

A Short History of the Headship Doctrine in the Seventh-day Adventist Church | BY GERRY CHUDLEIGH

In this study we will see that “the headship principle” is, in fact, new to Seventh-day Adventists in all parts of the world.

The “headship principle,” which was discussed extensively in the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the 2012–2014 General Conference (GC) Theology of Ordination Study Committee (TOSC), may be new truth or it may be new heresy, but it is definitely new.

Though I was born into a conservative Adventist family in 1943, attended Adventist schools from first grade through seminary, and have been employed by the church as a minister for forty-six years, I had never heard the headship principle taught in the Adventist Church until 2012 when two unions called special business sessions to consider ordaining women to ministry. When several Adventist ministers began talking about the “headship principle” I started asking lifetime Adventist friends if they had ever heard of the headship principle before 2012. John Brunt, pastor of the Azure Hills Church and a member of the GC TOSC, gave

the same answer as nearly everyone I asked: “No. Never.”

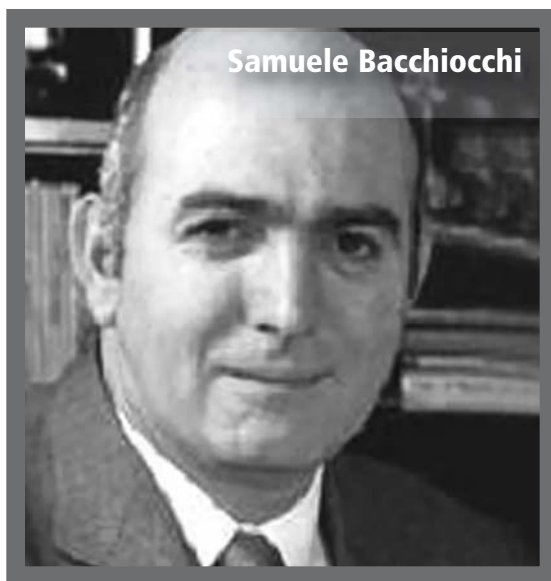
It is not just church employees or trained theologians who have never heard headship theology taught by Adventists. David Read, on his independent Adventist website “Advindicate,” blames a conspiracy for the headship principle never being mentioned in Adventist churches:

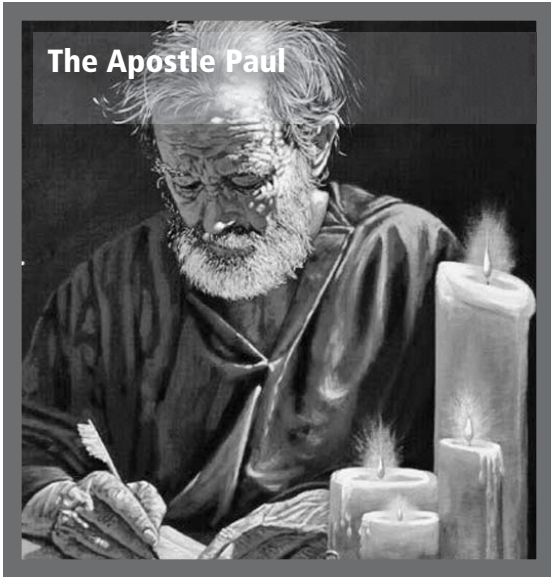
I don't know about you, but whenever I read the Bible and come across one of those many statements on male headship in the home and the church, it seems like my private secret, a secret that I've stumbled upon despite the very best efforts of my church to hide it from me. I always think, “Wow! I've never heard any Adventist pastor discuss this before.”¹

In this study we will see that “the headship principle” is, in fact, new to Seventh-day Adventists in all parts of the world. Today's popular male headship theology was developed in North America by a few Calvinist evangelical teachers and preachers in the 1970s and 1980s, imported into the Adventist Church in the late 1980s by Andrews University professor Samuele Bacchiocchi (1938–2008), and championed among Adventists during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries by a small but committed group of Adventist headship advocates, mostly based in Michigan.

What is the headship principle?

The foundations for the modern “headship principle” are two Bible passages written by Paul. Those texts are, of course, not new. In 1 Cor. 11:3 he says, “The head of every man is Christ, the head of woman is man, and the





head of Christ is God.” And in Eph. 5:21–25, he tells Christians they should all “submit to one another,” and then illustrates this by telling wives to “submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is head of the church.” Paul balances that advice with: “Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ also loved the church and gave Himself for her.”

Those texts have always been in the New Testament. But what do they mean? How is the headship of men or husbands to be applied today? The modern “headship principle” is one of many possible answers to that question.

Seventh-day Adventists, like other Christians, have never talked much about these headship texts. According to the online index, Ellen White, who wrote about the Bible for over seventy years, never quoted Paul’s statement in 1 Cor. 11:3 that “the head of woman is man.”² Paul’s point in 1 Cor. 11 was that women should not cut their hair and they should wear hats to church. Like other Christians, most Adventists have believed that long hair and hats were local cultural requirements in Paul’s time, but not in ours. When those cultural issues went away, Paul’s headship argument was left orphaned—an argument without an apparent application.

Paul’s counsel to the Ephesians—that all Christians, especially husbands and wives, are to submit to one another in love—has not usually

been controversial. Ellen White, co-founder of the Adventist Church, who had much to say about the relationship between husbands and wives, mentioned this text fourteen times, almost always affirming that the husband is the leader or head of the family, but urging mutual love, mutual respect, mutual support and mutual submission of husbands and wives.

In 1957, the *SDA Bible Commentary* took the same approach when commenting on Eph. 5: *The supreme test of love is whether it is prepared to forgo happiness in order that the other might have it. In this respect, the husband is to imitate Christ, giving up personal pleasures and comforts to obtain his wife’s happiness, standing by her side in the hour of sickness. Christ gave himself for the church because she was in desperate need; He did it to save her. Likewise the husband will give himself for the salvation of his wife, ministering to her spiritual needs, and she to his, in mutual love.*³

While men dominated both society and the church for thousands of years, Paul’s headship statements were not developed into a distinct doctrine until the late twentieth century.

In North America in the 1970s and 1980s, several evangelical Calvinist theologians (also known as Reformed theologians) developed a detailed system of patriarchy, which organizes almost all human relationships around authority and submission, which they call the “headship principle.” The modern headship movement is most common where it developed—among Calvinist churches. Like Calvinism itself, it is found most often in Presbyterian and some Southern Baptist churches. Outside the Adventist church the headship movement is closely identified with the American Christian homeschool movement.⁴ Adventist websites that sell homeschool materials often sell materials promoting headship theology.⁵

While no single authority controls headship theology, the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (CBMW), a Calvinist organization based in Wheaton, Illinois, and co-founded by Wayne Grudem and John Piper, is the best-

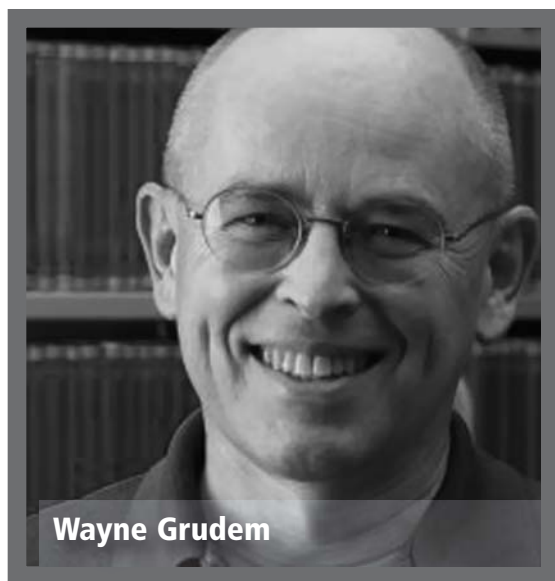
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known and most influential organization that develops and promotes headship theology.⁶ The most authoritative document of the headship movement is the Danvers Statement, drafted by CBMW in 1987.⁷

The belief that the husband is head of the family is not the modern “headship principle” by itself, as it also includes several additional elements. While not everyone who accepts headship theology agrees on every theological point, the following characteristics of headship theology are common among both Calvinist and Adventist proponents:

- The belief that Adam’s headship in marriage was established by God before the fall, not as a result of sin, and that God created Eve to be subservient to Adam.⁸
- The belief that Christ is eternally in voluntary submission to God the Father, though still fully God.⁹
- The belief that Eve’s sin was not in trying to become like God but in trying to escape her subordinate “helper” role, and become like Adam.¹⁰
- The belief that Adam’s primary sin was in not exercising authority and leadership over Eve, but letting her lead him, thus reversing the roles they believe were assigned by God.¹¹
- The belief that last-day reformation requires that the original pre-sin roles be restored,

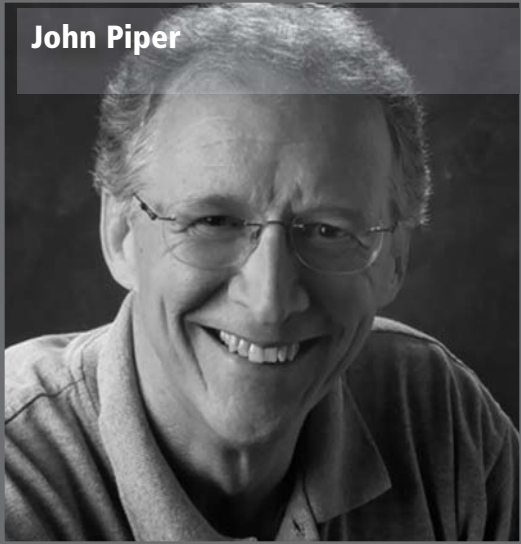


Wayne Grudem

with men learning “godly headship” and women learning “godly submission.”¹² (In contrast to this, people who believe that Adam’s authority over Eve was the result of sin usually believe revival and reformation should include the restoration of pre-sin equality.)

- The belief that the church is an extension of the family and that pastors and church administrators are authorities over members. Therefore, it is a sin for women to serve as pastors, elders, authoritative teachers, or denominational leaders.¹³
- Polarizing language: advocates of headship theology almost always express their ideas in ways that allows for no other belief or practice.¹⁴ They talk about biblical manhood, biblical womanhood, biblical family structure, biblical headship, biblical authority, biblical submission, biblical methods of child discipline, etc. Any relationship of husbands and wives that is not built on authority of the male and submission of the female is, by definition, unbiblical. Women teaching the Bible to adult males is unbiblical. The only alternative to biblical submission is rebellion. And the only alternative to biblical headship theology is feminism, which they associate with liberalism, secularism and homosexuality.
- A fondness for the word “ontological,” a Greek word used to describe the true nature of something.¹⁵ Headship advocates argue that teaching Christ is eternally and voluntarily subordinate to God the Father is not heresy because Christ is still ontologically equal to the Father. The belief that Eve was created subordinate to Adam is not unbiblical because she was created ontologically equal to Adam. And Paul’s statement that Jews and gentiles, men and women, slaves and free are all one in Christ is only ontologically (and soteriologically) true: women still cannot be leaders in the church because that would make them authorities over men. (And slavery, according to many headship

John Piper



advocates, is not contrary to Christian teaching, as long as slaves are recognized as ontologically equal to their owners and as long as their owners treat them according to biblical instructions for slave-owners.)¹⁶

- The belief that God requires that women be removed from leadership positions in churches and the belief that people who do not accept these changes are in rebellion against God.¹⁷ Critics in Calvinist churches and seminaries frequently state that the introduction of headship theology has caused division in many congregations and in several denominations in the United States.¹⁸
- The belief that it is wrong to accept women into ministerial training courses, and then deny them ministerial jobs. So religious colleges and seminaries should create separate training programs to train women for roles suitable for women.¹⁹ When, for example, the Southern Baptist Convention formally adopted the Danvers Statement, several Baptist seminaries were dramatically reorganized, resulting in the loss of many professors.²⁰

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine whether the Bible supports the headship doctrine or not, but in-depth biblical studies are available.²¹

Adventists have never taught headship theology

The modern headship doctrine was unknown in the Adventist Church (or the Christian church) before the 1970s, and never appeared in any published book or article written by an Adventist before 1987.²² Headship theology is not found, for example, in the Seventh-day Adventist Fundamental Beliefs, which were adopted in session by the GC in 1980.

The Fundamental Belief on marriage and the family could easily have said that at creation God assigned to the husband the role of benevolent leader, and to the wife and children the roles of cheerfully submitting to his leadership. Instead, Fundamental Belief No. 23 says about marriage: “Mutual love, honor, respect and responsibility are the fabric of this relationship, which is to reflect the love, sanctity, closeness, and permanence of the relationship between Christ and His church,” and “God blesses the family and intends that its members shall assist each other toward complete maturity.”

And the Fundamental Belief on Unity in the Body of Christ (No. 14) does not say that unity in the church is based on following the headship principle, with men leading and women following. Instead this belief says, “In Christ we are a new creation; differences between . . . male and female, must not be divisive among us. We are all equal in Christ, who by one Spirit has bonded us into one fellowship with Him and with one another; we are to serve and be served without partiality or reservation.”

The Fundamental Belief on spiritual gifts does not suggest there is a difference between the gifts God gives to men and those he gives to women, and the Fundamental Belief on Christian behavior says nothing about being subject to authorities.

But the absence of headship theology in the Fundamental Beliefs is a small part of its absence from church documents. There is also no trace of headship theology in the 900-page GC Working Policy, the Church Manual, the Minister’s Manual or the Official Statements voted by the GC

The modern headship movement is most common where it developed—among Calvinist churches.

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and published on the GC website. The headship doctrine is absent from the *SDA Bible Commentary*, the *SDA Encyclopedia*, the *SDA Bible Dictionary*, and the *SDA Bible Students' Sourcebook*.²³ There is no mention of the headship principle on Seventh-day Adventist baptismal certificates, in the *Voice of Prophecy Discover Bible* lessons, or in SDA textbooks for any level of education.

The extensive bibliography in Bacchiocchi's anti-women's ordination book, *Women in the Church*, lists no earlier Adventist references, and later books condemning women's ordination list none before Bacchiocchi's book. Current anti-women's ordination websites that offer publications for further study offer nothing written by Adventists before Bacchiocchi's 1987 book.²⁴

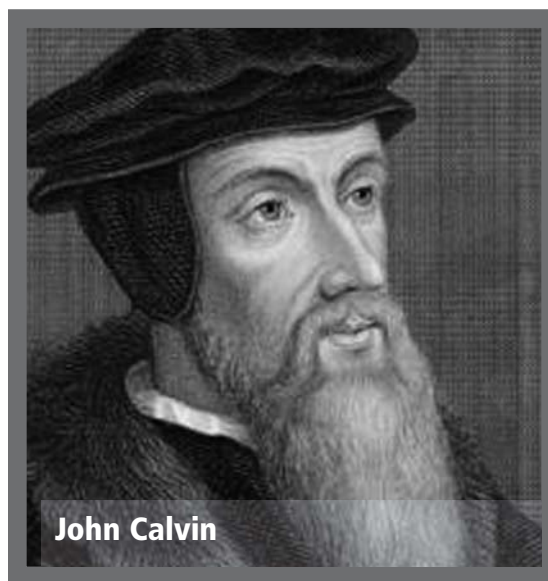
Proponents of headship theology, including Bacchiocchi, do quote texts from the Bible and statements by Ellen White that they believe support headship theology, but they don't quote or list any Adventist teacher or minister before the 1980s who understood those texts and statements to teach headship theology.

Before the development of the headship doctrine in the 1970s and 1980s there were arguments against ordaining women to ministry, but they were not headship arguments and they were usually used *against* Seventh-day Adventists, not *by* Seventh-day Adventists. For example, the argument that all twelve disciples were male so all ministers today must be male is part of the argument that the church today should be restored to exactly what the church was like in the New Testament. That is a Restorationist argument, not a headship argument. Advocates of headship theology argue that the twelve apostles were all male because of the headship principle, but the Restorationist argument existed on its own long before headship theology was developed.

Paul's instructions that women should keep silent in church and that a bishop should be the husband of one wife are not headship texts; they are used by modern advocates of headship theology to illustrate that male headship is a biblical principle, but for more than one hundred years

before headship theology was developed those texts were used by critics to condemn the Seventh-day Adventist Church for recognizing Ellen White as a spiritual authority. They were not used by Adventists to show that women should submit to men.

Before we examine how headship theology was introduced to the Adventist Church by Calvinist teacher Bill Gothard and later adopted from several other Calvinist theologians by Bacchiocchi and others, we need to take a quick look at Calvinism to see why the earliest headship advocates were Calvinists.



John Calvin

Calvinism and headship theology

It was not an accident that headship theology was developed by Calvinists. During the sixteenth century, Protestant theologian John Calvin taught what Adventists usually refer to as predestination, the belief that God "elects" who will be saved and who will be lost, and that there is nothing anyone can do to change the decision God has made. In this regard, Calvin's teaching was similar to that of Martin Luther and to the Catholic theologian Augustine.²⁵ Calvin, Luther and Augustine all taught that God knew from eternity past whether each person would be lost or saved and that God's foreknowledge determines ultimate destinies: there is nothing any person can do to change what God has always known. Calvin's "double predestination" was

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more direct, teaching that God actively elects some to be saved and elects others to burn eternally in the fires of hell.

Seventh-day Adventists are not Calvinists, or Lutherans, but Arminians.²⁶ Jacobus Arminius believed that God does not consign anyone to be lost without any choice on his or her part. He believed that predestination makes God a dictator and the author of evil, not at all like Jesus. He taught that the grace of God makes it possible for “whosoever will” to be saved.

The free will theology of Arminius—after being made even “freer” by the founder of Methodism, Charles Wesley—forms the foundation of Seventh-day Adventist Wesleyan-Arminian theology. In her book *The Great Controversy*, Ellen White tells of the millennia-long battle between religion that is based on force, and the true religion of love, which is based entirely on free choice.²⁷

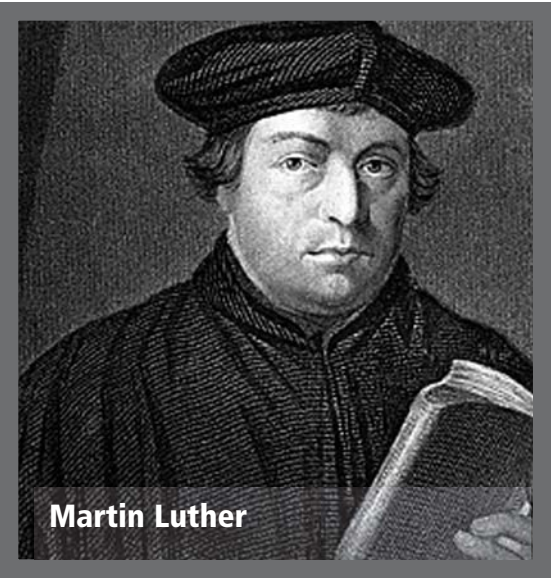
What does all this have to do with headship theology? Just this: our view of God determines how we understand Paul’s words in 1 Cor. 11:3: “But I want you to know that the head of every man is Christ, the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God.” If God makes all the choices, as Calvin taught, and humans can only submit, then when Paul says that man is the head of woman—like God the Father is the head of Christ, and like Christ is the head of man—then male “headship” is all about authority and submission. In this version of Calvinist theology, men are given no choice but to submit to the decisions of Christ, so women are given no choice but to submit to the decisions of men. Modern marriage classes based on the headship principle, such as Grudem’s “The Art of Marriage,” are designed to teach men how to lead firmly but fairly and women and children how to submit cheerfully and with thanksgiving. But the principle is the same: wives submit to the God-given authority of husbands.

Some people who approach 1 Cor. 11 and Eph. 5 with these Calvinist (or even Lutheran or Catholic) presuppositions see that the submission of women to men is the “plain and obvious” meaning of the text. In the modern headship formula, a God who makes men’s most important

decisions is reflected by a husband who makes his family’s most important decisions.

But as Andrews University professor Darius Jankiewicz explains, if you believe, as Arminians do, that Christ freely chose to suffer and die to save everyone, because he loves everyone; but then he exerts no pressure of any kind to force submission—then it follows that men’s “headship” of women, like Christ’s headship of men, is sacrificial service without any hint of mandatory submission or hint of violating free will.²⁸ Seventh-day Adventists have taught for decades that without genuine free will, real love—whether for God, for men, or for women—is not possible.

When Arminians read 1 Cor. 11:3–16, they do not see a system of authority and submission. Instead, they see Paul correcting a problem with arrogant and disruptive women in Corinth. They see instructions for a husband to tenderly protect, nurture and submit to (“prefer”) the decisions of his wife, as Christ tenderly nurtures the church. And an Arminian sees a wife lovingly supporting, respecting, nurturing, and submitting to (“preferring”) the decisions of her husband. Instead of moving from 1 Cor. 11:3 to theories of headship and submission, an Arminian is more likely to move to 1 Cor. 13 and other texts that tell people how to love and serve each other as Christ loves us.



Martin Luther

**The decade
beginning in
1972–73 saw
extraordinary
advances
in women’s
equality.**

The modern headship doctrine that appears to some (but not most) Calvinists as the plain and obvious meaning of Paul’s council to the believers in Corinth and Ephesus does not appear that way at all to most other Christians.²⁹

Headship theology played no part in Adventist thought until the late twentieth century, when flyers began to arrive for Bill Gothard’s seminars.

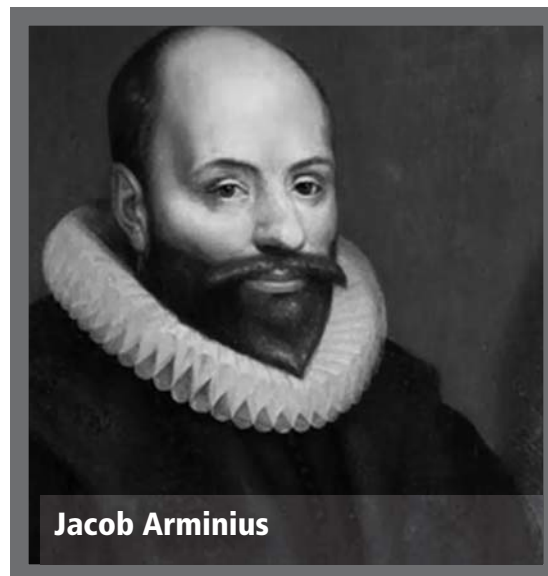
Bill Gothard’s chain of command

In the 1970s, hundreds, possibly thousands, of Seventh-day Adventist youth, youth leaders, teachers, and parents attended the enormously popular Institute in Basic Youth Conflicts seminars conducted by then-Wheaton College (Calvinist) professor, Bill Gothard.³⁰

The key phrase in Gothard’s pioneering version of headship theology was “God’s chain-of-command.” One illustration showed God holding a hammer—identified as “father”—in his left hand. The hammer pounds on a chisel—“mother”—in his right hand, and the chisel chips imperfections off a diamond—“teen-ager.” Notes around the illustration said, “God is able to accomplish His purposes in our lives through those he places over us,” and “When a teen-ager reacts against the ‘tools’ God brings upon his life, he is, in fact, reacting against God himself.”

In Gothard’s success stories, if a young person decided to become a Christian, be baptized, and attend church every week, but the young person’s non-Christian father told him or her to have nothing to do with Christianity, the youth was to obey the father. Of course, this created a conflict with the commandment of Jesus to obey God rather than man, but Gothard had two answers: “How big is your God?” and the “creative alternative.”

“How big is your God?” meant that regardless of how hard-hearted your father (or husband, teacher, or employer, etc.) might be, God could change that person’s decision. So, for Gothard, if the person in authority over you asked you to do something you believed was contrary to God’s will, you were to obey the person over you anyway (unless he asked you to commit some clear



Jacob Arminius

moral sin like killing someone); God was just testing your level of trust. While obeying the authority, the youth (or wife) should look for a “creative alternative,” a way to help the authority know you would be loyal and submissive, yet encourage the authority to change his mind and give you permission to do God’s will. Daniel’s suggestion that Nebuchadnezzar test the Hebrew diet was an example of a creative alternative.

When Adventist youth leaders and ministers repeated Gothard’s chain of command theology in Adventist boarding schools, they (we) sometimes created serious questions in the minds of students who had come to the school to escape religious conflict at home. Some had been kicked out of their homes for becoming Christians or Adventists. They had given testimonies about how God had taken care of them when they courageously obeyed him, but now they wondered if they should leave school, ask their parents for forgiveness, and only practice Christianity and/or keep the Sabbath when their parents told them to.

Gothard taught the same submission to the government. That was an emotional topic in the early 1970s, when many church youth were protesting the Vietnam War and considering avoiding military service by hiding, claiming conscientious objection or fleeing to Canada. Gothard’s answer: God placed the government over you. The government’s laws are God’s laws.

Do you trust God? If God wants you to not join the army he will fix things so you don't have to join, but only after he sees that you trust him enough to join when required.

I was intrigued at the time by the fact that Gothard's headship teaching appeared to be described by Ellen White in *The Great Controversy*, where she wrote about persecution in the final days before the coming of Christ:

*The miracle-working power manifested through spiritualism will exert its influence against those who choose to obey God rather than men. Communications from the spirits will declare that God has sent them to convince the rejecters of Sunday of their error, affirming that the laws of the land should be obeyed as the law of God.*³¹

By the mid-1970s, the war and the military draft had ended, the hippie movement was dead and Adventists (and other Christians) mostly lost interest in Gothard's chain of command. There may have been thousands of Adventists who were now comfortable with headship theology, but there was no issue in the church that brought it to the surface again until feminism and the ordination of women became issues in the 1980s.

But headship theology was not dead. In the late 1970s and 1980s Calvinist theologians Wayne Grudem, James B. Hurley, and John Piper emerged as leading developers and proponents of a rejuvenated headship theology, and

their writings largely define the headship doctrine among Calvinists and some Adventists in the twenty-first century.³² In the early twenty-first century, Adventist churches frequently offer marriage seminars, parenting seminars, and youth training camps based on the headship theology of Grudem, Hurley and Piper.³³

Samuele Bacchiocchi and Adventists Affirm

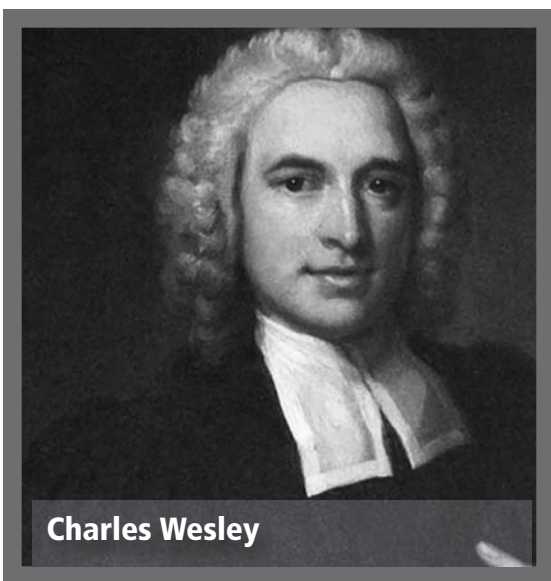
In 1986, the GC published the Mohaven Papers, a collection of study documents and recommendations from a GC-sponsored committee that more than ten years earlier had studied the ordination of women to ministry.³⁴ That GC committee reported there was no biblical reason to not ordain women to ministry and recommended that the church begin actively finding ways to incorporate more women into ministry.

Andrews University professor Samuele Bacchiocchi tells us that he became so concerned about the threat of feminism and the possibility that the church might begin ordaining women to ministry that he cancelled a major research project he had started and went looking for biblical arguments that would stop the Adventist Church from voting to ordain women to ministry.³⁵ In 1987, Bacchiocchi self-published *Women in the Church*.³⁶ This groundbreaking book imported the entire headship doctrine from a few evangelical Calvinist writers into the Adventist Church.³⁷

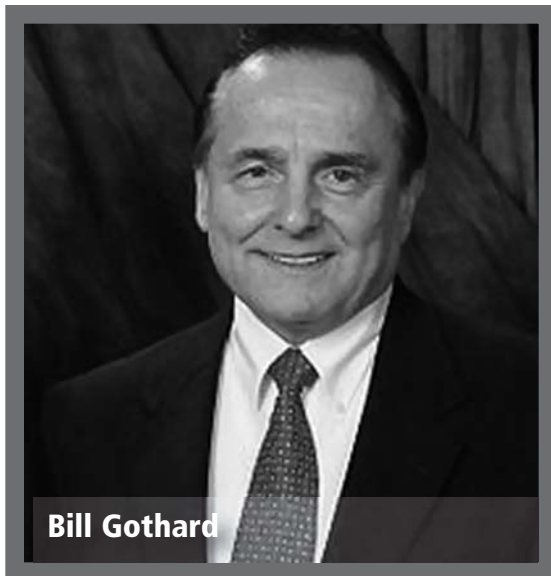
Bacchiocchi did not leave us to guess about the source of his headship theology. His book was published with two forewords, both written by the Calvinist theologians Grudem and Hurley who were developing the emerging headship theology. Both expressed high praise for Bacchiocchi's book. In his acknowledgments, Bacchiocchi says:

Among the hundreds of authors I have read in the preparation of this book, two stand out as the ones who have made the greatest contributions to the development of my thoughts, namely, Prof. Wayne Grudem of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School and Prof. James B. Hurley of Reformed Theological Seminary.

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Bill Gothard

Though Calvinist theology seems an unlikely fit within the Seventh-day Adventist Church—whose theology, as we have seen, is Wesleyan-Arminian, not Calvinist—the emerging headship doctrine was quickly adopted and championed by a group of Adventist theologians, historians and writers, mostly residents of southwestern Michigan, who ironically said their purpose was to prevent the church from adopting new theology. Those early adopters of the emerging headship theology included, in addition to Bacchiocchi, Mercedes Dyer, William Fagal, Betty Lou Hartley, C. Raymond Holmes, Hedwig Jemison, Warren H. Johns, Rosalie Haffner Lee, C. Mervyn Maxwell, Samuel Kornanteng-Pipim, and others. This group created the journal *Adventists Affirm* (initially entitled *Affirm*). The first three issues of *Adventists Affirm*, beginning in Spring 1987, were devoted to promoting headship theology, as were many articles in the months and years that followed.

Evidently, the *Adventists Affirm* group kept a close watch on the Calvinist theologians' developing headship theology. In 1987 the CBMW, co-founded by Grudem and Piper, drafted what remains today the defining document of the headship movement, the Danvers Statement.³⁸ The CBMW published the Danvers Statement rather quietly in November 1988, but in January 1989 they attracted much wider attention for the Danvers Statement when they published it as a center spread in *Christianity Today*.

Almost immediately (Fall, 1989), the *Adventists Affirm* group published their own headship statement, using the same presentation style as the Danvers Statement, repeating some of its points, and borrowing some of its language.³⁹ Though the *Adventists Affirm* statement makes many of the same points as the Danvers Statement (e.g., women are equal to men but have been assigned different roles), it is not entirely parallel because the *Adventists Affirm* statement focused more narrowly on the ordination of women, which was by then on the agenda for the 1990 General Conference session in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Changing culture and changing attitudes

Bacchiocchi's new headship theology seems to have answered a need that was keenly felt in the church in the mid-1980s, but had not been felt earlier. If fundamentalism arose in the early twentieth century because Christians were alarmed by modern science and liberal theology, and Gothard's teachings were popular in the 1970s because Christians were frightened by cultural upheaval, what happened in American culture between 1973 and 1985 that caused enough fear to create a market for a new theology? A look at almost any book, paper or website advocating male headship theology provides a clear answer: the threat of feminism.

Gerhard F. Hasel (1935–1994) provides an interesting illustration. From the 1970s to the early 1990s, Hasel served as professor of Old Testament and Biblical Theology as well as dean of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University in Berrien Springs, Michigan. In 1973, Hasel presented a scholarly paper to the Mohaven Committee demonstrating that Eve was not created in any way subservient to Adam, that even her role after sin did not include Adam exercising arbitrary authority over her, and that there was nothing in the Bible that precluded women from any leadership roles in the church, including that of ordained minister.⁴⁰

But in 1989, *Adventists Affirm* published an

article by Hasel entitled “Biblical Authority and Feminist Interpretations,” which, without mentioning his earlier position, identified women’s ordination with feminist methods of Bible interpretation, which, he said, undermined the authority of the Bible and did away with the Sabbath.⁴¹ Hasel had not even mentioned feminism in his 1973 paper, but after the mid-1980s Hasel spoke and wrote about the danger of feminist principles of Bible interpretation—symbolized for him by the ordination of women to ministry.⁴²

Gordon Hyde underwent a similar change. In 1973, as director of the GC Biblical Research Institute, Hyde was asked by the GC to establish a committee to study the ordination of women to ministry. He organized the Mohaven committee and served as its secretary. In 1989 Hyde told *Adventists Affirm* readers, “At Mohaven I was an advocate of new opportunities and wider authority for women in the church.”⁴³ Hyde reported at its conclusion that the committee had found no biblical reason to not ordain women to ministry. The Mohaven committee proposed a process that would lead to ordinations of women by 1975.

But in 1989, *Adventists Affirm* published an article by Hyde entitled “The Mohaven Council—Where It All Began: What really happened, and why the secretary has changed his mind.”⁴⁴ Again, what happened after 1973 that caused Hyde to see old scriptures in a new way?

Not surprisingly, Hasel and Hyde in their later statements mention changes in the intellectual world. Hyde says, “several papers subsequently came in, from individuals whom I highly respect for their scholarship and their Christian leadership, challenging the assumption by Mohaven that the Scriptures themselves were neutral on the ordination-of-women question.” Hyde then summarizes the arguments made by Bacchiocchi in his 1987 book, without mentioning Bacchiocchi by name.

Hasel has more to say about the biblical reasons for his new position, but most of his new insights were the same as those presented by

Bacchiocchi. Hasel references several of the evangelical theologians that Bacchiocchi lists as contributors to his thinking.

GC president Neal C. Wilson also changed his attitude during this time. He said during the 1985 GC Study Committee on the Ordination of Women that from 1973 to 1975 his position “was more favorable toward ordaining women than it is today.” He said he had become “much less certain and increasingly apprehensive regarding where such changes as ordaining women will carry us.”⁴⁵ But why? What happened during the ten years after Mohaven (1973) that made Wilson and other Adventists apprehensive? What caused feminism to look like such a threat to the church that Bacchiocchi’s new theology was adopted by Hasel, Hyde, Pipim, Holmes, Dyers, and many other conservative Adventists?

The answer is clear. The decade beginning



in 1972–73 saw extraordinary advances in women’s equality.

In 1972, the federal Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was passed by both houses of Congress. If it had been ratified by thirty-eight states within the ten-year deadline, it would have given the federal government power to intervene and stop any discrimination against women in the United States. For more than a decade Americans suffered through gender-related political campaigns, with opponents claiming passage of the ERA would result in such things as unisex restrooms

...What happened in American culture between 1973 and 1985 that caused enough fear to create a market for a new theology?

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and drafting women into combat roles in the army. In the end, only thirty-five states ratified the ERA, so it did not become federal law.

In 1972, Title IX (“Title Nine”) was added to the Civil Rights Act of 1962, ending public schools’ ability to spend more on men’s sports programs (or any educational program) than on corresponding women’s programs. It was seen by many as a threat to the American way of life—just to satisfy the ambitions of a few shrill women. It also produced generations of girls who expected the same opportunities as boys and men.

More was to come. In 1973, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that women have a constitutional right to decide whether or not to have an abortion, resulting, in the view of many conservative Christians, in the murder of perhaps a million babies each year—again, to satisfy the ambitions of a few women.

Yet nothing concerned Adventist Church members and leaders more, or had a wider permanent impact on the church, than the Merikay Silver lawsuit against Pacific Press demanding equal pay for women. This courtroom drama started at almost the same time as the Mohaven study (1973) and lasted for more than ten years. Accounts of this crisis are available elsewhere, but a short summary will remind us of how it sensitized the church—in a largely negative way—to issues of gender equality.⁴⁶

The Merikay Silver lawsuit

In the early 1970s, Merikay Silver was a young woman in her twenties working as an assistant book editor at Pacific Press in Mountain View, California. Earning far less than the other male assistant book editor at the Press, Silver filed a class discrimination lawsuit under Title VII in 1973. Before this lawsuit, which came to be known as the “Merikay McLeod Silver case,” church policy enabled almost all church entities in the United States, from elementary schools to colleges, hospitals, publishing houses, media ministries and conference offices, to balance their budgets by paying women a lot less than men, even for the same work. If the



Merikay Silver

church in the United States was suddenly required to pay women the same wages as men doing the same jobs, church budgets would be in trouble.

While many Adventists saw Merikay Silver and other female employees as ordinary church members asking to be treated fairly, others saw them as ambitious and greedy, willing to destroy the mission of the church for the cause of feminism. Some warned that equal pay for Adventist women would result in closed schools, neglected children, divorces, unemployed ministers, and reduced evangelism. It is difficult to imagine a conflict better designed to create a demand for new theology teaching the “biblical” submission of women. A conservative, independent website illustrates not only the threat that many saw in the Merikay Silver case, but its connection in some minds with the ordination of women to ministry.

In 1973–1985, “Merikay betrayed the Press and exposed it to government interference.” Merikay “added momentum to the women’s lib movement. It had effectively started in September 1973, when Dr. Josephine Benton joined the Sligo Church in Takoma Park, Maryland, as the first female associate pastor of an American Adventist congregation. In 1980, she became the first American in recent history to serve as senior pastor of a church in Rockville, Maryland. Winning the war on

women's wages gave great impetus to the 'women's rights' issues in the church. Every year the larger battle—to make women as full-fledged pastors as the men—increases."⁴⁷

Merikay Silver and the church settled out of court in 1985, but not before the U.S. Government (EEOC) had won its class action suit, requiring the church to treat women equally in pay and employment practices. In the view of many, probably most Adventists today, paying women the same as men for doing the same job simply made the church a better, more Christ-like place. But for others, the Merikay Silver case meant the church was the victim of an ungodly feminist campaign.

Whether the Merikay Silver case was a contributing factor or not, by the late 1980s feminism was viewed by many Adventists as a threat to the mission and survival of the church. And many welcomed headship theology as just what the church needed to stop feminism's advances. From 1987 until 2012, headship theology appeared in several independently published Adventist books and sermons, but it almost never appeared in official publications of the church. One exception was 1995, when Gerard Damstreegt, professor of Church History at Andrews University, featured the new headship doctrine in his arguments against the ordination of women at GC Session in Utrecht.⁴⁸ That presentation gave headship theology its widest

Adventist exposure to that time.

In 2012, when the GC chose 108 people to restudy the theology of ordination and the place of women in ministry, GC leaders gave advocates of headship theology equal representation. As a result, the committee has spent a large part of its time debating headship theology instead of studying the theology of ordination.

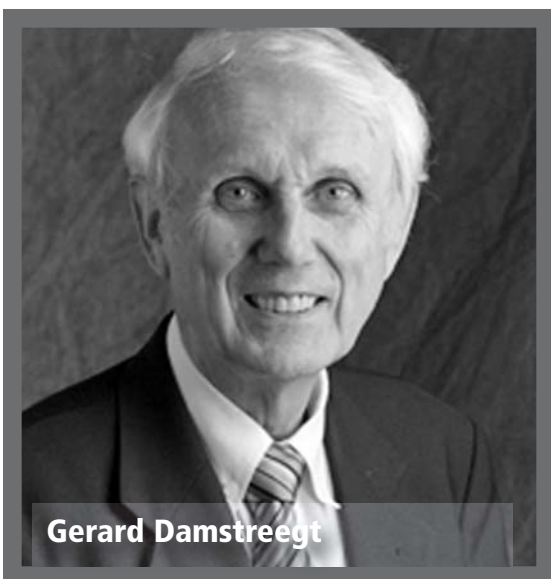
It is likely that the TOSC process, with headship theology advocates traveling from North America to meet with division Biblical Research Committees around the world and arguing their case at the GC TOSC meetings, has provided the broadest venue to date for the spread of headship theology among Adventists.

Conclusion

Before Bacchiocchi introduced headship theology to the Adventist Church in 1987, Adventists had been moving slowly and steadily toward fully integrating women into ministry. During the last fifty years, the church, with the support of GC administration, has approved the ordination of female elders⁴⁹ and deaconesses⁵⁰ and has voted that women may serve as "commissioned" pastors and perform substantially all the functions of ordained male pastors.⁵¹ In some parts of the world, conferences and unions have begun treating women exactly the same as men, including ordaining women to ministry. And in other parts of the world, where having women pastors would hinder the spread of the gospel, the integration has moved much slower, or not at all. In this, the church can be seen as following Paul's example: "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Cor. 9:22, NKJV).

Whenever the GC has formed committees in the past to consider ordaining women to ministry they have found no biblical reasons not to. If Bacchiocchi and others had not brought uncompromising, evangelical headship theology into the Adventist Church, study committees in the twenty-first century would almost certainly be affirming previous GC committee findings that the leadership of women is in keeping with

**Bacchiocchi's
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Gerard Damstreegt

Were it not for the new headship doctrine, the church might have easily adopted a policy of unity in diversity...to incorporate women into ministry.

the principles of the New Testament church. Leaders would be deciding where the ordination of women as pastors would contribute to bringing more people to Jesus and where such a practice would hinder the mission of the church—that is, deciding how to be “all things to all men” in order that by “all means” we might save some.

In his introduction, Bacchiocchi makes it clear that he believed the emerging headship arguments were so powerful that they would unite the church behind a policy that no women could serve as elders or pastors, whether ordained or not. Instead, the new headship doctrine is polarizing Adventists over the new headship doctrine itself.

Were it not for the new headship doctrine, the church might have easily adopted a policy of unity in diversity, allowing each division, union and conference to decide how to incorporate women into ministry. Instead, the church is faced with the difficult task of learning how to relate to a new theology that is rooted in a Calvinist view of God and that permits no compromise or diversity.

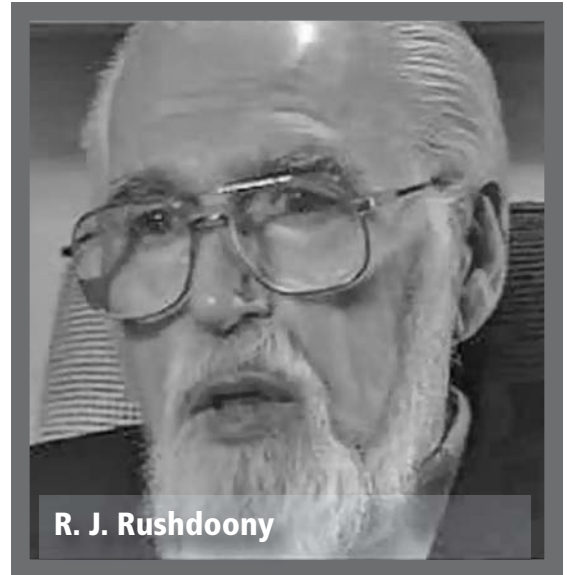
No one is advocating that Seventh-day Adventists adopt the entire package of Calvinist predestination theology. But is it possible to pick just one apple from the Calvinist tree without changing Adventists’ traditional understandings of such things as the gracious character of God, the spiritual relationship between Christ and his followers, the commitment to religious liberty for all, and the urgency to take the Gospel to every person on earth? That is the question that the church must answer before members and leaders can unite around any theology of ordination. ■

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R. J. Rushdoony

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2. See *EGW Writings*, accessed May 1, 2014, <https://egwwritings.org/>.
3. *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, vol. 6 (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1957), 1035.
4. For example, one of the earliest and most controversial headship theologians, Presbyterian minister R. J. Rushdoony, earned a large part of his income as an expert witness, testifying in support of homeschooling; Bill Gothard redirected his organization largely to homeschool training and supplies, and the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood is a major homeschool resource.
5. While some Adventist homeschool websites, such as <http://www.orion-publishing.org>, offer books arguing for male headship and against women in ministry, this appears to be because most Adventist homeschoolers are conservative, not because the Adventist homeschool movement is rooted in male headship theology.
6. See *The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://cbmw.org/>.
7. See “Core Beliefs,” *The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://cbmw.org/core-beliefs/>.
8. Pfandl, Gerhard, with Daniel Bediako, Steven Bohr, Laurel and Gerard Damsteegt, Jerry Moon, Paul Ratsara, Ed Reynolds, Ingo Sorke, and Clinton Wahlen, “Evaluation of

Egalitarian Papers," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, accessed April 30, 2014, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/evaluation-of-egalitarian-papers.pdf>, 4: "God appointed Adam as leader in the Garden of Eden before creating the woman."

9. Edwin Reynolds says, "It [voluntary submission] is characteristic of the role relationship between Christ and His Father that extends from eternity past to eternity future," in "Biblical Hermeneutics and Headship in First Corinthians," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, accessed April 30, 2014, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/biblical-hermeneutics-and-headship-in-first-corinthians.pdf>, 23.

10. John W. Peters says, "Eve's hope to be like God was not the 'higher sphere' which she sought to enter, nor is that the higher sphere that modern Eves hope to enter. The context suggests that modern Eves hope to enter a higher sphere by attempting to rise above their original positions, by their husband's side." See Peters, "Restoration of the Image of God: Headship and Submission," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, presented at the Theology of Ordination Study Committee, Jan 21–25, 2014, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/restoration-of-the-image-of-god-headship-and-submission-john-peters.pdf>, 17.

11. Peters again says, "By choosing to take the fruit from Eve and eating the fruit, Adam relinquished his headship role. In effect Adam transferred his headship role to his wife, and the role reversal between Adam and Eve was consummated." *Ibid.*, 19.

12. Edwin Reynolds and Clinton Wahlen approvingly quote Calvinist theologian Raymond C. Ortland, Jr.: "Christian redemption does not redefine creation; it restores cre-

ation, so that wives learn godly submission and husbands learn godly headship." *Minority Report* (North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists), accessed April 30, 2014, <http://static.squarespace.com/static/50d0e8be4b0ceb6af5fdd33/t/527970c2e4b039a2e8329354/1383690434980/nad-ordination-14-minority.pdf>, 200.

13. C. Raymond Holmes says, "While the role of women in ministry is unique and 'essential', it is different in function than that of men in that it does not include the headship office and supervisory responsibility of elder." See Holmes, "Women in Ministry: What Should We Do Now?" *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, accessed April 30, 2014, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/women-in-ministry-what-should-we-do-now.pdf>, 12.

14. Holmes again says, "Any solution that would ignore the biblical principle of headship...is simply untenable." *Ibid.*, 10.

15. See Ratsara, Paul, and Daniel K. Bediako, "Man and Woman in Genesis 1–3: Ontological Equality and Role Differentiation," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, presented at the Theology of Ordination Study Committee, Jul 22–24, 2013, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/man-and-woman-in-genesis-one-thru-three.pdf>.

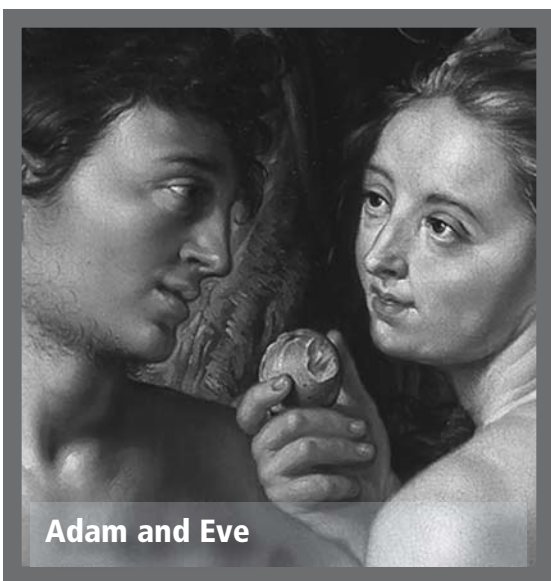
16. See, for example, Damsteegt, P. Gerard, Edwin Reynolds, Gerhard Pfandl, Laurel Damsteegt, and Eugene Prewitt, "Interpreting Scripture on the Ordination of Women," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, presented by Eugene Prewitt at the Theology of Ordination Committee, Jan 21–25, 2014, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/hermeneutics-interpreting-scripture-on-the-ordination-of-women.pdf>, 24.

17. Holmes says, "We have some repenting to do," beginning with "rescinding all previous actions permitting the ordination of women as local elders. Also, the 1990 General Conference action allowing women to perform most of the functions of an ordained minister in their local churches should be carefully reconsidered." Holmes, "Women in Ministry," 15.

18. These "splits" are difficult to document because those opposed to new headship rules usually move to an existing congregation, seminary or denomination that does not teach headship theology.

19. Holmes says, "We do the women God is calling to ministry a terrible disservice as long as we do not provide training for the specific ministry to which God is calling them. It is our failure to provide such training that constitutes unfair-

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Adam and Eve

Some warned that equal pay for Adventist women would result in closed schools, neglected children, divorces, unemployed ministers, and reduced evangelism.

ness and injustice.” Holmes, “Women in Ministry,” 12.

20. On March 10, 2014, Cedarville [Ohio] University President Thomas White announced that due to the concept of headship in 1 Cor. 11:2–16, the university would be restricting classes in the women’s ministry program to only female students. See Moon, Ruth, “Christian College Solidifies Complementarian Stance,” *Gleanings*, March 21, 2014, <http://www.christianitytoday.com/gleanings/2014/march/christian-college-solidifies-complementarian-cedarville.html>.

21. Several papers from the 2014 GC TOSC examine the headship doctrine from a biblical perspective. In support: John W. Peters, “Headship and Submission: Image of God.” Against: Ángel Rodríguez, “Evaluation of the Arguments Used by Those Opposing the Ordination of Women to the Ministry,” and Kendra Haloviak Valentine, “Is Headship Theology Biblical?” See also Davidson, Richard M., “Headship, Submission, and Equality in Scripture,” in *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Nancy Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1998), <http://session.adventistfaith.org/assets/393498>.

22. Historians have noted that in Reformed theology, the subordinate position of women is similar to the position of women in pre-reformation Catholic theology. But the older theology usually presented women as weaker spiritually, less intelligent and more gullible than men, while the new headship theology insists that women are not inferior to men, they have just been assigned a subordinate functional role.

23. The Commentary affirms that before sin the authority and rank of Adam and Eve were perfectly equal; that as a result of sin man has been assigned to be the head, leader or even “ruler” of the family; that the Gospel seeks to restore the relationship of husband and wife to perfect equality. In a Christian home husband and wife will work so diligently for the happiness and benefit of each other—even at the cost of their own lives—that neither will ever think about who is the head. The authors do not connect the headship texts with limiting which church offices a woman may hold. See especially *SDA Bible Commentary*, vol. 6, pages 753–759 and pages 1035–1038.

24. An example of an anti-ordination site that includes no Adventist references before 1987 but suggests a list of evangelical authors for further study is “Other Insightful Works,” *Women in Ministry*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.womenministrytruth.com/free-resources/other-insightful-works.aspx>.

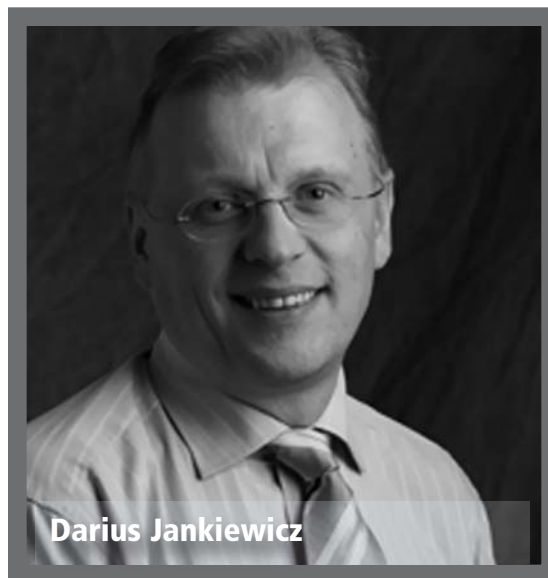
25. See Mattson, Brian G., “Double or Nothing: Martin

Luther’s Doctrine of Predestination,” *Contra Mundum*, accessed April 30, 2014, <http://www.contra-mundum.org/essays/mattson/Luther-predestination.pdf>.

26. Arminians, people who mostly agree with the free will theology of Jacobus Arminius, are not to be confused with Armenians, citizens of the country of Armenia, or people of Armenian ancestry. Nor should Arminianism be confused with Arianism, the belief that Jesus was not eternally and fully God.

27. Woodrow W. Whidden, II, says in the *Review and Herald*, Oct. 14, 2010: “To put it very simply: no ‘free grace’ and its ‘freed wills,’ no God-vindicating ‘Great Controversy theme’ for Seventh-day Adventism!” See Whidden, “Grace, Free Will, and Judgment,” *Adventist Review Online Archives*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://archives.adventistreview.org/article/3799/archives/issue-2010-1533/grace-free-will-and-judgment>.

28. Jankiewicz, Darius, “Two Visions of God and Male Headship: A Study in Calvinist and Arminian Presuppositions,” presented at the 2010 Arminianism Symposium, Andrews University, MI, October 15, 2010, http://www.ats-jats.org/site/1/podcast/4_Darius_Jankiewicz.mp3.



Darius Jankiewicz

29. For evangelical criticism of headship theology see “Articles on Headship,” *God’s Word to Women*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.godswordtowomen.org/headship.htm>.

30. In 2014 the Bill Gothard website states that 2.5 million people have attended his Institutes.

31. White, Ellen, *The Great Controversy* (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, Inc., 1858), 590.2.

32. Some church historians date the start of the modern

headship movement from the publication of Grudem's *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine*, in 1994 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994).

33. As I write this paper in early 2014, a church in the Central California Conference is advertising a headship seminar for youth, and a church in the Southern California Conference is offering a video seminar for couples, "The Art of Marriage," featuring the headship teachings of Wayne Grudem.

34. See "1973 Role of Women in the Church Committee: Mohaven Documents," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/1973-5-mohaven-.U0OAMcdO0lo>.

35. Bacchiocchi, Samuele, *Women in the Church: a Biblical Study of the Role of Women in the Church* (Berrien Springs, MI: Biblical Perspectives, 1987), 11–18.

36. The full text of Bacchiocchi's *Women in the Church* is available at this website: <http://peter.hitechmall.com/english/dnl/bacchi/books/womench.pdf>.

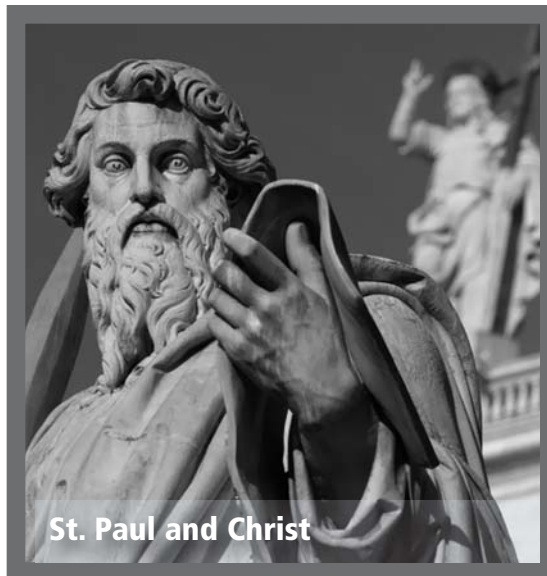
37. Evidently, Bacchiocchi was not the first Adventist to express headship ideas. At Mohaven in 1973, Hedwig Jemison presented a collection of statements from Ellen White, with commentary suggesting she had accepted headship theology. And the skeletal minutes from the GC's 1985 Role of Women in the Church committee indicate that at least one unnamed member of the committee was presenting headship arguments. Bacchiocchi was the first Adventist to compile and publish the emerging headship doctrine.

38. Read the Danvers Statement at "Core Beliefs," *The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://cbmw.org/core-beliefs/>.

39. Read the *Adventists Affirm* affirmations statement at <http://session.adventistfaith.org/no> or in the *Pacific Union Recorder*, August, 2012. The Danvers Statement was written in the form of ten "concerns," followed by ten "affirmations." The *Adventists Affirm* statement took the form of eleven "concerns" followed by ten "affirmations."

40. Hasel, Gerhard F., "The Relationship of Man and Woman in the Beginning and at the End," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, presented at Mohaven, 1973, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/the-relationship-of-man-and-woman-in-the-beginning-and-at-the-end.pdf>. In the final sentence, Hasel calls for men and women to "participate in full equality of responsibilities and privileges in all lines of work in order to hasten the coming of our beloved Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

41. Hasel, Gerhard, "Biblical Authority and Feminist



Interpretations," *Adventists Affirm*, Fall (1989), 12–23.

42. One theologian told me that before his death Hasel returned to his original position, but Hasel never wrote anything documenting that change.

43. Hasel, "Biblical Authority," 42.

44. *Ibid.*, 41–43.

45. "Role of Women in the Church—Committee Report," *Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research*, presented Mar. 26–29, 1985 in Washington, D.C., <http://www.adventistarchives.org/1985-study-committee-minutes.pdf>, 18.

46. For the story from Merikay Silver's perspective see her book, *Betrayal: The Shattering Sex Discrimination Case of Silver Vs. Pacific Press Publishing Association* (Austin, TX: Mars Hill Publishing, 1985).

47. "The Merikay Silver Case: Part One of Three," *Pilgrim's Rest Presents: SDADefend.com*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.sdadefend.com/MINDEX-M/Silver.pdf>, 12.

48. Damsteegt, P. Gerard, "A Response to the North American Division Ordination Request," *Andrews.edu*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.andrews.edu/~damsteeg/Ordination.html>.

49. GC Committee Minutes, April 3, 1975, 75–153–154, and October 14, 1984, 84–386–387.

50. GC Committee Minutes, April 3, 1975, 75–153–154.

51. On Oct. 9, 1989 the GC Committee voted to send to GC session a recommendation that women not be ordained, but to immediately authorize commissioned women pastors to perform essentially the ministerial functions of an ordained minister. General Conference Committee Minutes, October 9, 1989, 89–429–431.

**The new
headship
doctrine is
polarizing
Adventists over
the new
headship
doctrine
itself.**

Thompson → continued from page 61.

and asking us to sign our names. That would be a wonderful disease to infect the whole church. ■

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His books *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* and *Escape from the Flames: How Ellen White Grew from Fear to Joy and Helped Me to Do it Too* have played an important role in the community discussion about Ellen White.

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3. *The Remnant Study Bible with E. G. White Comments* (Coldwater, MI: Remnant Publications, 2009).
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8. Thompson, Alden, *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (New York, NY: Random House, 1991), 23–26.
9. Thompson, Alden, *Escape from the Flames: How Ellen White grew from fear to joy and helped me do it too* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 2005), 177–188.
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12. See Thompson, *Inspiration*, pages 51–52. Milton C. Wilcox was editor of *The Signs of the Times* from 1891 to 1913. The quotation is from page 12 of *Questions and Answers* (1911), a reprint of questions and answers from the *Signs*.
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15. Nichol, Francis D., *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Assoc., 1951), 651–656.
16. White, Ellen G., *Selected Messages*, vol. 1 (Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Assoc., 1958), 15–23.
17. Ministerial Association, General Conference of SDA, Seventh-day Adventists Believe... *A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines* (Washington, D.C.: Ministerial Association, General Conference of SDA, 1988), 8. The “Acknowledgment” page indicates that P. G. Damsteegt prepared the “initial draft” of each chapter. With the addition of the 28th Fundamental Belief, a new edition has appeared: *Seventh-day Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of Fundamental Doctrines* (Silver Spring, MD: Ministerial Association, General Conference of SDA, 2005), 15.

18. *Ibid.*, v.

19. Holbrook, Frank and Leo Van Dolson, eds., *Issues in Revelation and Inspiration* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1992). Frank Hasel’s essay is entitled “Reflections on the Authority and Trustworthiness of Scripture,” pages 201–220.

20. White, Ellen G., *Counsels to Parents, Teachers, and Students Regarding Christian Education* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1913), 432.

21. The full Sinai-Golgotha series included the five issues in *Adventist Review* of December 1981 (Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31), the *AR* follow-up issue of July 1, 1982, and another article, “Even the Investigative Judgment Can Be Good News,” published in *Westwind*, the Walla Walla College alumni journal, in Winter (1982), 4–7, 11. The “IJ” article was actually the trigger for the whole series and was a response to Desmond Ford’s claim in his famous Adventist Forum presentation at PUC on October 27, 1979, that there was “no biblical way of proving the Investigative Judgment.” Ford’s stance troubled me because, as I had come to understand it, the IJ doctrine had become an important part of my theology, a theodicy issue rather than a matter of salvation. Thus I saw myself standing in judgment as a witness, not as the accused.

But to my amazement, when I went back to the early Ellen White materials (*Spiritual Gifts*, 1858; *Spirit of Prophecy* vol. 1, 1870), I did not find my position at all. Given the volatility of the material, hundreds of hours went into editing and revising the series. When I came to the “IJ” article that had suffered much at the hands of the *AR* editors, I was too exhausted to take it on, so suggested to Wood that the series run without it. I sensed that he was relieved. Earlier, when I had alerted him to the potential explosiveness of the material, he responded in a letter dated January 16, 1981: “Our readers are quite willing to accept truth if a proper case is made for it.” That editorial nudge from Wood led directly to the explicit listing of these six growth points in part five of the series (Dec. 31, 1981):

1. Role of the love of God in the great rebellion. In contrast with *Patriarchs and Prophets*, the early sources do not mention the love of God as a factor in the conflict.

2. Relationship of free will and the law to the character of God. Again there is no link in the earlier sources.

3. The possibility of restoration of Lucifer, even after he had sinned. In the early sources, there is no hope for Lucifer. Only in *Patriarchs and Prophets* 39 (and also in *The Great Controversy*) does God offer to reinstate him in his office if he would be “willing to return to God, acknowledging the Creator’s wisdom.”

4. Eternal nature of Christ. Ellen White was never as strident in her anti-Trinitarian stance as her husband James was (“that old Trinitarian absurdity”), but the early sources clearly indicate that she did not see Christ as fully divine.

5. Love of the Father for sinners. “God is love” are the first words of *PP* and the last of *GC*. In *Spiritual Gifts* those lines are missing and she never links love with the Father.

6. The cross as an illustration of divine self-sacrifice. In *The Desire of Ages*, Ellen White actually enhanced her emphasis on the substitutionary atonement with its cross pointed heavenward (see “It Is Finished,” chapter 79). But late in life she also turned the cross earthward, drawing on the Gospel of John, “Whoever has seen me has seen the Father” (John 14:9, NRSV). That earthward perspective is missing from the early sources.

Wood risked much in publishing the series. The late Paul Landa told me that he had asked Arthur White in a public setting for his opinion of the series. White was cryptic: “I wish you hadn’t asked. Ask the editor of the *Review*. He knows what I think.”