

## The Walla Walla Witch Hunt of 1938

How American fundamentalism of the 1930s swept away three Walla Walla religion professors and President William Landeen.

by Terrie Dopp Aamodt

NE OF THE FIRST GREAT ADVENTIST ACAdemic purges occurred at Walla Walla College in 1938. After intense questioning by the board of trustees, three theology faculty resigned "under fire," and the college president, William Landeen, also resigned. Its prelude and aftermath both invite and defy interpretation. How do people who have been doing the same job year after year suddenly qualify as heretics? Should it be surprising that probing for heterodoxy in one place reveals it in some other, totally unexpected place? When a trusted professor winds up in the pulpit of another denomination, did he get there because in his heart he was an Episcopalian, a Methodist, or a Unitarian all along, or is there some other explanation? How does a purge begin? What makes it end?

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Are witch hunts cyclic?

The answers lie in the way people and their institutions respond to change. In 1938, church leaders became more specific than their own recently articulated fundamental beliefs as they uncovered real and perceived deviance at Walla Walla College (WWC). While part of the 1938 context was uniquely Adventist, the denomination was not immune to the fundamentalist fervor that swept through American religion in the 1920s and 1930s.

Although the exit of some theology teachers seemed to assuage momentarily the fears that created the purge, the underlying issues were never really resolved; retirements, the onset of World War II, and short institutional memory explain the relative tranquility that followed.

If the purge of 1938 was a morality play, church officials and theologians made up the *dramatis personae*.

James Lamar McElhany, president of the General Conference since 1936, and author of the

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first version of denominational fundamental beliefs, published in 1932;

MALCOLM NEAL CAMPBELL, vice president of the General Conference for the North American Division;

EDWIN K. SLADE, president of the North Pacific Union Conference (NPUC) and chair of the WWC Board of Trustees;

WILLIAM LANDEEN, Reformation historian and president of Walla Walla College since 1933;

FREDERICK SCHILLING, evangelist, church historian and theologian, a 15-year veteran of denominational employment, and dean of the WWC School of Theology since 1932;

HOMER SAXTON, religion teacher for 17 years, at WWC since 1933;

Harold Bass, missionary, academy principal, and pastor for nearly 20 years, added to the WWC theology faculty in the fall of 1937.

James McElhany presided over a newly diverse worldwide church whose mission program added many new members. The 22 fundamental beliefs he authored at the request of the General Conference Committee in 1932 would become increasingly important in bringing unity and uniformity of practice around the world. It had been almost 25 years since Ellen White had died, and he wanted young people born after her death to understand that she was still central to the Adventist message. Things to be avoided at all costs were skepticism, infidelity, and worldliness.

His lieutenant in the Northwest, Edwin Slade, had his hands full. Heresy seemed to be breaking out everywhere in the North Pacific Union. Two young men, the Rogers brothers, who had studied for a time at Walla Walla College, took their intense righteousness by faith message to the Enumclaw, Washington, church and proclaimed the church organization was in error because it did not focus on this message. When the entire congregation supported them, it was disfellowshipped in 1937. When the Auburn church appeared

about to follow suit, union officials and the Western Washington Conference president preached three sermons there one Sabbath and then asked the members who could support the denomination to stand. Forty-three did, and the 10 who did not were disfellowshipped. Not about to be defeated, the Rogers brothers obtained a printing press from wealthy supporters, and Slade feared they would spread their heresy worldwide.<sup>1</sup>

One of Slade's chief responsibilities was chairing the board at Walla Walla College. The school appeared to be thriving-enrollment was growing steadily, and 10 percent of the student body were theology majors. The college had just achieved accreditation in 1935, shortly after Pacific Union College became the first accredited Adventist college. The board chairman did not see eye to eye with his college president, however. At a meeting of General Conference officers in March of 1937, Slade reported that all of the faculty had been reappointed at the regular February board meeting. Departing from the usual practice, though, the board directed that Landeen and the college business manager, F. W. Peterson, would not be reappointed until the union conference session in the summer, when union administrators were likewise up for re-election. He stated that Landeen had complained about the insufficiency of his salary to support his family, which was encouraging other faculty to ask for special financial favors. In addition, said Slade, "the university spirit which he has engendered in the school is really detrimental to the highest objectives." All the while, Slade observed, Landeen appeared to show disdain for the industrial program of the school, which was encouraging Peterson to look for employment elsewhere.2

Landeen was very comfortable moving in worldly circles, which concerned Slade. Landeen was vice president of the local Rotary club, and he participated in a speakers' bureau that took him to lecture engagements all over

the western half of the U.S. He was in demand as a speaker, particularly because his European travels had made him knowledgeable on the rising power of Adolf Hitler. Slade, the board chairman, later reflected that Landeen had "hobnobbed with the outside men not of our faith who were pronounced haters of the denomination. He received, with seeming pride, the commendation of outsiders that he and his policies at the college was [sic] becoming so exceeding broad." The close ties Landeen had developed with key educators at the University of Washington and Washington State College had helped Walla Walla College achieve accreditation promptly.

Landeen may have taken pride in the college's recent accreditation, but not all church officials saw that status as a blessing. Although it was an inevitable step once Ellen White instructed that the denomination should educate fully qualified physicians, accreditation sparked fears that accreditors would secularize Adventist education by telling colleges what they could and could not teach in their religion courses or that advanced graduate education, necessarily done at "outside" colleges, would inevitably coarsen and weaken the Adventist fiber of faculty members.

The first concrete response to the accredi-L tation movement was to implement advanced denominational training for Adventist religion professors and ministers. Given the pace of institutional change today, the new school took shape quickly. Seeking to distinguish its institution from worldly seminaries, the church gave it the name "Advanced Bible School." It camped at Pacific Union College for three summers before a permanent home was found for it in Washington, D.C., and a more prestigious name was created: Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. The summer version employed three Walla Walla College faculty: William Landeen, Frederick Schilling, and George McCready Price; the seminary president, M. E. Kern, hoped eventually to lure Landeen and Schilling away from Walla Walla College to teach at the seminary full-time.

Conference and union presidents, concerned with rapid developments on college campuses as they responded to accreditation requirements, pressed McElhany to gather North American Adventist educators for instruction in unity. The result was a 10-day conference in West Virginia in August of 1937, the Blue Ridge Educational Convention. Church officials, college presidents and department chairs, and academy principals heard presentation after presentation urging doctrinal unity and continued allegiance to Ellen White.

In his opening address to the convention, McElhany stated a major problem in Adventist education:

I have had parents come to me and tell me of their difficulties in maintaining the faith of their sons and daughters even while attending our own schools, with the feeling that in some cases the teacher had not been as positive in his Christian teaching and influence as he should have been, and that there were modernistic tendencies manifest. I do pray that something may come to us during this council that will help us to set ourselves solidly against such influences.<sup>4</sup>

Partway through the convention, McElhany delivered a Sabbath sermon that zeroed in on denominational concerns about Adventist higher education. His theme was Saduceeism, and he was particularly interested in examining why so many Jews in Jesus' time did not recognize the authenticity of Christ's mission. According to McElhany,

The great difficulty, as I see it, was that as the coming of the Messiah drew near, as those great lines of prophecy that pointed to His coming were being fulfilled, the religious life and thought of Israel was being poisoned—poisoned by contact with heathenism and paganism all around them.

Only exposure to Greek philosophy and other forms of paganism would lead the Jews

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to shout, "We have no king but Caesar!" McElhany contended. Furthermore, Adventists were in peril of being as unprepared for Christ's second coming as the Jews were for his first advent. "Many of our young people are confused and their faith broken down by what they see and hear," said McElhany. "Many of our young people today do not believe in the Spirit of prophecy [sic] because of the inconsistency that they see in the lives of those who ought to be their leaders."

The concerns that led to the founding of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and the Blue Mountain Educational Con-

vention help to provide the general context of the theological purge at Walla Walla College in 1938, but what were the specific, local issues? Other than animosities between Landeen and Slade, a specific answer is difficult to determine. After it was over, Campbell commented to Slade that the situation would have been resolved more than a year earlier if church leaders could have taken a uni-

fied stand then; in other words, it had been brewing for some time. Much of the initial agitation seems to have been fueled by innuendo. Sermon after sermon in the college church by union officials and other ministers included shadowy assertions that teachers at the college could not be trusted theologically. One board member, NPUC home missions secretary Lemuel Esteb, after reviewing with alarm the publications of theology faculty member George McCready Price, instructed the college librarian to remove the offending vol-

umes from the shelves. Schilling and Saxton were perceived to be lax on Ellen White, and a few students, encouraged by union officials waiting in the wings, plied their teachers with hypothetical questions such as, "If you were stranded on a desert island and had only pork to eat, would you eat it?" 6

Along with the interest in anecdotal specifics, the heresy accusations at Walla Walla College in 1938 were characterized by interpretations of doctrines unspecified in the Fundamental Beliefs of 1932. This subset of Adventism shared many qualities with the fundamentalist movement in general in the 1920s and the 1930s. Although the Fundamen-

tal Beliefs did not mention the Spirit of Prophecy at all, many church leaders routinely expected their members to view Ellen White's writings as inerrant. As Esteb said to Harold Bass during one break in the February board meeting, "'Harold, if Mrs. White had written that your black hat is white, it would be white to me.""7 If there was a litmus doctrine of ultra-conservative Adventism, it was a par-

ticular interpretation of the sanctuary belief. Although three of the 22 Adventist fundamentals addressed the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary and the investigative judgment, many church leaders seemed most concerned about another issue—the literal existence of a sanctuary in heaven that included each item of furniture found in its Old Testament replica, something that was not addressed in the 22 fundamental beliefs.

As the February 2 board meeting approached, Campbell wrote to McElhany that "the North

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In spite of despair over being

shoved out of the Adventist

community, the Schillings,

Basses, and Saxtons were not

led to abandon their Chris-

tian faith. Landeen, after an

illustrious teaching career at

a state university, taught for

several years at La Sierra Uni-

versity, and served as its in-

terim president.

Pacific folks feel they must let out Elder Saxton for heretical teachings and Prof. Landeen for a long list of misdeeds." Slade told Kern, "I certainly think you are wise in passing up both Professor Landeen and Professor Schilling. The Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary has been organized to combat the very things which these men stand for and that is scholasticism in education minus the distinctive Seventh-day Adventist views. . . . Professor Schilling . . . is altogether out of his place as a Bible teacher in our schools until he has had some actual experience in teaching this message in connection with an evangelistic effort."

Apparently more concrete information emerged as the college board interrogated faculty members. After the fateful board meeting had stretched into its third day, Campbell cabled McElhany, "GRAVE SITUATION EXISTING THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT COLLEGE HERE. THREE TEACHERS RESIGNED UNDER FIRE FOR TEACHING SUBVERSIVE VIEWS ON TESTIMONIES, SANCTUARY, AND THE LAW." In a letter written that same Friday night (the board meeting had gone on until nearly sundown), Campbell filled in the details:

There have been strong protests come in from every conference in this union over the teachings of those who were acting as instructors in the theological department. The young men graduating from it find themselves entirely unable to preach the message. They are perplexed and in doubt concerning the fundamentals. We called in one teacher after another. Professor Bass, who carries a doctor's degree, openly declared that he did not believe in the testimonies. He had some misgivings in regard to the binding obligation of the ten commandments and the Sabbath, and he cannot accept our views on the sanctuary question

Elder Saxton when questioned before the board, straddled on every point of faith. He couldn't seem to be able to take a positive stand on the Spirit of prophecy, the reality of the heavenly sanctuary, and a number of other points. Really, it was a remarkable situation, and it is no wonder

the young people are getting nothing out of their Bible work.

Professor Schilling passed in his resignation. He was called before the board and quizzed, and I guess he realized that the unsatisfactory answers he gave meant his dismissal, so he passed in his resignation. It has been accepted.

I understand that Professor Landeen has decided to pass in his also. I do not know just what action the board will take in his case. I am rather inclined to advise caution, requiring him to drop his connection with the lecture bureau and a decided reform on some other points.<sup>11</sup>

Although it is not clear in this letter, there were varying degrees of treatment. Bass and Saxton were dismissed immediately and paid through the end of February. Schilling was told that he would be paid until the end of the school year, and he might have been allowed to remain in his position until then, but he requested to be relieved of his responsibilities at the end of the winter quarter in March. Landeen, the last of the group to hand in his resignation, carried his presidency through to the end of the school year.

Immediately upon hearing from Campbell, McElhany responded: "I think back to Blue Ridge. Some thought we were hard on the educators, but Bro. Campbell, there is a cursed thing in our midst, and we must purge our schools of it." Two days later he was even more emphatic: "Your recent experience at Walla Walla illustrates the imperative need of our purging our teaching ranks of heresy." 13

Some anxious moments followed in the next few weeks as Slade and Campbell awaited reactions to the purge, and they received vigorous criticism of their actions. Even members of the General Conference staff said they had overreacted, and one colleague called them "a group of old grannies." Their self-defensive statements were beginning to sound shrill when Schilling did them a favor. On Friday, March 15, when the winter quarter

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ended, he turned in his credentials, and he and his wife resigned their church membership. On Friday and Sabbath, they moved to Pasco, Washington, and on Sunday morning he began his career as an Episcopal clergyman. The officials who had engineered his resignation as theology dean were infuriated, but they were also able to use the incident to prove the extent of what they perceived as the poison of heresy.

Campbell commented, "It is a lucky thing we dismissed him when we did. It certainly is time that some thoroughgoing house cleaning be done among some of these folks who are only half Adventists." <sup>15</sup>

"I do not believe that he is any more of an Episcopalian than he was weeks ago, or months ago," Slade told Campbell. "If he was an Adventist in any true sense whatever, he has given us a demonstration of a very precipitous change." From this conclusion it was not difficult to proceed to a conspiracy theory:

. . . there was a sort of grouping or organization here, including a number of these faculty members and a number of other very questionable people who seem to have set out to modernize or liberalize Walla Walla College. They were so skillful in covering up, that it had many of our men deceived and few of us had to fight along for many months, but we continued our fight because we kept having more evidence coming to us of disloyalty. And now this crowning act of Schilling comes as a shock, but as a vindication of the Board as well. . . . We have tried for many months to make corrections here. In those earlier months we knew not the severity of the situation. We only saw here and there evidences of disloyalty and error, but now we are permitted to see something of the depths of that which was indicated by those surface manifestations.16

Why did Schilling make such a precipitous move into the Episcopal clergy? Was it because, as some of his former students later alleged, that while he was teaching at Walla Walla College he had an Episcopal altar set up in his basement and was teaching his students

to be altar boys? Or was it because, as an Episcopalian dentist in Walla Walla told one of his Adventist patients, that Schilling had been considering such a call for over a year?

Schilling passed away in 1973 without leaving a direct answer, but some clues are available. His actions were marked by a combination of indignation, impulsiveness, and despair. As he watched various doors of other denominational employment closing, due to diligent behind-the-scenes work by Campbell and Slade, he clearly made a decision to keep heeding his call to the ministry. Landeen, who probably knew Schilling better than any other Adventist in the United States, said that his friend believed that the Seventh-day Adventist Church was preventing him from following his God-given calling of theology. He did not want to be a history teacher somewhere, and he did not want to spend the rest of his academic life teaching Greek. The Episcopalian Church officials told him he was free to believe what he wished as long as he followed the appropriate church ceremonies.<sup>17</sup> When he first made the

William Landeen, Walla Walla College President, 1933-1938



move, he may not have realized how wide the gulf would grow between him and the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Landeen was distressed by Schilling's action, but he continued to maintain a friendship with the man. This alienated church officials, and soon their only concern for Landeen was finding a way to ease him out of town quietly. That was difficult, because the senior class called him "Dad," dedicated the 1938 Mountain Ash to him, and chose him as their commencement speaker. Landeen was too proud to accept the only job the denomination offered him—a temporary spot created for him in the history department of Emmanuel Missionary College, which had no vacancies. 18 Instead, he completed his dissertation at the University of Michigan and began teaching history at Washington State College in early 1939.

Meanwhile, Walla Walla College students noted the positive impact Landeen had on their lives. One *Collegian* profile described him as "an outstanding and dynamic character," one who "revels in history," "a real

scholar."<sup>19</sup> A student, Richard Hammill, recalled coming to the college as a non-Adventist and complaining that the upcoming Week of Prayer meetings would interfere with his study time. An amused Landeen excused Hammill from all assignments in his history class on the condition that he attend the meetings. Hammill did, and learned to his surprise that Landeen himself was the speaker. After the "powerful presentations," Hammill recalled, "I decided to become a Christian."<sup>20</sup>

Many students also testified to the sterling Christian character of Homer Saxton. The fact that Saxton was caught up in this controversy is curious. He was a gentle soul who had had health problems for some time. He had found the task of heading the Bible department at Union College very stressful, and it had taken him years to recover his health after he left that school. Now, caught up in this "revolution" (as one General Conference officer called it), the frail, aging teacher once again felt those physical stresses. Because his health forced him to eat foods such

as soda bread that had been proscribed by Ellen White, he became the target of unusual questions, such as the "pork on a desert island" one. One student reported to Esteb that Saxton said that there was no ark of the covenant in heaven, and that was used as damning evidence against him in the February board meeting. According to Saxton's daughter, the board members gave him an opportunity to retract his question-



Theology faculty and students in 1935-1936. First row: Raleigh Garner, F. M. Burg, G. M. Price, William Landeen, F. A. Schilling, H. F. Saxton; Second row: Lloyd Reile, Ashley Emmer, Byron Miller, Richard Hammill, Walter Specht, Harry Jordan, Harold Jewkes; Third row: Oral Garner, Lester Hallsted, Dorothy Hammill, Mrs. Robertson, Alice Purber, Beverly McNeil; Fourth row: Rolland Dockham, Emil Knauft, Virgil Larson, William McChee, Marion Mohr; Fith row: Stanley Johnson, Harold Jenks, Howard Hamel, Harold Huey, F. W. Marter; Sixth row: Forest Steward, Chester Green, Raymond Michel, Keith Holman, Gilbert Krick, James Vetter; Seventh row: Paul Featherston, Joseph Horniachek, Shigeru Morikone, Prancis Drake, William Lowe, Paul Alderson; Eighth row: Albert Hudson, Rudolph Knauft, Halvard Thomsen, Gerald Christensen, John Anderson, Glen Green.

able statements, and he replied, "I just want out. This makes me feel physically ill." Saxton sometimes attended Adventist church services after he left WWC, but he was periodically shunned. Eventually, he pastored a Methodist church for awhile. When his wife passed away, he married an Adventist college classmate and made donations to Faith for Today.

Harold Bass was the faculty member the board least suspected of heresy. He had been a favorite of the Upper Columbia Conference and the NPUC for years. Bass had worked for the denomination for 16 years before he joined the Walla Walla College faculty, serving as a missionary to Korea, a pastor of numerous churches, and the principal of two North Pacific academies. The Upper Columbia Conference supported him for his doctoral study in Asian history at Washington State College. When he began teaching at Walla Walla College in 1937, he also took up the pastorate of the Milton Seventh-day Adventist church.

According to Bass himself, the college board was eager to place him on the School of Theology faculty as a counterweight to the outsider, Schilling.<sup>21</sup> The board did not know, but Landeen soon discovered, that Bass himself had serious questions about Adventist doctrines. Landeen later recalled that Bass had "come under the influence of the philosophy of Washington State" and no longer held Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. He talked privately with Bass and suggested that the teacher resign and continue to receive pay for several months. According to Landeen. Bass at first agreed to do this and then said the next day, "I changed my mind. I'm going to fight them."22 Bass lost that fight and all but a few days' severance pay.

The people who resigned and left Walla Walla College were not the only ones affected by the 1938 purge. Harry G. Reinmuth of the modern languages department left at the end of the school year, commenting that it wasn't safe for a man's soul to stay at an institution

where college personnel were dealt with this way.<sup>23</sup> George McCready Price, already past retirement age, also decided to leave at the end of the 1937-1938 school year. Slade, for one, breathed more easily as a result: "We will be glad when school ends, for then we will be relieved of Professor Price, who is about as lame as any of these men doctrinally."<sup>24</sup>

Where did the purge of 1938 leave church leaders? Puzzled, frustrated, and angry. Walla Walla College was only one of a host of places with similar problems, and Campbell told Slade that the aftermath of the Walla Walla purge was "only the beginning of a movement to either clean up on this weak-kneed attitude on the part of educators, or else surrender to them. . . . I, for one, am ready to . . . eliminate from our educational system men whose tendencies are leading straight to modernistic teaching."25 Perhaps church leaders were angriest at the sniping that came from within their own ranks: "It is too much like a group of firemen fighting one another and tying each others [sic] hands when an attempt is made to put out a burning building."26

Why did the purge remain confined to Walla Walla College? First, M. N. Campbell retired in 1939. In addition, a combination of lowered profiles and the onset of World War II diminished interest in this issue.

Could the purge of 1938 happen again? No, yes, and maybe.

No—the King of the North, the literality of the heavenly candlestick, and the inerrancy of Ellen White no longer generate the rhetorical passion they once did. The subject matter has changed; Adventist fundamentalism of the 1990s revolves around how we read the Bible. And because of institutional safeguards mandated by worldly accrediting bodies, it is no longer possible to pack a college board with non-board members who are allowed to vote and to overrule institutionally adopted policies for terminating tenured faculty members.

On the other hand, yes—the more things change, the more they stay the same. Rumor, innuendo, character assassination, and slander are eternally vital practices, and the eagerness to believe such information has not faded over the years. Within the microclimate of Adventism (the only place where our distinctions have a difference), vehemence sometimes seems to be equated with religious zeal and doctrinal purity. "Nice" people are that way only because they don't care very much about what they believe. McElhany may have seen Saduceeism sprouting everywhere within his church, but the mainline between Adventist Christianity and Pharisaical Judaism is much better tended and far more robust. Furthermore, the Scylla of Saduceeism and the Charybdis of Pharisaism are equally distracting and equally antithetical to the message and ethics of Jesus Christ. In their despair over being shoved out of the Adventist community in Walla Walla, watching their children shunned at Adventist schools, enduring the silence of fearful Adventist neighbors, and seeing their Adventist relatives all over the Northwest put on trial for possible heresy, the Schillings, Basses, and Saxtons were not led to abandon their Christian faith. And their children remain active Christians; some even confess to hanging on to a few vestigial Adventist peculiarities. But they have no time for the Seventh-day Adventist faith. It did not reveal the spirit of Jesus Christ to them.

Is it possible that some alternatives exist between gouging out each other's spiritual eyes in the spirit of John Winthrop's attacks on Anne Hutchinson, lapsing into the somnolent irrelevance of the Halfway Covenant, or finding a witch in every woodpile? Surviving the fires of a heresy trial can clarify and focus one's priorities, which is what happened to William Landeen. Unlike his friend and fellow German scholar Schilling, Landeen remained an Adventist. Since he was a historian, not a theologian, Landeen could continue in his profession outside the denomination while remaining an Adventist. After he retired from an illustrious teaching career at a state university. Landeen taught for several years at La Sierra College and served as its interim president. Near the end of his post-retirement encore in Seventh-day Adventist education at La Sierra, he reflected on what his continuing connection with the denomination meant to him:

Some members of the church . . . treat it purely as a haven, that is, a place to rest or to hide. But my church is not that kind of quasi-secret society. My church is a dynamic body of saints who have heard the command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature" (Mark 16:15). . . . My church has given me everything—a high concept of personal honor and personal values, a Christian calling to serve, high aims, a fine profession, and spiritual gifts.<sup>27</sup>

If Seventh-day Adventists are looking for a source of renewal of their spiritual gifts, perhaps Micah 6:8 would be a good place to start.

For Landeen, the definition of *church* was generous enough to include personal responsibility and freedom as well as institutional cohesion and progress.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1. E. K. Slade to M. N. Campbell, May 26, 1937, (General Conference Archives NA 11 [MNC] '37—Slade). General Conference Archives is hereafter abbreviated GCA.
- 2. Minutes of Officers meeting, March 10, 1937, 2-3 (GCA 2152, 2153).
- 3. E. K. Slade to J. L. McElhany, Sept. 28, 1938. 11 1938-S GCA.
- 4. J. L. McElhany, "The Role of Our Schools in Finishing the Task," August 18, 1937, Report of the Blue Ridge Educational Convention August 17-25, 1937 (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, n.d.), p. 33.
- 5. J. L. McElhany, "The Peril of Worldly Trends: Sermon at the Blue Ridge Educational Convention, August 21, 1937," GCA, 11 1937—Articles, Sermons,

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Transcripts of Meetings.

- 6. Halvard Thomsen, interview by Terrie Aamodt, August 29, 1990, WWC Archives. Myra Saxton Kearney, interview by Terrie Aamodt, April 15, 1997.
- 7. Harold J. Bass, Orthodoxy, Heresy, and the Faith for Today (New York: Carlton Press, 1969), p. 55. It is interesting to note that this line of reasoning closely follows that established by St. Ignatius of Loyola, a Jesuit leader of the Counter-Reformation, who stated, "I will believe that the white I see is black, if the hierarchical Church so defines it" (The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, trans. Anthony Mottola [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969], p. 141).
- 8. M. N. Campbell to J. L. McElhany, January 24, 1938, GCA 11 '38—Campbell, M. N.
- 9. M. N. Campbell to M. E. Kern, February 1, 1938 GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—ABS.
- 10. M. N. Campbell to J. L. McElhany, February 4, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—McElhany.
- 11. M. N. Campbell to J. L. McElhany, February 4, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—McElhany.
- 12. J. L. McElhany to M. N. Campbell, February 7, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—McElhany.
- 13. J. L. McElhany to M. N. Campbell, February 9, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—McElhany.
- 14. This phrase was referred to in E. K. Slade to M. N. Campbell, March 22, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38. In one letter, E. K. Slade referred to three individuals who had stated that the board acted hastily: L. E. Froom, M. E. Kem, and L. H. Wood. See E. K. Slade to M. N. Campbell, September 19, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—Slade, E. K.
- 15. M. N. Campbell to G. S. Belleau, March 20, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—B.
  - 16. E. K. Slade to M. N. Campbell, March 22, 1938,

- GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—Slade.
- 17. William Landeen, interview by Lorne Glaim, 1978 (WWC Archives).
- 18. W. M. Landeen to E. K. Slade, August 18, 1938; E. K. Slade to M. N. Campbell, August 19, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC).
  - 19. Collegian (June 26, 1931), p. 1.
- 20. Richard Hammill, "Why I Am a Seventh-day Adventist," *Adventist Review* (March 21, 1991), p. 16.
- 21. Bass recalled later that "some liberalizing influences were being felt in the Department of Religion of the College. Dr. Frederick Schilling and Elder Homer Saxton stirred up some concern on the part of conservative ministers, who felt that those two teachers were failing to hold strictly to old line Adventist interpretations. I discovered, much to my dismay, that I was expected to be a counterbalance to this" (*Orthodoxy, Heresy, and the Faith for Today*, p. 49). Bass family members recall that Harold Bass was seen as a counterweight to Schilling because Bass had had extensive experience in evangelism. (Ethel Bass and Doreen Bass Amoroso, interview by Terrie Aamodt, October 9, 1990 [WWC Archives]).
  - 22. Landeen interview, WWC Archives.
- 23. Rudy Knauft, interview by Terrie Aamodt, May 19, 1991.
- 24. E. K. Slade to M. N. Campbell, April 17, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—Slade.
- 25. M. N. Campbell to E. K. Slade, April 22, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—Slade, E. K.
- 26. E. K. Slade to J. L. McElhany, March 22, 1938, GCA NA 11 (MNC) '38—S.
- 27. William Landeen, "My Church and I," *Review and Herald* (July 24, 1969), pp. 3, 4.