

# 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.<sup>1</sup> 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

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cataclysmic destruction of the present order as a cathartic, morale building, or revolutionary effort on the part of people suffering some intolerable discomfort.<sup>2</sup> 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*.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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!!!!!”<sup>6</sup>

Since there were 2,500 subscribers to the

*Review and Herald* in 1860,<sup>7</sup> it is obvious that this list of 632 names is not complete.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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

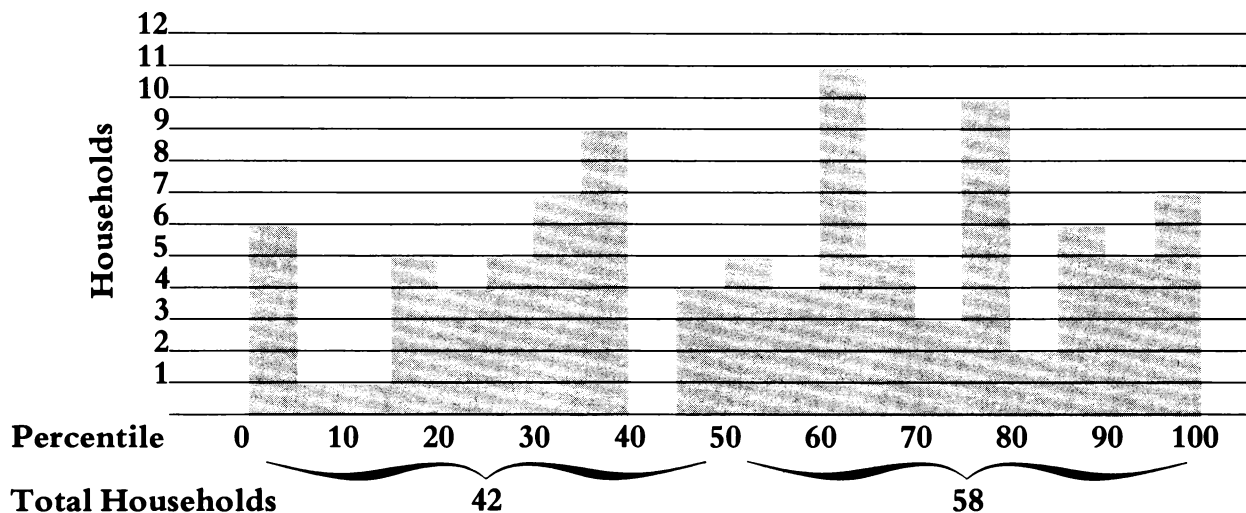
these two figures.<sup>10</sup> Since I am not interested in absolute wealth, but in the economic standing of Adventists in comparison to others within their communities, I have assigned each Adventist a percentile rank in his community according to where he fell in a list of his neighbors from the wealthiest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

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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

Figure A

**Adventist Wealth, 1860**



A 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.

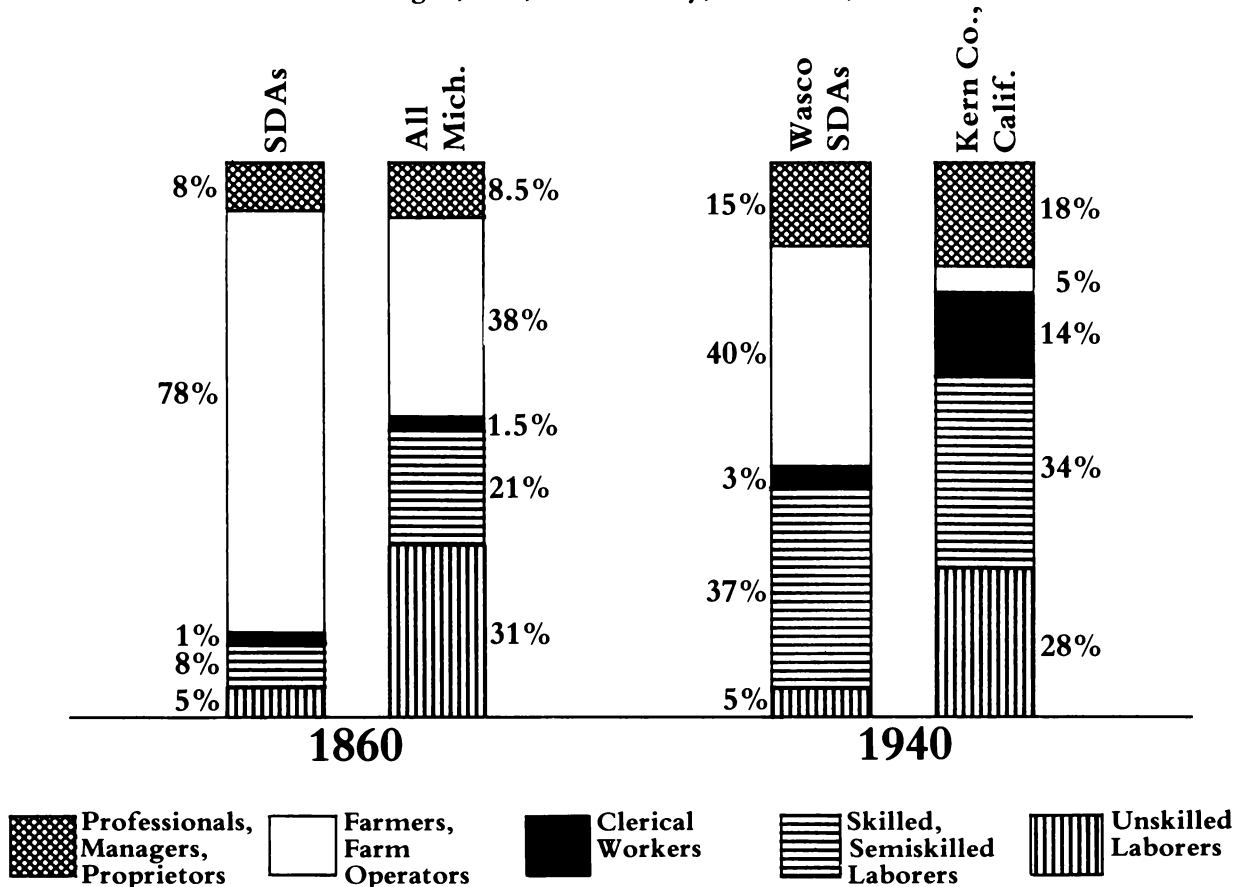
This rural aspect of Adventist life provides an important corrective to the economic profile of the group. Although some Adventists ranked in the very highest percentiles in their communities, their communities were ones which almost never included the very richest

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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.”<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup>

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

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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.”<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

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.”<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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

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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.<sup>26</sup> Joseph Smith called his people together to build Zion, whereas Ellen White stressed the virtues of country living and the agrarian way of life.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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."<sup>32</sup> 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* (River-side, 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.