of strangers, ask

their advice and counsel, when they should not.”¹⁹ Here Mrs. White, the chief architect of Adventist ideology, takes the aggressive but independent action inherent in the group’s millenarian theology and applies it directly to practical economic affairs.²⁰

Looking both backward and forward from 1860 only reinforces the findings of this paper concerning the Adventist position in society. Although he cited only scattered cases to support his contention, Ernest Sandeen concluded:

Neither the British nor the American millenarians of the nineteenth century seem to fit the pattern delineated for earlier apocalyptic millenarians. They do not seem to have been people deprived of power, nor potential revolutionaries, nor, most significantly, threatened with destruction. Instead, they were often well-to-do, if not wealthy.²¹

Sandeen went on to resolve the problem of the Millerites’ appeal by showing how close a “fit” did exist between what they were saying and what Jacksonian Americans believed and feared.

Three twentieth-century studies of Adventist economic status — all by anthropologists — have yielded results strikingly similar to those observed in 1860. In 1940, Walter R. Goldschmidt, under the inspiration of Niebuhr’s *Social Sources of Denominationalism*, studied “class denominationalism” in a small community in California’s San Joaquin Valley. He divided the churches into two classes, “nuclear” and “outsider.” He described the former as having privileges of the major institutions of the community — clubs, churches, official and quasi-official bodies. The latter, he said, remained on the social peripheries and included the large body of unskilled labor in the community. However, when he started actually to chart the various sects, he turned from these criteria and classified the churches strictly on the basis of the occupations of their members. By this standard, Adventists fit the “nuclear” category, but Goldschmidt noted: “The Seventh-day Adventists are composed largely of farm operators, most of them having small units. Since the large pro-

portion of their congregation is drawn from outside the community, it is difficult to assess their social position accurately.”²² Later, in a book, he resolved the anomaly by adding a third category — “in-group churches” — to accommodate Adventists and other groups that seemed to keep to themselves despite their apparent occupational success.²³

Although his sample is small and localized, Goldschmidt’s breakdown of Adventist occupations in 1940 does allow for a tentative four-way comparison between Adventists and all Michiganders in 1860 and Wasco, California, Adventists and all other residents of Kern County in 1940 (see Figure B). This comparison suggests that at both times members of the sect included about the average number of managers, proprietors and professionals, were dramatically above average in their percentage of farmers, and substantially below average in their unskilled laboring population. By 1940, the ranks of Adventist skilled laborers had increased from eight percent to 37 percent, while farm operators had decreased from 78 percent to 40 percent. This rise in the percentage of skilled laborers at the expense of the farmers among Adventists over this 80-year period is another demonstration of the sect’s continuing middle-status economic tendencies. Adventists who in 1860 might have been farmers were by 1940 to be found among skilled laborers. They neither rose to professional or managerial status nor fell into the ranks of unskilled labor. Goldschmidt’s study of a single community is too selective to use for any final conclusions, but it does appear to place Adventists in roughly the same middle rank economic position within the larger society which they occupied in 1860.²⁴

A more intensive study was undertaken by Gary Schwartz in a recent book which compared and contrasted Adventists and Pentecostals in “a large midwestern city” — doubtless Chicago. Schwartz made every effort to understand Adventist theology and ideology, arguing that in complex modern societies ideology plays the same role which ritual plays in primitive religion: it is that by which the sacred order is brought into juxtaposition with the secular so as to suffuse the secular order with meaning. The essential

element of Adventist ideology, according to Schwartz, is that success is achieved through the orderly, predictable and rational allocation of religious energies and economic resources. He discovered a group of people involved in clerical, sales and managerial jobs — primarily with small firms rather than large corporations. He found a high value placed on self-employment and professional roles, a heavy stress on education and a great deal of optimism about the chances of rising economically.²⁵ As in other times and places, Chicago Adventists wanted to control their own work experience.

While I believe this explains why Adventists tend to rise to a little above average in the

“The millenarian aspects of Adventism do not appear to be incompatible with a substantial economic status; indeed millenarianism may actually function to inspire the accumulation of wealth.”

economic scale, I think it also explains why they very rarely rise higher than that, why they have few millionaires or highly placed corporate executives such as Mormons do. Mormonism from the beginning stressed corporate action, a form of social organization peculiarly fitted to the economic order that emerged in late nineteenth-century America. While the persistent agrarian tradition somewhat impeded the fullest exploitation of this corporate emphasis in social life, the fact remains that Mormons had a stronger emphasis on cooperation than did Adventists.²⁶ Joseph Smith called his people together to build Zion, whereas Ellen White stressed the virtues of country living and the agrarian way of life.²⁷ When her husband, the promotional and organizational genius of early Adventism, suggested a cooperative mercantile business for the church in 1872, the idea fell on deaf ears.²⁸ Adventists remained fiercely individualistic in their per-

sonal economic affairs. The wealthy Adventists today are primarily physicians. The Adventist folk hero is not a J. Willard Marriott with a corporate empire, but, according to Schwartz, the lonely missionary doctor.²⁹

The allusion to missionary doctors calls to mind another anthropologist's work, a study of the role of Seventh-day Adventism and social change among the Aymara Indians of southern Peru.³⁰ Apparently, millenarian Adventism can appeal to the “distressed and suffering poor” under the right circumstances. The turn of the century witnessed a number of bloody uprisings among the Aymara resulting from occasional land seizures on the part of local *mestizos*. A young man, Manuel Camacho, whose family had lost its lands, met an Adventist missionary from Lima while serving in the army. Camacho had earlier been educated in a Methodist school. With the encouragement of the Adventist missionary, Camacho returned to his village to open a school in 1904. He also began to organize his neighbors politically and eventually led a delegation to Lima to plead with the president for protection of Indian lands and for more schools in which they could learn how to defend themselves. The *mestizos* reacted negatively, and local priests forced Camacho to close his school.

Camacho then called for an Adventist missionary to come to his village. Eventually, he was baptized and joined the movement himself. By 1911, Frederick and Ana Stahl of Minnesota had opened an Adventist school among the Aymara. Unlike that of later missionaries, the Stahls' work was primarily social and secondarily sectarian. By 1913, they had located a school, medical dispensary and mission headquarters at a highly visible point on the main road from the departmental capital of Puno to the Bolivian border. This led to conflicts with the local clerics and civil authorities and eventually some Aymara converts were arrested after they refused demands to recant their new faith. This time, however, the Aymara were able to use the contacts provided by the American missionaries to publicize the case, an effort so successful in arousing liberal and anticlerical forces in Peru that it eventually led to a reformulation of the Peruvian constitution in

1915 to allow for the public exercise of religious faiths other than that of Roman Catholicism.³¹

Donahue interprets the Aymara case as one of clear-cut economic, political and medical deprivation. While it seems clear enough that it was not primarily the millenarian aspects of Adventism which appealed to the Indians, nevertheless, millenarian Adventism was not incompatible with social action and improvement in socioeconomic status. Donahue shows how improved proficiency in Spanish, experience in administering the social and religious services of the church, access to medical care and a sense of affiliation which transcended village boundaries helped the Aymara increase their geographic and social mobility.

The limitations of the Adventist outlook began to be felt once the Aymara attempted to make their way into the cities. Members of city congregations were self-employed and thus able to offer few employment opportunities to their friends from the hinterland. Problems with Saturday work also impeded economic progress and led to the creation of a large body of "unofficial" members — *los interesados* (those who were interested in the movement, but were not active churchgoers).

Millenarian religion then, in its Adventist form, has appealed to both the economically

comfortable and the economically deprived. The millenarian aspects of Adventism do not appear to be incompatible with a substantial economic status; indeed, millenarianism may actually function to inspire the accumulation of wealth. But to the extent that the apocalyptic outlook insures alienation from the larger society and places a high value on independent occupations, it does appear to limit economic progress in a complex economy based on corporate action and interdependence. The observance of the seventh-day Sabbath is also a potent force pushing Adventists toward economic non-cooperation, however, and must be added to millenarianism as an alienating influence in economic life. Schwartz, after his study of midwestern Adventists, concluded that their ideology was a means of improving their upward mobility, but added: "The dominant success image which underlies this ideology may be somewhat out of date. These people see the independent entrepreneur and the self-employed professional or businessman rather than the corporate executive or technician as the model for success in this world."³² Seen in purely economic terms, this "success image" may be out of date, but in terms of the total value system of Adventism, it offers an acceptable goal for a group that values not only access to money, but also an accent on the millennium.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. John O. Waller, "The Question of 'Fiction' in Five Scrapbooks of Ellen G. White" (Report to A. L. White, July, 1965, White Estate Document File #51g). See also Waller's "A Contextual Study of Ellen G. White's Counsel Concerning Fiction," in Robert Dunn, ed., *Seventh-day Adventists on Literature* (Riverside, California, 1974), pp. 47-62.

2. David F. Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action* (New York, 1970), pp. 209-214, and John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975). See also Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 201-207.

3. F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C., 1944). Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (N.Y. 1964,

Minnesota, 1956). Like many other participant-observer studies, Festinger's disguises the names and places in his story. A little research based on the clues and chronology of the book has revealed, however, that the cult centered around Mrs. Dorothy Martin (Marian Keech in the book) of 707 S. Cuyler in the Oak Park section of Chicago (Lake City). The actual events took place late in 1954. "Dr. Armstrong," who also plays a prominent role in the book, was actually Dr. Charles Laughead, a staff physician at Michigan State College (now Michigan State University) in Lansing, Michigan (Collegeville in the book). See *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 22, 23, 1954; and *Chicago Sun Times*, Dec. 16, 17, 21, 22, 1954. Festinger's "infiltration" of the cult raises serious questions about the ethics of this sort of study, quite apart from the possible contamination which his covert participant-observers may have introduced into the situation. The

size of his sample, eight to 15 persons, also gives a historian pause. Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance which the flying saucer cult was supposed to demonstrate was more fully stated in his book *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, Ill., 1957). Behavioral scientists have not been successful in repeated efforts to establish Festinger's theory experimentally, and historians might be well advised to avoid too facile an application of the concept in their work. See N. P. Chapanis and A. Chapanis, "Cognitive Dissonance: Five Years Later," *Psychological Bulletin*, 61 (Jan. 1964), pp. 1-22.

4. Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (N.Y., 1949), p. 25. Clark's statement is meant to apply to all Adventist groups, including Seventh-day Adventists whose beliefs he discusses at length.

5. *Review and Herald*, 10 (Oct. 1, 1857), 176; "Read This," *Review and Herald*, 15 (Dec. 22, 1859), 40; "A Good Example," *Review and Herald*, 15 (Feb. 16, 1860), p. 104.

6. *Review and Herald Subscription Account Book, 1858-1862*, Ellen G. White Estate, Washington, D.C., p. 28.

7. *Eighth Census of the United States*, Social Statistics Schedule, Calhoun County, Michigan; National Archives, Microfilm Publication Number T1164, Roll 14.

8. My estimate is that it includes approximately 90 percent of the Indiana subscribers (140 total); about 50 percent of those from Michigan (430 total); something like 15 percent of Vermont readers; and only six total readers from New Hampshire. These figures are estimates based on the following procedure: An 1853 gazetteer of the United States was used to assign each letter of the alphabet a percentage value based on the frequency with which it was used as the initial letter in place names. Then, because the *Review* subscription list was arranged alphabetically by local addresses, it was possible to assign a value to those letters of the alphabet included in this partial list and to those which were missing and thus to achieve an estimate of how large the entire list was and what percentage of it is still extant.

There is no way of judging accurately the relative strength of sabbatarian Adventism in various states, but some trends can be noted. In 1858, the editors announced they had gained only one subscriber in New England, had lost nine in New York State, but added 125 in Michigan and jumped 120 in "the West," which in this case referred primarily to Iowa and Wisconsin. "Subscription List," *Review and Herald*, 12 (Nov. 18, 1858), p. 208. Adventists were also found in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, but these states were not so well represented.

9. Department of Interior, U.S. Census Office, *Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C. 1894), p. 120.

10. To compare this figure with the average wealth of the people in the community is misleading, however. The "average" wealth in the village of Greenville, Michigan, in 1860 was \$2,136. The median was only \$750.

11. Thirteen of the subscribers in the sample were women who were not heads of households. In their cases, I have taken the value of their husband's estates. The percentage of female subscribers in the entire list

is 17 percent, which does not appear to me to be unduly large. The case of one woman in the sample who *was* the head of her household offers a revealing insight into an old problem. She was evidently the widow of a farmer, but the confused census taker could not bring himself to list her occupation as "farmer." Instead, he wrote that she "carries on farming." Women got the work; men got the titles.

12. Merl Curti, *The Making of An American Community* (Stanford, 1959), pp. 65-69; Stephen Thurnstrom and Peter R. Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations About Urban Population Mobility Nineteenth Century America," in Tamara Hareven, *Anonymous Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), p. 32.

13. I have tested for this bias in two ways: First, I have isolated those who subscribed only in 1860. The persistence factor should have no bearing on this group, but if it has infected the rest of the sample this group should be generally poorer than the whole sample. I could find only seven subscribers who took the *Review* only in 1860, but their percentile ranks suggest there has been no contamination. They rank at zero, the 5th, 58th, 60th, 63rd, 87th, and 95th percentiles. A second test for the persistency bias is to analyze the economic profile of those persons I found in the census who subscribed to the *Review* in 1858 and 1859, but not in 1860 or thereafter. There would seem to be only two reasons why such names were crossed off the list: They had either dropped their subscriptions or moved away. Obviously, I would find only those who dropped their subscriptions prior to 1860 but remained in their communities; thus the less persistent and presumably poorer portion of this group is eliminated and the remainder — the ones I found — should be generally more wealthy than my whole sample if the persistency bias has infected my findings. Again, the results were negative. Of the 16 readers I found who had dropped the paper prior to 1860, half rank below the 50th percentile, half above, distributing through all four quartiles.

14. Zenas Andrews to Editor, *Review and Herald*, 14 (July 7, 1859), p. 55.

15. "Singing and Society: The Hymns of Seventh-day Adventists, 1849-1862" (unpublished paper, Johns Hopkins University, 1974).

16. Edwin Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (N.Y., 1962), p. 115, and Winthrop Hudson, *Religion in America*, 2nd ed. (N.Y., 1973), p. 347.

17. Ellen G. White, *Testimony for the Church*, no. 5 (Battle Creek, 1859), p. 5. Reprinted in *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1948), pp. 186-187.

18. Ellen G. White, *Testimony for the Church*, no. 6 (Battle Creek, 1861), pp. 5-6, reprinted with minor revisions in *Testimonies for the Church*, I, 212.

19. Ellen G. White, *Testimony for the Church*, no. 5, p. 21, reprinted in *Testimonies for the Church*, I, 200.

20. The designation of Mrs. White as the chief architect of Adventist ideology is not a casual reference. Nothing describes her role quite so well. She was not a central figure in the formulation of the group's theology, although she served to confirm the positions worked out by others. I use John Higham's definition of ideology, and find Mrs. White fits it very nicely. She served as an explicator of a system of general beliefs which gave her people "a common identity and

purpose, a common program of action, and a standard of self-criticism." John Higham, "Hanging Together: Divergent Unities in American History," *Journal of American History*, 61 (June, 1974), p. 10.

21. Ernest Sandeen, "Millennialism," in Edwin Gaustad, ed. *The Rise of Adventism* (N.Y., 1975), p. 111.

22. Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (Jan., 1944), p. 351.

23. Walter R. Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (N.Y., 1947), pp. 137, 198. Goldschmidt's field work was done in 1940 and 1941; see p. 10.

24. Goldschmidt, *As You Sow*, p. 136.

25. Gary Schwartz, *Sect Ideologies and Social Status* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 9-17, 90-136, 194-202.

26. Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 250-253.

27. See for example, Ellen G. White, *Country Living* (Washington, D.C., 1946). This is a compilation of

her statements on the subject from 1876 onward.

28. James White, "The Dress Reform Question," *Review and Herald*, 39 (Feb. 27, 1872), p. 88.

29. Schwartz, *Sect Ideologies*, p. 126.

30. John M. Donahue, "Seventh-day Adventism and Social Change Among the Aymara of Southern Peru" (unpublished paper, Columbia University, 1972).

31. There were other factors, of course, which led to this constitutional change. The press, the universities and other liberal institutions all favored it, but my efforts thus far to check this assertion of Donahue all lead me to believe that this incident provided the catalyst for the constitutional revision. His source is Jean B. A. Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions in Peru and Chili* (Goes, Netherlands, 1967), pp. 230-233. See also "Article 4, The Fight for Religious Liberty, Clerical Opposition" *The West Coast Leader* (Lima, Peru), Oct. 29, 1913.

32. Schwartz, *Sect Ideologies*, p. 135.

Another Look at Ellen White on Music

by Chuck and Marianne Scriven

Ellen White's statements on music fall into three main groups, one dealing with the music of Bible times, the second with the music she experienced in visions of heaven and the new earth, and the third with the music of her own time and place.¹ Although what she said about music of the past and of the future is considerable, the present study focuses on her attitude toward the music of her own time. Accordingly, her statements about music in Bible times and the music of heaven and the hereafter will be referred to only when they throw light on her view of music in America during her lifetime.

To begin with, we may take a brief look at the history of American music as a background for what is to come. In his book *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, H. Wiley Hitchcock divided the music of American history into two broad categories which he designated the "culti-

vated" and the "vernacular" traditions, defining them thus:

I mean by the term "cultivated tradition" a body of music that America had to cultivate consciously, music faintly exotic to be approached with some effort, and to be appreciated for its edification, its moral, spiritual or aesthetic values. By the "vernacular tradition" I mean a body of music more plebeian, native, not approached self-consciously, but simply grown into as one grows into one's vernacular tongue; music understood and appreciated simply for its utilitarian or entertainment value.²

Each of these musical traditions divides into sacred and secular branches, and it will probably surprise no one that of these four branches, sacred music in the vernacular idiom was the music Ellen White found most congenial. It may be recalled that her conversion took place at a Methodist camp meeting in Buxton, Maine, in 1840. Camp meetings, a prominent feature of nineteenth-century American revivalism, had begun in Kentucky in 1800, and from there spread rapidly up and down the eastern seaboard. While the Wesley brothers were able to establish an authorized liturgical hymnody for English Methodism, American Methodists favored a freer, more spontaneous music for their worship, described by the noted hymnologist Louis Benson as a "rude type of popular

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song.”³ He attributed this preference in large part to the widespread use of revivalism in gaining adherents to Methodism in this country, saying that “it is of the very nature of revival enthusiasm to develop its own song, and of all religious agencies it is the least amenable to church authority.”⁴ Concerning the revival song, or “camp-meeting hymn,” as it came to be called, Benson said:

It is individualistic, and deals with the rescue of a sinner: sometimes in direct appeal to “sinners,” “backsliders,” or “mourners”; sometimes by reciting the terms of salvation, sometimes as a narrative of personal experience for his warning or encouragement.⁵

The camp-meeting hymn’s characteristic feature was its refrain or chorus, often ejaculatory, and not necessarily connected with the subject matter of the hymn itself. The words were typically adapted to currently popular melodies, to the tunes of well-liked songs from the past, or, occasionally, to music composed on the spot. The hymnody of early Adventism was largely of the camp-meeting type, complete with popular tunes and ejaculatory choruses.

Successor to the camp-meeting hymn was the gospel song, associated initially with the Moody and Sankey revivals of the 1870s. Like its predecessor, the gospel song made use of the the style of popular secular music. Explaining this carry-over from “secular” to “sacred” music, Benson said:

The same streak in human nature that delights in the strains of the music hall demands the “spiritual song” of a kindred type. And possibly an element that conscientiously flees the associations of the music hall is the most insistent upon a compensatory light music in the Sunday school and the church.⁶

This does not mean that the only songs heard in American Methodist or Adventist meetings in the middle and late nineteenth century were of the musically light camp-meeting or gospel song type, for both the Methodists and the Adventists also sang such sober, well-loved psalm tunes as Old Hundredth and Wells. It does mean that most of the songs arising out of the culture that nurtured early Seventh-day Adventism were of the

type that mated popular musical idiom with words on spiritual topics. Thus, in addition to psalm and hymn tunes from the Anglo-French Protestant tradition, the music most familiar to Ellen White included rollicking Advent and camp-meeting songs complete with hallelujah refrains, and gospel songs dealing with the spiritual experiences common to evangelical Christians.

We may now turn to specific references to music. Her first stipulation for acceptable sacred song was that of simplicity. Speaking to a camp-meeting audience in 1902, she said:

Learn to sing the simplest of songs.

These will help you in house-to-house labor, and hearts will be touched by the influence of the Holy Spirit. . . .⁷

That simplicity of style was not to be limited to evangelistic music, nor to be considered merely her own preference, is indicated in the following statement from one year later:

They [the angels] delight to hear the simple songs of praise sung in a natural tone. The songs in which every word is uttered clearly, in a musical tone, are the songs that they join us in singing. . . .⁸

Ellen White did not favor the modal gravity characteristic of some old American psalm tunes. Music for divine services should be chosen to fit the occasion, “not funeral notes, but cheerful, yet solemn melodies.”⁹ The first edition of *Ministry of Healing*, published in 1909, six years before her death, includes six songs, five complete with music, and two lines from “Rock of Ages.” The songs reprinted there were “Revive Us Again,” “Blessed Assurance,” “O, Could I Find From Day to Day,” “My Faith Looks Up to Thee,” “Holy, Holy, Holy” and “The Ninety and Nine.” The gospel song “Almost Persuaded” is another to which she made favorable reference in a letter (No. 137) written in 1904, making a total of eight specific songs of which she apparently approved. Of the eight, two (“Revive Us Again” and “Holy, Holy, Holy”) are hymns of praise directed to God; three (“O, Could I Find From Day to Day,” “My Faith Looks Up to Thee” and “Rock of Ages”) are songs of appeal directed to Christ; and three (“Blessed

Assurance,” “The Ninety and Nine” and “Almost Persuaded”) are gospel songs with primary reference to the human experience. From a musical point of view, the finest of these is undoubtedly “Holy, Holy, Holy,” by John Bacchus Dykes, with its rhythmic and harmonic variety and a well-defined melodic climax. Although the melody to “Blessed Assurance” (by Mrs. Joseph Knapp) is vigorous and catchy, its rhythmic monotony is a major defect. But with its melodic monotony, “O, Could I Find From Day to Day,” is musically the weakest of the eight. Even though varied in musical worth,

“The hymnody of early Adventism was largely of the camp-meeting type, complete with popular tunes and ejaculatory choruses.”

however, all of these songs meet Mrs. White’s criterion of simplicity graced by cheerfulness and solemnity; all are in major keys, and not even the liveliest (probably “Revive Us Again,” with a hallelujah chorus) invites levity.

Ellen White believed that the performance of sacred music was an act of personal devotion and that it could be pleasing to God only if the performer was familiar with the music. That this view extended to congregational singing is indicated in the following statement from an 1883 *Review* article:

A minister should not give out hymns to be sung, until it has been ascertained that they are familiar to those who sing. A proper person should be appointed to take charge of this exercise, and it should be his duty to see that such hymns are selected as can be sung with the spirit and the understanding also. . . .¹⁰

Her view of music-making as devotional exercise did not allow for musical anarchy or bedlam, and she roundly condemned the musical excesses of the “holy flesh” move-

ment in Indiana in 1900, which involved shouting, drums and dancing, commenting that “a bedlam of noise shocks the senses and perverts that which if conducted aright might be a blessing.”¹¹ It should be noted that she objected to the performance, not to the music involved. Her concern for orderly, creditable performances of sacred music used in religious services also emerges in the following passage:

Singing is a part of the worship of God, but in the bungling manner in which it is often conducted, it is no credit to the truth, and no honor to God. There should be system and order in this as well as every other part of the Lord’s work. Organize a company of the best singers, whose voices can lead the congregation, and then let all who will, unite with them. Those who sing should make an effort to sing in harmony; they should devote some time to practice, that they may employ this talent to the glory of God.¹²

Her concept of a choir’s proper function is set forth here as well: it should play a supportive role for congregational singing. This concept accords with the sentiments expressed by A. J. Rowland, a Baptist minister, when in 1883, he decried the operatic adaptations, the anthems and the organ voluntaries to be heard in fashionable churches, asserting that “God is not to be praised by proxy. . . . The only office that a choir can serve is to lead the congregation in the singing.”¹³ Although she did make allowance for some solo or small group singing at the health and temperance meetings held for nonbelieving patrons of Seventh-day Adventist restaurants in 1902, she indicated that even there congregational singing should be the rule, not the exception:

There should be in the meetings nothing of a theatrical nature. The singing should not be done by a few only. All present should be encouraged to join in the song service. There are those who have a special gift of song, and there are times when a special message is borne by one singing alone or by several uniting in song. But the singing is seldom to be done by a few. . . .¹⁴ Nor, in her mind, should the singing in Adventist services be done by musicians whose

presence there might be for reasons other than personal devotion:

How can God be glorified when you depend for your singing on a worldly choir that sings for money? My brother, when you see those things in a right light, you will have in your meetings only sweet, simple singing, and you will ask the whole congregation to join the song, what if among those present there are some whose voices are not so musical as the voices of others. When the singing is such that angels can unite with the singers, an impression is made on minds that singing from unsanctified lips cannot make.¹⁵

Ellen White's philosophy on the subject of instrumental music is best summed up in the following statement, written in 1876:

Music should have beauty, pathos, and power. Let the voices be lifted in songs of praise and devotion. Call to your aid, if practicable, instrumental music, and let the glorious harmony ascend to God, an acceptable offering.¹⁶

Her view was simply this: that instruments, like choirs, were desirable but not essential aids to congregational singing. When, in 1901 and at other times, she made such statements as "we are not to oppose the use of instrumental music in our church,"¹⁷ she was not, as some have thought, opening the door to Bach, Brahms, Mendelssohn, Franck and others, but she was addressing those in the church who persisted in advocating the old Calvinist-Puritan-Presbyterian exclusion of all musical instruments from divine services.¹⁸

An agent in the gradual introduction of choirs and musical instruments into churches in the Reformed tradition, and an institution to which Ellen White made occasional reference, was the singing school. Although now largely forgotten, the singing school was a vital part of the musical life of nearly every American community when Mrs. White was a girl, and throughout most of her life. Since the singing school curriculum was restricted to sacred music, one might expect her to have looked on the institution with favor, but such

was not the case. The following statement represents her opinion:

It is one of the greatest temptations of the present age to carry the practice of music to extremes, to make a great deal more of music than of prayer. Many souls have been ruined here. When the Spirit of God is arousing the conscience and convicting of sin, Satan suggests a singing exercise or a singing school, which being conducted in a light and trifling manner, results in banishing seriousness and quenching all desire for the Spirit of God By the temptations attending these singing exercises, many who were once really converted to the truth have been led to separate themselves from God. They have chosen singing before prayer, attending singing-schools in preference to religious meetings, until the truth no longer exerts its sanctifying power upon their souls. Such singing is an offense to God.¹⁹

Singing schools met in the evening, conflicting on occasion with prayer meetings. Although the sexes were generally kept separate while the school was in session, there was always a recess midway through the evening, a time for courting, practical jokes, flirting and general gaiety. Mrs. White objected to the fact that singing schools brought Adventist young people into close association with nonbelievers.

I was shown you, my brother, taking the young with you to scenes of amusement at the time of a religious interest, and also engaging in singing schools with worldlings who are all darkness, and who have evil angels all around them.²⁰ Similar sessions of singing exercises were held at the homes of believers, but they also were a cause of Mrs. White's concern, as the following two statements indicate:

I was taken into some of your singing exercises, and was made to read the feelings that existed in the company, you being the prominent one. There were petty jealousies, envy, evil surmisings, and evil speaking. . . . The heart service is what God requires; the forms and lip service are as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. Your singing is for display, not to praise God with the spirit and understanding.

The state of the heart reveals the quality of the religion of the professor of godliness.²¹

There are more gatherings for singing than for prayer among our people; but even these gatherings can be conducted in so reverential yet cheerful a manner that they may exert a good influence. There is, however, too much jesting, idle conversation, and gossiping to make these seasons beneficial to elevate the thoughts and refine the manners.²²

Thus far we have discussed Ellen White's relation to sacred music in the vernacular tradition only. Her early years saw the cultivated tradition in Protestant church music, as represented by the florid English cathedral style of William Croft, Charles Burney, Martin Madan and others. Such men as Andrew Law, Samuel Holyoke and Hans Gram championed this tradition in the United States, but later it gave way to the more subdued Germanic style favored by the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston. Such proponents of this latter style as Thomas Hastings, Lowell Mason and George Webb made use of German chorale tunes, Gregorian chants and excerpts, fitted out with sacred words, from composers like Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart and Gluck. By the final quarter of the nineteenth century, however, fashionable Protestant churches on both coasts were treating their patrons to much more elaborate fare, including lengthy and intricate organ voluntaries, sacred vocal solos and ensembles by composers like Rossini and Cherubini, as well as imposing anthems and cantatas by native Americans, Dudley Buck, John Knowles Paine and Horatio Parker. To those who would look to the Seventh-day Adventist church service for the aesthetic refinement of the cultivated tradition, Mrs. White gave no license, let alone encouragement. In 1899, she wrote:

Gorgeous apparel, fine singing, and instrumental music in the church do not call forth the songs of the angel choir. In the sight of God these things are like the branches of the unfruitful fig tree which bore nothing but pretentious leaves. . . . A congregation may be the poorest in the land, without music or outward show, but if it possesses these principles [goodness,

sympathy, love], the members can sing, for the joy of Christ is in their souls, and this they can offer as a sweet oblation to God.²³

The clearest exposition of Ellen White's attitude toward the cultivated tradition in the worship of God is the following:

Many Protestants suppose that the Catholic religion is unattractive and that its worship is a dull, meaningless round of ceremony. Here they mistake. While Romanism is based upon deception, it is not a coarse and clumsy imposture. The religious service of the Roman Church is a most impressive ceremonial. Its gorgeous display and solemn rites fascinate the senses of the people and silence the voice of reason and of conscience. The eye is charmed. Magnificent churches, imposing processions, golden altars, jeweled shrines, choice paintings, and exquisite sculpture appeal to the love of beauty. The ear also is captivated. The music is unsurpassed. The rich notes of the deep-toned organ, blending with the melody of many voices as it swells through the lofty domes and pillared aisles of her grand cathedrals, cannot fail to impress the mind with awe and reverence.

*This outward splendor, pomp, and ceremony, that only mocks the longings of the sick soul, is an evidence of inward corruption. The religion of Christ needs not such attractions to recommend it. In the light shining from the cross, true Christianity appears so pure and lovely that no external decorations can enhance its true worth. It is the beauty of holiness, a meek and quiet spirit, which is of value with God.*²⁴ (italics supplied)

Note that her burden here was not to decry the prostitution of a supposedly good thing (aesthetic excellence in painting, sculpture, music, architecture, etc.) to a "bad cause" (Catholicism), but to assert that high art has no place in the worship of God, and that its presence must be taken as evidence of inward corruption. In his thoughtful little book, *Music and Worship*, Harold Hannum quotes the above passage, and states that although beauty can be associated with false systems of

worship, the beauty of high art is not thereby indicated as an adjunct to worship. In support of this view, he makes reference to the element of beauty in the worship of God in Solomon's temple. In fact, however, Ellen White took an unfavorable attitude toward the elaborate and artistic Jewish temple service. Speaking of the services in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles at the time of Christ, she said:

They [the people] had been engaged in a continued scene of pomp and festivity, their eyes had been dazzled with light and color, and their ears regaled with the rich-

“He who would advocate the use of sacred music from the cultivated tradition in Adventist church services must be prepared to make his stand apart from Ellen White. . . .”

est music; but there had been nothing in this round of ceremonies to meet the wants of the spirit, nothing to satisfy the thirst of the soul for that which perishes not. Jesus invited them to come and drink of the fountain of life, of that which would be in them a well of water springing up unto everlasting life.²⁵

From this it seems clear that he who would advocate the use of sacred music from the cultivated tradition in Seventh-day Adventist church services must be prepared to make his stand apart from Ellen White, for he will not find support of his position in her writings or personal example.

Although one can easily discover Mrs. White's ideas regarding proper music for religious services, it is more difficult to document precisely her attitude toward such a thing as an oratorio, for example. In 1903, she attended a Saturday night program of sacred music in the Healdsburg (now Pacific Union College) church, presented by Professor Beardslee and his students, commenting afterwards, “I am glad that Brother

Beardslee is training the students, so that they can be singing evangelists”; but there is no indication of what was performed. It is highly doubtful that anything approaching the complexity of Handel's *Messiah* would have elicited her approval. Although made in reference to worship services, the following statement, from 1903, seems to indicate fundamental disapproval of elements of musical style inherent not only to opera, but also to oratorio:

In some of our churches I have heard solos that were altogether unsuitable for the service of the Lord's house. The long-drawn-out notes and the peculiar sounds common in operatic singing are not pleasing to the angels. They delight to hear the simple songs of praise sung in a natural tone.²⁷

The possibility is strong that the Saturday night concert at Healdsburg consisted largely of gospel songs, for it is clear that she considered such music worthy of a place in an Adventist college curriculum. Less than three months after attending Professor Beardslee's concert, she wrote:

I am glad that a musical element has been brought into the Healdsburg school. In every school, instruction in singing is greatly needed. There should be much more interest in voice culture than is now generally manifested. Students who have learned to sing sweet gospel songs with melody and distinctness can do much good as singing evangelists. They will find many opportunities to use the talent that God has given them, to carry the melody and sunshine into many lonely places darkened by sin and sorrow and affliction, singing to those who seldom have church privileges.²⁸

Ellen White touched on the subject of sacred music as early as 1855 (in her first testimony to the church), but she did not take up the question of secular musical entertainment until her twelfth testimony, written in 1867. In its first part, entitled “Address to the Young,” she dealt at some length with the musical activities in Adventist homes. Since it is the primary source of quotations used by Adventist music educators in articles against popular music, rock, jazz, etc., all its perti-

ment portions will be given below in their original order and context.

They [young Sabbathkeepers] have a keen ear for music, and Satan knows what organs to excite to animate, engross, and charm the mind so that Christ is not desired. . . .

The introduction of music into their homes, instead of inciting to holiness and spirituality, has been the means of diverting their minds from the truth. Frivolous songs and the popular sheet music of the day seem congenial to their taste. The instruments of music have taken time which should have been devoted to prayer. Music, when not abused, is a great blessing; but when put to a wrong use, it is a terrible curse. . . .

Angels are hovering around yonder dwelling. The young are there assembled; there is the sound of vocal and instrumental music. Christians are gathered there, but what is it that you hear? It is a song, a frivolous ditty, fit for the dance hall. . . . This I saw repeated a number of times all through the ranks of Sabbathkeepers, and especially in _____ . Music has occupied the hours which should have been devoted to prayer. Music is the idol which many professed Sabbathkeeping Christians worship. Satan has no objection to music if he can make that a channel through which to gain access to the minds of the youth. Anything will suit his purpose that will divert the mind from God and engage the time which should be devoted to His service. . . .

When turned to good account, music is a blessing; but it is often made one of Satan's most attractive agencies to ensnare souls. When abused, it leads the unconsecrated to pride, vanity, and folly. When allowed to take the place of devotion and prayer, it is a terrible curse. Young persons assemble to sing, and, although professed Christians, frequently dishonor God and their faith by their frivolous conversation and their choice of music. *Sacred music is not congenial to their taste. . . .* (italics supplied)

God is glorified by songs of praise from a pure heart filled with love and devotion to Him. . . .

No one who has an indwelling Saviour will dishonor Him before others by producing strains from a musical instrument which call the mind from God and heaven to light and trifling things. . . .

How can you tell how many souls you might save from ruin if, instead of studying your own pleasure, you were seeking what work you could do in the vineyard of your Master? How many souls have these gatherings for conversation and the practice of music been the means of saving? If you cannot point to one soul thus saved, turn, oh turn to a new course of action. . . .

“A careful examination of all her statements about secular music must lead to the conclusion that her rejection of it was radical, based entirely on principle, and not at all on musical style or content.”

Pray more than you sing. Do you not stand in greater need of prayer than in singing? Young men and women, God calls upon you to work, work for Him. Make an entire change in your course of action. You can do work that those who minister in word and doctrine cannot do. You can reach a class whom the minister cannot affect. . . . (italics original)²⁹

Her fourteenth and sixteenth testimonies, written the following year, returned to the subject of instrumental music in connection with the Battle Creek church's neglect of an elderly missionary lady, Hannah More. The incident elicited the following anguished comment:

How can I endure the thought that most of the youth in this age will come short of everlasting life! Oh, that the sound of instrumental music might cease and they no more while away so much precious time in pleasing their own fancy. Oh, that they would devote less time to dress and vain conversation, and send forth their earnest, agonizing prayers to God for a sound experience.³⁰

Some, reading the passages quoted thus far, might argue that Mrs. White was not condemning secular musical entertainment in itself, rather, its intemperate use, which would lead to the neglect of more important things such as private devotions, care for the needy, and attendance at religious services. However, such an argument cannot be based on her own statements. It is true that, as Paul Hamel states in *Ellen White and Music: Background and Principles*, Ellen White did on certain occasions listen to secular music and comment favorably upon it.³¹ When she gave advice or admonition, however, such favorable comments cannot be found. In the twelfth testimony referred to previously, she answered any objections to her position:

Some still urge that they must have something to interest the mind when business ceases, some mental occupation or amusement to which the mind can turn for relief and refreshment amid cares and wearing labor. The Christian's hope is just what is needed. Religion will prove to the believer a comforter, a sure guide to the Fountain of true happiness. The young should study the word of God and give themselves to meditation and prayer, and they will find that their spare moments cannot be better employed.³²

Although she gave no specific titles in her statements against secular music, it is possible to discover what music was popular when she wrote the passages quoted. Following is a list of some of the most popular sheet music published in the United States between 1850 and 1866:

“Arkansas Traveler”
 “Aura Lee”
 “Battle Cry of Freedom”
 “Battle Hymn of the Republic”
 “Beautiful Dreamer”
 “Darling Nellie Gray”
 “Dixie”
 “Jeannie With the Light Brown Hair”
 “Jingle Bells”
 “Just Before the Battle, Mother”
 “Listen to the Mockingbird”
 “Little Brown Church in the Vale”
 “Marching Through Georgia”
 “Maryland, My Maryland”

“My Old Kentucky Home”
 “Old Black Joe”
 “Old Folks at Home”
 “Pop Goes the Weasel”
 “Rock Me to Sleep, Mother”
 “Star of the Evening”
 “Sweet Evelina”
 “Tenting on the Old Camp Ground”
 “Wait for the Wagon”
 “When Johnnie Comes Marching Home”
 “When You and I Were Young, Maggie”
 “Yellow Rose of Texas”³³

Dances current at the time included the quadrille, quick step, schottisch and waltz. Although the lists above have their share of “frivolous ditties,” “dance songs” and “war songs,” to use her expressions, they do not include any which could be considered “low, vile songs.” Such music was not published in this country in the 1860s, but some answering to that description might be heard in vaudeville, and at theatrical productions like *The Black Crook*, a prototype of Broadway musicals, which opened at Niblo's Garden in New York in 1866 to widespread notoriety and resounding success.

Three decades later, in 1897, Ellen White again addressed the subject of secular music. Writing to the teachers at Battle Creek College, she expressed concern over “low, common pleasure parties, gatherings for eating and drinking, singing and playing on instruments,” saying that students by engaging in such activities were “following the example of the ungodly authors of some of the books that are placed in their hands for study.”³⁴ It is highly significant that Mrs. White's statements about secular entertainment music in 1897 differed in no essential way from her statements of three decades earlier. Although much of the music to which she had objected formerly was still popular, a major stylistic revolution in entertainment music was well under way in the 1890s, a revolution of which current rock music is merely the latest manifestation. At the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, Scott Joplin and other black musicians introduced the country and the world to black music through the medium of ragtime, the highly syncopated instrumental predecessor to jazz, and it quickly became a national craze. By the

turn of the century, the socially adept young lady was expected to have mastered Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag" in addition to such favorites as "After the Ball" (the number one hit song of the Gay Nineties) and "A Bicycle Built for Two." If the quick, rhythmic ragtime supplied the instrumental ingredient for jazz, the slow, improvisatory, highly ornate blues, also a black creation, was to provide its primary vocal ingredient. The blues reached the public somewhat later than ragtime, but before World War I, blues singers Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith had toured the country and become famous. Thus, the two prime ingredients which by the 1920s had coalesced into jazz, had, before Ellen White's death, reached a very wide public without calling forth from her any censure more specific than she had meted out to the vastly simpler music popular in the 1850s and 1860s.

A careful examination of all her statements about secular music must lead to the conclusion that her rejection of it was radical, based entirely on principle, and not at all on musical style or content. Considering her acceptance and even advocacy of sacred songs in a vernacular, popular musical idiom, and the fact that God entrusted her with no new message for the church concerning the evils supposedly inherent to highly rhythmic "beat" music, it would seem that the time has arrived to lay to rest any arguments advanced in Ellen White's name against music in the vernacular idiom, sacred or secular, on the basis of its musical style.

What of secular music in the cultivated tradition? The year of Mrs. White's birth, 1827, was also the year of Beethoven's death; when she was born, Schubert was still alive, Schumann was a teenager and Brahms's parents had not met. When she died in 1915, Brahms had been dead for nearly two decades, two years had passed since the premiere of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, Charles Ives's musical output (including some quarter-tone music) was essentially complete and John Cage was three years old. When she was a baby, music in the Viennese classical style of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven held almost undisputed sway on the concert stage and in

private recitals. In her old age, the classicists faced the competition not only of modernists like Scriabin, Debussy and Schoenberg, but of the full course of the Romantic Period, from Mendelssohn and Berlioz through Mahler and Richard Strauss, and including Wagner, Dvorak, Tchaikovsky, Verdi and Puccini. What was her attitude toward the world of music represented by such composers? Perhaps this statement, written in 1899, best sums it up: "We have no time now to

"It is unwise for musicians steeped in the cultivated tradition, for which she had no use, to wrap themselves in her mantle when attacking the music for which they have no use."

spend in seeking those things that only please the senses."³⁵ As far as it is possible to ascertain, Ellen White never attended a public concert or a private recital. Nowhere does she refer to a composer by name; nowhere is there a reference to an orchestra, a symphony, a string quartet, a cantata, an oratorio. The one manifestation of secular art music which drew her attention, however, was opera, and its place in her estimation was set forth with complete clarity:

Many of the amusements popular in the world today, even with those who claim to be Christians, tend to the same end as did those of the heathen. There are indeed few among them that Satan does not turn to account in destroying souls. Through the drama he has worked for ages to excite passion and glorify vice. The opera, with its fascinating display and bewildering music, the masquerade, the dance, the card table, Satan employs to break down the barriers of principle and open the door to sensual indulgence. In every gathering for pleasure where pride is fostered or appetite indulged, where one is led to forget God and lose sight of eternal interests, there

Satan is binding his chains about the soul.³⁶

The discussion thus far has shown that Mrs. White favored simple, hymnlike sacred song, performed as a part of devotional exercise. Choirs, like musical instruments, had one legitimate purpose — to support congregational singing. She never encouraged participation in secular entertainment music, for it was designed solely to provide sensual pleasure for performers and audience. When sacred music was employed for the same purpose, it too became a stumbling block. Her rejection of sensual pleasure as a legitimate object of human pursuit ruled out not only the secular music of the vernacular tradition, but also the entire world of the cultivated tradition in music, in both its sacred and secular branches. Although a dramatic change in musical style, from Stephen Foster to Scott Joplin, took place between her first and last messages on the subject of popular music, her objections continued to be based entirely on nonmusical grounds.

On this basis, then, it is clear that a conflict exists between Ellen White's view of music and the observable practice within the church today. It requires little acuteness to perceive that Ellen White's view of music, if accurately presented in this study, is more honored among Adventists in its breach than in its observance. Furthermore, many Adventist educators continue to call upon her authority to enforce their opinions on musical matters. It is undoubtedly true that Ellen White would condemn the rock festivals of our day, just as she condemned the frivolous musical parties of her own. Yet it is unwise for musicians steeped in the cultivated tradition, for which she had no use, to wrap themselves in her mantle when attacking the music for which they have no use. Musicians skate on even thinner ice when they presume to attack music in a currently popular idiom set to sacred words, for Ellen White's own precedent suggests that she might approve of it, if directed toward spiritual ends.

It may be useful to search out a basic reason for the gap between Ellen White's philosophy of music and current Adventist practice. Her difficult statements with regard to

music, and her radical rejection of what men and women through centuries have found pleasant and worthwhile are comprehensible only in an eschatological context. Her attitude toward music is eminently sensible for a church on the threshold of the millennium, and the eschatological urgency of her writings is inescapable. In her statements about music in Bible times and the hereafter, two points emerge which also contribute toward the understanding of her attitude toward the music of her own time: from the great anthem, composed spontaneously by Moses, and performed, without rehearsal, by the hosts of Israel upon their deliverance at the Red Sea, up through the experiences of David as a composer, and beyond, to the schools of the prophets, direct inspiration by God, in Ellen White's view, played the major role in the creation and performance of divinely sanctioned music. The creation of music acceptable to God was much more heavily dependent on the elements of prayer and contemplation than on an acquaintance with a wide range of musical literature and extensive technical training. Second, whatever technical skills might be required to perform heaven's music, music far surpassing in quality any to be heard on earth would be granted instantaneously to the redeemed upon translation, as the following statement makes clear:

Upon the heads of the overcomers, Jesus with His own right hand places the crown of glory. For each there is a crown, bearing his own "new name" (Revelation 2:17), and the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord." In every hand are placed the victor's palm and the shining harp. Then, as the commanding angels strike the note, *every hand sweeps the harp strings with skillful touch*, awaking sweet music in rich, melodious strains. . . .³⁷(italics supplied). Thus, to Mrs. White's mind, time spent with the musical works of mortal men might be better employed in contemplating the mighty themes of salvation. Given the shortness of time until Christ's return, and the incomparable musical experience awaiting the redeemed in heaven, the music lover who chose prayer meeting over a concert, Bible reading over a singing exercise, chose wisely.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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4. Benson, *The English Hymn*, p. 284.
5. Benson, *The English Hymn*, p. 293.
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8. White, Manuscript 91, 1903, published in *Evangelism* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1946), p. 510.
9. White, *Signs of the Times* (June 22, 1882).
10. White, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (July 24, 1883).
11. White, *Selected Messages*, book two, p. 36.
12. White, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (July 24, 1883).
13. Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), p. 109.
14. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1948), VII, 115.
15. White, Letter 190, 1902, published in *Evangelism*, p. 509.
16. White, *Testimonies*, IV, 71.
17. White, *Testimonies*, IX, 144.
18. Even within Presbyterian circles the opposition to musical instruments was by 1900 largely in the past; a vigorous attack had come as early as 1763, when the following announcement was published in the *Providence Gazette* of July 2:
Just published, and to be sold by William Goddard, At his Shop and Printing Office, in Providence.
The Lawfulness, Excellency, and Advantage of Instrumental Musick in the Publick Worship of God, urg'd and enforced from Scripture, and the far greater Part of Christians in all Ages. — Addressed to all (particularly the Presbyterians and Baptists) who have been hitherto taught to look upon the Use of Instrumental Musick in the Worship of God as unlawful. — By a Presbyterian.
19. White, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (July 24, 1883).
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21. White, Letter 1a, 1890, mimeographed in "Excerpts," compiled by Greer, Stone and Iverson-Wood, p. 45.
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Population, Planning And Church Policy

by Margaret McFarland

Significant population trends in the United States need to be addressed by church members and administration if the church is to plan effectively to accomplish its mission. Population — its size, composition and location — is the most basic datum for planners of all types. Planning as a profession has historically been concerned with urban development and land use, that is, with setting goals, objectives and policies for the built environment — for the configuration of streets, parks, homes and industries — and has relied on zoning as the implementation mechanism.

However, planning more broadly defined, as a methodical approach to making estimates of future trends and pursuing policies and programs in order to accomplish specified goals in that future, can be applied to any field. As an apocalyptic church, a church calling all God's children to a concern with the future, the Seventh-day Adventist Church should take a "planning" approach to church policy — church operations.

Population trends, therefore, as the basic data of all planning, are crucial to the church

in attempting to accomplish its mission in the twentieth century. Four issues of population deserve attention: urbanization, suburbanization, relocation and composition.

First, urbanization. As of 1975, 73.2 percent of Americans lived in metropolitan areas, while only 4.2 percent were still farmers.¹ Because many Seventh-day Adventist institutions, schools and administrative offices are not in these metropolitan areas, many Adventists are unaware of urbanization. This is not to say that Adventist locations — Berrien Springs, South Lancaster, Collegedale — are ill advised, but that we must not be blinded to the facts by our immediate surroundings. Most people, those to whom we are called to preach the gospel, now live in urban places. This is no longer a nation of farmers and small towns. If we are to preach the gospel, it will have to be done in cities. This fact, of course, has implications for evangelistic techniques.

The tent meeting and six-week to three-month evangelistic campaign will never reach the city dweller. The church needs to reassess the kinds of people who make up this industrialized society — factory workers, insurance brokers, computer programmers, garbage collectors, construction workers and

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a very few farmers. That is not to say that the migrant workers, Appalachian miners and small farmers that have not been incorporated into cosmopolitan America should not concern us, but simply to recognize that the vast majority of people cannot be reached by old methods.

Industrialized and postindustrialized urbanites have different life patterns, and our methods and language must be tailored to meet their religious hungerings. The church needs a major commitment of workers, as well as money, to set up restaurants, day-care centers, art exhibits, concerts, lectures, community colleges and hospitals where the people are, not as an *urban* ministry, but as *the* ministry. In an urbanized and institutionalized society, the ministry must become urbanized. The message remains; the medium must change.

Second, suburbanization. Along with the massive population movement from country to city, farm to factory, rural to urban society in this century, a concomitant population pattern has emerged since World War II, the rise of the suburbs. While urbanization has continued, the central city has lost population to the suburbs. Between 1975 and 1976, central cities lost almost 2,000,000 persons, and 75 percent of those leaving moved to the suburbs.² Statistics cannot begin to describe the abandonment of a Cleveland or of a Detroit. This “doughnut phenomenon” affects not only large cities, but also as surely if less viscerally, the Omahas and Toledos of the country.

Complex factors contribute to this blighting phenomenon — from the federal funding of highways and sewers, which provide the infrastructure for development, to racism and the pursuit of the agrarian ideal by individuals. As blacks moved into the old immigrant ghettos, whites did not just move across the street but moved out of town. In order to maintain the Jeffersonian belief that country living was superior, Americans, black and white alike, sought a patch of grass in the suburbs as a sign of an improved quality of life.

The resulting inequity manifests itself in

groceries that cost more where the ability to pay is least, schools that fail to teach, and social and spiritual alienation in the inner city. Massive investments in sewers, roads, stores, houses and churches which still have many years of usefulness are abandoned or underutilized, while a duplicate built environment is constructed in the suburbs, unnecessarily absorbing irreplaceable farmland and raising taxes for everyone.

A move to the urban fringe by even one individual or institution contributes to the deterioration of both city and county. Unless one is a farmer, a move into the cornfields or woods only guarantees that the corn or trees will not be there much longer. This extending of urban areas compounds driving distances and thus contributes to air pollution, removes more productive agricultural land, increasing dependence on chemical fertilizers and reducing the ability of the United States to feed hungry nations, and increases water pollution where septic tanks precede sewer lines and concrete replaces the earth under the rain’s downpour. It is difficult for one person or institution to see the impact it has on the environment, but it only takes a trip to Lake Erie or most any stream in the United States to see the cumulative effect.

The church cannot ignore either the causes or the results of this profligate suburbanization. The church must vigorously oppose racism. First, it must purge its own paternalistic structures and urge from the pulpit Christian brotherhood. Second, while the church may be unable to effectively counteract federal programs and local laws which make suburbanization economically attractive, it need not contribute to it by abandoning its old locations and older buildings. Reuse or revitalization of existing buildings and sites, such as at Loma Linda and Takoma Park, can offer stability to a rapidly urbanizing area in the former case or an aging urbanized neighborhood in the latter.

Such an example of commitment to a neighborhood or city may be the best advertisement the gospel could make. A move to the “country” by an institution such as the General Conference or Columbia Union College is virtually impossible, for suburbia — urban living — will just be relocated.

However, institutionally and individually, it is possible to counteract rather than contribute to suburbanizing trends.

The results of suburbanization and central city decay, the inequity of ghetto life, the alienation of suburbia without community, are also secondary population effects which the church must address. Establishing or

“The church needs a major commitment to set up restaurants, day-care centers, art exhibits, concerts, lectures, community colleges and hospitals where the people are, not as an *urban* ministry, but as *the* ministry.”

maintaining churches in central cities would not only help stabilize the community, but also offer an opportunity to carry on a paid reach-out ministry of remedial education, low cost meals, health care and wholesome recreation to those left in the cities. For suburbanites, the community life that Adventists have to offer can fill the “lost” feeling of those who sought a quality of life, but ended up with no connections.

In other words, while the church may counteract some suburbanizing trends, it can recognize and offer a ministry for those locked both in the cities and the suburbs.

Third, relocation. The 1970s have seen a new population phenomenon — no longer is migration from south to north, but the migration is now from northeast to southwest, east to west and north to south for industry and government and, hence, jobs and people. In fact, more than 80 percent of the nation’s population growth since 1970 has been in the south and west. This growth represents a wholesale population shift to the sunbelt states.³

Between 1970 and 1975, Florida experi-

enced the greatest growth of *total* population (1.6 million), closely followed by California, Texas and Arizona. Those states with the largest growth *rates* were Arizona, Florida, Alaska and Nevada. Furthermore, the south as a region added the greatest numbers of people in the first half of this decade, thus reversing the outmigration of the first half of this century.⁴

The growing states are attractive to both industry and government since they generally have lower energy, labor and land costs. More federal dollars — welfare, social security, military and civilian contracts — have been spent in the sunbelt states than in the older industrialized areas of the northeast and midwest. Houston is quickly approaching New York as a big money capital. Furthermore, lower housing costs and warmer climates have attracted large influxes of retirees, particularly in Florida and Arizona, compounding the industrial-government stampede.⁵

The implications for the church are obvious. These growing areas will also see more Adventists, but presently have fewer facilities — churches, hospitals and schools. Will Southwestern Adventist College and Union College be adequate to serve these growing needs? Can we develop a ministry for oil-rich Houston, as well as the retirees of St. Petersburg?

On the other hand, the schools and hospitals of the northeast and midwest may require greater assistance to maintain their financial position. Adventist institutions in these areas may need to be reformulated into community institutions. A continued and revitalized presence in these areas by our churches and institutions can provide services and stability to communities vexed by the problems of declining population. Furthermore, graduates of Adventist colleges and universities in the west ought to reconsider the “lure of the west” and commit themselves to service in such places as New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Indiana.

Flexibility and planning will be necessary to anticipate new trends and accommodate the demands and needs of both the new areas and those churches and institutions left in the older areas.

Fourth, changing composition. The church must consider the changing composition of the American population. The greatest changes are at opposite ends of the population spectrum. Since people are living longer and having fewer children, by the year 2,000 the elderly population is projected to rise from its current 10.5 percent to 12 percent of the population.⁶ Between 1975 and 1976, the number of elderly increased by 529,000, while the number of those under age five dropped by 544,000⁷

These changes are due to changing birth rates. First, the baby boom generation beginning at the end of World War II is nearly

“How the church responds to these population phenomena—the people who need the message of Christ’s love—will determine how well the mission of the church is accomplished in America during the coming years.”

through college and will continue to create a bulge in the age structure of the population right into retirement. Consequently, the number of the elderly will increase from now to the end of the century. However, the declining fertility rate since 1957, now at .8 percent or about 1.8 children per woman, directly affects the school-age population.⁸ Between 1974 and 1976, the number of children between ages five and 13 dropped 10.1 percent and the number of preschoolers dropped 10.6 percent.⁹ However, as the last of the “baby boom” generation enters the childbearing years of 20-35, the numbers of school-age children will rise again.

Both these features must be anticipated by the church and its institutions. First, the church — local, union and general conferences — should provide retirement centers with individual living units as well as nursing home care in order to accommodate the

growing desire of older persons to be independent for as long as possible. Christian atmosphere for Adventist young people has long been the case, but now there is and will be a growing need to provide centers for the elderly with the distinctive Adventist life style — Sabbathkeeping, Christian companionship and vegetarian cookery. This growing segment of the population also suggests a new avenue for church ministry in offering not only unique hospital care to the community, but also healthful, Christian retirement centers as well.

A second serious problem posed by this change in population composition is declining enrollment at Adventist schools. Retrenchment may be necessary for Adventist educational institutions. Consolidation might be considered, particularly for elementary schools and academies, with an eye to future expansion needs as the children of baby boom parents create another bulge. On the college level, consolidation is probably less desirable, despite the financial burden of maintaining numerous small colleges, since their withdrawal would keenly exacerbate the problems of the communities and churches they left. Some reconsideration of the size, style or focus of each college might be necessary, however, in adapting to the changing age structure.

As enrollments fluctuate, the church administration should consider financial assistance to hard-pressed schools rather than continued increases in tuition. Alternatively, in conjunction with new day-care and elderly-care ministries, the extension of the Adventist school system into an outreach program serving as community schools, similar to the Kettering experiment, might help maintain schools which otherwise would experience the pressure of declining enrollment.

All four of these population factors, then, can be seen as critical elements in planning for the church’s mission in the United States. People, as the object of Christ’s sacrifice, must also be the focus of the church, and most of those people live in cities and suburbs with increasing numbers moving south and west and growing older.

While the urbanization of America will con-

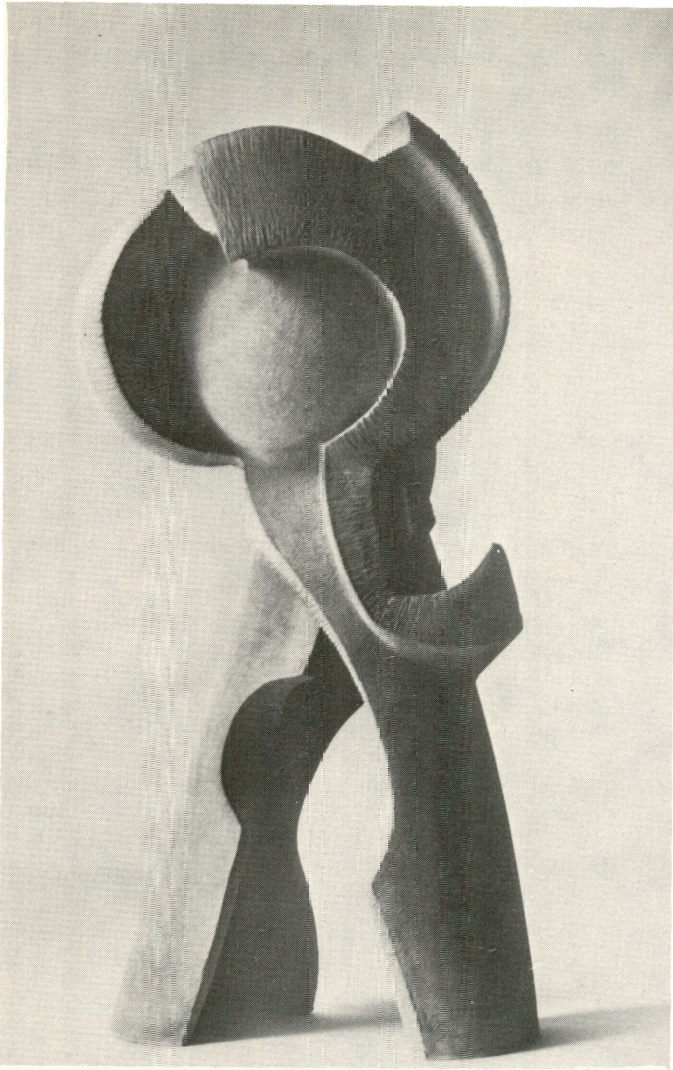
tinue to demand new evangelistic tools, new ways of relating externally, suburbanization demands that the church evaluate its internal decision making, its institutional impact on the surrounding community. Relocation and changing composition of the population must be considered in both its emerging sections—the sunbelt states and elderly as well as the older industrialized states and young —

and programs must be developed to meet the challenge of the new areas and mitigate the impacts on the old.

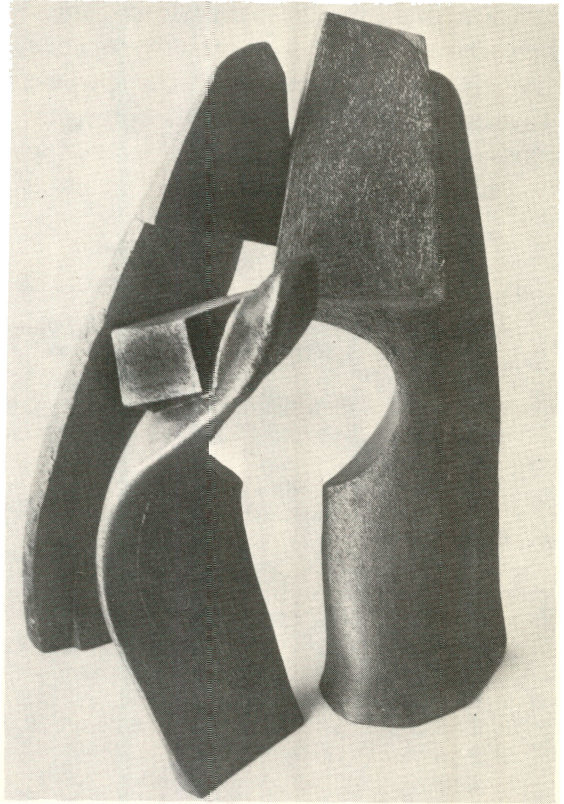
How the church responds to these population phenomena — the people who need the message of Christ's love — will determine how well the mission of the church is accomplished in America during the coming years.

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**Terra cotta, 59''
1979**

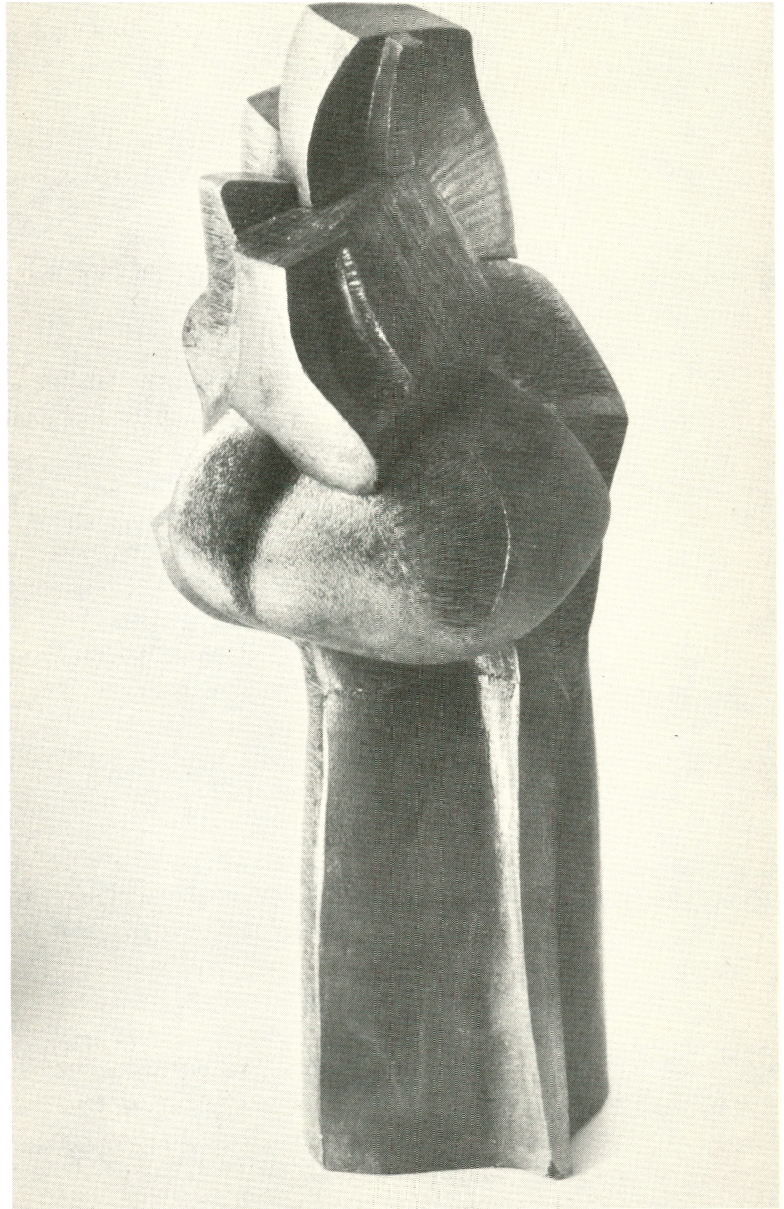


**Glazed terra cotta, 36''
1978**

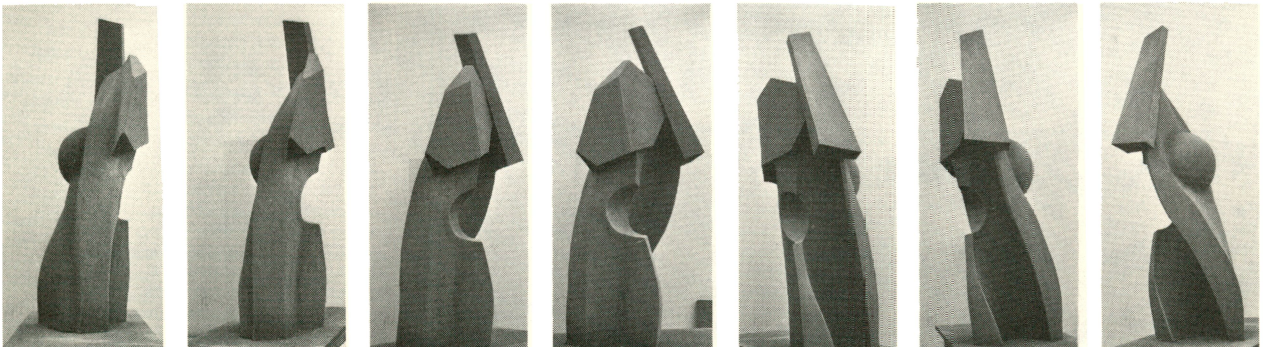


**Glazed terra cotta, 59''
1979**

Thomas Emmerson, assistant professor of art at Walla Walla College, recently completed his M.F.A. in ceramics at the Otis Art Institute of Los Angeles County.



**Glazed terra cotta, 53''
1979**



**Glazed terra cotta, 49''
1978**

Seven Seven Seventy-Seven

Early morning in early July -
a bliss of waxing sun and waning cool,
a silver stillness with diamonds flashing about my feet,

a philandering green lawn
with its arms around buxom rose maidens
and pert, cotton-print, flower-bed damsels;

a reviewing of trusty troops
on the well-hoed parade ground —
ranks of sturdy onion pikemen,
jaunty carrot standard-bearers,
beetroot Beefeaters and spinach Green Howards,
broad-bean rifles and Wolf Cub cabbages;

a triumphant walkabout down a narrowed lane
squeezed tight by jubilee-celebrating grass public
waving, bowing, and curtsying
along the billowing verge,
drunk with excitement, swaying
about gawky, unbending hog-weeds
with their ridiculous cottage-cheese hats
hoisted aloft in grudging matinal cheers,
vinegar-faced dock dowagers,
festooned with rusty beads,
acid old-maid nettles
bristling with prudery and spite,
and geriatric cow-parsley, all seedy and sere.

A. J. Woodfield, who holds a doctorate in English literature from the University of London, is chairman of the department of English at Newbold College.

I kick my Shetland-pony moped
into grudging motion
and trot it lazily along the balmy lane,
past meadows drowsing behind hawthorn curtains.
I dodge the sudden bramble snakes
that lurch out and arch to strike as I pass
and fall behind with a frustrated hiss.

I plunge into perfume ponds
oozed out of new-mown hayfields.
I hold my nose in garlick puddles
of alien, burnt-out-petrol fumes.
Stonehenge stooks of new-piled hay bales,
ghostlike in outline, loom like brooding druids
muttering incantations in the brightening sun.

My crash helmet breaks through the cool
soft air and swishes it past my ears
like the wash of a water-skier's disc.
I could dream on and on
like a sun-bather on a golden Caribbean strand,
as if this magic holiday morning
had turned already into eternity in Paradise,

But the "Gateway of Service" posts
fall in suddenly beside me,
galley-masters, ruthlessly waiting
to haul me back to the oar
for a weary, burning day.

— A. J. Woodfield
7th July 1977

Responses from Readers

On Maxwell Letter

To the Editors: I profited from Lawrence Maxwell's letter in the last SPECTRUM — mostly because it showed me what a poor job I did at communicating what I meant to say about the 1978 Geoscience Study Conference in the previous issue. So, for the record, let me try to make a few things clear.

1) Never have I ever thought the creationist interpretation “somehow unscientific,” if by “*the* creationist interpretation” Maxwell refers to the Genesis revelation “In the beginning, God created. . . .” To me, that makes much better sense than the spontaneous generation of a living cell as advocated by many evolutionists. This was *not* the issue during the field conference. To the best of my knowledge, we were all ardent creationists. The issues were one, whether creation occurred 6,000 years or longer ago, and two, whether a year-long universal flood since that time accounts for most of the fossiliferous strata in the earth's crust.

2) Never during the study conference did I hear any member take up any time “presenting an evolutionary viewpoint” as his own, unless Maxwell interprets the view that more time than 6,000 years is required for the earth's history as “an evolutionary viewpoint.”

3) Maxwell has me referring to “the three senior members of the Geoscience Research Institute” and two others as presenting “some particularly good material.” By “senior members,” I presume he has reference to Roth, Lugenbeal and Coffin, who have been with GRI much longer than R. H. Brown. I want to make it clear that I thought Brown, too, made many valuable contribu-

tions during the conference. I reject Maxwell's implication that only *some* speakers were looking for answers. To any unprejudiced auditor, all speakers were clearly in that category.

4) It is not clear from Maxwell's letter whether or not he thought the young scientists who “capitulated to the evolutionary theory and even went so far as to tell our church members that they also ought to go over to the other side” were participants in the study conference. I can state categorically that, based on my observations and notes, they were *not* on the trip I reported on. Such irresponsible statements do a disservice to the cause of truth which is concerned with what is so, not what is “satisfying.”

Lawrence T. Geraty
Archaeology and History of Antiquity
Andrews University

On 1919 Bible Conference

To the Editors: I have just finished rereading the selected minutes of the 1919 Bible Conference published in SPECTRUM (Vol. 10, No. 1). Certainly, the members of the Adventist Church have suffered for 60 years because they lacked the opportunity to study these transcripts. You have done us a service by printing them. Certainly, too, the understanding of the prophetic mission of Ellen G. White, as expressed then by Arthur G. Daniells and others, is far different from the beliefs of most Adventists today. Although I claim no theological training, and no personal involvement in recent discussions, it seems evident to me that these minutes relieve some great difficulties, while exposing

the Adventist church to certain dangers.

First of all, despite the official position that Mrs. White did not write word-for-word as inspired directly by God, *in practice* Adventists have generally subscribed to the idea that her comments were infallible. To the warning that she was no historian, we responded with her remarks of visions and scenes, and we obviously departed from the views she and the church leadership held, according to these minutes. Accompanying this widespread inability to accept any errors in her works was certainly their widespread use. We cheered as Adventist publishers provided yet another compilation of previously unavailable material, and the *Index* to Ellen White's writings placed in easy reach any number of quotations to clinch arguments on a limitless variety of issues. Armed with such a shortcut to truth, we filled our churches, our books and our magazines with selected excerpts, but often without much thinking or the "proving" evidenced in the minutes from 1919. Even worse, Ellen White's writings became a weapon. Whether the subject was the location of a college campus, a public indication that one was married, the age of the earth, or the (presumably worldwide and ever-applicable) length and style of women's clothing, the final evidence too frequently came from quotations selected for a specific purpose. Quotes replaced the long and rigorous study of Scripture, or even the study of Mrs. White's own works. Naturally, many avoided these trends, and may vehemently deny their existence, but they need only to look around.

Not surprisingly, the daily acceptance of infallibility eventually landed us in an extremely difficult pass. In this decade, besides the evidence in Numbers' unflattering book, both Peterson and McAdams showed rather convincingly that large portions of *The Great Controversy* consisted of little more than paraphrases of the works of nineteenth-century historians, including the occasional error of fact. This evidence nullified F. D. Nichol's defense of the quoted materials, as well as the explanation that Ellen White turned to other historians largely "to fill in the gaps." Here was wholesale borrowing, not by her secretaries, but in her own hand-

writing. Obviously, this clear historical evidence proved incompatible with the traditional Adventist view of Ellen White's inspiration and authority. Obviously, too, many sincere, thinking Adventists found themselves in a very difficult position, for the Spirit of Prophecy was occasionally wrong on matters of historical record. Fortunately, your publication of these minutes helped demolish this straw man of infallibility that some had erected into an item of belief. It was a very moving experience to read the minutes of the 1919 Conference and learn that 60 years ago church leaders recognized that the Spirit of Prophecy was a complex matter, and not always authoritative in details. The combination of faith, belief and judgment that the minutes illustrate still amazes me. As a friend remarked, "It makes me proud to belong to a church whose early leaders were so open-minded."

Nevertheless, these remarks place the church in substantial difficulties. Do we revise the volumes of the *Conflict of the Ages* series to accord with later historical discoveries, as Arthur Daniells indicated was Mrs. White's pattern? If historical fact becomes the criterion to judge the accuracy of sections of the writings, what internal evidence separates the divinely inspired materials? Beyond that, what of other fields? C. L. Benson's remarks were perhaps the most perceptive for the future. If, he asks, the *Testimonies* are uncertain on historical and theological questions, "then how can we consistently place implicit confidence in the direction that is given with reference to our educational problems, and our medical school, and even our denominational organization?"

Personally, I have no answer for Benson's question. However, it does seem that, more than ever, the writings of Ellen White can be appreciated for their spiritual value. They must be studied for present truth. With our shortcut to truth removed, it will not be easy for us as a church to study the context of her remarks, and their historical circumstances. The process — and many conclusions — may divide us, for we have grown too used to the pabulum of infallible quotations provided by the *Index* and soon to be speeded by computers. However, the opportunities are

there. The Sabbath School could teach judgment rather than provide devotion, and our journals could return to the reasoning of earlier days. Finally, however, let us remember that the fundamental message of Mrs. White remains, and as a church let us return to it from the periphery of concern with rules, dates, dress and all the rest.

Malcolm B. Russell
Berrien Springs, Michigan

To the Editors: It was a great surprise, and became a great pleasure, to read the unedited minutes from that Educational Convention away back in 1919 in Takoma Park (Vol. 10, No. 1). What mental suffering would have been saved to me personally, and I am sure to hundreds of young ministers, had we had this information. I sat for four years at the feet of a godly Bible teacher, and soaked in his instruction like a sponge. Some years later, the book, *Testimonies to Ministers* appeared. I went to Elder W. C. White and asked him in amazement what his mother was writing about concerning the meeting in Minneapolis in 1888. He spent two hours telling me all about it. Later, I asked my teacher how he could have sent my class into the world as representatives of the Seventh-day Adventists without telling them about — nay, without mentioning to them — the most crucial episode in Adventist history, up to that time.

As I read widely and deeply in the writings of Ellen G. White and, of course, read the attacks against her and the defense of F. D. Nichol and others of her defenders, I was deeply troubled. I secured everything published under her name. I found discrepancies and difficulties galore. There was no minister to whom I could go in confidence to ask regarding them. All gave me the impression that she was free of all contradictions and inconsistencies. I approached one, and he gave me to understand that my license to preach was jeopardized by my doubting the Spirit of Prophecy. My mental agony was intense; the torment was sufficient to endanger my sanity.

Here I find that the leaders of the work in my time had the same conclusions I had. But

why did I have to wait 50 years to discover this? Why was this not discussed with young ministers and assistance given them?

A lifetime of reading and comparing has filled my files with these difficulties. The best argument I find is that found in *Education*, page 46, “though not so divinely inspired.” This is also spoken of by Paul in 1 Cor. 7:6, 12, 25, etc., referring to “degrees of inspiration.” I prepared a very helpful study on that. Much of Ellen White’s material is most excellent and helpful, including such books as *Steps to Christ*, *The Desire of Ages*, *Christ’s Object Lessons*. Had we as a denomination limited her publications to these books, we would have been wise. But, when we throw into the Spirit-inspired category *Sketches from the Life of Paul*, *Christ Our Saviour*, and the first three volumes of the *Testimonies*, we expose ourselves to difficulty.

So I congratulate you on publishing the minutes in SPECTRUM. I hope it will provide our ministry with a sane approach to Mrs. White’s vast library — ever growing — and assist them in their comprehension of the value of this material.

Incidentally, isn’t it time to stop publishing her material? How can we expect our people to purchase — much less read — the vast plethora we now have? And to think that soon we will have a three-volume life of E. G. White! I wish we knew as much of Isaiah as we do of Ellen White!

Henry F. Brown
St. Helena, California

On Professional Organizations

To the Editors: I appreciated the recent listing of Seventh-day Adventist Professional Associations (Vol. 9, No. 4). Please include the Association of Adventist Physicists in your list. The president-elect is Dr. S. Clark Rowland, Physics Department, Andrews University; the secretary-treasurer is Dr. Bill Mundy, Physics Department, Pacific Union College. The present membership is 46, but we are in the process of advertising and this number will increase.

Robert E. Kingman, President
Association of Adventist Physicists

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