

Adventism's Promise for Black Liberation | BY DOUGLAS MORGAN

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In 1892, as the Kentucky state legislature considered a bill to mandate racial segregation in rail coaches, a slender school teacher from Lexington raised her voice with a power that inspired these lines from Paul Laurence Dunbar:

*Give us to lead our cause
More noble souls like hers,
The memory of whose deed
Each feeling bosom stirs;
Whose fearless voice and strong
Rose to defend her race,
Roused Justice from her sleep,
Drove Prejudice from place.¹*



Mary E. Britton

The “noble soul” with a “fearless voice” was Mary E. Britton (left), not only a teacher but a newspaper columnist and friend of anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells. Within a year of her public stand against the onset of legal segregation, Mary Britton joined a new Seventh-day Adventist congregation organized in Lexington by Elder

Alfonso Barry. Britton’s new life direction would lead her to Adventism’s first school of medicine, the American Medical Missionary College, and then back to Lexington where she became the city’s first licensed African American female physician. She combined her medical practice with wide-ranging activism and journalistic advocacy for

social justice and benevolence in the public square.²

Three years after Mary Britton’s celebrated anti-segregation speech, at an Emancipation day celebration in Springfield, Ohio, a black Baptist preacher blasted the Republican party for its betrayal of the Negro with such inflammatory eloquence that the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* denounced him not only for slurring the name of Lincoln but dishonoring the American flag. The furor sent shockwaves south



Lewis C. Sheafe

of the Ohio River, where a segregationist Kentucky newspaper reported that the young preacher had caused a “pronounced sensation” with a speech that added to mounting and troubling evidence that “the negro is in earnest in his demand for social recognition.”³

Only ten months later, in July 1896, we find this same fiery orator, Lewis C. Sheafe (left), in the pulpit of Battle Creek Tabernacle, making his debut as a Seventh-day Adventist preacher.⁴ By then, surely, he would have read Ellen White’s *Review and Herald* articles that her son Edson compiled in *The Southern Work*, in which the prophet envisioned a comprehensive initiative for making good the promise of freedom to a people who, after legal emancipation thirty years before, had, in the words of Du Bois, “stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.”⁵ The mission would help them claim their “God-given freedom” to discover and follow the way of Christ for themselves. It would entail “teaching them to read and to follow various trades and engage in different business enterprises.” Thus, the Adventist prophet insisted that the “cotton field will not be the only resource for a livelihood to the colored people,” at the very time in which the ascendant forces of white supremacy were engaged in a systematic effort to see that it was. She called on farmers,

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Front page of the *Colored American* newspaper, September 13, 1902, with a picture and story on Lewis C. Sheafe.

She combined her medical practice with wide-ranging activism and journalistic advocacy for social justice and benevolence in the public square.

financiers, builders and craftsmen to join ministers and teachers in this broad-ranging mission and thereby make “the best restitution that can be made to those who have been robbed of their time and deprived of their education.”⁶

Ellen White grounded her exhortations in the biblical theme of divine action to liberate the enslaved and oppressed, seen especially in the Exodus story and Jesus’ declaration of His messianic mission (Luke 4:16–20). The gospel-based liberation of which she spoke addressed the whole person, confined neither to inner spirituality nor to economic uplift.⁷ As such it did, on the one hand, somehow have to find embodiment within the economic and political structures of society. Accordingly, Ellen White forthrightly affirmed the national government’s role in its realization. On the other hand, because cosmic powers—Satan and the “rulers of the darkness of this world”—drove the oppression, divine power would be needed to effect deep and lasting freedom. Thus, the missiology of liberation she upheld was centered on the church as God’s designated agency.⁸

Lewis Sheafe caught the vision. “My heart leaped for joy as I thought of the help to come to my people through the third ang[el’s] message,” he testified in a letter to Ellen White.⁹ Armed with credentials designating him a delegate at large “to represent the colored race” at the 1899 General Conference, Sheafe took the floor to “heartily” endorse plans to expand the church’s medical missionary work in the South. At the very moment of America’s plummet to its historic nadir in race relations, this passionate race advocate declared: “I believe that Seventh-day Adventists have a truth which, if they will let it get a hold of them, can do more in this field [the black South] to demonstrate the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ than can any other people.”¹⁰

Sheafe’s twenty turbulent years of Seventh-day Adventist ministry would end in alienation from the “organized work,” but not before he established a strong black Adventist presence in Washington, D.C., and, through two rounds of heart-wrenching conflict, prodded the General Conference leadership first to establish the North American Negro Department in 1909, and then to place it under black leadership in 1918.¹¹

A third vignette takes us to Los Angeles where, according to the standard account, the first black Adventist congregation west of Kansas City originated in 1906 with group Bible studies conducted in the home of a postal worker and his wife, Theodore and Estelle Troy.¹² True enough, except that it turns out that T.W. Troy was much more than a postal worker. He was in fact a highly successful business entrepreneur described as a “prominent black activist” by one historian, and as a “live wire in the community” and “a great worker for the advancement of his race” by the *California Eagle*, southern California’s leading black newspaper in that era.¹³

The gatherings at the Troy home led to organization of the Furlong Tract church with twenty-eight members in 1908. It is the young people of this congregation who are of greatest interest for present purposes and to them our attention will return presently.¹⁴

But by now we have seen enough to suggest

that in its initial, formative phase, the rise of Adventism among African Americans was marked by a striking pattern of high-achieving converts dedicated to racial advancement. When Mary Britton joined the church in 1893, the total membership of the handful of black Adventist churches organized in the South was under fifty, with the overall denominational black membership likely totaling fewer than one hundred. When Lewis C. Sheafe joined the church in 1896, he became just the third officially-credentialed black Adventist minister. Growth over the ensuing dozen years established a strong and lasting foundation for the black Adventist work, with membership reaching approximately 1,400 by 1909.¹⁵

In addition to Britton, Sheafe, and the Troys, a sampling of converts to Adventism from the well-educated and professional segments of the black population during this formative phase includes Franklin W. Warnick, a friend of Sheafe and fellow graduate of Wayland Seminary; Amy Temple of the Furlong Tract church, a nurse and graduate of Shaw



Anna Knight

University; James H. Howard, graduate of Howard University medical school and one of the most highly-placed African Americans in federal government service during the late nineteenth century; Rosetta Douglass Sprague, Oberlin graduate and daughter of Frederick Douglass; J. Alexander Chiles, attorney and, like Britton, a member of the Lexington church; W.H. Green, attorney converted through Sheafe's evangelism in Washington; Franklin H. Bryant, published poet and educator; Matthew C. Strachan, educated at both Fisk University and Battle Creek College, effective ministerial leader and political organizer both in the denomination and the public square; and James K. Humphrey, graduate of Colbar College in Jamaica and pioneer of black Adventism in New York City, who signed on to the Adventist movement and launched his quarter-century of highly successful evangelism there in 1903.¹⁶

Another, Anna Knight (*above*), would become the most familiar of all in Adventist historical lore. Historian Victoria Bynum's fascinating study of racial interaction and identity, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War*, however, adds a dimension to the significance of Knight's story. Bynum writes that Anna "escaped rural Mississippi and gained protection against sexual exploitation and poverty within the nurturing environment of Seventh-Day Adventism." Thus, though marred by its accommodation to segregation, Bynum nonetheless sees the overall impact of Adventism as liberating for Knight and her Mississippi community. The school that Anna, and later her sister, Grace, operated in Jones County, along with the Oakwood school in Alabama, became, for the extended mixed-race Knight clan, "their most important resources for battling against total debasement under increasingly strict racial segregation."¹⁷

**The mission
would help
them claim
their "God-
given freedom"
to discover
and follow the
way of Christ
for themselves.**

LEWIS C. SHEAFE
EVANGELIST - SINGER
LECTURER

WHAT doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?
—Micah 6:8

Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exerciseth loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.—Jer. 9:23-24.

The Lord bless thee and keep thee: the Lord make his face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.—Num. 6:24-26.

**FOR ENGAGEMENTS
ADDRESS**
1570 W. 35TH STREET
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

MRS. L. P. SHEAFE
ACCOMPANIST

Lewis C. Sheafe and wife, Lucy Parker Sheafe

Ellen White

grounded her

exhortations

in the biblical

theme of

divine action to

liberate the

enslaved and

oppressed.



Pittsburgh Courier, September 7, 1935

All of these figures embraced Adventism at the very time when the last vestiges of hope that America would make good on the political promises of the Reconstruction era were being crushed.¹⁸ In that context, the Adventist program for development of the whole person offered a promising, alternative path for racial liberation.

Sheafe, for example, along with many of his generation, came of age believing that the promise of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 would move decisively toward realization in fully equal citizenship. His was a heart freshly embittered by the nation's betrayal when it leapt for joy at the thought of what the third angel's message could mean to his people.¹⁹ He threw himself utterly into this obscure and demanding cause. The work he began in Washington, D.C. in 1902 brought the church, by 1905, to the threshold of establishing a strong educational and medical missionary center in the cultural center of black America.²⁰ But it was not to be. Like too many others, for too many decades after him, Sheafe's attempt to cash the promissory note of Adventist freedom came back marked "insufficient funds." Yet, the aspirations, the dreams

evoked by the promise, remain significant. Not without reason did Sheafe believe he had found in Adventism a better hope, better promises and a better path to the liberation of his people than that offered by the political system.

In embracing Adventism, neither Britton nor Sheafe abandoned pursuit of justice and equality in the public arena. For them, conversion to Adventism was not a turn from public to private or from engagement to disengagement, social to individual, activist to quietist, or from the present world to "pie-in-the-sky." But the target changed, with priorities shifting accordingly. Rather than transformation of the social order through a direct assault on the legal and political system, they now focused on holistic liberation of oppressed people through an alternative political structure called church, deploying alternative methods such as persuasion, education, and healing.

Their hope no longer centered on America,

Beacon Light ☺
☺ **Gospel Tent**

COR. 13TH AND T STS., N. W.

IN CHARGE OF
Lewis C. Sheafe
ASSISTED BY
Fred H. Seeney

ENQUIRY MEETING at 7 p. m.
PREACHING at 7.45 p. m.

Subjects for the week beginning Sept 1st, 1902.

MONDAY,	Social Purity and Health.
TUESDAY,	Law of God, is it binding?
WEDNESDAY,	The Two Laws.
THURSDAY,	The Sabbath of the Lord?
FRIDAY,	Is Sunday the Lords Day?
SUNDAY,	Prophetic America.

BIBLE STUDIES on the ever-lasting
GOSPEL and PROPHECY every
evening.

Good Singing. Public Welcome.

A flyer advertising Lewis C. Sheafe's groundbreaking evangelistic meetings in Washington, D.C., during the summer of 1902.

even Christian America; indeed, its ultimate failure was anticipated. But a movement that offers holistic liberation to all people through the “everlasting gospel,” can neither be indifferent to injustice and oppression nor collude with it. The imperatives of mission, of witness to the good news, doing good works that glorify God, and love of neighbor, all demand support for freedom movements in the public realm in every way consistent with the gospel.

Britton’s work for justice and mercy as an Adventist physician and journalist illustrates how the church—through its evangelistic mission and educational program—generates individuals who nurture *shalom* in the public square through persuasive rhetoric (a newspaper column, in her case) and activism through existing agencies. And, returning now to the Californians, we catch some glimmers of how the church itself could become an intentional agency for racial liberation and spawn creative new agencies as well.



Ruby Bontemps Troy and Dr. Owen A. Troy

Though not widely-known today, Owen A. Troy, Sr., son of Theodore and Estelle Troy (above), must surely rank among the most forward-thinking Adventist leaders of any race during the early-mid decades of the twentieth century (1920s to 1950s). Amidst relentless and skillful advocacy for racial justice in the denomination, he developed churches into thriving agencies for Adventism’s program of holistic liberation in urban black communities. One shining moment came during the darkest hour of the Great Depression at Shiloh Church on the south side of Chicago. Under Troy’s leadership, the church sustained the phenomenal growth that began in the previous decade under G.E. Peters. Shiloh Academy became a full high school, with a print shop for both commercial work and vocational instruction. At the Shiloh Clinic, begun in 1932, five doctors and three nurses served thousands among

the “needy public” each year. “A church should be interested in the welfare of the community...the business enterprises, the education, health, and daily life of its people,” Troy told the *Pittsburgh Courier*.²¹

Meanwhile, after graduating from the College of Medical Evangelists at Loma Linda and becoming the first African American female licensed to practice medicine in California, Troy’s friend from childhood in the Furlong Tract church, Dr. Ruth Janetta Temple, had established the first health clinic to serve the 250,000 residents of southeast Los Angeles. The clinic developed into the Temple Health Institute. From there she initiated the Health Study Club program to educate the public on community health issues such as nutrition, sex education, immunization and substance abuse. The program brought together not only parents, teachers, and school children but eventually drew in street gang leaders, nightclub owners and their patrons.²²

Troy and Temple collaborated in forming a voluntary organization, the Community Health Association, which originated the Disease Prevention Week that the California state legislature instituted as an annual event in 1945. Here was a benevolent civic organization originated and led by Adventists that drew together leaders from all sectors of the community to advance the common good. In 1978, Dr. Temple told an interviewer that she “got the concept of a truly large program for community work in public health” from study of “a book called *The Ministry of Healing*” in a class at Loma Linda taught by Dr. A.W. Truman.²³

Neither Troy nor Temple saw their focus on the distinctively Adventist vision and mission as somehow at odds with, or even disconnected from, the black freedom struggle in America. Despite their pervasiveness in the Adventism of his era, Troy emphatically rejected the notions that Adventist ministers must “refrain from entering programs for social and economic reforms” or speaking out “against racial segregation.”²⁴

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Based on her own experience, Ruth Temple (*below*) regarded public health education as “the swiftest and most naturally effective of all racial barrier-breakers.” Her endeavors gained her entry into “the most exclusive and ordinarily narrow circles,” and she had found such groups not only welcoming but “tenacious” in following through with cooperation. This led her to “feel that there is no limit to what such a program can accomplish in the race relations field” and contributed to her passion for expanding her efforts even further.²⁵



The innovators we have glimpsed put their all into utilizing the holistic, medical missionary ideals at the heart of Adventism for the liberation of an oppressed people. Their deepest motivations and boldest aspirations sprang from the church. Driven by the imperative of preparation for a new world to come, they placed their highest priorities on the expansion of this alternative social construct, not on perfecting American democracy through law, politics, or even civil disobedience.

I suggest that a “neo-Anabaptist” perspective best elucidates the significance of their stories for our present grappling with questions of Adventism’s relationship to the public square. The influential sociologist of religion, James Davison Hunter, uses “neo-Anabaptist” to describe Christian thinkers such as John Howard Yoder, Stanley Hauerwas, James McClendon, and Craig Carter, who emphasize that “the community of faith is its own *polis*. . . .Citizenship in the church is true citizenship, one that trumps loyalties in the world. It creates an alternative space in the world and an alternate set of practices against which the world is judged and beckoned.”²⁶ Leading Adventist proponents of neo-Anabaptist thought include Charles Scriven and Ronald Osborn.²⁷

In this mode “liberation,” rather than “transformation,” best conveys Adventism’s promise. New Testament scholar Scot McKnight observes that

liberation connotes change that is “radical, from the inside out and bottom up,” and brings economic empowerment to the oppressed. A church-centered social ethic sees the church as a more promising vehicle for that kind of change than a program *centered* on transforming the public order. McKnight asserts that “the ‘social’ dimension of holistic redemption is *first* and *foremost* found in the social reality called the church.” He faults the theologies of social transformation and liberation set forth by influential figures such as Rauschenbusch, Moltmann, Gutierrez, and Cone, among others, for locating the working of the Kingdom of God mainly in the public sector, thereby decentering the church.²⁸

Among the implications for a church-centered social ethic of liberation in the narratives explored in this essay, I suggest that:

- 1) Adventists may make their most meaningful and effective impact on the public order as a consequence of, not in spite of, faithful focus on the church’s distinctive mission, inspired by its message of transcendent hope.
- 2) Placing priority on development of an alternative social reality, formed by this distinctive vision for liberating the whole person rather than structural transformation of the surrounding society, does not and must not mean insularity or disengagement from the public realm.
- 3) Rather, such ordering of priorities generates a pioneering creativity that in turn generates social change by bearing a winsome witness to new possibilities.
- 4) If truly shaped by the biblical, prophetic heritage, the Adventist commitment to restoration of the whole person, must, with discernment, identify and ally itself with the oppressed in liberation struggles in the wider society that others may be more prominent in leading. ■

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Herald Publishing Association as part of its Adventist Pioneer Series of biographies.

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2. Paula J. Giddings, *Ida: A Sword Among Lions* (New York, 2008), 140–141; Laretta Flynn Byars, "Mary Elizabeth Britton (1858–1925)," in Jessica Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women*, Book II (Detroit, 1996), 55–57; R. Steven Norman, III, "Fighting for Justice: Mary E. Britton, Adventist Pioneer and Community Leader," *Southern Tidings* (February



2006): 4–5; Tom Eblen, "Mary Britton was a Woman Ahead of Her Times," The Bluegrass and Beyond weblog (February 14, 2012), (<http://tomeblen.bloginky.com/2012/02/14/mary-britton-was-a-woman-ahead-of-her-time/>) [accessed October 31, 2015].

3. Douglas Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe: Apostle to Black America* (Hagerstown, 2010), 104–108; Editorial page, *Hartford Weekly Herald* (October 16, 1895): 2.
4. Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe*, 116.
5. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York, 2007), 26.
6. Ellen G. White, *The Southern Work* (1901 edition, Ellen G. White Writings online, Ellen G. White Estate, (egwwritings.org), 44, 53, 60–61. The reference to the cotton field as the only place of employment is an oversimplification here taken to signify not only the reduction of black farmers to

long-term debt peonage but systematic restriction of blacks to the lowest levels of agricultural, service, and industrial employment. See Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1965), 153–156.

7. White, *The Southern Work*, 14, 24, 35, 41, 48.
8. White, *The Southern Work*, 19, 44, 60–61; E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* 9: 205; White, *The Southern Work*, 44.
9. Lewis C. Sheafe to Ellen G. White, 25 May 1899, Ellen G. White Estate files.
10. Morgan, 142–144. The intriguing note of post-modernity ("a truth") aside, Sheafe, as a seminary-educated minister, active in a wide gamut of national and local organizations for civil rights and race advancement, and well-read in history and politics, was well-positioned to make this assessment.

11. Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe*, 178–356, 372–400. "An Appeal in Behalf of the Work among the Colored People," signed by twelve leading black Adventist ministers, prompted organization of the North American Negro Department at the 1909 General Conference. The Appeal referred to the "growing race-problem" in America that "is invading the sacred confines of our church"—an unmistakable allusion to the crisis evoked by the withdrawal of Sheafe's Washington, D.C. congregation from denominational affiliation in 1907. The "loss of confidence" among colored Americans experienced by "the great Protestant bodies, because of their inability to meet the situation has come to us," they declared, necessitating action to "restore and conserve" the "confidence of the race" if they were to "expect greater success in our labours" (Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, hereinafter cited as GCA). After a short-lived reconciliation with denominational leadership in 1913, Sheafe joined with J.W. Manns of Savannah, Ga., in 1916 in establishing the Free Seventh Day Adventists as a separate black-led denomination. In view of these developments, the General Conference leadership at the 1918 session recognized the importance of an "advance move" they had previously been unwilling to make—appointment of a black man to head the Negro Department, according to W.H. Green, who received the appointment ("A Word Regarding the North American Negro Department," n.d., GCA).

12. Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists with an African Heritage* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 175–176.
13. Susan Shifrin, "Temple, Ruth J.," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: Science, Health, and Medicine*,

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**The Adventist
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Encyclopedia of Black Women in America (New York, 1997). *African-American History Online*. Facts on File, Inc., <http://www.fofweb.com/activelink2.asp?ItemID=WE01&iPin=AFEBW0726&SingleRecord=True> (accessed 14 July 2015). "Los Angeles Loses a [First] Class Man," *California Eagle* (December 13, 1919): 4; "The Forum," *California Eagle* (May 16, 1914): 4–5.

14. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow*, 179–182.

15. The membership estimates are pieced together from Richard Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, rev. ed. (Silver Spring, MD, 2000), 234–235; Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow*, 113; and Sydney Scott, "Work in the South for the Colored People," *Gospel Herald* (February 1907): 6–7.

16. The web site blacksdahistory.org is an excellent starting point for information on most of these figures. The information on Amy Temple is found in the interview with Ruth J. Temple cited in note 22 below. On Strachan, see also Samuel G. London, Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement* (Jackson, 2010), 93–105, and Douglas Morgan, "Proclaiming the Gospel and Changing Society," *Ministry* (April 2011): 10–14. On Humphrey, see R. Clifford Jones, *James K. Humphrey and the Sabbath Day Adventists* (Jackson, 2006).

17. Victoria Bynum, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War*, Kindle edition (2001), Chapter 8.

18. Historian Mark Elliott writes that during the 1880s "the opportunity still existed for the federal government to promote black interests in the South" such as voting rights, education, and economic opportunity. However, the failure of the Republican party to give its full backing to passage of a bill to protect black voting rights introduced by Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge in 1890 "all but dashed" hopes for federal action to sustain the promise of Reconstruction; see *Color-Blind Justice: Albion Tourgee and the Quest for Racial Equality* (New York, 2006), 166, 243–244, 247–248.

19. In 1895, South Carolina joined the progression of Southern states that, in view of the Lodge Bill's failure in 1891, enacted measures designed to disenfranchise black voters. That summer Sheafe publicly debunked the supposed merits of the South Carolina legislation. In his indictment of the Republican Party at Springfield in September, he also cited the Senate's failure to acknowledge Ida B. Wells' unimpeachable exposé of lynching as a means of social control through terror rather than vigilante justice against perpetrators of particularly heinous crimes. See Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe*, 101–108.

20. For Sheafe's own account see "The People's Seventh-

day Adventist Church of Washington, D.C.," *Review and Herald* (August 24, 1905): 15–16.

21. "Church Serves Everyday Life of Community," *Pittsburgh Courier* (September 7, 1935): A10.

22. Shifrin, "Temple, Ruth J.;" Libby Clark, "State's First Black Woman Physician and Agricultural Scientist," *Los Angeles Sentinel* (February 13, 2003): C8; "Interview with Ruth Janetta Temple," *Black Women Oral History Project*, Vol. 9 (Wesport, CT, 1991), 304–311.

23. "Interview with Ruth Janetta Temple," 284, 310–313.

24. Owen A. Troy, circular letter to ministers, May 4, 1948, Arna Wendell Bontemps Papers, Syracuse University Library.

25. Ruth J. Temple to Arna Bontemps, 11 Dec. 1944, Bontemps Papers. Temple's work eventually won the endorsement of two governors of California—Pat Brown and Ronald Reagan, and three presidents of the United States—Johnson, Nixon, and Carter; see Clark, "State's First Black Woman Physician." Such public recognition can testify to the far-reaching impact of a church-based initiative, but the danger of co-optation lurks if it becomes the main goal or litmus test of success. One cautionary example from Adventist history brought to light by Roland Blaich is the case of Hulda Jost, director of Adventist welfare work in Germany during the 1930s. The incorporation of the Adventist Welfare Society into the National Socialist Welfare organization no doubt impressively demonstrated the potential societal impact of the denomination's health and humanitarian agencies. Not only that, it did much to preserve the denomination's institutional existence under dire straits for several years. Yet her effectiveness in bringing Adventist community service into the public square came at the high cost of her becoming a propagandist for the Nazi regime. See "Selling Nazi Germany Abroad: The Case of Hulda Jost," *Journal of Church and State* 35:4 (Autumn 1993): 807–830.

26. James Davison Hunter, *To Change the World: The Irony, Tragedy, and Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World* (New York, 2010), 161.

27. Charles Scriven, *The Promise of Peace: Dare to Live the Advent Hope* (Nampa, ID, 2009); Osborn, *Anarchy and Apocalypse: Essays on Faith, Violence and Theodicy* (Eugene, OR, 2010).

28. Scot McKnight, *Kingdom Conspiracy: Returning to the Radical Mission of the Local Church* (Grand Rapids, 2014), 154, 228–255.