

 community through conversation

SPECTRUM



Adventist Stories • 3ABN AND BRENDA WALSH SPLIT
Fear and the Hidden Agendas of the Ford Controversy

community through conversation

SPECTRUM

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SPECTRUM is published by Adventist Forum, a nonsubsidized, nonprofit organization for which gifts are deductible in the report of income for purposes of taxation. The publishing of SPECTRUM depends on subscriptions, gifts from individuals, and the voluntary efforts of the contributors.

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ABOUT THE COVER ART: THE BLACK UNDERWOOD



There's something special about painting the old typewriters, aside from a typewriter being a nostalgic object. The "Black Underwood" is an intimate machine that dwells in our own temporal realm as opposed to the digital. The digital realm is not a place where humans exist. We make inputs into the digital realm and see output, if all is functioning properly, but we can't dwell in it. This is an analogy to the spiritual realm as well. But the typewriter dwells with us, in our world and you can see how it works. You can see its mechanicalness and feel and hear it as it functions and there is satisfaction in that.

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Letters to the editor may be edited for publication.

ISSN: 0890-0264

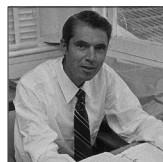
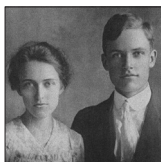
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ABOUT THE COVER ARTIST: MATTHEW PIERCE

Matthew Pierce is a working multi-disciplinary artist and professor at Walla Walla University, who paints portraits of objects and people. Through his art, Pierce explores the ideas and assumptions we attach to the commonplace or nostalgic, and how our perceptions are altered by time and changing perspectives. His contemporary approach to painting shows an exuberance in application of paint and color, with a wry playfulness.

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Volunteers, Missionaries, and Other Adventist Heroes and Celebrities

BY BONNIE DWYER

Growing up Adventist, attending “MV” meetings and singing the Missionary Volunteer song, the emphasis (at least in my mind) was always on the Missionary part of the phrase. It has taken working for an independent, non-profit organization other than the church for the beauty of the song’s chorus to sink in.

Volunteers, volunteers, how I love the name.
Volunteers, volunteers, Jesus to proclaim.

This year, we lost two of Adventist Forum’s most amazing volunteers: Nancy Bailey in April, and James Kaatz in August.

Nancy Bailey served first as chairperson of the Adventist Forum Advisory Council, the group that has provided the financial backing to keep the organization operational over the past fifty years. Shortly after the group was formed, she crisscrossed the country to attend fund-raising dinners in key locations and helped get the group going. Later, she took the title of treasurer of the organization. She paid the bills, advised the Board, and kept us all on an even keel as we moved the office from Takoma Park, Maryland to Roseville, California and transitioned from the editorship of Roy Branson to mine.

It was a challenging time for the organization and for her. Her famous husband, surgeon Leonard Bailey, had just been diagnosed with throat cancer. Radiation treatments left him exhausted, but not defeated. She would tell

us about his latest invention, a modified camelback water delivery system to help keep his throat hydrated while he operated, in spite of his lack of saliva. No matter what the story, there was always cheer in her voice, and she could find the humor in any situation. On our weekly calls to discuss our precarious financial situation, she got the tough assignment of being the financial reality check. That she also knew how to find sunshine in challenging times made her beloved beyond measure.

Through those calls, we caught glimpses of her celebrity life, post the Baby Fae surgery. We heard about her work for the Democratic Party, her visits to Sacramento, her acquaintance with Diane Feinstein. She hosted a fund-raising dinner at her home for Adventist Forum, and there we caught a glimpse of her as a fabric artist with a sewing room and vast quilting supplies.

Then last year came the news that she, too, was now battling cancer. Len had fought it for years, but had taken a turn for the worse. They were at home caring for each other until the end. She died on April 7, 2019, and he passed away a month later, on May 12.

While Nancy helped put the national Adventist Forum organization on its feet, Jim Kaatz was the storied leader of the San Diego chapter of Adventist Forum for twenty-seven years.

It all began with a recording. Jim Kaatz had the idea to record the presentations being given at the San Diego Adventist Forum chapter that had formed in the 1970’s. He



Nancy Bailey

duplicated tapes, and mailed them to whomever requested them, and with that effort he grew an international audience for the chapter. The tapes also provided an income stream to sustain the monthly programming. Jim's foresight and organizational skills were quickly recognized by the group, and, in 1983, Jim was elected president of the chapter, a position he held for twenty-seven years.

When Jim passed away in August, he left a legacy of inspiring tenacity within Adventist Forum. Not many people are willing to stay at a volunteer position for twenty-seven years. Family and friends gathered at the Tierrasanta Church in September to honor his memory. He left behind a large family: three sons, Jim, Jeffrey, and Jan, their spouses and children; and four siblings, from both his biological and adopted family. He was married to Averille Ellen Smouse in 1955. The couple met at Emmanuel Missionary College (now Andrews University) and both graduated in 1955. Averille's grandparents had changed their name from Schmaus to Smouse when they immigrated to the US. It was humorous to EMC's students when the couple got engaged as the cat (Kaatz) caught the mouse (Smouse).

Kaatz was an educator his entire adult life. While still a college student, he took a couple of years off to teach in a one-room, twelve-grade Adventist school in Rhineland, Wisconsin. A year after their marriage, the Kaatzes moved to California and his first teaching job was at Bellflower Adventist Academy. Three years later, he moved to Lynwood for another three-year stint, and then to La Sierra Academy for three years. Meanwhile, he completed an MA in education at California State University, Fullerton and then an EdD at the University of Southern California. After completing his doctorate, he was offered a faculty position at San Diego State University in 1966, which is where he taught until his retirement.

Gardening, the local church, and Adventist Forum were his passions. With the San Diego chapter, he found

a place to contribute to the conversations that he saw as important for the future of the church. In the planning of programs, he did not shy away from touchy topics or controversial speakers. He was always an advocate for social justice both within and without the church. La Sierra University honored him with a place on their Path of the Just for this commitment.



James Kaatz with his wife, Averille

Before her death, Averille joined him in the work that made the San Diego Forum chapter successful—all the mailings of tapes and a newsletter to keep members informed about upcoming programs. As the chapter flourished, annual retreats were added. Pine Springs Ranch in May became a regular tradition.

The success of the San Diego Forum chapter was inspiring to others, too. At the *Spectrum* office, we often referred to Jim people who were looking for advice on

forming a local chapter, writing up a constitution, putting together a planning group, or securing a 501(c)(3) status from the government for tax purposes. The one thing that could not be duplicated, however, was Jim, the faithful gardener. Year in and year out, he stayed at his task. Tending the soil, planting the seeds, watering the plants, sharing the crop. He kept things going. His dedication was amazing, an inspiration.

In this issue of *Spectrum*, we pay tribute to these two wonderful volunteers for Adventist Forum. We also have missionary stories to share, plus in-depth reports on Des Ford and Brenda Walsh. We hope you enjoy this “people” issue of *Spectrum* with its accounts of missionaries and volunteers.



BONNIE DWYER is editor of *Spectrum*

Mamas and Papas

SALVATION ON SAND MOUNTAIN

BY CARMEN LAU

Like many others, I think of grandparents when I think of who has influenced me. Mama and Papa, my grandparents—Lula Dixie Musser Peterson and Raynold G. Peterson—exhibited temerity, loved beauty, sought to learn, and were practical.

Papa wanted to be a physician, but they had heard Mrs. White speak in person and believed the time was short. Rather than take the time to pursue medicine, he decided to complete a one-year nursing course at Madison Hospital. In 1914, Papa left on foot to plan where he and his bride-to-be, also a Madison graduate, could serve the Lord. Papa, born the youngest son of Swedish immigrants in Chicago, and Mama, an orphan from the Midwest, decided that Sand Mountain, Alabama would provide the best ground on which they could work to spread the Adventist message. Purchasing eighty acres, Raynold married Lula on Sand Mountain and received a chivaree celebration from the community to start a life of adventure.

They practiced whole-person care before that became a “thing.” A local “mountain man,” (Papa’s term), did not want to talk about pregnancy, but when it was time for his wife to deliver, it was common for him to come to the

Peterson home, stating, “My wife has a stomach ache and can Mrs. Peterson come?” Mama would set out in a long, black, riding suit on horseback. A kind lady in Eugene, Oregon had heard of their ministry and kept the Petersons stocked with homemade layette sets to be given to the new mothers. Through the years, Mama served as a “wet nurse” to more than one baby.

Papa and Mama saw value in visiting churches of all denominations. In fact, Papa was a semi-regular, guest Sunday School teacher. One time, a man at a Holy Roller Church got the “spirit” and punched him, knocking out some teeth. In the 1930s, as the Great Depression raged, Mama had the idea that growing flowers would be nice. She ordered seeds and bulbs from a Dutch catalogue, and Sand Mountain Flowers began. Papa found that gladiolus, tuberose, dahlias, and baby’s breath did well in the loamy soil. Other families in the church joined the endeavor, and part of the process included giving

tracts to florists and people in the surrounding area who purchased the flowers. Eventually, Floral Crest Seventh-day Adventist Church would be built just a stone’s throw from the Peterson residence.

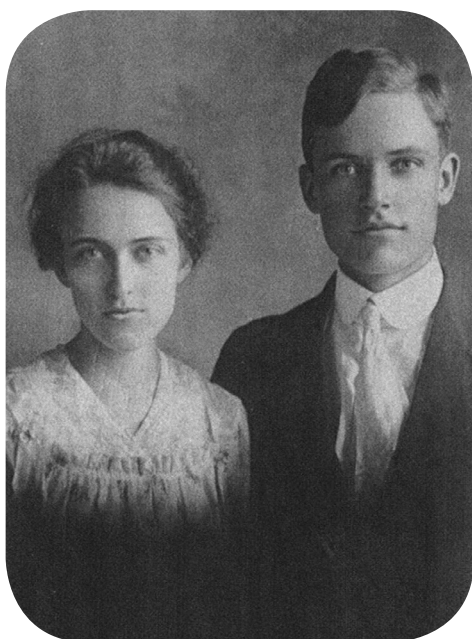
Using contemporary technology, Papa and Mama optimized reel-to-reel recording capability as they recorded,

Papa mentioned hearing someone from the theology department at Loma Linda who said it was “idolatry” to hold the Adventist beliefs without love in one’s heart. Papa told his children that he concurred.

listened to, and shared sermons. As practical nurses, they valued Wildwood, a community just down the road. When technology churned forward, the Petersons began a transition to cassettes to stay “with it.” After acquiring a manual typewriter, Papa became a faithful writer to their six adult children who had dispersed around the southeast. Papa’s carbon-copy, onion-skin letters featured references to articles in the latest *Adventist Review*, the *Sabbath School Quarterly* (always the “teacher’s” edition) or to a Bible verse. In his later years, he read the Bible completely every year, saying the hardest books were Leviticus and Ezekiel.

1970, Papa mentioned hearing someone from the theology department at Loma Linda who said it was “idolatry” to hold the Adventist beliefs without love in one’s heart. Papa told his children that he concurred, and then, in the practical Peterson way, he moved to the next topic, stating, “I plan to go out to try to raise another \$100 for those young folks who were burned out of house and home.” Then, he described his strategy for canvassing the community for additional money to help neighbors recover from disaster.

I imagine many people could share stories of grandmas and grandpas—mamas and papas—who exhibited



Mama and Papa’s wedding portrait
July 11, 1916, Sand Mountain



Raynold and Lula Peterson, 1960

In 1970, his letters referred to a new publication, *Insight*. He asked the grandchildren, “What do you think of it?” Then a few months later, he wrote that he and Mama had subscribed and asked whether anyone had particular issues of the periodical. Apparently, they were collecting a complete set.

With inquisitive minds, Papa and Mama were grounded in practicality. One letter from 1972 states: “Brother Johnson sent me a few little booklets on the sanctuary and wanted to know what I thought of them. I told him I was more interested in Isaiah 58 and Matt 25:34–40.”

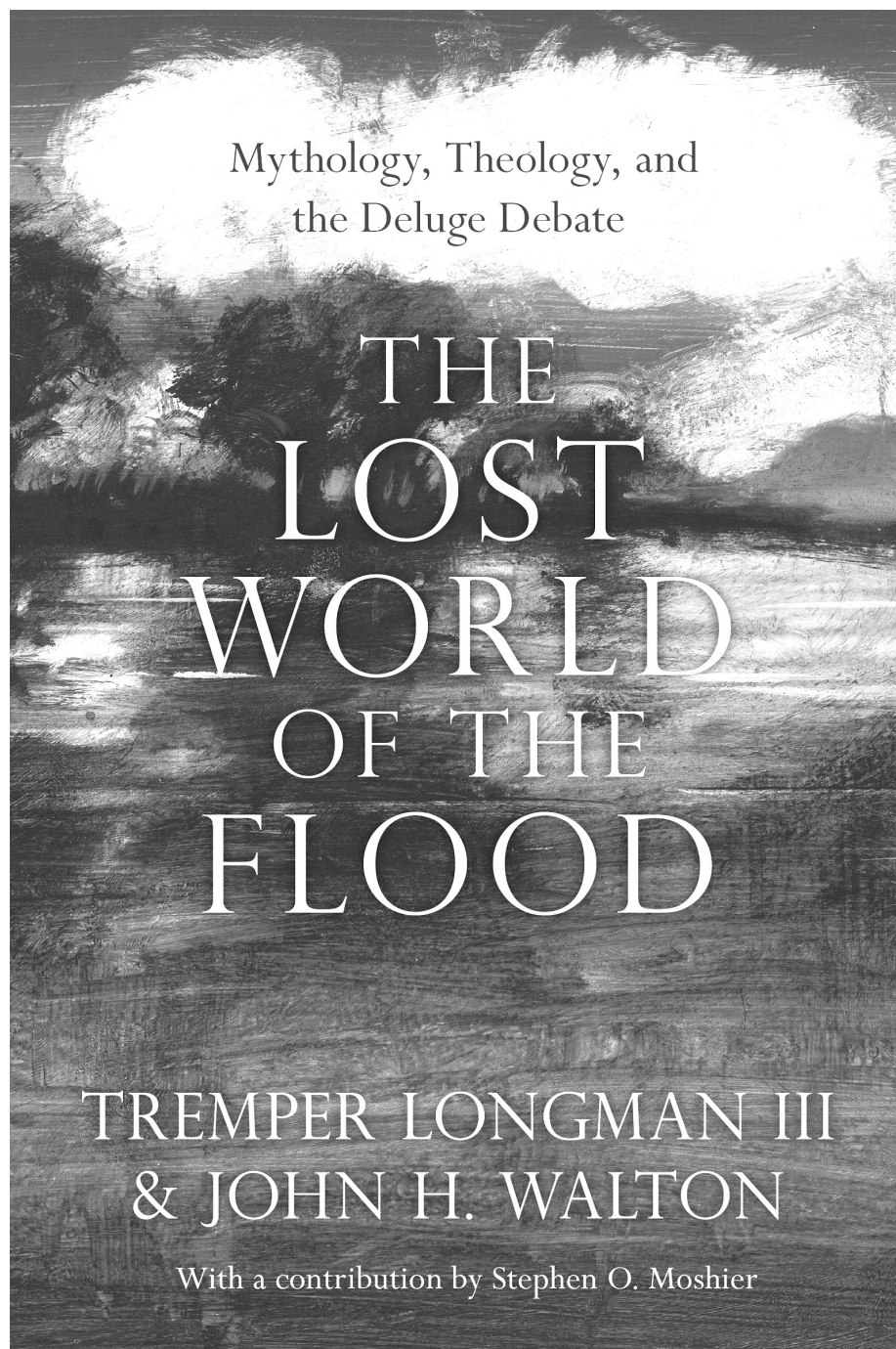
Their lives featured frequent journeys to Collegedale in their sturdy Volvo to hear prominent Adventist speakers. In

a spirit of Adventism that consisted of energy and hope. Such pilgrims brightened the corner wherever they were. From Mama and Papa, I learned to make the road by walking, while finding beauty and humor along the way. From Mama and Papa, I learned to seek lifelong learning which will find connections with other groups, while remaining tethered to the Bible and the practical Christianity described therein.



CARMEN LAU is chairperson of Adventist Forum.

Bible



T. Longman and J. H. Walton. *The Lost World of the Flood: Mythology, Theology, and the Deluge Debate*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic. 2018

THE LOST WORLD *of the* FLOOD

Mythology, Theology, and the Deluge Debate

A BOOK REVIEW

BY BRYAN NESS

The Lost World of the Flood is an attempt by Longman and Walton to read and interpret the biblical account of the Noachian flood in a way that respects the Bible as inspired, while being true to evidence from the natural world as revealed by modern science. They view the theological messages of the Bible as inerrant, and that the description of events themselves using figurative language and other literary devices, such as hyperbole, do not detract from biblical inerrancy. They contend that one of the great faults of the traditional, literalist interpretation of Genesis 1–11 is to misread the text by not reading from inside the “cultural river” in which the text was written. The original readers of the flood narrative would have had lots of insider knowledge and understanding that many modern readers would lack. A great mistake for modern readers is to read modern cultural ideas and scientific understanding into the text, thus imposing interpretations never intended by the writer.

Recognizing differences between what the authors call the metaphorical ancient and empirical modern “cultural rivers” is key to their approach to reading these texts. The ancient cultural river contains such currents as “community identity, the comprehensive and ubiquitous control of the gods, the role of kingship, divination, the centrality of the temple, the mediatory role of images, and the reality of the spirit world and magic,” whereas our modern cultural river has currents such as “rights, freedom, capitalism, democracy, individualism, globalism, market economy, scientific naturalism, an expanding universe, empiricism, and natural laws.” These differences inevitably lead ancient and modern readers to interpret these texts very differently.

One striking way that ancient and modern readers differ is in their conception of history. Modern readers expect history to reflect objective facts, whereas an ancient reader has no such expectation. More important to ancient readers than objective fact is the meaning of

the story, which they hold as paramount. Longman and Walton make this point by imagining a spectrum from metaphysical to empirical. To a modern reader, for an historical account to be “true” it must be 100 percent empirically based, the more metaphysical in nature the evidence, the more likely it is not history, but rather myth. Ancient readers had no such concern about parsing a story, which is judged more for its meaning than for its empirical accuracy. Even an extremely metaphysically based story, if it teaches an important truth, is fully accepted as “true.”

With this in mind, the authors spend much of the book reconstructing the meaning of the flood story (and surrounding stories, such as the Tower of Babel) as ancient authors were attempting to convey it. To accomplish this, they also include an analysis and comparison of contemporaneous flood stories from the surrounding cultures in Mesopotamia. As anyone who is familiar with them knows, these other flood stories are very similar in some respects, but very different in other ways. The most notable difference is that all the other flood stories are rooted in polytheism, and that the gods brought the flood upon mankind because they were unhappy with humans for some poorly articulated reason, and that through various kinds of trickery involving dissenting gods, some humans were warned and were saved from dying in the flood. After the flood, the gods were glad that all mankind had not been destroyed, because the gods belatedly realized how dependent they were on humans for their own survival. This interpretation of the flood is referred to as the great symbiosis. The gods originally created mankind to work for them, and in return the gods did favors for humans.

The Noachian story of the flood, where the event is caused by a single, all powerful god, stands in stark contrast. God created humans so he could have a relationship with them, not so he would have slaves to serve him. After creating order out of chaos at the creation of the world, God also invited humans to cooperate with him in continuing to order his creation. In this scenario, the flood was either a punishment from God for human sin and rebellion (the more traditional interpretation), or the flood is a recreation event to restore order to a world that had become increasingly disordered, also partly the fault of humans. Either of these two interpretations (or both together) is seen by the authors as consistent with the

theological message of the author of the Genesis flood account, and whether or not the flood was literally worldwide, these truths would remain true.

The authors also carefully analyze the language and literary devices used in the telling of the flood story. In spite of the colorful ways the story is often retold, reading directly from the text, Noah comes across as a flat character, with no dialogue recorded between him and God or anyone else, giving the story that much more of a metaphysic/mythological feel. Again, whether Noah is an actual historical figure or not is not an issue for the author of the story, but he is assumed to be a real person (and Longman and Walton believe the account is based on a real historical figure, as well) for the purposes of story and its meaning.

One of the longstanding controversies surrounding the flood story has been its scope. Was it a worldwide event or just a very large local or regional event? Given a complete lack of modern geologic evidence for a worldwide flood covering the highest mountains, many modern theologians have attempted to reinterpret the biblical account as a local event by assuming that the Hebrew word *‘erets*, which has traditionally been translated as “earth,” should rather be translated as “land.” By making this substitution, it is argued that it makes clearer the original author’s intent, i.e., that they are describing a very large flood that covered *their* entire “land.” The problem with this approach is that internal evidence suggests that the original author is describing the flood as universal, and that he appears to mean the whole earth when the word *‘erets* is used. Other modern theologians acknowledge this, and take a different tack, suggesting that the original author simply believed that the flood covered the entire earth, even though it actually covered only their region of the world.

Longman and Walton take a subtly different approach. They acknowledge that the Genesis account is describing a real, historical event. They also acknowledge that the author is intentionally using universal language in describing the flood. Where they depart is in their interpretation of why the author describes it in universal language. Describing the flood as universal is a hyperbolic device to emphasize the cosmic importance of the event, that it is the basis for God’s first covenant with His people, the promise after the flood to never again destroy the earth

in this manner. The Genesis author doesn't care whether the flood covered the whole earth or not (and may not even have known one way or the other), but that does not prevent his use of hyperbole to make his point about God and His universal purpose in sending the flood.

Some readers might balk at the idea that Bible writers would use hyperbole in this fashion, but Longman and Walton give many other clear-cut examples where hyperbole is used, such as the descriptions in Joshua 1–12 of Joshua and his soldiers conquering the entire land of Canaan and killing *all* of the enemy inhabitants. This is clearly hyperbole, since in Joshua 13 these supposedly dead enemies once again require conquering. Hyperbole is also evident in many aspects of the flood story itself. The size and description of the ark are simply too outlandish to be taken literally, as never in history has such a large wooden boat been constructed, and those that even approach the size of the ark were not very seaworthy. The rapidity with which the flood waters are described as rising and evaporating also defy scientific explanation. Longman and Walton see these, and other examples of hyperbole, as literary devices to buttress the importance of the theological truths being taught by the story. They believe that ancient readers would have likely been well aware that such a large ark and such rapid flooding were not realistic but did not let that get in the way of a well-told story whose theological teachings are so integral to their nation's history.

On an interesting side note, I did not realize until reading this book that there was any question that the ark was built of wood. I was always taught that Noah used "gopher wood" to build the ark, never realizing that the Hebrew word for the ark used in this story is the word

tebah, which also describes the small reed "basket" that kept baby Moses afloat in the Nile. The word *gopher* occurs only here in the Old Testament, so its meaning is uncertain, and was just assumed to be some type of wood. *Gopher* is followed by the word *qinnim*, which can be translated as rooms, but may be more appropriately translated as "reeds." Thus, the ark may have been made from reeds rather than wood, further making its size unrealistic.

If the flood was a real event, is there any evidence

for it? Longman and Walton do contend that the flood was a real event, but that we may never be able to identify the specific event from geologic evidence. A strong contender does exist and is well described in the book *Noah's Flood* by Ryan and Pitman, but Longman and Walton believe that it is not important that the exact event be identified. The fact that several Mesopotamian accounts of a similar kind of flood event occurred should represent ample evidence it did occur.

To dispel all rumor that a literal worldwide flood ever happened, the authors include a chapter written by Stephen O. Moshier, who is currently a professor of geology at Wheaton College in the department of Geology

and Environmental Science, a good choice on their part for a chapter that digs deeply into geological data. Moshier confronts five common claims by creationist geologists, showing that each of them has no factual basis from geology: 1) seashell fossils in rocks above sea level, 2) rock layers over entire continents, 3) rapid deposition of sand carried across continents, 4) layers made in rapid succession, and 5) no slow and gradual erosion. His critiques of these and other flood geology assumptions are based on standard, robust geological concepts which are not up for debate in scientific circles. His estimates of how fast

The Genesis author doesn't care whether the flood covered the whole earth or not (and may not even have known one way or the other), but that does not prevent his use of hyperbole to make his point about God and His universal purpose in sending the flood.

the flood waters would have had to rise and fall (100 feet per day), although astounding, would not be enough to move the amounts of sediment required to account for the many sedimentary formations found around the world.

The authors end the book with a plea for recognition that truth may be found in both science (nature) and Scripture, God's two great books, and that it is problematic to pit Scripture against science. They affirm that the Bible is inerrant in the truths it intends to teach, the truths that are essential to salvation, but that the Bible is clearly not intending to teach science, which is the role of God's second book of nature. Scripture is fully sufficient and clear when it comes to matters of salvation but may be more difficult to interpret in areas where its contents overlap science and nature.

Longman and Walton see science and the Bible as partners, each informing and challenging the other. Findings from science may prompt a need to reexamine particular interpretations of Scripture, and Scripture should challenge science when science tries to claim that it is the sole arbiter of all truth. It is when theologians step out of their area of expertise and claim that clear scientific conclusions must be false, even in the face of overwhelming physical evidence, that trouble begins. Although science cannot be considered the final arbiter of *all* truth, truths concerning physical reality are in its purview, and theologians end up a laughingstock when they do not carefully consider those cases where science has a strong case. It should be emphasized here, that science in these cases is not negating the Bible, just our interpretation of the Bible; the Bible remains an inerrant guide to theological truth, according to Longman and Walton. The authors quote the well-known comments of St. Augustine on this very topic, and I think his thoughts are powerful and relevant enough to close with the famous quote in full:

Usually, even a non-Christian knows something about the earth, the heavens, and the other elements of this world, about the motion and orbit of the stars and even their size and relative positions, about the predictable eclipses of the sun and moon, the cycles of the years and the seasons, about the kinds of animals, shrubs, stones, and so forth, and this knowledge he holds to as being certain from reason and experience. Now, it is a disgraceful and dangerous thing for an infidel to hear a Christian,

presumably giving the meaning of Holy Scripture, talking nonsense on these topics; and we should take all means to prevent such an embarrassing situation, in which people show up vast ignorance in a Christian and laugh it to scorn. The shame is not so much that an ignorant individual is derided, but that people outside the household of the faith think our sacred writers held such opinions, and, to the great loss of those for whose salvation we toil, the writers of our Scripture are criticized and rejected as unlearned men. If they find a Christian mistaken in a field which they themselves know well and hear him maintaining his foolish opinions about our books, how are they going to believe those books in matters concerning the resurrection of the dead, the hope of eternal life, and the kingdom of heaven, when they think their pages are full of falsehoods on facts which they themselves have learnt from experience and the light of reason? Reckless and incompetent expounders of Holy Scripture bring untold trouble and sorrow on their wiser brethren when they are caught in one of their mischievous false opinions and are taken to task by those who are not bound by the authority of our sacred books. For then, to defend their utterly foolish and obviously untrue statements, they will try to call upon Holy Scripture for proof and even recite from memory many passages which they think support their position, although they understand neither what they say nor the things about which they make assertion (I Tim 1:7).

Endnotes

1. W. Ryan and W. Pitman, *Noah's Flood: The New Scientific Discoveries about the Event That Changed History* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
2. St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis, Volume 1, Books 1-6*, trans. by J. H. Taylor (Mawah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 42-43.



BRYAN NESS has a BS and MS degree in Biology from Walla Walla University, and a PhD in Botany (plant molecular genetics) from Washington State University. He is currently a Professor of Biology at Pacific Union College (PUC) where he has been teaching for 30 years. His wife, Judy, is a Licensed Clinical Social Worker and works in the PUC Counseling Center.

DANNY SHELTON STEPS DOWN AS 3ABN PRESIDENT

BY ALVA JAMES-JOHNSON

Danny Shelton, founder of Three Angels Broadcasting Network (3ABN), stepped down Friday, September 27, 2019, from his position as president of the international Adventist television ministry.

Shelton made the announcement at the fall 2019 3ABN camp meeting, surrounded by his wife, Yvonne Lewis-Shelton; 3ABN executives and their spouses; along with several pastors in attendance.

During a tearful transition, Shelton passed the baton to Greg Morikone, who currently serves as the network's vice president and production manager. Morikone, stood next to his wife, Jill, who serves as chief operating officer.



Shelton, 68, said he was stepping aside because the time had come for him to slow down. Therefore, the board recently asked Morikone, who joined the ministry twenty years ago, to assume the position of president.

“My life is 3ABN; it always will be,” Shelton said. “So, I am not resigning, lest anybody say, ‘Danny’s quitting, Danny’s resigning.’ I couldn’t.

“I just gave them a big talk about never quitting, right?” he asked, motioning to the Morikones. “Never give up.”

The transition comes as 3ABN remains embroiled in a bitter dispute with former 3ABN *Kids Time* host, Brenda Walsh, over money raised for a proposed children’s studio in Collegedale, Tennessee, a project that 3ABN has since abandoned. In a recent interview, Walsh estimated the amount to be between \$1 and \$2 million. While making the announcement, Shelton said 3ABN was short \$1 million and would continue with fundraising activities.

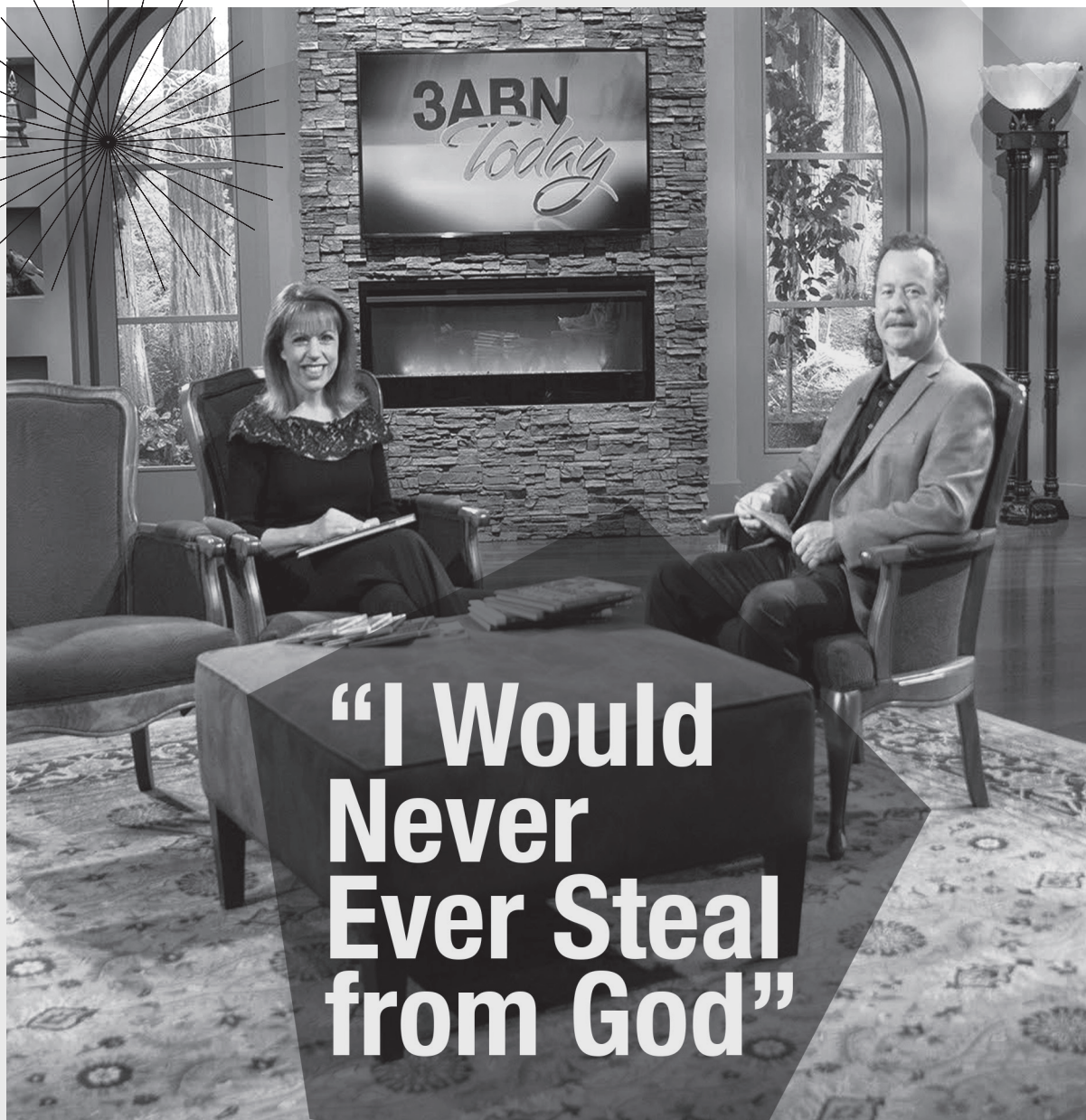
Shelton said he considered both Morikones for the presidential position, and gave them a choice. He said Greg Morikone decided to take the job because he had witnessed attacks against Shelton and wanted to protect his wife from “darts” that she might face.

Following the announcement, Pastor Doug Batchelor prayed over the couple, asking God to bless their ministry.

Morikone said he and his wife felt blessed to be a part of 3ABN and would collaborate with the Sheltons and other leaders to continue the network’s mission.

“It’s an emotional day for me,” he said, his voice breaking with emotion. “3ABN has meant a lot to my family through the years.”

IN-DEPTH



**“I Would
Never
Ever Steal
from God”**

Brenda Walsh and Danny Shelton appear on a *3ABN Today* program announcing the release of *Miss Brenda's Bedtime Stories* (Photo courtesy of Brenda Walsh).

3ABN AND BRENDA WALSH SPLIT OVER PROPOSED STUDIO FOR CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMING

BY ALVA JAMES-JOHNSON

On April 11, 2013, when Brenda Walsh was still the popular *Kids Time* producer and host on Three Angels Broadcasting Network (3ABN), she appeared on a *Thursday Night Live* program with then-3ABN president, Jim Gilley, and founder Danny Shelton. During a two-hour interview, the men praised Walsh and her two sisters (collectively known as “the Micheff Sisters”) for their nearly two decades of volunteer service producing children’s programming, cooking shows, and music for the religious network.

As Shelton’s childhood friends, the three women had been with 3ABN from its early years. Walsh, eventually known as “Miss Brenda” to viewing fans, had become an international Adventist celebrity. In addition to her ministry on 3ABN, she had authored several books and produced daily devotions, traveling around the world as a guest speaker.

While reflecting on her popularity among 3ABN viewers that Thursday evening, Walsh, Gilley, and Shelton gushed over her new role as general manager of the recently formed 3ABN Kids Network, launched to produce 24/7 children’s programming. And, as Walsh spoke profusely of 3ABN’s plans for a new children’s production studio in Collegedale, Tennessee, the two men helped promote the project, soliciting donations and prayers from the viewing audience.

Now, six years later, Walsh and her *Kids Time* programs no longer exist on 3ABN. Instead, the former television host remains embroiled in a bitter dispute with the 3ABN executive team over funds raised for the Collegedale project, which 3ABN has since abandoned.

Walsh, meanwhile, has established her own nonprofit organization called Brenda Walsh Ministries and is moving forward with plans for a children’s studio and leadership center in Collegedale. Both Walsh and 3ABN have sent separate letters to donors regarding funds donated specifically for the Collegedale project. Most recently, on September 19, 3ABN’s Board of Directors sent out a letter reversing what they had told donors in a January letter that gave donors the following options:

1. I want my donation to remain at 3ABN for the purpose of producing children’s programming.

2. I want my donation to go to Brenda Walsh Ministries, for the purpose of establishing a proposed new children’s studio in the Collegedale, TN area.

In that first letter, dated January 1 and post-marked January 11, donors were given until January 21 to respond, and told if they did not reply by the deadline, 3ABN would assume “that you prefer your money to stay with the ministry of 3ABN for children’s programming.”

Walsh estimates that there is between \$1 million and \$2 million in donations that were designated for the children’s studio, and at one point 3ABN included a figure of \$800,000 in negotiations with Walsh. But no money has been forthcoming from 3ABN, according to Walsh.

On September 19, 2019, 3ABN sent a second letter to donors. This time 3ABN wrote, “our attorneys analyzed BWM’s (Brenda Walsh Ministries) request that we send your donations directly to BWM, and have since advised us that the proper legal approach to honor your intent is for us to return your donations directly to you, instead of sending them to BWM.”

However, this approach has tax consequences for the donors who had taken tax deductions for these gifts in past years, according to the letter. So, the new option presented to donors in the September 3ABN letter included having them take on that liability. They were given two options:

___Yes, please return my donation to me. I understand that there may be tax consequences for taking receipt of these funds, and I agree to be responsible for any such liability. Upon taking receipt of these funds, I release 3ABN from any claims that may arise from this donation.

___No, please do not send my donation back to me. I prefer my donation to stay with 3ABN and I am providing my consent for 3ABN to use my donation for the purpose of producing children’s programming at 3ABN. By providing this consent, I confirm that my donor intent is for the money to be used by 3ABN and I, further, release

3ABN from any claims to these funds.

This time, donors were given sixty days to respond, but told 3ABN would only take action if the donor responded. In both letters, 3ABN acknowledges that it will be keeping money that had been designated for the Collegedale studio and instead using it for programming.

The Bitter Dispute

The conflict between Walsh and 3ABN first escalated in public view, with videos circulated via social media and statements made at church gatherings. At the center of the firestorm is a video that the network released on February 27, 2019, insinuating that Walsh mishandled funds while in Australia raising money for the proposed Collegedale project. The video, which appeared on 3ABN's Facebook page and YouTube channel, went viral around the world, unleashing a social-media backlash from Walsh supporters and others who considered it an unfair attack on her character.

3ABN removed the video from the Internet within forty-eight hours. Shortly thereafter, a "Supporters of Brenda Walsh" page surfaced on Facebook, with posts criticizing 3ABN's handling of the situation. The page currently has 658 followers.

After removing the video from the Internet, 3ABN posted an announcement on its website, stating:

Due to the many accusations Brenda Walsh has been making against this ministry, 3ABN chose to post a video answering some of the questions that have been asked pertaining to the separation of Brenda Walsh and 3ABN. We believed it was important to share the truth of this situation, as questions were being raised, and we desire to be honest and transparent with you, our viewers and donors.

Our administrative team has since decided to pull the video, as its purpose has been served.

When contacted for this article, the network's general manager, Jill Morikone, agreed to be interviewed. However, when reached by phone, she said 3ABN's legal counsel had recommended that she release a statement instead.

"We have sought arbitration through [Adventist Laymen's Services and Industries] and other leaders within the Seventh-day Adventist Church, as there are several legal matters pertaining to Brenda Walsh regarding finances, as well as intellectual property," she said in the statement. "This is why 3ABN

believes the best forum to address these matters would be through ASI, with an independent attorney present to deliberate on the matters of law. However, at this time Brenda Walsh has refused that arbitration if that discussion includes the matters of law."

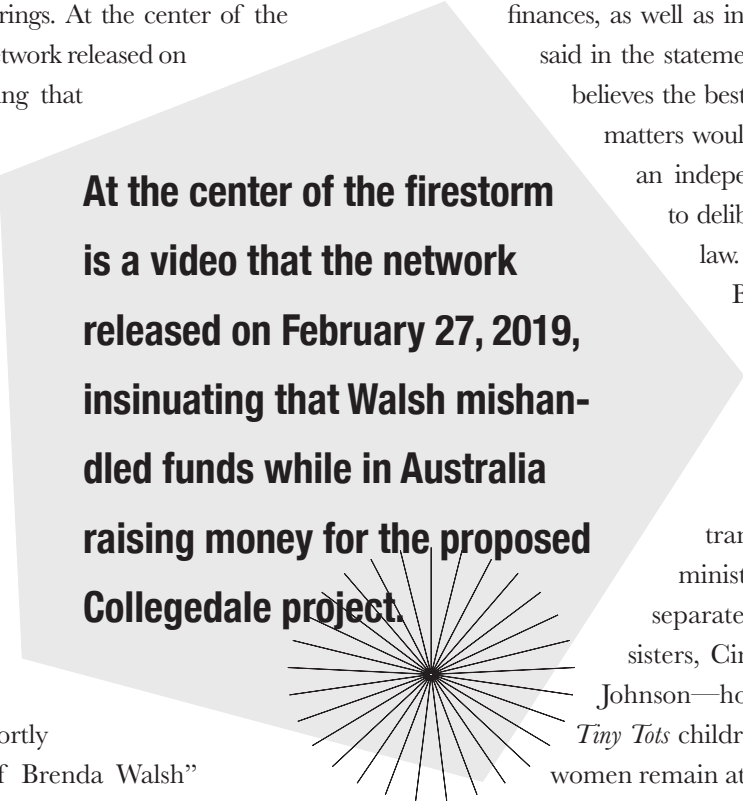
In addition to estranging Walsh from the ministry, the controversy has separated her from her two sisters, Cinda Sanner and Linda Johnson—hosts of 3ABN's popular *Tiny Tots* children's program. The two women remain at 3ABN, helping to produce and promote a new slate of children's

programs.

At the same time, their mother, Bernice Micheff, has publicly defended Walsh on Facebook, accusing Shelton—who stepped down from his role as 3ABN president on Friday, September 27, 2019—of attempting to sully her daughter's reputation because she refused "to commit fraud."

On March 21, she posted on the Supporters of Brenda Walsh page: "your dad and I are proud of you. God has a great work for you to do. We pray that God will protect you from satan's [*sic*] poison darts aimed at you. Stay strong truth will prevail."

The rift exists despite a long-time bond between the Micheffs and Sheltons. 3ABN is located in West Frankfort, Illi-



At the center of the firestorm is a video that the network released on February 27, 2019, insinuating that Walsh mishandled funds while in Australia raising money for the proposed Collegedale project.

nois, which is the hometown of both families. Walsh's father, the late James Micheff, who passed away after a long illness, on September 9, 2019, was a retired pastor, born and raised in the area. Both families attended the same Seventh-day Adventist church. Therefore, when Shelton launched 3ABN, thirty-four years ago, he asked James Micheff to join the ministry, according to Walsh and her mother. Two years later,

In a recent exclusive interview, Walsh said she did not circulate negative information about 3ABN, and the network has never presented proof of their accusations. She vehemently refuted all allegations made against her and provided a document with her response to each accusation.

As for 3ABN's statement about arbitration, Walsh



The Micheff Sisters and their mom, Bernice Micheff, host a *Thursday Night Live* program on July 28, 2016 (Photo courtesy of Brenda Walsh).

James Micheff began preaching on a program called "Walking with the Master." His three daughters—the Micheff Sisters—sang on every program and helped develop shows for the network.

Since then, 3ABN has grown from its humble beginnings into an Adventist media powerhouse. In 2017, the nonprofit reported \$27.3 million in total revenue, more than double the previous year, according to the network's 990 IRS filings. Of that amount, 50 percent was from contributions and grants, and 44 percent from investments. The network reported about \$102 million in total assets.

said ASI had never approached her about the subject. When the controversy first erupted, Pastor Doug Batchelor offered mediation, according to her version of the story. Walsh said she agreed to participate, but Shelton insisted on arbitration. She refused arbitration, unless handled by an attorney, because it would be legally binding.

Walsh said she traveled around the world for three years raising money for the proposed children's studio. She claims 3ABN fired her on December 31, 2018, after she insisted the funds be used for their designated purpose. The video, she believes, is an attempt to damage her credibility

Planning for Eternity

by Brenda Walsh



Raising Christian kids in this world today is extremely challenging, yet the most critical responsibility of every parent. In this fast-paced world, there's a lot of focus on making sure kids are in the right schools, get good grades, exceed at sports, obtain the best musical training, and have a well-balanced social life. But as good as all those things are, the highest priority for parents is preparing children for eternity.



The Bible gives parents explicit instructions in Deuteronomy 6:6-7 (NIV), "These

commandments that I give you today are to be on your hearts. Impress them on your children. Talk about them when you sit at home and when you walk along the road, when you lie down and when you get up." In other words, be a living example each and every day, teaching your kids to love God and keep His commandments!

Answering the Call

When I was first asked to be the general manager of 3ABN Kids Network, I went to my knees in prayer, knowing what a tremendous responsibility it would be. I asked my husband Tim to pray, as well, and three days later he said to me, "Brenda, I believe God has been preparing you all these years for this very job. You can't say no to what God is calling you to do." God also impressed upon my heart that this was where He was calling me, and I stepped up to the task with, "Here I am Lord, send me."



The good news is,
we found the land!

The challenging part—we don't have
the funds to pay for it... yet!

The Waiting Game

That was almost two years ago, and back then, I fully expected to be up and running in our new studio within a year. But God's timing is different than our human clocks or expectations. He is teaching me to be patient and wait on His perfect timing and His perfect plan. I think the *waiting game* is the most difficult, especially when clearly the need is so great. It takes a lot of planning and funds to build a studio. Hardly a day goes by without someone asking me, "How's the new studio coming along?" and my answer is the same, "Still raising the funds and following God's lead!"

The good news is, *we found the land!* The challenging part—we don't have the funds to pay for it... yet! There are many who sacrifice each month to send their donations for Kids Network, and we are so very grateful for their faithfulness; but much more is needed.

Adult-Focused Ministries

When I attended the General Conference Session last year in San Antonio, Texas, my heart was sad as I walked around the exhibit hall. There were hundreds of booths representing adult ministries—but not even a handful that were dedicated to children's ministries. I long for the day when there will be just as many people working in children's ministries as there are adult ministries, because we need to become more passionate about saving our children!

Our churches have youth departments that grow smaller in attendance each year. Cradle Roll and Kindergarten are usually filled with children—but we start losing them in the Primary and Junior divisions, and by the time they get to Earliteen and Youth, the classrooms are empty!

Kids Sharing Jesus

I recently traveled on a plane filled with over a hundred enthusiastic 16-year-olds who were part of a church youth group coming home from a mission trip, each proudly wearing matching blue shirts with the name of their church on them. I had a middle



The majority of booths at the 2015 General Conference session were focused on adult ministries.

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3ABN published an issue of *3ABN World Magazine* in January 2016 with an article promoting the Collegedale studio, a year after the board allegedly voted to abandon the project.

and dissuade viewers from supporting her ministry.

"I would never ever steal from God," she said in the interview.

And that is so critically important to me, and it's important to [3ABN]. Because if they can even plant a doubt in a viewer's mind, then that would stop them from donating to this ministry. . . . And that to me is the goal. . . . That entire attack video was for one purpose and that was to destroy my character and my reputation.

The Financial Allegations

On February 27, 2019, the controversial video, described by Shelton as a "Special Program," appeared on Facebook. In addition to Shelton, those on the set included 3ABN board chairman, Bruce Fjarli; gener-

al manager and board secretary, Jill Morikone; and Morikone's husband, Greg, who served as the network's general vice president until he was named president on September 27, 2019, replacing Shelton.

Shelton said many people had been writing and asking questions, especially regarding the removal of *Kids Time* from 3ABN. Rumors were circulating, and he wanted people to know the truth. Then he proceeded to tell viewers 3ABN's version of the story.

He said Walsh began talking about building the studio in Collegedale after becoming Kids Network general manager in 2013. The 3ABN executive team was open to the idea when they thought she could secure funding in Collegedale. However, as plans for the project progressed, they estimated it was going to cost about \$5 million. Fjarli said Walsh wanted a complex

with four studios that would cost about \$1 million each. She had put a down payment on an \$800,000 property, Shelton said, and the board just could not justify it.

“We said we don’t have the money; even if we wanted to, we don’t have \$5 million,” he said. “We have a beautiful studio here that’s set aside only for the children’s programming.”

Shelton said the 3ABN board voted in 2015 to scrap the project, but Walsh still wanted to move forward. Therefore, he suggested she contact John Bradshaw, at *It Is Written*, to ask if she could use his new studio, still under construction in Collegedale.

Walsh, on the other hand, said she was not notified of 3ABN’s decision to abandon the project until 2018.

For three years following the alleged

vote, she continued to promote the project on 3ABN television and public events in the presence of network executives. Video footage from the 2018 3ABN spring camp meeting shows Walsh on stage with the Morikones before soliciting funds for the new studio. And, in January of 2016, Walsh appeared on the cover of *3ABN World Magazine*.

Inside the publication, which included a column by Shelton, is a two-page article written by Walsh featuring the project.

“If you would like to see more Christ-centered programs for kids, please prayerfully consider supporting 3ABN’s Kids Network,” the article reads.

The need is great, not only for production costs, but also to build our new children’s studio. If the Holy Spirit impresses, please send your tax-deductible love gifts to 3ABN Kids Network, Post Office Box 220, West Frankfort, Illinois, 62896, or call us at 618-627-4651. You may also donate

online through PayPal from many countries at 3abnkids.tv. Thank you for all that you do for this ministry and for God’s children around the world.

As for the “It is Written” suggestion, when contacted for this article, Bradshaw said Walsh approached the ministry about two years ago to explore her options. “There were discussions, but they didn’t go anywhere. . . . I think what she is looking at doing is something that would require a lot of time. And it’s not something that we would be able to accommodate.”

When the Bradshaw option fell through, Shelton said he recommended that Walsh separate from 3ABN and form her own ministry. He said Walsh informed the board in June 2018 that she planned to separate at the end of the year.

In the video, Shelton and Jill Morikone also accused Walsh of collecting money in Australia and depositing it into a personal Australian bank account, which they said 3ABN never gave her permission to open. They said Walsh had accused 3ABN of spending funds allocated for the project, but she had full control of the money as general manager.

In addition, the four board members accused Walsh of making unreasonable demands, insisting that 3ABN financially support her for two years, pay her ministry’s streaming costs for two years, transfer the 3ABN Kids Network donations to her ministry, and agree to a ten-year non-compete clause. They said she wanted to use the 3ABN *Kids Time* trademark. And, since separating from the ministry, she had been using 3ABN intellectual property without the network’s permission. Jill Morikone said a former 3ABN employee, now helping Walsh with her ministry, had shut 3ABN out of the 3ABN Kids4Jesus website, which had since been shut down.

“As of the time of this recording, we do not have ac-

Walsh said she traveled around the world for three years raising money for the proposed children’s studio. She claims 3ABN fired her on December 31, 2018, after she insisted the funds be used for their designated purpose.

cess to the 3ABN Kids Network app or the 3ABN Kids-Time4Jesus YouTube account,” said Morikone.

And then that was taken over and turned into “Miss Brenda’s Fan Page,” which at this time—as of the time of this recording—we’re able to shut that down. But, then, a new YouTube page popped up, called “Miss Brenda and Kids,” and that has all of 3ABN’s trademark programming on it.

In presenting the information, the 3ABN representatives flashed exhibits on the screen, including a 3ABN envelope that Walsh had allegedly used in Australia with an option to make checks out to Brenda Walsh, a document with her alleged demands, and screenshots of various websites that she allegedly had established using 3ABN materials.

In the video, Shelton—who has had four wives and two divorces (his first wife died in a car accident)—also referred to Walsh’s recent divorce. He said 3ABN had used Kids Network money to provide housing and utilities for her and “her husband, or ex-husband, Tim.”

In closing, the four board members announced that they had hired a new general manager for children’s programming, assuring viewers that they would be rolling out a new series of children’s programs in the near future.

In a recent interview, Gilley, who is now retired, said he enthusiastically supported the new children’s studio when it was estimated at about \$700,000, but Walsh kept expanding the project, making it unaffordable. The network had hoped to get financial backing from wealthy families in the Collegedale area, as well as land from Southern Adventist University, but those plans never materialized.

Gilley said he left 3ABN before the conflict between Walsh and network executives started and he has no idea what occurred thereafter. Yet, he supported 3ABN’s version of events, stating that Walsh is not perfect. He did not see anything wrong with the video released by 3ABN but could not confirm the network’s claim that Walsh had misused funds.

Gilley said, “I feel very badly that they’re all having this problem; I feel real bad about that. I think there’s a place in ministry for Brenda; and, obviously, 3ABN is the cornerstone ministry of our church. All of the ministries use 3ABN, so it

is very important. It’s not a ministry; it’s a network of ministries.”

He continued, “In other words, ‘It Is Written,’ their biggest bunch of money comes from the programs off of 3ABN. The same is true of every one of our ministries. Around the world they go because of 3ABN. Hope Channel doesn’t have anywhere near the impact. People don’t realize it, but there’s just not even any comparison.”

Bradshaw said the statement does not surprise him since Gilley once served as president of 3ABN. However, he politely disagreed with Gilley’s assessment of 3ABN’s impact on his ministry’s finances.

“Be that as it may, we appreciate our relationship with 3ABN, there’s no question about that,” he said. “But that’s a fascinating statement.”

The Public Battle

On February 28, 2019, Walsh responded briefly to 3ABN’s allegations with a one-minute video of her own, posting it on Facebook and Brendawalsh.com. In that video, she denied any wrongdoing and took particular offense at Shelton’s mention of her divorce on the 3ABN video, stating that she had intended to keep it a private matter.

“I can assure you that outside of the fact that I am divorced, which is deeply personal and private, the narrative and the vast majority of the discussion points in their video are blatantly false or misleading,” she said, her voice breaking with emotion.

In the months following the 3ABN video, Walsh and her supporters accused 3ABN of pressuring church leaders to cancel her scheduled appearances in the Philippines, Australia, and other places. They questioned why denominational leaders were not stepping up to defend her from what they considered unsubstantiated accusations and public humiliation.

In one instance, North American Division president, Dan Jackson, wrote a letter to Adventist union and university officials in the Philippines, requesting that they reverse a decision to cancel her speaking engagement for a week of prayer. In a letter emailed by his secretary on February 22, 2019, Jackson wrote:

I am aware of the situation between her and the 3ABN ministry that has led us to this point and having said that, I am giving a full personal endorsement regarding Brenda and her ministry.

I pray that your group will exercise the grace to reverse your decision in order that she will be able to minister to the students and staff at AUP. May God bless you all in your deliberations.

On March 21, 2019, administrators of the Supporters of Brenda Walsh Facebook page posted a message stating that Shelton had cancelled her Philippines speaking engagement, sending Pastor John Lomacang and his wife instead—all expenses paid.

That same day, Lomacang—pastor of the Thompsonville Seventh-day Adventist Church at 3ABN Worship Center—responded with a comment. After highlighting their close relationship with Walsh over the years, he defended his and his wife’s trip to the Philippines and cautioned Walsh’s supporters against jumping to conclusions.

“We were not sent to the Philippines to hurt Brenda. If it was not the Lord’s will, it would not have taken place. The Philippines University and the SDA Union of that region made the decision to [un-invite] Brenda Walsh. Brenda presented her position and 3ABN presented theirs, but the decision to not have her go was not made by 3ABN.”

On April 27, 2019, Walsh made an appearance at Collegedale Community Church during the mid-day service. First, she told the children’s story, and then she shared examples of previous challenges she had overcome in life. She spoke of her experience as a battered wife by her first husband—documented in her book *Battered to Blessed*—and then as a stage-four ovarian cancer survivor. Walsh said she could not defend herself in those circumstances and depended on God to deliver her.

“Now, Brenda, you are currently being attacked by lies and misrepresentations,” said Senior Pastor Jerry Arnold. “How are you defending yourself?”

Walsh told the audience, consisting of hundreds of people:

The truth is that I can’t defend myself; and

TIMELINE

2013 – Brenda Walsh named general manager of 3ABN Kids Network

Children's production studio in Tennessee promoted on network

2015 – 3ABN Board allegedly votes to abandon children’s studio

2016 – 3ABN World Magazine features children's studio plans

2017 – Fundraising continues for children's studio

June 2018 – Brenda Walsh informs 3ABN board of her plans to form her own ministry

September 2018 – Brenda Walsh allegedly informed of the network’s 2015 decision to abandon the children’s studio

October 23 to November 22, 2018 – Walsh travels to Australia where 3ABN leaders now allege she mishandled funds, which she denies

December 2018 – 3ABN severs their connection with Brenda Walsh

January 2019 – 3ABN notifies donors of split, giving them the option of having their money stay at 3ABN or go to Brenda Walsh Ministries

February 27, 2019 – 3ABN produces video laying out their case against Brenda Walsh. It is pulled after 48 hours

February 28, 2019 – Brenda Walsh releases her response to the 3ABN video

September 19, 2019 – 3ABN writes to donors reversing their decision to give designated funds from January letter to Brenda Walsh Ministries

September 27, 2019 – Danny Shelton passes the baton of the presidency to Greg Morikone

here's why. I could easily show proof and truthfully show for every accusation that's been made against me in an attack video that went literally around the world. . . . I could show truthfully and prove that every accusation is false. But if I do that, it will bring down an entire network. And the ministry will be hurt, God's people will be hurt, our church will be hurt. And God has impressed me, "Brenda, your response is silence. Be still and know that I am God."

Arnold closed with a prayer for Walsh and her ministry.

On June 8, 2019, Shelton responded to Walsh's Collegedale Community Church appearance at a 3ABN camp meeting Sabbath service.

"I don't want to get into negatives, but there's never been more attacks against 3ABN than there is today," he told the audience. "My wife said, 'I can't believe you don't lose any sleep.' And I said, 'Well, it's God's problem, because . . . it's His ministry. He'll take care of it. None of us are perfect.'"

Without calling Walsh by name, Shelton said he had seen a video of her saying, "I could take 3ABN down if I want to."

"And I'm like this is someone who used to be here, used to be a partner; how can you go say those type of things?" Shelton asked.

"Now, you can run me down. You can run Greg and Jill down. You can run down other leaders, and none of us are perfect. And guess what? Neither are you," he said gesturing to the audience.

Nobody can tear this down. The only people that can tear down 3ABN is all of us if we quit giving the truth. There is nobody on earth powerful enough. Cause if the Devil could'a done it, he would'a done it 30 years ago 'fore we ever started. So am I shaking in my boots? Do I lose any sleep about it? Absolutely not; not going to, because I want to encourage you. I know there are attacks against you in your life.

He referred to the sixth commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," stating: "Interesting that killing somebody's character is of the Devil."

Lastly, Shelton said people had been calling 3ABN

threatening to stop donating, without hearing the network's side of the story.

"So, you know, in my mind is, 'That's okay. You're the one missing the blessing,'" he said. "'Because you don't give to me anyway; it's to the ministry. And you're missing the blessing of being part of a ministry that is literally reaching people and the good fruit.'"

To close out the segment, he introduced Walsh's sister, Cinda Sanner, who joined the worship service by Skype from Loma Linda. Sanner reaffirmed her commitment to the network and encouraged the audience to support financially. Before leaving, she made an obvious reference to Walsh.

"Family is the most important thing to me, but when family members take their eyes off Jesus, that doesn't mean that I need to take my eyes off Jesus," she said, with emotion in her voice. "We need to stand for Jesus and stand for truth no matter what. God doesn't say that it's all going to be easy, but God says be true to me."

When contacted for this article, Sanner said she knows for a fact that allegations against her sister are true. She could have said more at the 3ABN camp meeting, but she spoke in generalities because of the delicate family situation, she said.

The three sisters had worked side-by-side in ministry since childhood, Sanner explained. They spoke on the phone every day before the controversy erupted.

"To take a stand that we don't support Brenda, that's extremely hard because we love her," she said. "You know, in the last days you have to choose between the people you love and God. And I'm choosing God because I know the truth."

In a recent interview, Walsh said her sisters have never reached out to her or asked to hear her side of the story. She was at Oakwood University as a guest speaker when Sanner made the comments at camp meeting.

"At the very moment she was actually saying that I walked away from Jesus, I was in God's house at Oakwood University listening to one of the most incredible sermons," she said. "I can tell you that I have not walked away from Jesus, that I love Him with all my heart. I will continue to serve Him with my whole heart, and I will do whatever God's asking me to do."

When asked about her reaction to her two daughters' public stance against their sister, Bernice Micheff said it breaks her heart.

"Well, I consider them both rebels—the sisters. Even



Brenda Walsh appears on a 3ABN *Thursday Night Live* program with Mollie Steenson, Danny Shelton, and Jim Gilley, talking about the new Kids Network in April 2014 (Photo courtesy of Chrystique Neibauer).

their Dad is for Brenda,” she said before her husband’s recent passing. “I told them, plainly, how I felt. I begged them not to go [with 3ABN], and they chose to go anyway. It’s a rebel action.”

She blames Shelton for what has transpired. “I’ve known Danny since he was a small child,” she explained. “I knew his mother and all of his family, and we were all good friends. But I tell you, Danny is not the same person he used to be. He used to be kind and loving and thoughtful, and now there’s too much power and too much money.”

The Walsh Defense

After the incident at 3ABN camp meeting, Walsh agreed to a full interview. She said spiritual mentors and denominational leaders had been encouraging her to respond publicly to the allegations, which had spread around the world.

Some of the details she provided coincided with comments made during the 2013 *Thursday Night Live* program, which featured Shelton and Gilley interviewing her. On that program, both Gilley and Walsh said Gilley initially ap-

proached her about building the studio in Collegedale when she returned from a trip to Australia. He believed it would be a good location because of the proximity to Southern Adventist University and churches with children in the area. Walsh said God had given her the same idea while she was away, and she had written it in a letter that she intended to send to Gilley, but never did. They both considered it a sign from God.

During that interview, Walsh also mentioned that her then-husband, Tim, was working in Collegedale. At times, she spent almost seven months out of the year taping programs at 3ABN, she said, and looked forward to the opportunity to spend more time at home.

In the interview for this article, Walsh said 3ABN cut production time for *Kids Time* and other ministries to only six weeks out of the year in 2014, after launching Dare to Dream, a ministry headed by Yvonne Lewis-Shelton, who is now Shelton’s current wife. She said 3ABN has not produced any new *Kids Time* programs since 2014, despite her requests for more production time. The proposed chil-

dren's studio in Collegedale was an opportunity to produce more children's programming.

Walsh said she traveled around the globe, visiting all fifty states, most of the Caribbean islands, Europe, South America, Canada, Australia, the South Pacific, New Zealand, and other places as a guest speaker. She collected offering for the children's studio at every speaking engagement. She lived on speaker fees, she said, and the offering she collected went directly to 3ABN. She either delivered the cash and checks to 3ABN personally or by mail.

Walsh said she did so based on instructions from Shelton, who told her it would be money laundering if she de-

verted the currency to US dollars while in Australia, and then gave the money to 3ABN in cash. Walsh said she never received receipts from 3ABN for any of the money she collected in the states or abroad and trusted the network to be honest.

"Both Danny and Jim [Gilley] were not only aware of this account—but they approved it!" she wrote in the document refuting the allegations against her. "Also, the envelopes that were shown [on the 3ABN video] were actually ordered by 3ABN and 3ABN paid for them!"

Walsh also disputed 3ABN's claim that they paid for her housing and utility bills. She said the network allowed

her to use her home as office space for the Collegedale project, and the bills paid were business related. She denied accusations that the project would cost \$5 million, and said she never put a down payment on any property.

Though she spent years looking for land in Collegedale, Shelton and Gilley turned down every property she proposed, Walsh said. In April of 2018, she finally approached Shelton about the issue, pressing him to move forward with the project.



The Putman Sisters and their brother pose for pictures with "Miss Brenda" on the *Kids Time* set in 2014 (Photo courtesy of Brenda Walsh).

posited the funds into a bank account and then transferred them electronically. She refuted 3ABN's claim that she controlled the Kids Network funds, stating that they never allowed her to access the Kids Network bank account.

In Australia, she opened a personal bank account for money collected from her book sales and speaker fees because the bank would not allow her to open an account in a business's or ministry's name, Walsh said. When she became general manager of Kids Network, she asked Shelton and Gilley if she could use it to temporarily place money donated for the new studio, according to her version of the story. To avoid the appearance of money laundering, she did not transfer the funds electronically, she said. Instead, she con-

I had someone give me \$50,000. And I said, "Danny, we have got to start doing what we said we're going to do. This studio should've been built. You know, it's five years I've been raising money for this. When are we going to do this?"

Walsh said that's when Shelton first told her that building the studio in Collegedale didn't make sense. "He said, 'You build a studio down there, people start giving money to you, they're not going to give money to me.' And he said, 'Pretty soon I won't be able to keep my lights on.'"

That is when Shelton recommended that she form a separate 501(c)(3) for the project, according to Walsh. He

said producing children’s programs was too expensive for 3ABN and he offered to give her everything she needed to move the project forward, including the funds raised for 3ABN Kids Network.

After praying about the matter, she agreed to the arrangement. She said Shelton insisted that she inform the 3ABN board of her desire to separate. Walsh made her presentation on June 6, 2018, and board members approved her request for separation.

Walsh provided an October 5, 2018 email that she allegedly received from Morikone as a follow-up to a board meeting and a conversation that Walsh and Shelton had the previous evening. Attached to the email is a proposed separation agreement, laying out the details for Walsh’s departure.

Thank you, Brenda, for your tireless service and dedication as a full-time volunteer for well over 20 years! You have worked early and late to help spread the three angels’ messages—the gospel message—to young and old alike. The programs that have been produced through *Kids Time*, *Kids Time Praise*, and the others have been such good quality, and I know have touched countless lives for eternity. Many people will be in the kingdom of Heaven as a result of something they saw on 3ABN Kids Network, and that will be partly due to your efforts and the efforts of those who worked alongside you in producing children’s programs. Only in eternity will we see the full results. Thank you for your commitment to spread His Word and to produce programs with excellence!

In the email, Morikone also allegedly wrote:

I’m attaching the proposed separation agreement that the 3ABN Board voted on yesterday. This is only a draft, as we want your input, too. Once we have received that, I will send to our lawyer, to dress it up a bit. :) So, the final wording might be a bit different, but we wanted to show it to you first, before proceeding to that level. Of course, once it’s been through the lawyer, we’ll show it to you again before it is signed.

The content of the proposed Separation Agreement was as follows:

Section 1—3ABN agrees to give Brenda Walsh Ministries the following:

- A. The money in the Kids Network fund will be given to Brenda Walsh Ministries by December 31, 2018. At present, this is just over \$800,000.
- B. The 3ABN trademarked names, *Kids Time*, *Kids Time Praise*, *Kids Time Missions*, and *Tiny Tots for Jesus*. Any new programs produced after January 1, 2019 under those names will be considered the property of Brenda Walsh Ministries. Any previously produced programs under those names, whether edited or unedited, shall be the property of 3ABN.
- C. Free access to air any of the children’s programs that 3ABN has produced prior to December 31, 2018, on her new children’s network. Any other ministry or network that desires these programs needs to contact 3ABN directly. Those programs are to be aired as is, and all mention of 3ABN, whether logos or credits, in the open and close will not be edited out.
- D. The props and equipment agreed upon as belonging to Kids Network. Brenda will remove any agreed upon items within 30 days from 3ABN’s Studios to a storage place of her own.
- E. All of the studio time already booked for Kids Network in 2018 (for free).
- F. The Kids Club Bible School
- G. The Kids Time website
- H. The Kids Time app

Section 2—3ABN will retain the following:

- A. All children’s programming, whether edited or unedited, that is produced before December 31, 2018 will be owned by 3ABN, and, as such, 3ABN will have full right to use or distribute how they wish without any financial compensation to Brenda Walsh Ministries.
- B. 3ABN owned cameras and production/studio equipment in any of the 3ABN studios.

Section 3—3ABN does not agree to the following:

- A. To provide any funds, equipment, or staff to Brenda Walsh Ministries.
- B. To provide free air time to Brenda Walsh Ministries for

her new children's network. Any potential airing of programs produced by Brenda Walsh after January 1, 2019, will be subject to the same air time rate as any other ministry.

- C. To provide streaming services for the new Kids Time Network. That will need to be provided by Brenda Walsh Ministries directly.

When contacted to verify that she emailed the proposed separation agreement, Morikone again declined an interview. Instead, she released the following statement:

Since Brenda Walsh approached 3ABN's Board in June of 2018, with a request to separate from 3ABN, there has been a great deal of correspondence between 3ABN and Brenda regarding the details of separation. Numerous verbal discussions, as well as written communication, have taken place, including a proposal from 3ABN's Board of Directors, offering Brenda an extremely generous separation agreement. Brenda refused the Board's generous proposal, and instead came back with further, unreasonable demands. Just after that time, the Board also became aware of information about how Brenda may have handled certain donations and financial transactions that raised serious red flags for 3ABN. Despite that 3ABN repeatedly asked Brenda to explain these matters and provide us with documentation to clear her name, our requests were refused. We continue to pray for Brenda, as this whole situation is very unfortunate. However, we are thankful that Brenda's two sisters, Cinda Sanner and Linda Johnson, are still hosting programs on 3ABN, as well as producing new programs for 3ABN Kids Network.

Walsh said she made some recommended changes to the document, with input from Shelton. The proposed revisions included more specifics than the original document, and called for additional support from 3ABN to get the new studio up and running. Shelton told her 3ABN's attorney would draw up the official separation papers, Walsh said. Months went by, and she kept asking why it was taking so long.

In the revised document, Walsh proposed that 3ABN

give the following to Brenda Walsh Ministries, in addition to what it had already been offered:

- All future funds that 3ABN receives from donors indicated for the benefit of 3ABN Kids Network, children's ministries, or any of the children's programs.
- All photographs and digital images pertaining to all children's programming and all photographs and digital images of Brenda Walsh.
- All props and equipment agreed upon as belonging to Kids Network, including costumes/wardrobe, and any sets or props specially used for children's programs including the remote Panasoni Lumix DC-GH5 camera and accessories that Kids Network paid for.
- An additional six weeks of studio time in 2019 for recording children's programs, with Brenda Walsh Ministries agreeing to pay for crew needed to record programs.
- 3ABN financial support for Kids Club (Bible Lessons) for one year, ending on December 31, 2019.
- Air time, at no cost, for the promotion of building a new studio for Kids Time Network, ending December 31, 2019.

At the fall 2018, 3ABN camp meeting, Shelton asked Walsh to meet with him and Fjarli. According to Walsh, they met behind a stage in the VIP green room, where Fjarli's wife was also present.

They started off with just buttering me up, telling me how wonderful I am. . . . Bruce said, "It doesn't matter where I travel. . . . If I say, 'I'm with 3ABN,' they say '*Kids Time*.' It's the most popular program on 3ABN."

According to Walsh's version of the story, Shelton and Fjarli told her she raised more money than anyone else at 3ABN and asked her to reconsider the separation. They said she was getting old and should consider retiring but she could continue helping to raise money for the network.

When contacted for Shelton's and Fjarli's response to Walsh's version of events, 3ABN declined the interviews.

However, Gilley, in an interview for this article, referred to Walsh's age, stating: "She's not a young kid," and that it made no sense to start the children's studio at her age.

Studies that we did showed that her programs were watched by the adults and not by the kids. I think her biggest ministry is actually with women—Women's Ministry. She does a wonderful job talking about marriage and challenges there. She's an inspiring speaker. She loves the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherever she goes, she witnesses. But that

three years knowing they did not intend to build the facility.

I said, "Danny, what are you talking about? . . . Every day, almost, I have a promo that airs on 3ABN asking for funds for that children's studio. . . . Just a year after you voted not to build the studio, . . . I'm on the cover of your *3ABN World Magazine* and my article in that magazine is all about our Collegedale studio, complete with a map and picture of Collegedale. . . . Every single year at 3ABN Camp Meeting, I'm up there, live, ask-



Brenda Walsh poses for a *Kids Time Praise Live* program at the 3ABN camp meeting in 2018 (Photo courtesy of Brenda Walsh).

does not make Brenda right on this issue.

Reflecting on her alleged meeting with Shelton and Fjarli, Walsh said she was flabbergasted and offended by their suggestion that she was too old to work for God. In fact, she told them, she felt called by God to build the Collegedale children's studio. That is when Fjarli allegedly told her the 3ABN board had voted to scrap the project three years earlier. She said it was the first time she had heard of the vote, and she accused them of fraud for having her raise money for

ing millions of people around the world to give money for the studio, including this year. . . . Jill and Greg were on the stage with me smiling." I said, "Bruce, shame on you, you're in the audience. I got up in God's house almost every Sabbath and I asked God's people to give money for something you never intended to do." I said, "Shame on both of you. . . . That's fraud. That's illegal; it's dishonest. . . . I won't be a part of it."

After her reaction, Shelton and Fjarli agreed to move forward with the separation agreement by December 1, 2018, according to Walsh. However, the date rolled around to no avail. She said Shelton called her the Thursday before Christmas and told her his attorney said he did not have to give her the money.

That was the last time I talked to Danny. December 30th I got an email from Jill. I was here at my home, and it had an attachment on the email from the board chair, Bruce Fjarli, letting me know that effective immediately, I was no longer the general manager of 3ABN Kids Network. I was to remove my name from anything to do with 3ABN, all social media.

I literally read that and I read it again, and I couldn't believe it. And I think I probably cried for three days. I didn't eat, I didn't sleep. . . . I'm literally just walking around my house, holding on to my Bible for dear life because I never felt so alone in my entire life.

In addition to terminating her, Walsh said, 3ABN also fired her assistant, Mellisa Hoffman, and the network's graphic design director, Chrystique Neibauer. She said both women are now working for Brenda Walsh Ministries.

Bernice Micheff said she had been coordinating Bible lessons for 3ABN's Kid's Club for more than sixteen years as a volunteer. She said 3ABN shut down the lessons abruptly when Walsh was terminated. She said about 40,000 people had benefited from the Bible lessons over the years, mostly children.

"They not only hurt Brenda, they hurt all these kids that were not allowed to finish, and yet they claim to have a heart for children," she said. "They don't have a heart for children; they want the money that children's programs bring in."

Walsh stated that, before leaving 3ABN, she produced seventy-five new children's programs. The network has been airing them, she said, but 3ABN edited her out of the videos and removed her name from the credits. Walsh also claims 3ABN executives removed all of her books, CDs, and DVDs from the network's store but continues to collect royalties and still has an obligation to market the materials.

In addition to accusing her of misusing funds in Australia, Walsh said 3ABN leaders have told individuals that she double-dipped financially, having both 3ABN and churches pay her airfare for speaking engagements.

Walsh said 3ABN provides airfare for general managers and their spouses when they travel on behalf of the network. She said some churches could not afford her speaking fee of \$500 a day and offered to pay her airfare instead. She consulted with Shelton, and they both agreed she could turn in travel expenses to 3ABN and the extra money could go toward her speaking fees, she said.

Walsh said her assistant recently reviewed all her travel records and found only seven cases where that occurred. She said the amount churches paid for her air travel amounted to less than the speaker fees in all cases, and she saved 3ABN over \$30,000 by having churches that could afford her speaking fees and airfare cover the expenses.

In addition, Walsh said she has personal knowledge that Shelton has personal conflicts of interest regarding funds, making millions of dollars from books and products that he sells to 3ABN for a profit. She said he charges the network for the materials and then offers cases of this books to viewers free of charge, leading them to believe the books are paid for by generous donors.

Walsh presented invoices that she claims were submitted to 3ABN by Shelton's publishing company, DLS Publishing, Inc., from 2012 to 2019. The total amounted to \$1.3 million, most of it collected over the last two years. (\$494,945 in 2017 and \$487,714 in 2018.)

"If he had not personally profited from taking all those donations and selling his books, the children's studio could already have been built and producing children's programs by now," she said.

Walsh said it is not her intention to hurt Shelton or 3ABN, and she tried to avoid a public spectacle. However, she could no longer remain silent as the attacks against her continued.

He chose to publicly attack me, and viewers have been begging for answers. I kept quiet for six months, but it has been relentless. He continues to spread bigger and bigger lies. At some point, my silence becomes consensus, and viewers are only able hear the lies that he's spreading.

The Donor Dilemma

Walsh said she initially felt angry and hurt, reflecting on all that she had sacrificed for 3ABN, but the Holy Spirit touched her heart and convicted her to forgive.

“It was New Year’s Day, January 1, 2019. It’s now like five o’clock in the afternoon, and I was no longer having my little pity party,” she said. “I was praising Jesus, and I was like, ‘Okay, Lord. Now what do we do? Where do we go?’”

She said, God told her: “Brenda, build the studio.”

Walsh explained that, since then, she has been trying to raise money for the Collegedale children’s studio and leadership center, which she described as a ministry that will produce kids’ programs and train children to be leaders for Christ.

At the same time, she and 3ABN remain locked in a legal battle over intellectual property and donations. When Walsh posted *Kids Time* videos on her YouTube channel a few months ago, 3ABN filed a complaint with the video-sharing website, and, according to Walsh, the channel was shut down. She said she retained an attorney who says she has legal rights to the material she produced while volunteering at 3ABN because she was not an employee and never signed a contract waiving those rights.

Caught in the crossfire are people from all over the world who contributed to the Collegedale project when it was under the auspices of 3ABN.

In addition to the two letters sent by 3ABN in January and September, Brenda Walsh Ministries sent a separate letter to donors, informing them that she was shocked to learn that 3ABN had ended the project without notifying her.

I feel terrible about this and I want to personally say how very sorry I am that your donations did not go for the intended use. I would never have asked

anyone to donate if I had known that 3ABN did not intend to follow through on their commitment.

In the letter, Walsh said she felt impressed by God to move forward with the project. She encouraged donors to fill out an enclosed form and mail it back to Brenda Walsh Ministries.

“Once I receive your form, I will scan and email it to 3ABN—that way both parties will be aware of your intention,” she instructed. “If you would like to continue to help in our global efforts to introduce children to Jesus, please prayerfully consider supporting Brenda Walsh Ministries.”

However, Walsh said her attorney recently received a

letter from 3ABN’s legal counsel, stating that Brenda Walsh Ministries has no legal claim to the funds and the money would be returned to the donors. In the September letter, 3ABN notified donors of that finding. Her attorney is considering the next move.

Bradshaw said he has no idea who is at fault, but it is unfortunate that the conflict between 3ABN and Walsh blew up so publicly.

I think it’s really, really unfortunate when people—whoever those people are—choose to go public about their disagreements or dissatisfaction in church matters. . . . It’s pretty hard not to go public these days because of social media and the Internet. But to me, it’s a real pity.

I tell you, Danny is not the same person he used to be. He used to be kind and loving and thoughtful, and now there’s too much power and too much money.
- Bernice Micheff

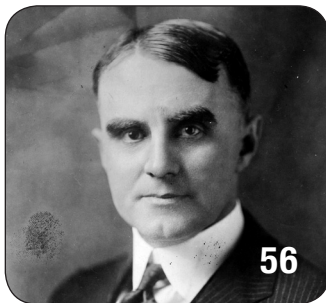
ALVA JAMES-JOHNSON is an award-winning journalist who has worked for several newspapers across the country. She is a life-long Seventh-day Adventist, active in the local church, along with her husband and two young-adult children. Contact her at amjcommunications@gmail.com.



Adventist

“I know the Director of Union Station personally. Let me take care of this.”

- HEBER VOTAW



“I received your testimony last evening, for which I thank the Lord. It is true. It seemed to spread my past experience, trials, and the dealings of God, fresh before my mind, as though it was but yesterday. I could not have stated facts more correctly. I read and wept until I had read them over twice, and commenced to read them a third time. It was past eleven o'clock, and I thought I would leave them until this morning. . . . Oh! I am astonished to think that I should be so ungrateful to my Heavenly Father, who has done so much for me. . . .”

- MRS. TEMPLE

Stories



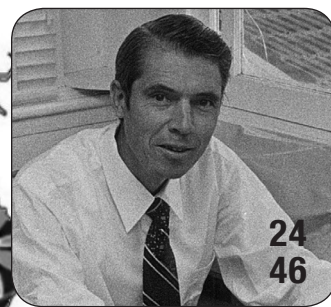
“It is the attitude we take to the blood of Christ shed on the cross to substantiate the law. It’s the attitude we take to that, that seals every man’s destiny in the Judgment. And that, my friends, is our message to the world.”

- DESMOND FORD



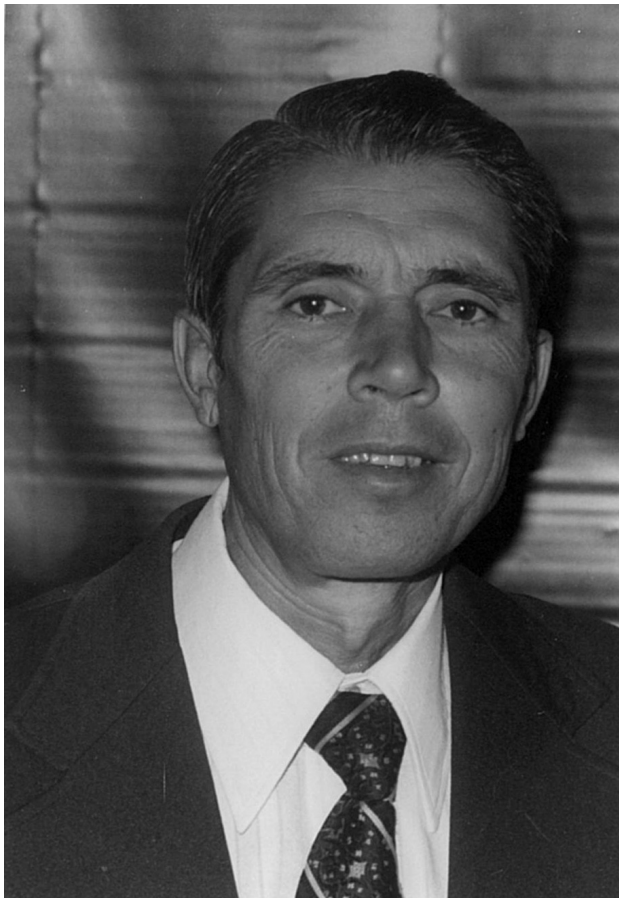
“About two weeks ago some Kavirondo boys came and asked if we were the people who kept the Sabbath of (Mungu) God, and inquired when we shall start a mission with books to learn from.”

- DAVID SPARROW



Fear *and the* Hidden Agendas of the FORD CONTROVERSY (1979–1980)

BY GILBERT M. VALENTINE



Desmond Ford, photo courtesy of Adventist Heritage Centre, Cooranbong, NSW, Australia

Introduction

Desmond Ford's late-October 1979, Adventist Forum presentation at Pacific Union College (PUC) on the investigative judgment, led to a six-month leave of absence granted by church administrators so that Ford could develop a more comprehensive statement on the problems he had attempted to address. This would be followed by a formal church hearing of his concerns.

When Ford gave his Forum presentation, he believed he was confronting and attempting to resolve long-standing problems with the doctrine. For many others, the address was perceived as a full-frontal challenge to the central founding story of the Adventist church as expressed in its sanctuary doctrine and the investigative judgment. The widely circulated recording of the meeting riveted the attention of the church, worldwide. Consideration of Ford's approach, written up in a 991-page document, was undertaken at a specially convened theological consultation at a church-owned convention center at Glacier View Ranch, northwest of Denver, Colorado. Formally known as the Sanctuary Review Committee, (SRC) the group, comprising approximately 115 international Bible scholars and church administrators, met from August 10 to 15, 1980. This gathering, also fraught with significance, riveted the attention of the worldwide church.

Former Review and Herald editor, Raymond Cottrell, described the 1980 consultation as "the most important event of this nature in Adventist history since the 1888

General Conference in Minneapolis.”¹ In the view of Richard Hammill, former president of Andrews University and coordinator of the consultation, the meetings represented “the most earnest endeavor and the greatest investment of funds and in time of Adventist workers from all parts of the world field that have ever been given to the discussion of a doctrinal problem in the Adventist Church.”²

The theological consultation was intended to confine itself to an assessment of Dr. Ford’s ideas. At the beginning of the meeting, President Neal Wilson clearly asserted that Ford himself was not on trial, only his ideas. As Richard Hammill, the General Conference official coordinating the event, later observed, however, “it turned out both had been on trial.”³ The process ultimately resulted in Dr. Ford’s dismissal from church employment and huge theological turmoil in North America and in the South Pacific, with the loss of large numbers of ministers in the decade that followed.

A close study of the correspondence and other documents, and of the background to the traumatic upheaval, indicates a number of hidden or underlying agendas and other important contextual influences at play. I argue in this paper that these agendas and influences appear to have held more sway over the outcome of Ford’s formal 1980 hearing than the specific exegetical and doctrinal issues he addressed in his comprehensive manuscript. Fear played a large role in them all. Hidden agendas and contextual factors included the following:

- Perceptions and formal charges that Ford was antinomian and did not believe in the doctrine of sanctification. A deep, cultural, conservative reaction to large-scale change at Avondale during

Ford’s sixteen-year tenure there exacerbated this perception.

- The sense that Ford was disloyal to the church through his suspected collusion with Robert Brinsmead.
- Perceptions that Ford was arrogant and unwilling to learn—a view fed by cultural misunderstanding.
- Problems of administrative weakness and vulnerability in the church in Australasia.

- Fear and insecurity about exposure on the part of scholars who felt vulnerable about talking openly in what became an intimidating environment at the conference.

Fear, misunderstanding, and the pressure of the underlying agendas took precedence over theological and exegetical issues. As a result, church administrators sought an urgent management solution to what had become a highly polarized and conflicted church community. The need for a solution to the “pastoral problem” created by Ford going public with a doctrinal problem became the priority. This had more influence on the outcome of the meeting

than the discussion about the specific topic of the investigative judgment. This paper seeks to explore and explain these underlying agendas and contextual issues.

Hidden Agenda 1: The Fear of Antinomianism

In a church where, historically, the law has been easier to obey than grace celebrated, antinomianism has been seen as a natural enemy. Prominent voices in Robert Pier-son’s administration of the late 1970s perceived Desmond

When Ford gave his Forum presentation, he believed he was confronting and attempting to resolve long-standing problems with the doctrine. For many others, the address was perceived as a full-frontal challenge to the central founding story of the Adventist church as expressed in its sanctuary doctrine and the investigative judgment.

Ford as an antinomian and that, whatever he might say in his Glacier View manuscript, he was a danger to the church and should be let go. He was not in harmony with “historic” Adventism. This was a significant item not formally on the agenda at Glacier View, but it was nevertheless the understanding in many administrators’ minds. The background to this hidden agenda item is important.

In early 1978, *Review* editor, Kenneth Wood, sought to explain the origins of the controversies surrounding Ford in Australia to fellow General Conference leaders at a special retreat called to study the problems. He made the case that the conflicts found their source in the evangelical dialogues of the mid-1950s.⁴ Undertaken by R. A. Anderson and L. E. Froom during Reuben Figuhr’s administration, the dialogues addressed evangelical criticism

of the Adventist understanding of the atonement and the investigative judgment doctrine. In *Questions on Doctrine*, the volume published in response to the dialogue, Wood argued, concessions were made that led thousands of Adventists to believe that the leaders had abandoned “historic” Adventism in its distinctive teaching on the atonement and the nature of Christ. Wood cited one

“respected denominational worker” who believed that Froom and Anderson had “sold us down the river,” resulting in a church crippled by evangelical antinomianism.⁵ Wood’s lengthy explanation clearly sympathized with the strident protests of eighty-year-old, retired seminary teacher, M. L. Andreasen, whose six inflammatory “Letters to the Churches,” issued during 1959, alleged that *Questions on Doctrine* taught “heresy” concerning the atonement. It was “more than apostasy. This is the giving up of Adventism.”⁶ An influential committee of supporters in Loma Linda agreed with Andreasen and advocated for him with President Figuhr, but Andreasen’s hostility and animosity to the General Conference eventually led to the removal of his ministerial credentials in 1961.⁷ In 1978, Kenneth Wood knew that Figuhr’s successor, Robert Pierson, identified much more with the last-

generation theology of Andreasen than he did with the progressivism of Froom and Anderson. Desmond Ford’s perceived antinomianism was just what Andreasen had predicted.

Reacting to the furor surrounding Andreasen’s open protests in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Robert Brinsmead, an activist theology student at Avondale College in Australia, began to agitate for an unorthodox, end-time, sinless perfectionism that would make Andreasen’s last-generation exhibition of law-keeping possible.⁸ Brinsmead’s teaching also appeared to present a solution to the widespread lack of Christian assurance of salvation among church members facing an end-time judgment and needing a way to be able to live without a mediator.⁹ Brinsmead taught that in Christ’s final work of cleansing the sanctuary, begun in 1844, human sinful nature would be physically eradicated, “blotted out” from the subconscious mind of the believer just prior to the close of probation under a “latter rain” of the Holy Spirit. This would result in a final cleansing of the “soul temple.” Thus, a believer could become sinless and be able to live without need of a mediator after the close of probation.

Brinsmead’s agitation led to the forming of a schismatic group known as the Sanctuary Awakening movement which developed a strong following in both the South Pacific and North America.¹⁰ The Australian “awakeners” took courage from the quiet endorsement of American religion teachers, such as Herbert Douglass at Atlantic Union College and Peter Jarnes at Union College.¹¹

The first direct public response in Adventism to Brinsmead’s teaching on sinless perfection came from British-born Edward Heppenstall, a leading teacher at the church’s seminary, who argued that such teaching negated grace because “sinless people do not need grace.”¹² He also argued that such teaching resulted from a fundamental misunderstanding of the New Testament teaching on justification by faith. Heppenstall was joined by other scholars such as Norval F. Pease and Harry E. Lowe.¹³

Fear, misunderstanding, and the pressure of the underlying agendas took precedence over theological and exegetical issues.

In the South Pacific region of the church, Desmond Ford, a student of Heppenstall, became the primary respondent to Brinsmead's schismatic movement and its perfectionism. Through a strong program of preaching and teaching from Paul's epistle to the Romans, Ford emphasized that justification by faith was the cardinal meaning of righteousness by faith and recommended that Brinsmead would benefit by a careful study of the Protestant reformers rather than Jones and Waggoner.¹⁴ These were the key themes in his approach with his students at Avondale College. Ford had the confident endorsement and grateful support of division presidents Laurie C. Naden and his successor Robert R. Frame in this endeavor.

While Ford emphasized justification, he did not undervalue sanctification nor separate the two, though he did distinguish between them. Justification addressed the relationship of being righteous by faith and this was the ground for sanctification as the inevitable fruit of the life of faith.¹⁶ During the 1960s, this emphasis effectively protected Avondale from the insidious appeal of the Awakening movement. Pfandl, among others, observes that Ford's emphasis on righteousness by faith was "a necessary course correction to the prevailing perfectionism of the 1960s." In 1971, Brinsmead abandoned his esoteric ideas of perfectionism in the light of his study of scripture and the Protestant reformers. He became, instead, a strong advocate of justification by faith, presenting it as a core teaching of the sixteenth-century Reformation.

Ironically, as the influence of the Sanctuary Awakening movement gradually subsided, a renewed advocacy for Andreasen's traditional last-generation perfectionism (without Brinsmead's aberration) spread more widely and intensified, fostered by strong voices in the United States. Church members persuaded by Andreasen's arguments came to perceive Heppenstall and Ford as teaching "cheap grace," undermining the distinctive Adventist teaching on obedience to the law in preparation for the end times. Large numbers of church members on the other hand, responded positively to Ford and Heppenstall. They had experienced release from legalism and feared that the Andreasen emphasis would take them back into a form of spiritual bondage. The debate intensified as the 1970s progressed.

Pushing back against the Ford-Heppenstall emphasis on soteriology, the *Adventist Review* editor, Kenneth Wood, with the assistance of Herbert Douglas and Don F. Neufeld, published in 1974 a "Special" edition of the *Review* on the topic of righteousness by faith, which strongly advocated the M. L. Andreasen perspective.¹⁷ The *Review* editors claimed to have the support of General Conference President Robert H. Pierson and others in his administration who were intent on "reversing" things back to "solid historic Adventist thought."¹⁸ In Australia, the special issue of the *Review* complicated the pastoral task of division leadership, who interpreted the "Special" issue as a veiled attack on Avondale and Dr. Ford.

In February 1976, a two-day meeting of the Australasian Division Biblical Research Institute (ABRI), with all local and union conference presidents attending, heard the complaints of a self-appointed committee of Concerned Brethren (CBs), the principle voices of an anti-Ford faction. They also heard Dr. Ford and other faculty respond that Avondale was in fact teaching a moderate Adventist position—similar to what was being taught at other Adventist colleges. The ABRI fully vindicated Ford. Unhappy with the outcome of the ABRI hearings, the CBs continued to agitate even more vigorously against Ford and Avondale and through personal correspondence took their complaints to Pierson and *Review* editor, Kenneth Wood.

The ongoing debate led to the *Australasian Record*, under the editorship of Robert H. Parr, taking a strongly defensive stance on behalf of both the Avondale faculty and Dr. Ford, and an opposition to the soteriological position of the *Adventist Review*. Division leaders in Australia, "alarmed by the promotion of perfectionism in American SDA literature," appealed to the General Conference for a consultation to resolve the issue. The touchstone of the debate was whether the Pauline term "righteousness by faith" referred to justification only or to a fusion of both justification and sanctification.¹⁹

In an effort to resolve the issues, the General Conference convened a theological consultation involving nine scholars and church administrators from Australia and eleven from the United States, during April 23–30, 1976. The Palmdale Conference convened in the high-desert town of Palmdale, California.

Delegates concluded the conference with a statement that they did not wish to be taken "as an official

pronouncement by church leaders” but “as a statement of consensus.” It was published a month later as a two-and-a-half-page, fine-print article in the *Review*.²⁰ The opening paragraph of the statement was taken as a direct affirmation of the unanimous understanding of the Australasian delegation.

Three paragraphs further down in the document, however, the statement conceded that “Seventh-day Adventists have often used the phrase ‘righteousness by faith,’ theologically to include both justification and sanctification.” As Pfandl notes, there was no explanation as to whether such usage was even appropriate or biblical, or whether it should continue or not.²¹ The balance of the statement addressed the two perspectives on the human nature of Christ without expressing a judgment on the correctness of either. Subsequently, both sides of the conflict claimed that the consensus statement supported their position. The Palmdale Conference thus did nothing to calm the debate and the conflict continued unabated. With the continued open promotion of their last-generation perfectionism, the *Adventist Review* provided resources for the now highly charged right-wing faction in Australia. Ford had inescapably become a lightning rod for this theological opposition. In 1977, a teaching exchange was arranged for Ford at PUC as a safety-valve activation to try and settle the turmoil.

In February 1978, General Conference leaders met for ten days at Nosoca Pines Ranch in South Carolina to try and achieve some consensus.²² Though planned beforehand, this consultation convened conveniently just after the publication of Geoffrey Paxton’s book, *The Shaking of Adventism*, which had drawn public attention to the ongoing turmoil in the Church and had heightened the tensions.²³

In August 1978, a further six days of discussions were convened at the General Conference with another small group of officers and scholars, half of whom had been at the Palmdale Conference. The meeting was another attempt to achieve a more unified understanding on the soteriological issues dividing the church. This time, however, no formal consensus statement was attempted. The only thing delegates could agree on, according to Gordon Hyde, the secretary of the General Conference BRI, was the fear each party had of the convictions of the other. Both General Conference and

Review leadership feared that the emphasis on justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ was “cheap grace,” antinomianism, and “attitudes that led to lower standards of Christian living.” Ford and those who shared his convictions held the opposite fear, that the *Review* was teaching “a form of legalism” that gave nominal assent to the initial need for justification by faith but then became “absorbed with the performance of good works. . . .”²⁴ The disputants were united in their fear of each other. According to Gillian Ford, the accusations of antinomianism were circulating even more widely in late 1978 and were largely the reason Parmenter had communicated to Ford that he should stay in America and that if he wanted to return to Australia he would be placed in a field appointment or in evangelism, not at the college. At the time, both Ford and his wife feared that this initiative was the “first step to removing him [Ford] from the work altogether,” and Gillian wrote to Neal Wilson to protest the action.²⁵

The fear of antinomianism was expressed widely in the church. Prominent voices of opposition, such as Morris Venden, became very specific in their public warning of danger. “Beware! Icebergs Ahead,” he wrote in a popular volume published in early 1980.²⁶ At headquarters, the fear was entertained by many and it formed a large hidden agenda that provided a background of suspicion and prejudice against Ford at the Glacier View Conference. Editorials in the *Review* in the lead-up to the Glacier Conference had focused on a defense of Kenneth Wood’s last-generation, victorious-life perfectionism, and had portrayed this as a core historic teaching of Adventism under attack by Ford.²⁷ In the view of Wood and Douglass, Ford’s gospel preaching was an attack on the distinctive message of Seventh-day Adventism. His Forum presentation had only made it much worse and was a fulfillment of Andreasen’s prediction.

Ford’s understanding of righteousness by faith, which he had taken to have been endorsed at Palmdale, was not mentioned as an issue in the Glacier View Consensus Statements, nor in the ten-point statement of differences, where Ford was perceived to differ from traditional Adventist teaching. The subtle, underlying opposition at Glacier View to Ford’s gospel emphasis, however, was clearly reflected in Robert Pierson’s influential appeal,

read to Glacier View participants on Wednesday evening. Pierson's manuscript reflected the views of Wood and Douglass and the distorted perceptions of Ford's teaching that had been articulated in Russell Standish and John Clifford's book *Conflicting Concepts*, which Pierson had read and applauded in 1974.²⁸ Pierson, directly challenging Ford's ethics and honesty in continuing to receive a church salary, spoke of "an adapted Calvinist theology, cheap grace and lowered standards," and saw in the background "a new doctrine of original sin, a Calvinistic predestination, a life of spiritual defeat, a salvaged conscience."²⁹ Ford was deeply hurt by Pierson's attack, with its sharp *ad hominem* edge and its Standish brothers' perspective. The appeal is reported to have been met with many administrative "amens." Australasian Division president, Keith Parmenter, also informed PREXAD, during the discussions held later with Ford after the close of the conference, that he too viewed Ford as being "too extreme in the area of justification." The fear of antinomianism shaped a negative view of Ford at Glacier View.

Hidden Agenda II: A Context of Fear and Reaction to Cultural and Social Change

The fear that Ford represented antinomianism had been sharpened in Australia and in America by an underlying fear of wider disturbing social and cultural changes on college campuses during the late 1960s and '70s. At Avondale College, during the period Des Ford taught there, the campus had seen numerous large-scale changes of which he was a part but was not responsible for. These changes, notes Don Neufeld, speaking of similar changes on American college campuses, created something of a conservative reaction in the wider

church. This culture of conservative reaction, channeled through theological conflict, constituted an underlying influence that helped prejudice the ultimate outcome of Ford's hearing more than the specific biblical issues involved.³¹

The changes at Avondale were the result of the college needing to adjust to rising educational standards across the church and society. Beginning in the 1950s, PUC had provided accreditation for Avondale academic programs because local, state-government accreditation was not possible. During the mid-1960s, however, the Australian

government slowly began to adopt a more welcoming attitude to private providers of education, and over time, national accreditation of courses and access to government student-tuition assistance became possible even for a private tertiary college like Avondale.³² Forward-looking college principals like Gordon McDowell in the 1960s and Eric Magnusson in the 1970s, cast their vision for improved facilities at the college and the need for local-government accreditation in the context of these societal changes. Pressure from Pacific Union College accreditation visits had also driven the need for better facilities and a better-resourced library, for example. Govern-

ment training schools lengthened their teacher education programs to cope with rising expectations in the school system and Avondale felt the pressure to follow suit. As a church institution, Avondale thus sought to help address the rising standards required for teachers. This pressure was also felt in the area of theology. All Adventist teacher trainees had to take a series of religion classes. And pastors needed more extensive training.

The kind of changes at Avondale that these pressures led to included:

While Ford emphasized justification, he did not undervalue sanctification nor separate the two, though he did distinguish between them. Justification addressed the relationship of being righteous by faith and this was the ground for sanctification as the inevitable fruit of the life of faith.

- External recognition of the science and education academic awards by state universities and then by local state governments.
- The extension of training courses from two years for teachers to three- and then to four-year programs within the space of a fairly short time. The same was true for ministerial training—from a licentiate to a diploma and then to a degree. Then nursing training came onto campus—hospital-based training down in Sydney was no longer adequate. It too went from two to three years and eventually to four.
- This lengthening of courses, and increased academic standards, required more lecturers at the college with terminal degrees and, during the 1960s and 1970s, staff were increasingly required to have at least a master's degree and preferably a doctorate. The number of doctorates on campus steadily increased during the two decades.
- As the courses lengthened and curriculum content expanded to meet state and church certification requirements, there was pressure on the work-study system and students could not keep up with the previous twenty-hour work-week requirement. It dropped to sixteen, then to twelve, then to eight. Numerous students found it difficult to work at all. This had a major impact on campus culture and proved unsettling to those who valued the Ellen White blueprint.
- This was also the time of the hippy period, and changes in dress and in sexual mores. In 1966, Joseph Fletcher published his disturbing *Situation Ethics: The New Morality*, questioning the

With the continued open promotion of their last-generation perfectionism, the *Adventist Review* provided resources for the now highly charged right-wing faction in Australia. Ford had inescapably become a lightning rod for this theological opposition.

adequacy of an absolute moral order and generating a firestorm of controversy in religious circles.³³ The book, though sharply critiqued in Avondale classes, created significant waves of discussion on campus. Then, during the 1970s, students became even more “hip.” They lost interest in participating in the band or attending concerts. Modern music was more appealing. Engaging in such things as the Master Guide Certificate program became passé. The tightknit campus social culture began to fray. In Hook’s account, the faculty began to feel that the “treasured fabric of campus life was threadbare.”³⁴

These cultural changes discomforted the faculty. But they greatly unsettled alumni—particularly retired ministers and evangelists for whom “short” ministerial and teacher training courses were all that were needed for a successful ministry. It became a very difficult time for college administrators, for it helped to provoke a highly critical backlash against the college often expressed as theological criticism and charges of a lack of commitment to Spirit of Prophecy counsel.³⁵

Retired clergy and conservative, somewhat anti-intellectual, laymen reacted negatively to the rising educational standards and the impact these had on both the patterns and content of learning. They perceived it all as “worldly influence.” The group circulated pamphlets and lodged formal complaints with the division officers. Much of the criticism focused on the theology department and its charismatic chair, Dr. Desmond Ford. He became a lightning rod of dissent because his widespread preaching on righteousness by faith was perceived as a form of antinomianism, in keeping with the spirit of the times, if not actually nurturing the changes on campus.³⁶ His teaching was seen as a serious departure from historic Adventism and

in some way reflecting and/or fostering the lowering of standards on campus. The criticism from the Concerned Brethren, (CBs) expressed in pamphlets such as “Doctor Desmond Ford’s Dangerous Doctrines,” however, was not just about his allegedly antinomian gospel preaching. Formal charges against him alleged that Ford introduced students to the problems of maintaining traditional concepts of biblical inerrancy and the weaknesses of Ussher’s chronology for the age of the earth. This reportedly deeply unsettled his students. The CBs were concerned, however, about the whole tenor of the changes and the direction of things on campus. In many respects, Ford was an easy target. These troubles led in 1977 to the transfer of Ford to PUC on a teaching exchange and his eventual dismissal from college employment three years later. As Walter Utt noted in *Spectrum*, when Des arrived at Angwin he was already “well equipped with enemies.”³⁷

The Avondale science department also became a target during this period because it too at times addressed such issues as the inadequacies of Ussher’s chronology in relationship to new data from geology, radiometric dating methods, and their implications for traditional time spans for life on earth. By the end of the 1970s, the extent of the conservative backlash and severe theological ferment within the constituency severely challenged senior church administrators in Australia, constrained by their own limited educational and theological preparation.

This was the social-cultural background to much of the tension in Australian Adventism prior to Ford’s 1979 Forum presentation. At Glacier View, it was part of the underlying (and largely unrecognized) undercurrent pulling administrators toward the urgent need to find a solution to the turmoil through the dismissal of Ford.

Australian church leaders also felt that they should not renew Eric Magnusson’s appointment as president of the college at the end of his term in 1980. Magnusson, a distinguished scientist, was forty-seven years of age. Not seeing his way clear to accept a pastoral assignment, or to take an appointment to America, he was granted a two-year leave of absence. Faculty, staff, and family members were deeply unsettled at the decision. Many felt that he had been treated unfairly and saw his departure as “a considerable loss for the institution.”³⁸ Robert Parr, the editor of the *Australasian Record*, was also replaced at this time in an attempt to deal with the ferment.

Hidden Agenda III: Fear and Administrative Vulnerability

Part of the back story for the development of a heightened-conflict environment in Australia in the late 1970s, relates directly to a change in division administration at the end of 1976. In the early years of Ford’s and Heppenstall’s response to the perfectionism of the early Brinsmead, senior division leadership had been grateful for Ford’s preaching and writing and his theological emphasis, and had enthusiastically supported Ford, facilitating his apologetic work throughout the division territory. L. C. Naden, the fatherly radio preacher who had helped Ford become an Adventist and served as division president from 1962 to 1970, defended Ford against right-wing, old-school, fundamentalist critics.³⁹ Robert Frame, president from 1970 to 1976, also valued Ford’s teaching and preaching, although he himself had a college studies background in business administration, not theology or ministry.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, in the tradition of Naden, he was active in Ford’s defense against those who would object to his teaching of such new perspectives as Turkey not being the King of the North in Daniel 11, or to his alerting students to the weaknesses of Ussher’s chronology. During these years, Ford was requested to serve as the official theological correspondent for the division, answering letters of enquiry and questions on theological and doctrinal matters that were forwarded to him from the headquarters office. Two of his publications resulted from this extensive writing on questions and answers.⁴¹

Frame strenuously defended Ford, knowing that he had been “denigrated and completely misrepresented” by Russell Standish and John Clifford in their book, *Conflicting Concepts*. He was also concerned that the two men and their book seemed to have “access” to the General Conference and to personnel at the Review and Herald. Frame reported that his Australian colleagues viewed the book as being “defamatory” and he viewed the correspondence the men had with Pierson and Wood as in poor taste, making allegations “completely without foundation.” He appealed to Pierson to call Russell’s brother, Colin, (then a senior administrator at Columbia Union College) to “give an account” for his schismatic activity and that someone should bring him “into line.”⁴²

The intensity of the attacks increased at this time through a coalition of retired ministers and the Standish

brothers, who fostered organized opposition through a “Get Rid of Ford,” (GROF) initiative. The GROF movement claimed covert and sometime open support from the *Review* editors and, in 1977, the senior leadership in Australia became more unwilling to defend Ford. Keith Samuel Parmenter had been elected president of the division in November 1976, when Robert Frame had been called to California to direct the new Adventist Media enterprise at Thousand Oaks. Parmenter, like Frame, had also not graduated from college, because of a failure in his final year. He had previously attempted a one-year business program and then, according to Hook, he returned in 1944 and, against the advice of the faculty, he apparently attempted the ministerial program, but his name was withdrawn from the graduation list when he was unable to complete. Contemporaries appreciated Parmenter’s skills as a committee chairman, but he “lacked the benefit of a strong academic background,” and was not as theologically attuned as his predecessors.⁴³ Ronald W. Taylor, the division secretary, proceeded into ministry from a nursing background while in mission service in the South Pacific. When it came to theological conflict, Parmenter was distressed over the activities of Russell Standish and John Clifford and grieved “immensely” by their “inability to state the facts as they really are” and to “draw unwarranted conclusions.” He objected to the two doctors’ “monstrous defamation of the Australasian Division,” and their attempt to go around the local division to have their complaints against Ford heard by Pierson and his officers in Washington. But he was hesitant to be seen as publicly defending Avondale in soteriological issues, choosing rather to simply say that his administration was “in harmony with the Palmdale Statement.”⁴⁴ Milton Hook observes that Parmenter “was not of the same mettle,” and over time did not have the same inclination to stand up to the group of Concerned Brethren.⁴⁵ The public criticism of Ford and the issues raised were no different than those that had been repeatedly raised and answered when protective support had been given during the previous two administrations. What had changed? As Ford himself expressed it later, church critics apparently “threatened that his [Parmenter’s] life would be intolerable,” unless he removed Ford.⁴⁶ Parmenter arranged a teaching exchange for Ford at Pacific Union College in California.

Other factors also strained the relationship between Ford and Parmenter. Sometime earlier, at the invitation of the General Conference Sabbath School department, Ford had prepared a Sabbath School lesson quarterly which had been approved through all the processes. When it came time for circulation of the pamphlet in the mid-1970s, apparently Parmenter had personally objected to its release and it had been withdrawn. This upset Ford, particularly the anonymous way in which the intervention had been undertaken and that Parmenter had not informed him.⁴⁷ Then, in mid-1978, after further pressure from Ford’s critics, Parmenter informed Ford that should he return to Australia he would be assigned to pastoral work in the field and not to teaching. Ford understood that this was a “prospective sacking from my position” and was deeply distressed, particularly because Parmenter had come to this conclusion without discussing the issue with Ford or giving him a “hearing.” The decision disturbed Ford because it had been taken in response to the usual critics. “You question my methodology more than my theology,” Ford observed, but then noted that Parmenter had accused him of downgrading sanctification and of “antinomianism.”⁴⁸ Ford could not believe how Parmenter could think this of him. Parmenter had not talked to Ford to hear his side of affairs about how things were proceeding at the time in America. He apparently had not talked to any of the numerous conference presidents who had invited Ford to speak at the camp meetings in their conferences in America and who had appreciated his ministry. L. C. Naden had heard that PUC had received seventy-five requests from the field for Ford’s services.⁴⁹ If Parmenter had talked to *Ministry* editor, J. R. Spangler, Duncan Eva, Phil Follett, or Neal Wilson, Ford responded, he could certainly not have laid the accusation of antinomianism. He cited Neal Wilson, whom he reported as saying to him in the presence of Spangler in a personal conversation just six weeks previously, “Des, you cannot fairly be accused of not believing or not preaching sanctification.”⁵⁰ According to the PUC President, Dr. Jack Caswell, Ford’s public camp meeting activity was well received with the only criticism coming from “known quarters.”⁵² Ford pointed out that Frame and Naden had defended him, even though they had “pressures similar to those now bearing on you.” They resisted. Frame had reported to him “again and again” that complaints did not come

from men “in the active working force,” only, it seems, from the retirees. Why could not Parmenter “oppose men actuated by motives that are highly questionable?” Ford had begun his letter noting that “we must soon meet at the bar of God to give an account of our stewardship,” and he concluded his challenge to Parmenter’s “present conclusions,” with a reminder again that they both stood under “the Eye of the Omniscient one.”⁵²

Parmenter had advised Ford to seek an extension to his exchange at PUC. According to Ford, the division leader had already tried to negotiate this with Cassell at PUC, offering to contribute to the salary, and then had attempted to disguise the remuneration arrangements to keep them from the knowledge of the Concerned Brethren back in Australia. Ford saw this failure of Parmenter to honor his word and ensure his return to his teaching position in Australia after the exchange at PUC as a deeply hurtful betrayal.⁴³ The fact that the Australian leader was less than transparent and dissembled in explaining the new arrangements to Ford, shattered his confidence in Parmenter’s integrity and his leadership.⁵⁴

As he began his third year at PUC, Ford was further dispirited by the failure in Washington, DC to carry through on earlier assurances that the BRI would soon begin to take up the study of the exegetical issues, because he knew they were becoming urgent. He was aware that Brinsmead was now discussing them publicly at meetings on the West Coast. Somewhat goaded by this double sense of betrayal and a loss of confidence in the Australasian leadership, compounded by frustration, impatience, and the recent challenge of Brinsmead’s public criticism of the church’s sanctuary theology, Ford himself became vulnerable and felt less the need to continue to be circumspect and exercise restraint. Although he was assured of

the safety net of academic freedom, there was also a sense that the exegetical matters had to be addressed and what was there now to lose? Thus, he accepted the invitation to address the PUC Forum in October 1979. The sense of betrayal, lack of trust, and a failure to continue support forms a strong, underlying current affecting attitudes and outcomes at the Glacier View meeting.

According to church officials close to Neal Wilson, the world-church leader’s assessment of the Australasian president and his secretary, R. A. Taylor, was not glowing. They were “not great

leaders in style and integrity.” Wilson was aware of “complaints” made to him by other General Conference leaders and from personnel from within the South Pacific field itself. If Wilson, from an administrative point of view, felt that there had to be a “conclusion” and that Glacier View somehow had to “bring closure,” he nevertheless felt pushed by Parmenter to deal with the matter quickly and dismiss Ford before they left Colorado.⁵⁵ Richard Hammill, whose view of the Australian leaders was that they were “inept” in their management

of the events surrounding Glacier View in Australia, believed that Parmenter “forced his [Wilson’s] hand.”⁵⁶ Even if Wilson may have known instinctively in advance and from his conversations with the Australian leaders that the outcome for Ford would be negative, he at least “hoped” that he might be able to save him and that there might possibly have been “a better outcome.”⁵⁷

Hidden Agenda IV: Fear of a Collusion between Desmond Ford and Robert Brinsmead

The specter of Robert Brinsmead loomed large over the Glacier View conference and accounts for a surprisingly large part of the explanation as to why the Glacier View conference had such a negative outcome for Ford and for

Ford’s perceived collusion with Brinsmead was the dominant agenda item at Glacier View as the meeting proceeded from theological considerations to administrative concerns with the future of Ford’s employment.

the church. Ford's perceived collusion with Brinsmead was the dominant agenda item at Glacier View as the meeting proceeded from theological considerations to administrative concerns with the future of Ford's employment. Collusion there was not—but their relationship was complex and for the right-wing it invited conspiracy theories.

As already noted, Robert Brinsmead and his brother John had played a contentious, highly divisive role in Australian Adventism, during the 1960s, in spearheading a schismatic movement. After an encounter with the writings of Luther and Martin Chemnitz in preparation for a debate with a Catholic priest in 1970, Robert had turned full circle from a strident and idiosyncratic view of end-time, sinless perfectionism, to an impassioned emphasis on righteousness by faith as articulated by the sixteenth-century reformers, with its balancing corrective by Wesley. Brinsmead's adoption of this new perspective exposed incongruities that he now saw between the legalistic soteriology embedded in the traditional understanding of the doctrine of the investigative judgment and the gospel. His journal, *Present Truth*, later to become *Verdict*, was widely read by Adventists in Australia and it soon became a journal of outreach to other Christian clergy.⁵⁸

Ford had been instrumental in rebutting Brinsmead's perfectionism in the '60s and was an agent of change in Brinsmead becoming fervently evangelical. Ford could only applaud and endorse this reformation of Brinsmead, as did others, such as former president L. C. Naden, even as he cautioned Ford about the need for care in relating to Brinsmead, until "the man is fully aligned with us again."⁵⁹ Brinsmead's evangelical enthusiasm soon led to a biting critique of traditional Adventist soteriology by Anglican theologian, Geoffrey Paxton,

in his book *The Shaking of Adventism* (1977). Brinsmead had befriended Paxton through his *Verdict* publishing enterprise. Ford's public general agreement with the thesis of Paxton's book greatly annoyed Parmenter and led to widespread rumors that Ford had helped Paxton write the book. This was not true, but Parmenter apparently was inclined to give some credence to the rumors.

In 1978, when Brinsmead published his critique of the investigative judgment doctrine, *1844 Re-examined*, rumors again circulated that Ford had helped Brinsmead write the book because his October Forum talk dealt

broadly with the same exegetical issues. It was believed by the Australasian Division administrators that it was the Brinsmead organization that had circulated Ford's Forum tape. Later at Glacier View, Parmenter reported to PREXAD that turmoil in the church in Australia had been sharply exacerbated by the widespread, unauthorized circulation of Ford's 991-page study document. He assumed that Ford was responsible and was again working through a backdoor arrangement with Brinsmead.⁶⁰ None of this was actually true in any way, but the rumors shaped and sharpened Parmenter's suspicions and became the basis for his

The misrepresentation and mistrust concerning Ford's relationship to Brinsmead, and Ford's "lack of judgment" in not being concerned about the circulation of the materials, had a hugely damaging impact on the perceptions of Ford's attitude and thus on the outcome of Glacier View.

actions. Unfortunately, the rumors, given credence, distorted the perception of Ford—at least on the part of Parmenter and his associates and PREXAD. A large part of the discussions between Ford and the administration on the Friday afternoon of the Glacier View meetings, and in later conversations between Parmenter and Wilson, concerned Ford's perceived disloyal and pernicious collusion with Brinsmead. The requirement that Ford "dissociate himself" from the unofficial distribution of his materials (thought to be by Brinsmead) and "certain activities considered to be subversive" (Brinsmead's teaching and

publishing), was a repeated concern of PREXAD and the smaller administrative group that met with Ford on Friday afternoon to discuss his continued employment.⁶¹

In the Friday afternoon meeting, Parmenter chided Ford for not responding to his many previous requests “to show where you differ from Robert Brinsmead.” He reported to the administrative group that some in Australia were declaring Ford was behind the *1844 Re-examined* book. “Why have you never been willing to identify where you stand, and disassociate yourself from Brinsmead?” he asked. “Your views are either so close to his, or you are in collusion. . . . it looks like you endorse each other.” Parmenter even handed to Ford a copy of *Judged by the Gospel: A Review of Adventism*, Brinsmead’s most recent publication then circulating in Australia and asked if he recognized it. Ford acknowledged that he had seen the book and that there were several points in the book which he disagreed with. He identified these and affirmed that he disagreed with Brinsmead’s methodology, meaning, it seems, his critical attitude. But he declared firmly “that there was no collusion between them.” On the other hand, he affirmed that he could not “oppose Brinsmead for his emphasis on righteousness by faith, especially justification.”⁶² Since Brinsmead had changed, they understood this doctrine in the same way. He did not want in any way to impede the preaching of the gospel or critically attack those attempting to preach it. Wilson later recalled this meeting and his own appeal to Ford to help the Australasian Division by “disassociating himself from the kind of approach that is used by Bob Brinsmead and from [his] objectives.” He remembered Ford replying “I don’t want to denigrate a person, I don’t want to denounce a person. He is a good man.” When Wilson pressed him again to specify publicly what the many things were that he did not agree with Brinsmead on, Ford responded again, “you know he is a good man. He is doing a lot of good for lots of people, and he is sending out *Verdict* magazine to evangelical and other ministers.” Ford in fact felt that his own understanding of righteousness by faith had been clarified in the light of Brinsmead’s study of the reformers, particularly Martin Chemnitz.⁶³

Wilson’s assessment of this problem was that if Ford could not identify the differences between them, “we have to assume there is nothing that you disagree with.” Wilson, who wanted to resist the conclusion of collusion that Parmenter had drawn, nevertheless reported that many

administrators had already concluded that “he and Bob Brinsmead are so close in their theology that you can hardly draw much of a line between them.” He respected the fact that Ford had always had “a great concern” for the man, but Wilson found it “a very puzzling thing.”⁶⁴ He felt strongly that it was not “a fair position” in which to put the Australasian Division.⁶⁵ Why did Ford feel unable to comply with this request?

Ford’s relationship with Robert Brinsmead and his extended family was complex. Robert Brinsmead and he had been college students together at Avondale and both had North Queensland roots (a source of a deeply distinctive, remote-rural-location camaraderie) and their shared interest in things theological was intense. When Brinsmead launched his schismatic initiatives, Ford became a firm opponent—but a “friendly enemy.” They were sparring partners theologically but, in an effort to maintain the prospect of reconciliation, Ford had maintained cordial relationships. There were walks in the bush and invitations to meals.⁶⁶ Ford’s approach was not to use *ad hominem* attacks or do the bidding of Brinsmead’s critics among the brethren. To simply teach and preach the gospel with a clear focus on justification by faith as the cardinal doctrine of the Christian life was, for Ford, the basis for victorious Christian living. Apart from matters of theology, Australian Adventism was a rather close-knit community. Though disagreeing theologically with Brinsmead and opposing his organizational activities, Ford remained a friend.

When Ford’s first wife, Gwen, became ill with terminal cancer in the mid-1960s, Mrs. Verna Brinsmead, Robert’s sister-in-law (wife of Lawrence Brinsmead, whom Ford would refer to as “a very decent man”) helped care for her for several months. A sister to Robert, Mrs. Hope Taylor, gave hydrotherapy treatments and other natural health remedies. John Brinsmead’s family provided a temporary home for Des’ young son Paul, so that he could be near his mother during this time. This meant visits to the Brinsmead homesteads in the Tweed Valley for Ford.⁶⁷ There developed a fellowship of respect and shared suffering and unconditional assistance offered despite theological differences. The relationship between the two men might be best understood in the context of the unique Australian cultural value of “mateship.”⁶⁸ Ford called Brinsmead a “friend.”⁶⁹ He may not have thought of him consciously

as a “mate,” but if asked casually in the Australian context he could perhaps have easily said, “yes, Bob is a good mate.” Occasional social visits between the men in later years, which Ford did not seek but would not avoid, were sometimes interpreted by church members almost as consorting with the enemy.

According to a later account by Robert Brinsmead, sometime in 1977, his younger brother John became very upset by Robert’s switch to publishing critically on the topic of 1844. Robert had come home from a visit to California supporters determined to write on the investigative judgment. Robert had challenged Ford to write on 1844 but he steadfastly refused. John Brinsmead mistakenly believed that Ford had put Robert up to this and had possibly assisted him in writing what was a very provocative *1844 Re-examined*. John travelled to Sydney to visit with Claude Judd, his union president, who then took him to Parmenter. Thereafter, apparently on several occasions, he conveyed his idea of a suspected collusion to Parmenter. He also seems to have fed the story to others because it became a public rumor. John Brinsmead also apparently reported to Parmenter, later in 1979, his understanding that Ford had colluded with Brinsmead’s organization in the circulation of the 1979 Forum tape.⁷⁰ Again, the report from John Brinsmead was quite untrue. He had seriously misunderstood the situation and misrepresented Ford, who firmly denied any involvement in the release of the tape or transcript, and any cooperation or collusion in any way between himself or his wife, Gillian, as a mediator with Robert Brinsmead. The Australasian administration nevertheless concluded that Brinsmead had colluded with Ford in circulating the 1980 manuscript during the lead up to the Glacier View conference. Such reports, Ford asserted indignantly, were “sheer rubbish.”⁷¹

It was not until 2007 that Gillian Ford learned who was responsible for the mass distribution of the Forum tape. The Fords knew that Dr. Dean Jennings, a physician at the St. Helena Sanitarium, had recorded the 1979 meeting and sent copies to seven close acquaintances, one of whom was Heppenstall. A person in New Mexico, however, unrelated to the Brinsmead group, had obtained a copy of a copy of one of the tapes and, without the permission of Ford or the Forum organizers, had circulated approximately 1,000 copies domestically and internationally. Recipients often then re-copied the tape themselves.

Within a very short time copies of the tape were very widely distributed.⁷² It was, again, only in 2007 that Gillian Ford learned that it had been Dr. Dean Jennings who had obtained permission from Mrs. Reuben Figuhr in St. Helena to read her husband’s copy of the 991-page manuscript. Jennings had copied it to read it and then made it available to people in Australia—sending a copy it seems to Robert Parr, the editor of the *Australasian Record*.⁷³ The misrepresentation and mistrust concerning Ford’s relationship to Brinsmead, and Ford’s “lack of judgment” in not being concerned about the circulation of the materials, had a hugely damaging impact on the perceptions of Ford’s attitude and thus on the outcome of Glacier View. Ford’s lack of willingness to speak against Brinsmead was taken as an indication of a lack of pastoral care and a lack of loyalty to the denomination. In the context of the emotional intensity of the Friday afternoon meeting, Ford “heard” the request concerning Brinsmead as a requirement to “damn Brinsmead.” This he could not do. The inability to meet this request was more damaging than any of the particular issues of his theological position.

Hidden Agenda V: Charisma, Australian Assertiveness, and Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding

Ford was a charismatic preacher and teacher, whose biblical knowledge and sharp intellect were widely admired. And he spoke with an Australian accent. Walter Utt, a colleague at PUC, reported that his “dazzling style” moved and inspired both students and church members. He was thus much in demand for speaking engagements off campus. But his charismatic personality, quickness of wit, and over-readiness with a confident answer to almost everything also put some people off. His Australian penchant for forthright assertiveness could be taken as dogmatic egotism.

For American church administrators, Ford the person was somewhat of an enigma. His personality and cultural background unavoidably tangled together at the center of the debate at Glacier View. Although at the outset Wilson had said Ford was not on trial as a person, in fact as things turned out, he was. And in that trial, his personality and his “Australian-ness” counted heavily against him. His personality and his temperament were a significant part of the underlying agenda at Glacier View.

Ford was highly respected by his teaching colleagues at Avondale. His nimble, rapier-sharp intellect, prodigious memory, and rapid recall were matched by a warm, charitable spirit and a deeply compassionate modeling of Christian grace and winsomeness. His faculty in the department found him easy to work with. Students loved his classes. As New Testament scholar and former student of Ford, Norman Young, notes, his style was “fast and free flowing” but he “always allowed time for questions,” and always “seemed to have a reasonable answer.” On occasion, reports Young, the registrar was obliged to go to the lecture theatre and request that “unregistered students leave so the legitimate students might find a seat.”⁷⁴ Students also loved his preaching. Chapels, vespers, and church services when Ford spoke were transformative occasions—times to be remembered. Ford’s rhetorical ability to communicate gospel principles with homely illustration and memorable aphorism drew large audiences at camp meetings around the country. His confident assertiveness of a point of view was not off-putting to South Pacific colleagues and most of those who knew and admired him. In Australia, his self-assured, assertive

style was simply part of who he was, and it drew in many conversation partners who entered with enthusiasm into good-natured, earnest debate and banter. Australian culture with its emphasis on camaraderie, “mateship,” and direct, even blunt, exchanges did not perceive him as offensive. Others, outside his own country often did.

To administrators unfamiliar with Australian conversational culture, and for those who did not share his point of view or who were not persuaded by his arguments, he came across as an over-confident crusader with a “know it all” attitude bordering on arrogance. To those who disagreed with him, particularly on points of doctrine, or on

the way he emphasized justification by faith as the basis of the Christian life, the disagreement was often passionate. For those church leaders who found his ministry a blessing—and there were many in Australia—he was a huge asset. To those who found his emphasis on the gospel overdrawn, he was an enigma and a potentially dangerous influence to be silenced, if he could not, at least, make himself sound more traditional.

On one occasion at a meeting, Ford reported Pierson saying to him that he was “too dogmatic.” Ford conceded, “he has a point. I am too dogmatic. He was right.”

To administrators unfamiliar with Australian conversational culture, and for those who did not share his point of view or who were not persuaded by his arguments, he came across as an over-confident crusader with a “know it all” attitude bordering on arrogance.

Pierson continued, “I wish, Brother Ford, that sometimes you would say, ‘It seems to me.’” Ford recalled, “my answer was typically Australian. ‘In these particular matters it doesn’t seem to me; I know it is biblical.’”⁷⁵ Ford, with a keen sense of integrity, found himself needing to be his Australian self, wherever, and with whomever, he was. He could not, not be himself. In a sense, in these matters he demonstrated a political naiveté and was somewhat idealistic. The idealism and naiveté perceived through a smoky screen of cultural differences at Glacier View led to serious misunderstanding on Ford’s part and on the

part of his interlocutors.

According to Neal Wilson, the “impression” that “most people” gained at the Glacier View meetings was a Desmond Ford who was “totally unyielding and contentious.” He and his colleagues in leadership, he told Ford directly, felt that it was “quite impossible for you to be wrong.” He appeared to be “always the teacher” and not able “to learn from anyone else.” In order to be a team, there was need for flexibility in attitudes, Wilson stressed. Members of the SRC panel were aware that he had a “charisma, a disarming way to rally people” about him, reported Wilson, but they were concerned

that he gave the impression that he was “the one person who could lead the church out of its theological morass.”⁷⁶ Years later, Wilson would still feel that Ford had been “on a mission” at Glacier View and could not understand his unwillingness to show “a more conciliatory tone.”⁷⁷

Even Dr. Fred Veltman, department of religion chair at PUC, who had been very protective of Ford and held the same view as Ford on many of the exegetical and theological issues, was unable to understand the rigidity and unwillingness of Ford to be conciliatory in tone in the Glacier View meetings. Prior to the Colorado meeting, Veltman had written to his president, Dr. Jack Cassell, offering to resign his position as chair if it would make things easier for the college. He anticipated that at Glacier View, if he was to continue to be a person of integrity, he would have to “declare myself.” He anticipated that this would also be true for “a good number of others” because the views Ford had raised were not “original with Ford and should not be associated primarily with Des.” They were taught by “teachers teaching at PUC and at other colleges.”⁷⁸ In his notes on the meeting recorded in the days immediately following and before Ford’s dismissal, Veltman recalled that he and close colleagues had talked with Ford, urging him to “present his viewpoints in a non-controversial [way] and with as much traditional language as possible.” Ford needed to be “as teachable as possible if he wanted to have the best perspective put on his work,” advised Veltman. It seemed however that Ford was unable to “make a presentation in a non-polemical, non-divisive way,” and in Veltman’s view at the time, Ford’s approach made “the case difficult for himself [Ford].” At the end of the meetings, just as Ford was preparing to leave, they discussed together Ford’s initial response to Parmenter’s letter, setting out

Ford recognized that his Forum speech had caused the church pain even as it had brought light—as had his earlier preaching. But his idealism, adamant perception of the truth, and his keen sense of integrity overrode pastoral concerns as a priority.

conditions of further employment. Veltman said to Ford that he “regretted” seeing Ford take a “rather hard line” approach and that it seemed that Ford “lacked a pastoral sensitivity to the church.” Veltman worried about this because he knew that such a stance would force his scholarly colleagues at Glacier View “to withdraw some of their support” for Ford.⁷⁹

In part, it was these dynamics that had created the problem in the first place, in Ford’s willingness to give the Forum talk. For this he was perceived as having a “lack of judgment.” His expressed lack of concern about the damage being done by unauthorized circulation of the tapes

and the document also reinforced the perception that he lacked genuine pastoral care.

Ford was aware that both Cottrell and Hammill shared many of his positions concerning the exegetical problems. But they had not gotten into trouble. And there were others of similar persuasion, such as retired and much-respected, British-born, General Conference field secretary, Harry Lowe, who had been chair of the GC Research Committee on the Book of Daniel. Lowe wrote to Hammill reporting that in his view the sanctuary doctrine could not be defended “without using Sister White.”

Over many years he had asked “scores of ministers” if they could and “have yet to find a man who can.”⁸⁰ Hammill had given Lowe’s very frank letter to Neal Wilson to read.⁸¹ In fact, Ford knew that Wilson had been to talk to Cottrell and Hammill and that they had spent several hours together on the eve of the Glacier view conference. Cottrell had reported to Wilson that “many of the scholars, if not most,” agreed with Ford on the problem. “Our men have wrestled with it for years,” Ford later recalled Cottrell telling him. His “fault” they argued was “not so much theology.” Rather, he had “done a grave pastoral disservice to the church.”⁸²

Ford recognized that his Forum speech had caused the church pain even as it had brought light—as had his earlier preaching. But his idealism, adamant perception of the truth, and his keen sense of integrity overrode pastoral concerns as a priority. Idealism and integrity were his best expressions of genuine pastoral care. In this regard many of his colleagues in the scholarly community considered him lacking.

Later, in his letters of reply to Parmenter, he attempted with integrity to nuance carefully his willingness to preach in harmony with the fundamental beliefs of the church, speak out on the need for unity, and commit himself to remaining silent in public on troubling unresolved issues of doctrine. But this nuance failed to persuade the distrustful and suspicious leaders on PREXAD. The issue of temperament and personality, exacerbated by cultural differences, was a major underlying problem at Glacier View. The issue had simmered through the week and then boiled over on Friday afternoon, where it occupied a dominant place on the agenda.

Hidden Agenda VI: Fear, Intimidation, and Scholarly Silence

In the years after Glacier View, Ford would repeatedly claim, often with rhetorical hyperbole, that “all” the scholars at Glacier View agreed with him. Correspondence with fellow teachers and conversations with them in the years leading up to Glacier View had informed Ford that many of his teaching colleagues recognized the difficulties, even if each one had to make their own adjustments in their thinking. But, at Glacier View, the scholars hunkered down largely in silence, apparently because of a subtle climate of intimidation and fear concerning their own continued employment. Fear and a sense of intimidation were important underlying concerns that complicated the outcome for Ford at Glacier View. These were complex multi-dimensional issues, not quite as clear cut and straightforward as Ford would often present them.

Many of the scholars felt intimidated and unable to speak openly and honestly about their personal views on the problems because the discussions occurred in the presence of administrators who were also employers. General Conference officers served on the boards of trustees at Loma Linda and at Andrews. Union conference presidents chaired the boards at the union colleges. All held

significant and probably controlling influence in matters of teaching employment of the scholars. Conservative and traditionally minded scholars of course had no difficulty speaking openly. But those who held viewpoints at variance with the tradition and who agreed with Ford to varying degrees felt otherwise. Some simply sat quietly and listened to the debate. Others found it easier to simply ask questions rather than offer viewpoints. Yet others very cautiously addressed alternative perspectives. This multi-faceted dynamic began to manifest itself even amongst the twelve-member advisory committee that consulted with Ford in the preparation of his manuscript. Hammill observed that some scholars became frustrated at Ford’s seeming unwillingness to adopt suggested changes. Others, known to be fully aware of the exegetical problems, did not engage with the issues in the manuscript at all after it was decided to tape the conversations for historical purposes.⁸³

Many scholars recognized the problems Ford raised in his manuscript and saw merit in the solution he proposed. Some, as the recollections of both Veltman and Review and Herald book editor, Richard Coffen, clearly indicate, were already quietly teaching some variation of the approach in their classrooms.⁸⁴ William Johnsson would inform Hammill that on the exegesis of Hebrews, for example, he agreed with Ford “on the bottom line” but not necessarily in some details. “Des has many scholars in support of his views [on Hebrews]—probably the majority in fact.”⁸⁵ Others agreed that there were serious problems with the traditional Adventist attempts to exegete the problem texts, but they may have preferred other solutions. Such scholars could and did say they “disagreed” with Ford. Yet other scholars disagreed with Ford for even raising the issue of the investigative judgment publicly, for they were convinced that the doctrine was unsustainable, and that over time it would simply wither away from neglect and would be quietly discarded.⁸⁶ While some of these scholars could say and did that they disagreed with Ford, they were in fact in agreement that the doctrine was fatally flawed and ill-fated. These scholars were already in a sense on a different hermeneutical planet.

The sense of intimidation and apprehension about being exposed in a way that would risk one’s future employment could be dealt with in an upfront way by Fred

Veltman, for his relationship with his administration was healthy and trusting. Veltman felt comfortable, reportedly, even telling Neal Wilson that he had a problem accepting the investigative judgement doctrine as traditionally taught, and that Wilson replied that that was not a problem as long as he did not “go public” on the matter.⁸⁷ Veltman had worked earlier with Wilson in the Middle East field and there was understanding between the two.

The extent of scholarly support and the willingness of those who agreed with Ford to speak out in open support was complicated by the perception of many that Ford was not a team player. Veltman noted after one conversation with Ford over strategy that Ford advised him not to get involved “in coming to his defense.” This caused Veltman to wonder if Ford saw himself in the mode of Luther before the Diet of Worms and that he needed to “stand apart and independent.” Clearly, the pressures on all were intense, complex and uncomfortable, but it seemed to Veltman that Ford’s inability to accommodate his language and his position to embrace a more “conciliatory” stance “was disappointing to the scholars who were trying to

work out a compromise.”⁸⁸ Thus it was true that many, if not most, scholars at Glacier View agreed with Ford at some level but were self-protectively guarded about their agreement, nuancing it carefully. Veltman understood Ford correctly. Ford would observe to his friend and colleague, Arthur Patrick, two decades later in 2001, when Patrick was trying to effect a reconciliation between Ford and the church, “I know that no teacher of conflict resolution would follow the path I have chosen . . . But it seems to me [that] the way of the Old Testament prophets has the edge on modern tacticians.”⁸⁹

As Veltman pointed out to Neal Wilson during the process of Ford’s dismissal, to cite theological reasons for

his termination was in fact a serious misreading of the scholarly consensus at Glacier View. The conclusion being drawn by General Conference administration and the Australians, that Ford’s views had been rejected, was “quite different from the actual facts of the case.” The consensus had clearly indicated that “many were in substantial agreement” with Ford and, though parsing matters differently, “many of us hold similar positions.” To read the consensus as had been done by the *Review* and *Ministry*, gave Veltman the feeling of having been “duped.” The theological outcomes at Glacier View were not a sound basis for disciplining Ford, argued Veltman, even as he acknowledged the seriousness of

the conflict situation in Australia. But as he saw it, the initial “hardline” taken by Ford towards Parmenter’s ultimatums had softened and his reply now seemed “quite positive.” Clearly, he observed, Parmenter did not view the Consensus Document or the ten-point statement noting interpretive differences “in the same way as did many of the scholars.” If Ford needed discipline, let it be on the basis of pastoral responsibility or perceived lack thereof but do not base it on theological “orthodoxy or non-orthodoxy,” he wrote

in clear distress. There was a scholarly consensus that had moved in the direction of Ford. “Let us not implicate SDA theology and its biblical scholars to get at a pastoral problem.”⁹⁰

Conclusion

Glacier View was a milestone in the theological development of Adventism. It was a complex series of events and it will take several more decades before a complete history and analysis of it can be adequately undertaken, and for it to be fully appreciated in the flow of Adventist history. When such an undertaking is attempted, hidden agendas, undercurrents of fear and

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wider social and historical contexts will need to be considered. Problems apart from the exegesis of Daniel, Hebrews, and Leviticus will be seen as figuring more largely in the outcomes of Glacier View. Administrators needed a practical management solution to a highly polarized church conflict generated by the responses to Ford's Forum presentation and colored by a history of troubles over righteousness by faith, reactions to his charisma, distinctive temperament, cultural manners, and values. The cultural context and the skills of administration in managing church conflict also factored strongly in the background. These together created misunderstanding and had more influence on the negative outcome than the discussion about the specific topic: the investigative judgment.

Endnotes

1. Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Sanctuary Review Committee and Its New Consensus," *Spectrum*, 11:2 (November 1980): 2.
2. Richard Hammill, *Pilgrimage: Memoirs of an Adventist Administrator* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1992), 197.
3. *Ibid.*, 196.
4. Kenneth H. Wood, "How We Got Where We Are," unpublished paper presented at Nosoca Pines Retreat, February 10–20, 1978. GC Archives.
5. *Ibid.*, 43.
6. Cited in Wood, "How We Got Where We Are," 86. In his "Review and A Protest" issued on October 15, 1957, Andreasen warned that "our doctrine of the sanctuary, of the investigative judgment, of the 2300 days, all will fall to the ground." Andreasen's letters had been published and widely circulated by A. L. Hudson of Baker, Oregon. *Ibid.*, 79, 86. See also, Julius Nam "Questions on Doctrine and M. L. Andreasen: The Behind-the-Scenes Interactions," *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 46: 2 (2018): 229–244.
7. Wood, "How We Got Where We Are," 86. Andreasen's credentials were restored posthumously after a deathbed reconciliation with church leaders. Nam, "Questions on Doctrine," 241, 242.
8. See M. L. Andreasen, *The Book of Hebrews* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1948), 59; and *The Sanctuary Service* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1947), 299–304, 310–321, for his arguments for last-generation perfectionism.
9. E. G. White, *Great Controversy*, 625.
10. In 1971, the movement counted 225 fellowship groups, a donor list of 10,000 and a mailing list of 20,000. See Robert Gardner, "The Awakening: A Religious Movement in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (MA Thesis, Loma Linda University, 1971), 84, 92, 102.
11. H. E. Douglass to C. L. Conley, January 19, 1963 cited in Lowell Tarling, *The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism* (Barragga, NSW: Galilee Publications, 1981), 200; Peter Jarnes, *The Sanctuary Restored* (Lincoln, NE: Peter C. Jarnes, 1968), <http://awakeandsing.com/Sanctuary%20Restored/sres.pdf>. Accessed November 29, 2018.
12. Edward Heppenstall, "Is Perfection Possible?" *Signs of the Times*, December 1963: 10–11, 30.
13. Norval F. Pease, *By Faith Alone* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1962).
14. A detailed analysis of these events is given in Gilbert M. Valentine, "The Reformation and the Shaping of Conflict over the Meaning of 'Righteousness by Faith' in Seventh-day Adventism. 1960–1978" in *Perceptions of the Protestant Reformation in Seventh-day Adventism*, ed. Rolf J. Pöhler (Möckern-Friedensau, Germany: Institute of Adventist Studies, 2018), 287–310.
15. Gerhard Pfandl, "Desmond Ford and the Righteousness by Faith Controversy," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 27:1–2 (2016): 345; Valentine, "The Reformation," 294.
16. Pfandl, "Desmond Ford," 350.
17. "Righteousness by Faith: Special Issue," *Adventist Review*, May 16, 1974.
18. H. E. Douglass to Paul von Wielt, March 11, 1975 cited in Milton Hook, *Desmond Ford: Reformist Theologian, Gospel Revivalist* (Riverside, CA: Adventist Today, 2008), 140.
19. L. C. Naden to R. R. Frame, November 13, 1975, cited in Hook, *Desmond Ford*, 158, 159.
20. "Christ our Righteousness," *Adventist Review*, May 27, 1976: 4–7.
21. Pfandl, "Desmond Ford," 349.
22. The confidential papers for this conference, held February 10–20, 1978, were presented by Kenneth Wood, G. R. Thompson, Donald Neufeld, Richard Hammill, Robert W. Olson, C. E. Bradford, W. Richard Leshner, N. R. Dower, Gordon M. Hyde, W. Duncan Eva, W. J. Hackett, C. D. Henri, Alf Lohne, and R. H. Brown. See C. O. Franz to "Dear Friends," August 17, 1978, Nosoca Pines Retreat Papers (1978), GC Archives.
23. Anglican clergyman Geoffrey Paxton became acquainted with Adventism through a friendship with Brinsmead. His book irritated church leadership when it argued that the Adventist understanding of righteousness by faith was more in keeping with Roman Catholic theology than Protestant. Geoffrey J. Paxton, *The Shaking of Adventism* (Wilmington, DE: Zenith Publications, 1977), 99, 100.
24. Gordon M. Hyde, "Righteousness by Faith Consultation in Washington," *Adventist Review*, September 7, 1978: 944.
25. Gillian Ford to Neal C. Wilson, November 6, 1978. It is not clear that this letter was actually mailed to Wilson. Copy in author's possession.
26. Morris Venden, *Our Times as I See Them* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing, 1980), 64–74. The 92-page volume gave an opportunity for Ford to express his viewpoint and others who also warned of antinomianism such as Kenneth Wood and Ferdinand Chajj.
27. Kenneth H. Wood, "Satan versus the Church," *Adventist Review*, January 24, 1980: 13; Kenneth H. Wood, "Church of

Destiny: A People Who Will Triumph,” *Adventist Review*, August 21, 1980: 11.

28. Russell R. Standish and A. John Clifford, *Conflicting Concepts of Righteousness by Faith in the Seventh-day Adventist Church-Australasian Division* (Wahroonga, NSW: George Burnside Press, 1978), 1. The book had been widely circulated in an earlier form in 1974.

29. Robert H. Pierson, “An Appeal to the Sanctuary Review Committee,” 6. RG 17: R. Leshner GV Files, GC Archives. The letter was read by Clyde Franz. W. D. Eva indicates that the Pierson manuscript distressed Ford. “Notes on Meeting with Dr. Desmond Ford, [August 15, 1980],” RG 11: NCW, GV Files (1980), GC Archives..

30. “Notes on Meeting with Dr. Desmond Ford,” 3. This document is a “reconstruction of what took place” at the meeting “based on notes taken by J. R. Spangler and Charles Hirsch.” The contents correlate closely with the personal manuscript Wilson used to report to members of the Theological Consultation that met at Glacier View commencing Sunday, August 17. RG 11. Neal C Wilson GV Files (1980), GC Archives.

31. Michael Chamberlain provides a broad overview of the social and cultural changes at Avondale in *Beyond Ellen White: Seventh-Day Adventism in Transition: A Sociocultural History and Analysis of the Australian Church and Its Higher Education System* (Tenneriffe, Qld: Post Pressed, 2008).

32. In his history of the college, Milton Hook cites the Australian Government’s 1964 “Martin Report” as being a “watershed” in Australian higher education and for the college. *Avondale: Experiment on the Dora* (Cooranbong, NSW: Avondale Academic Press, 1998), 257.

33. Joseph Fletcher, *Situation Ethics: The New Morality* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1966).

34. Hook, *Experiment on the Dora*, 281.

35. Milton Hook has an extensive discussion of these issues. Hook, *Experiment on the Dora*, 256-96.

36. Standish and Clifford, *Conflicting Concepts*, 1.

37. Walter Utt, “Desmond Ford Raises the Sanctuary Question,” *Spectrum* 10.4 (Winter 1980): 3.

38. Hook, *Experiment on the Dora*, 293; Trevor Lloyd, email to author, April 7, 2019; Roger Magnusson, email to author, March 22, 2109; G. A. Madigan, email to author, March 18, 2019.

39. Trevor Lloyd, “Interview with Desmond Ford,” Sydney, March 12, 1995. Adventist Heritage Center, Avondale College, Cooranbong, NSW, Australia..

40. Frame undertook the business course at Avondale but failed one subject in his last year and did not graduate. “R. R. Frame: Biographical Information Blank,” (1941), South Pacific Division Archives.

41. *Ibid.*, 23; Desmond Ford, *Discovering God’s Treasures* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1972); Desmond Ford, *Answers on the Way* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1977).

42. R. R. Frame to R. H. Pierson, July 12, 1976. Copy in author’s possession.

43. Australasian Missionary College Faculty Minutes, November 30, 1943, Adventist Heritage Center, Avondale College,

Cooranbong, NSW, Australia.. Hook, *Avondale*, 290. Although his photograph appears in the yearbook among the graduates, academic records indicate he did not complete the course.

44. K. S. Parmenter to W. Duncan Eva, June 1, 1978. Copy in author’s possession. Parmenter objected to a respected local conference president, Clem Christian, who reported to one of his church members that when the Australian Division BRI condemned the Standish-Clifford publication and exonerated Ford and his colleagues from any charge of heresy, it “threw its weight behind the teachings of righteousness by faith as taught at Avondale.”

45. Hook, *Desmond Ford*, 187.

46. “Before that, Robert Frame and L. C. Naden were my very good friends. Frame said to me, ‘I get many complaints about you, but when I see the boys you trained who are now in the mission field and elsewhere, I have the utmost confidence in what you are doing’. And he resisted all the retired ministers who opposed me. But Parmenter was a man of a different calibre, no doubt wanting the best for the church, but he found it hard to withstand his attackers who threatened that his life would be intolerable unless he got rid of me.” Gillian Ford Interview with Desmond Ford, Shelley Beach, Qld. Australia, (28 August 2007), 6. Copy in author’s possession. Geoff Bull in a comment on William Johnsson’s article “The Peril of Being Right,” notes that Ford was “too much of a gentleman” to ever expose whatever the issues were that he had in mind: <https://conversation.spectrummagazine.org/t/des-ford-the-perils-of-being-right/18026/39>, (comment #36). Accessed September 14, 2019.

47. Lloyd, “Interview,” 10.

48. Desmond Ford to K. S. Parmenter, November 3, 1978. Copy in author’s possession.

49. L. C. Naden to Gill and Des Ford, March 7, 1978. Copy in author’s possession.

50. Desmond Ford to K. S. Parmenter, November 3, 1978. Copy in author’s possession.

51. Lloyd, “Interview,” 10. Cassell reports that there had been “minimal” controversy on the PUC campus and some murmuring off campus but he and Gordon Madgwick, the academic dean, had counselled with Ford in September 1979 about being “sensitive” to this. J. W. Cassell, “Notes for Meeting with PREXAD,” [1979] “DF” Folder, J. W. Cassell Collection, Walter Utt Center for Adventist History, Pacific Union College, Angwin, CA. Thirty years later, when donating his papers to PUC, Cassell added the following note to this document: “As I reflect after 30 years, I can only come to the conclusion that the decision to refer the Ford issue to Glacier View was both tragic and counterproductive. Had it been handled utilizing the well-defined academic procedure as recommended initially, the result would have been much better accepted by the academic community of which Ford was a member.”

52. Desmond Ford to K. S. Parmenter, November 3, 1978. Copy in author’s possession.

53. *Ibid.*, 9. The sense of betrayal is clear in Ford’s letter to Parmenter.

54. *Ibid.*, 13.

55. Lynn Bartlett, “Recollections on Glacier View

as Gathered from Association with Neal Wilson,” March 26, 2019. Bartlett, who served as the provost at Columbia Union College, was a next-door neighbor to Neal Wilson from 1994 to 1998. Copy in author’s possession.

56. Richard Hammill, *Pilgrimage: Memoirs of an Adventist Administrator* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1992), 197.

57. Bartlett, “Recollections on Glacier View.”

58. J. R. Spangler was to model the outreach of *Ministry* magazine to non-Adventist clergy through the “Preach” program on the outreach program of Brinsmead.

59. L. C. Naden, to Gill and Des Ford, March 7, 1978. Copy in author’s possession.

60. R. D. Brinsmead email to Gillian Ford, October 18, 2007. Copy in author’s possession.

61. PREXAD Minutes August 14, September 2, 1980, DF PREXAD (1980), GC Archives.

62. Notes on Meeting with Desmond Ford,” 6, 7, 9.

63. Lloyd, “Interview,” 25; Valentine, “The Reformation,” 299, 300.

64. Years later Ford would say, “‘Bob, the Day of Atonement was fulfilled at the cross. It has nothing to do with 1844.’ At that time [the 1950s], he rejected it, but he came to see it was true, and he expanded on that in *1844 Re-examined*. Both books are excellent.” Lloyd, “Interview,” 37.

65. Neal C Wilson, “Report to Theological Consultation,” August 18, 17, 1980, 6–8, RG11: NCW, GV Files (1980), GC Archives.

66. Lloyd, “Interview,” 19. Ford would say of Brinsmead, “He is a good man to disagree with.”

67. *Ibid.*, 47.

68. “Mateship” is an Australian cultural idiom that embodies equality, loyalty and friendship, usually among men. Herbert Douglass used the term derisively to speak of the relationship between Ford and Brinsmead when they were in agreement on the meaning of the gospel, which Douglass regarded as heresy.

69. Lloyd, “Interview,” 18.

70. Gillian Ford, “The Distribution of the October 27, 1980 Forum Cassette,” (2007).

71. Lloyd, “Interview,” 47.

72. Gillian Ford to Ted N. C. Wilson, October 22, 2017. Copy in Author’s possession. Robert Brinsmead was not responsible, nor did Ford have a part in it. Jennings was a physician who worked at St. Helena Sanitarium and Elder R. R. Figuhr was his patient.

73. Gillian Ford, “Glacier View Reflections,” (2017) Copy in author’s possession.

74. Norman J. Young, “Desmond Ford: Preacher, Teacher, Writer and Scholar,” (2019). Copy in author’s possession. This moving tribute to Ford at the time of his death in March 2019 was published for a week on the Avondale College blog before instructions were received for the item to be taken down.

75. Lloyd, “Interview,” 33.

76. “Notes on Meeting with Dr. Desmond Ford,” 3. See footnote 30.

77. Bartlett, “Recollections on Glacier View.”

78. Fred Veltman to J. W. Cassell and Gordon Madgwick, July 12, 1980, Fred Veltman Papers, Walter Utt Center for Adventist History, Pacific Union College, Angwin, CA.

79. Fred Veltman, “Sanctuary Review Committee,” [August 1980], Fred Veltman Papers, Walter Utt Center for Adventist History, Pacific Union College, Angwin, CA.

80. H. W. Lowe to Richard Hammill, July 28, 1980. Copy in author’s possession.

81. Richard Hammill to H. W. Lowe, September 18, 1980. Copy in author’s possession.

82. Lloyd, “Interview,” 47.

83. Hammill, *Pilgrimage*, 189.

84. Fred Veltman to J. W. Cassell and Gordon Madgwick, July 12, (1980), Fred Veltman Papers, Walter Utt Center for Adventist History, Pacific Union College, Angwin, CA; Veltman, “The Sanctuary Review Committee.” See Richard Coffen, “Richard Coffen Remembers the most important event in Adventist history since the 1888 General Conference,” (August 10, 2016), <https://atoday.org/glacier-view-a-retrospective/>. Accessed April 9, 2019.

85. W. G. Johnsson to Richard Hammill, March 19, 1980. Cited in Hook, *Desmond Ford*, 240.

86. Jon Paulien recalls Raoul Dederen sharing this perspective with him at Andrews in the days after the 1979 Forum talk. New Testament scholars at the Seminary, Walla Walla, and at Loma Linda shared this perspective. The viewpoint has been recently expressed by Herrold Weiss and David Larsen. See comments on William Johnsson’s article “The Peril of Being Right,” <https://conversation.spectrummagazine.org/t/desford-the-perils-of-being-right/18026/17>. Accessed September 14, 2019.

87. Lloyd, “Interview,” 41.

88. Veltman, “Sanctuary Review Committee.”

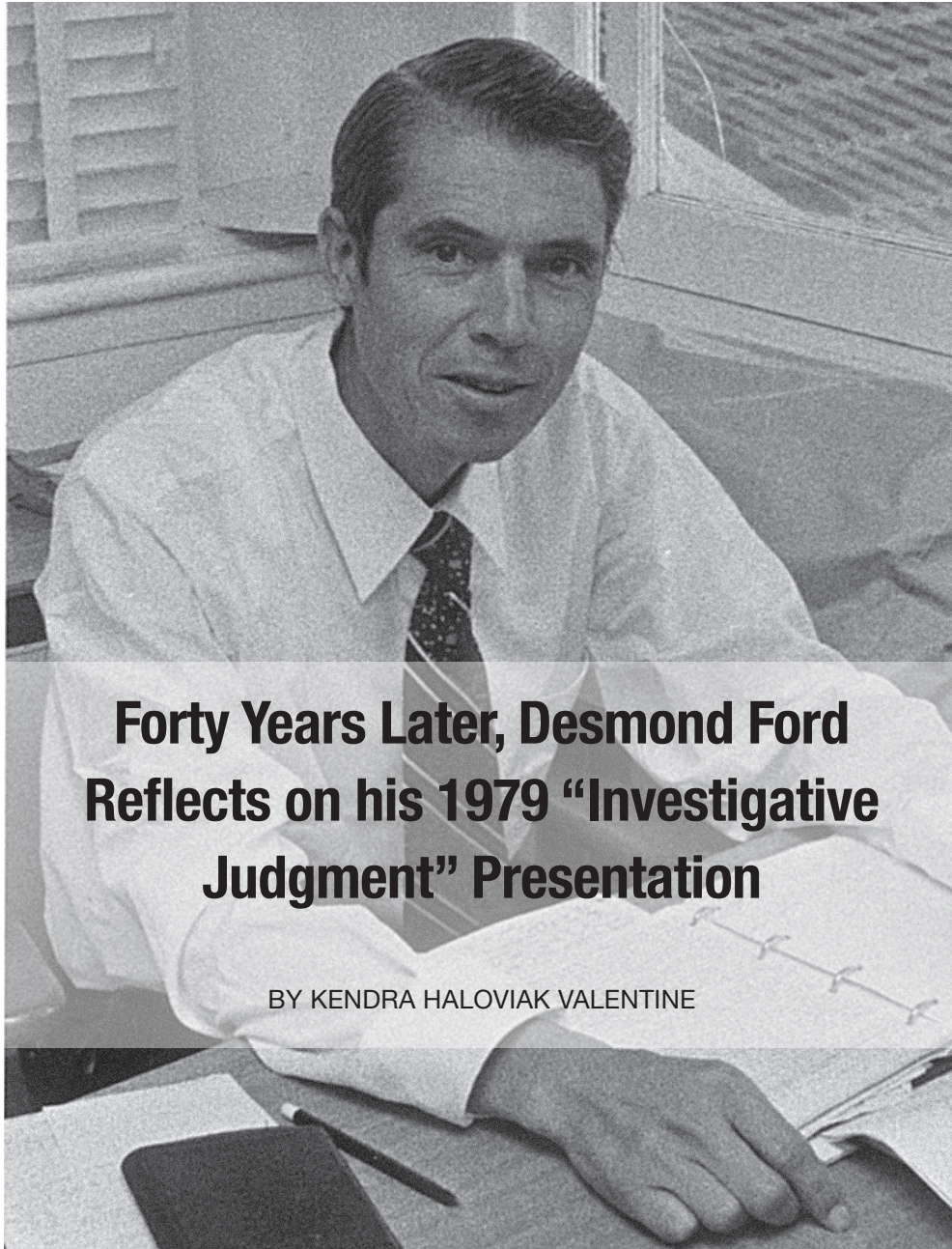
89. Desmond Ford to Arthur Patrick, October 6, 2001. Copy in author’s possession.

90. Fred Veltman to Neal C. Wilson, C. E. Bradford, F. W. Wernick and W. Duncan Eva, September 15, 1980, Fred Veltman Papers, Walter Utt Center for Adventist History, Pacific Union College, Angwin, CA.



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KEYWORDS: Desmond Ford, Glacier View, sanctuary doctrine, “restored” rather than “cleansed”



Forty Years Later, Desmond Ford Reflects on his 1979 “Investigative Judgment” Presentation

BY KENDRA HALOVIK VALENTINE

Desmond Ford, photo courtesy of Adventist Heritage Centre, Cooranbong, NSW, Australia

Introduction: 1979 in the Light of 2019

In between his responses to some interview questions earlier this year, and my later reporting on them to a group of religion-teacher colleagues, Dr. Desmond Ford died. He died on March 11, 2019, thirty-seven days after turning ninety, and was buried in a private ceremony in a cemetery near his home in Caloundra, Queensland, Australia. Approximately three weeks later, on March 30, the Avondale College community, where he taught from 1961–1977, celebrated his life in a memorial service.

Initially, the memorial service was planned for the Avondale College campus church, a plan approved by a very strong majority vote of the college's governing council members. In a subsequent action after the college council meeting, however, and just two days prior to the memorial service, the use of the church for the occasion was revoked by division officers, apparently in response to strong conservative agitation. Denial of church access was apparently processed through a committee holding legal ownership of the building. This forced those planning the event to relocate it to a lecture hall at the nearby University of Newcastle. One of Dr. Ford's former students said about the forced change in venue: "It is an act which is both appalling and self-defeating. There are a number of ex-Adventists and ex-ministers who are planning to attend . . . [some of whom] for many years have not darkened an SDA church door. They won't be given the opportunity now!" Even after the change of venue, church authorities attempted to prevent the live streaming of the service because it had been advertised as connected with the name of the college. Even non-controversial articles, reflecting on Ford as a teacher, disappeared from the college webpage.

The Griffith Duncan lecture hall at the University of Newcastle had no organ or grand piano like the Avondale church to provide appropriate music for the occasion. But worship host Lyell Heise, accompanied by Gabriel Ontanu (viola), did a masterful job on the portable keyboard, and the voices of the nearly 800-present, filled the lecture hall, singing "Amazing Grace" and "It Is Well with my Soul."

Once again, and without even being present, Desmond Ford caused extremely divergent reactions: on the part of some, animosity and political maneuvering to minimize a feared posthumous influence; on the part of others, a call to worship and a celebration of the God of grace.

This paper explores Ford's recent reflections concerning the 1979 Forum presentation that so publicly

precipitated the extreme reactions to his ministry. It begins with a brief summary of the presentation and then seeks to assess Ford's reflections on it and its consequences—reflections he shared in what turned out to be the last few days of his life. The paper will conclude with some suggestions on whether, and if so, how, the Seventh-day Adventist church or Dr. Ford might have changed during the four decades since 1979.

The presentation on October 27, 1979, on the Pacific Union College campus was entitled, "The Investigative Judgment: Theological Milestone or Historical Necessity?" and it turned out to be a milestone in its own right. Scheduled initially to take place in the music building's

Paulin Hall, it quickly became clear that a larger venue was required as more and more people filled the space. After a larger interim location, the almost 1,000 attendees would eventually make their way up the hill to a third location, the much larger Irwin Hall auditorium. Wayne Judd, one of the organizers of the event, remembers walking onto the platform with Ford and hearing him repeat under his breath: "it's time . . . it's time." As Ford spoke that Sabbath afternoon, Judd remembers an energy and excitement like he imagined took place in early

Adventism—frank, honest, public wrestling with theological ideas and biblical passages. Ford's presentation was followed by a response from PUC religion and history professor, Eric Syme, and then there was a question-and-answer time that involved the gathered audience.

The Presentation: "The Investigative Judgment: Theological Milestone or Historical Necessity?"

Ford's presentation started biographically as he told of studying Scripture as a teenager and one day, at about the age of fifteen, wondering about Hebrews 9 and some of the claims of Adventists. He told his audience that the questions he was raising that autumn day in 1979 were questions he

Understanding inspiration as "mystery" but not "inerrant" was, he suggested, the way forward in understanding Ellen White because she never claimed to be "the inspired commentary on Scripture."

had wrestled with for thirty-five years. He also expressed his gratitude to be part of a church that encouraged research and Bible study.

Ford then began to allude to earlier Adventists like A. F. Ballenger, as well as contemporary Adventists—even key church leaders—who had expressed concerns about the correctness of the biblical exegesis that undergirded the traditional understanding of the sanctuary message in general, and the investigative judgment in particular. He read a sampling of letters from Adventist members and clergy pleading for guidance and adequate biblical support for these Adventist beliefs. He then summarized some of the most challenging questions from the letters: What do we do with passages in Hebrews that have Jesus returning to God immediately after his ascension? What do we mean when we say a “heavenly sanctuary”? How do we get the idea of a year-day principle? Where do we find in Scripture a “cleansing of the sanctuary” beyond Christ’s ministry on earth? How can Jesus say to the dying thief that he has eternal life, if the investigative judgment has not yet occurred?

At this point in his presentation, Ford seemed to realize the political danger of the questions he was raising and remarked: “Now because this tape will be used in some rather nefarious ways, because it will be strained and every syllable will be weighed and measured, added thereto or truncated, let me state my convictions, my personal convictions, before I go any further.” Ford then made it clear that he believed in a pre-Advent Judgment; that the Day of Atonement applies to Christ’s last work; that the Seventh-day Adventist movement was raised up in 1844 by God to do a special work; that the gift of prophecy was a genuine gift given to this church in the person of Ellen White; and, that Daniel 8 was not completely fulfilled through Antiochus Epiphanes.

But he also wanted the church to look honestly at some serious inadequacies in its exegesis of key passages. He then clarified the key issues, while also suggesting possibilities for recasting Adventist theology. Ford believed he was actually defending the church by considering the sanctuary message in terms that could be supported by Scripture. He outlined his positive suggestions as follows:

- The “apotelesmatic principle” (which, elsewhere, he cited as coming from George McCready Price) was a way forward beyond a fixed, one-time-only application of the year-day principle.
- Considering anew the context of Daniel 8 and that it was the little horn defiling the temple, pointed the way forward beyond the problematic Adventist interpretation that it was the saints doing the polluting.
- Adopting a more accurate translation of Daniel 8:14 as “restored” rather than “cleansed” suggested a way forward given the linguistic challenges and problematic links to Leviticus 16.
- Understanding Jesus’ work in Hebrews 9 as entering the most holy place (“within the veil”) once at his ascension was a way forward

It is the attitude we take to the blood of Christ shed on the cross to substantiate the law. It’s the attitude we take to that, that seals every man’s destiny in the Judgment. And that, my friends, is our message to the world.

- Desmond Ford

in understanding Jesus’ ministry. (He quoted Ellen White in support of this understanding.)

- Considering the Day of Atonement within the framework of an “inaugurated eschatology and consummated eschatology,” was a way forward to being able to embrace both Calvary and the “end” of time application. Ford stated: “Adventists have seen the second and denied the first. The worldly churches saw the first and denied the second. Ellen White has both.”
- Imagining a question that the audience might have in the light of all this he asked: “So, what

happened in 1844?” Ford’s answer to the question, he suggested, was a way forward: “God brought this church back to apostolic privilege, brought it back to the place where it could see the significance of the cross, brought it back to that place where if it would lay hold of the gospel, symbolized by the sanctuary . . . it would spread to the world and Jesus would come.”

- Shifting to the ministry of the Spirit of Prophecy, Ford argued that seeing Ellen White’s ministry as leading the reader to Christ was the way forward rather than seeing her writings as taking the place of Scripture or ruling over how Scripture should be interpreted. Ellen White actually guides us to a more careful reading and study of Scripture.
- Understanding inspiration as “mystery” but not “inerrant” was, he suggested, the way forward in understanding Ellen White because she never claimed to be “the inspired commentary on Scripture.”

Nearing the end of his presentation, Ford returned to Daniel 8:14 and 1844, explaining that to apply Daniel 8:14 only to 1844 “is to misunderstand it entirely.” Even Ellen White, in *Patriarchs and Prophets*, he pointed out, “explains the cleansing of the sanctuary” as “the cleansing of the earth and the whole universe from sin at the very end of time.”

Ford concluded his presentation with a pastoral appeal typical of his revivalist preaching.

Here’s the most important thing this afternoon: What is the meaning of the Adventists’ stress on the most holy place? It is this, my friends. God wants us to look at what’s there. That holy law, which must be sustained and was sustained by the cross. . . . But above it is a mercy seat. . . . So look at the mercy seat. Better still, look at the blood drops there. [God] means us to see Calvary, my friends. We are meant to see the law, the mercy seat, the blood, the cross, and then see that every man’s destiny is sealed by his attitude to those things. It is the attitude we take to the blood of Christ shed on the cross to substantiate the law. It’s the attitude we take to that, that seals every man’s destiny in the Judgment. And that, my

friends, is our message to the world. And when we preach it, instead of preaching celestial geography, Jesus will come.

The Response: Tapes and Tensions

Although the Fords would be accused of circulating the audiotape made that Sabbath, they did not. Gillian Ford would eventually discover (twenty-eight years later, in 2007) that St. Helena Hospital physician, Dr. Dean Jennings, made eight copies and distributed them to friends. And Don Croxton probably sent out hundreds of tapes, nationally and even internationally. Other people copied and sent a tape here and there. The latest audio-copying technology was utilized to duplicate and distribute the tapes quickly, but typically not with malicious intent. Within days, controversy erupted.

Lawrence Geraty, then a teacher at Andrews University, remembers a conversation with his parents, Tom and Hazel Geraty, who had attended the Forum meeting. His parents were surprised by what they had heard. They had been attending Ford’s Sabbath School class on the PUC campus and Hazel had experienced an assurance of salvation for the first time in her life. They deeply appreciated Ford’s Christ-centered preaching and teaching, but the Forum meeting took them by surprise. When their son heard the tape, he recognized immediately that its contents would bring on “an earth-shaking time.” Larry Geraty remembers thinking that Ford’s insights, “while helpful in the long term, would be difficult in the short term.”

John Brunt heard the tape with members of the Walla Walla College community. He remembers one colleague, Gerald Winslow, immediately responding, “this is going to cause big problems.” And then elaborating his instantaneous reaction by sharing, “every community has its story of origin, a story that establishes the community’s identity. This is Adventism’s story of origin.” The discussion among gathered friends noted that while some had not heard sermons about 1844 in a while, and that it might even be on its deathbed, since Ford tried to euthanize it, people would come forward and say “no you won’t!” Gil Valentine recalls a similar reaction while listening to a tape of the Forum presentation with friends at Andrews University. This is “Adventism’s foundational story,” he recalls thinking. What will happen when the foundational story is threatened?

It wasn't long before the Fords found out. Ford was given a six-month leave of absence from PUC in order to relocate to Takoma Park, Maryland, where he could use the resources of the General Conference headquarters, especially the Archives and White Estate, to address the questions he had raised and to find ways to harmonize his understandings with church doctrines. During the next few months, Ford would write a 991-page document, entitled "Daniel 8:14, the Day of Atonement, and the Investigative Judgment."

Recently retired vice president of the General Conference, Richard Hammill, was asked by General Conference president, Neal Wilson, to oversee Ford's stay in Maryland, to chair what would become known as "The Ford Guidance Committee," giving feedback on each chapter of the manuscript as Ford developed it, and to organize what became known as "The Sanctuary Review Committee," to assess the issues laid out in the document. The committee would convene at the Glacier View Ranch in Colorado in August 1980. As Ford was in the process of writing his document, from December 1979 until August 1980, the *Adventist Review* published twenty editorials and articles defending the church's traditional sanctuary doctrine. While some scholars protested what they saw as the *Review's* campaign against Ford, Wilson defended their decisions to write articles on fundamental Adventist doctrines.

In a letter to Robert Pierson on February 4, 1980, Wilson gave away his own understanding of Ford's task and what he saw as the core issue:

Des Ford is working hard on the assignment we have given him, but basically the whole matter revolves around his understanding of the role and work of Ellen White. He unfortunately does not consider Ellen White to be authoritative in the areas of doctrinal theology, and does not consider that she has teaching authority comparable to prophets that are in the Scripture. We hope that he will be able to adjust his thinking and to see that it is impossible to limit Ellen White's inspiration and accord her something less than that which is intended when the Lord chooses a human vessel to be an extension of his self-revelation. He needs our prayers.

The Sanctuary Review Committee: Glacier View

Out of the 125 members appointed to comprise the Sanctuary Review Committee (SRC), 114 attended the meetings at Glacier View the week of August 10–15, 1980. In a recent conversation, one of the members of the committee and then-seminary-professor, Fritz Guy, observed that occasionally places become better known as events. He cited Pearl Harbor as an example, and then mentioned Glacier View. Over the years, others who were there expressed similar sentiments. Guy recalls that,

after seeing the "charade" that took place there, that it really was a political event and not an attempt to discover new truth, I had to decide if I could keep working within the Adventist context. I decided that I could be more useful inside the church than outside it. And I have no regrets.

In the opening meeting at Glacier View on Sunday evening, Neal Wilson explained: "Dr. Ford was not on trial but that his ideas were." Wilson also admitted publicly that the "bottom line, of course, is the role of Ellen White in doctrinal matters." Each day, morning sessions were given to working groups of sixteen to eighteen, each tasked with studying set questions and to work toward a small-group consensus statement. In the afternoon sessions, the various consensus statements were shared with the entire larger group. In the evening sessions, selected papers were summarized and discussed. (In addition to Ford's manuscript, fifteen papers had been prepared for Glacier View). While at first it was intended that Ford would not address the group publicly, only be present in order to listen to the discussion, by Tuesday evening, in response to numerous appeals to the chair, Ford was permitted to reply to questions.

In preparation for the final meeting on Friday morning, a group of three participants—Gerhard Hasel, Fritz Guy, and William Johnsson—had prepared a fifteen-page, overarching consensus statement integrating the reports of the small groups. This consensus statement had two parts: "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," and "The Role of Ellen G. White's Writings in Doctrinal Matters." The two-part document was presented to the entire SRC and the group studied it and endorsed it, line by line, as accurately reflecting the agreement of the committee. The consensus statement affirmed the sanctuary and the role of Ellen

White, while also expressing an openness to study and to learn. Committee member John Brunt, considering the important work that was reflected in the consensus statement they had voted on noted, “this could have been a theological milestone in the church.”

However, after approving the consensus statement, committee members were then read a further document. (Hard copies were not distributed since Wilson considered this additional document to be only “preliminary.”) This further document, produced hurriedly overnight by a small group of six, was a ten-point critique of Ford’s position as understood from his 991-page paper. It was publicly stated that this was not the view of the Sanctuary Review Committee, but was a “working document.” When Brunt spoke from the floor against the publishing of such a statement, since it had not been seen by the whole SRC nor ever discussed in the small groups, Wilson ignored the concern about publication and challenged Brunt directly for raising the concern. Guy asked if “orthodoxy would be determined by the 10-point critique.” Wilson responded, “no, the document would not be used in that way.” As Brunt feared, the ten-point critique was indeed published in church papers as a summary of the Glacier View meetings and in fact placed in prior position to the agreed-upon consensus statement. And, as Guy feared, the document was used to determine orthodoxy for Ford and other Seventh-day Adventist ministers.

My own recollections of Glacier View are those of a thirteen-year old. My mother, Mary Haloviak, was the administrative assistant to Vice President Richard Hammill at the time. Her office made arrangements for using Glacier View Ranch and the many other details involved in such a set of meetings, including duplicating and mailing the prepared papers in advance of the meetings. Since some authors did not meet their deadlines in a prompt manner, the

turn-around was tight, and several times after school, my brother, Brent, and I helped Mom by collating the papers and putting them into individual stacks for each delegate. I remember my ten-year-old brother looking at one paper and asking, “what does ‘blood and ought sacrifice’ mean?” Of course, he was referring to Dr. Gerhard Hasel’s paper, “Blood and OT Sacrifice.”

Since our dad, Bert Haloviak, would be presenting one of the papers and our mom also had to be there, Glacier View became a family vacation for us. Brent and I, along with Ford’s youngest son, Luke (age 14) were the only young people at the camp during that week. This meant that the entire Glacier View Ranch—with its horses and swimming

pool, trails and lake—was ours to enjoy and explore. I remember one day as we were playing around in the pool, Dr. Bill Shea began sunbathing nearby. He must have been skipping one of the meetings because everyone else was in the lodge. Dr. Shea looked over at us and said, pointing to Brent and me, “you’re the Haloviak kids, I recognize you two, but,” and then he looked at Luke Ford, “who are you?” Without a second’s hesitation, Luke responded: “I’m the son of the man you’re going to burn at the stake.” The conversation went quiet.

Recently, I shared some reflections in a presentation during our campus week of prayer (January 2019) of how at Glacier View my own journey took a particular turn. I explained that there was a line—with twists and turns, of course, but a direct line nevertheless—from that week at Glacier View to my being, today, a New Testament professor in an Adventist university. Seeing grown men weep as they walked and anguished their way around the lake at Glacier View between meetings and during lunch breaks impressed upon me that there was something deeply important about “sanctuary” that I needed to understand. Somehow that week I began to sense a call to ministry. After our January week of prayer

“You’re the Haloviak kids, I recognize you two, but,” and then he looked at Luke Ford, “who are you?” Without a second’s hesitation, Luke responded: “I’m the son of the man you’re going to burn at the stake.”

was over, I decided to contact Des and Gillian Ford. We had not seen each other since a too brief, year-end visit to their home while last in Australia (November 2018). I wanted to share some thoughts with them from my presentation. Also, as we entered into 2019—forty years after Ford’s presentation at PUC—I wondered how they might reflect on it from the perspective of four decades later.

Gillian told us of recent health challenges Des had experienced since our last visit. She related that he was willing, however, to answer some questions if I sent them to her via email. I did, and on February 2, Ford’s ninetieth birthday, I received responses to the questions I had sent—very brief responses because of his rapidly declining health.

My Questions, Ford’s Responses, and Some Observations

Haloviak Valentine (HV): In 1979, you began the presentation briefly discussing your conversion from Anglicanism to Adventism as becoming “Adventist by conviction.” Are you still an Adventist by conviction? And, if so, what do you mean? What is most important to you about your Adventism?

Ford: Yes, Adventism is still very important to me, by which I mean the predominant truths of the return of Christ, and the obligation of the Ten Commandments, including the fourth.

Anyone who knows Des and Gill knows that they have continued to be Sabbath-keeping Adventists, and conservative ones at that. In recent times, they attended the local Adventist church where Des would sometimes lead out in Sabbath School classes. Ford’s embrace of the health message was, well, legendary. Smuts van Rooyan, in a recent article about Ford, asserted: “he exemplified the very best of the institution that rejected him.”

HV: Do you still maintain that Ellen White was open to learning and discovery? As you keep learning and studying and discovering, do you see yourself as within the tradition of Ellen White?

Ford: I see Ellen White as a paradigm for those who continue to learn Bible truth from Bible study.

This response was not a surprise. It reminds one of the beginning of his 1979 presentation, when he quoted Ellen White in *Counsels to Writers and Editors*, page 37: “We have many lessons to learn and many, many to unlearn. God and heaven alone are infallible. Those who think they’ll never have to give up a cherished view, never have occasion to change an opinion will be disappointed.”

HV: In your 1979 presentation, you seem to anticipate that the tape of the meeting would be used in “nefarious ways.” Even with that intuition, did the fallout take you by surprise? Do you wish that the tapes had not been circulated—that the paper had been only for colleagues?

Ford: I rejoice that the tapes have been circulated because I still hold to all that was said in that meeting.

It should be noted that, in a letter to Neal Wilson on December 12, 1979, Ford apologized several times for the stress his Forum presentation had caused administrators in the church. In an interview with Adrian Zytoskee, on September 23, 1980, just after Glacier View, Ford regretted that people had been hurt. But following the presentation and throughout the lead up to Glacier View, Ford seemed to maintain almost a sense of relief that the problems he raised—which were problems for so many who remained silent or who left the church quietly—would finally have a public hearing. He saw the

To his dying day, Ford wished that his church would deal with these questions in what he felt was a more persuasive way, true to Scripture. He did not believe in setting aside the doctrine of the sanctuary; he wanted to reinterpret it in ways that were in harmony with the gospel.

earlier Daniel Committee of 1960–66 as wrestling with the issues without producing any material for ministers and lay people. He witnessed church leadership respond in silence to Robert Brinsmead’s challenges. He knew that students and pastors and people at camp meetings had questions. Perhaps the church would now deal with the questions.

To his dying day, Ford wished that his church would deal with these questions in what he felt was a more persuasive way, true to Scripture. He did not believe in setting aside the doctrine of the sanctuary; he wanted to reinterpret it in ways that were in harmony with the gospel.

HV: In his recent (2017) biography of Martin Luther, Eric Metaxas observes that the controversy over Luther’s Ninety-five Theses did not occur because he nailed the document to the castle church door in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. Instead, it was the copies Luther sent to a few friends. One of those copies found its way to printer Christopher Scheurl who, without getting permission, reprinted it in his town of Nuremberg. Thanks to the printing press, the “speed with which Luther’s theses spread was simply unprecedented in the history of the world.” Luther wrote to Scheurl in March 1518:

[N]ow that they are printed and circulated far beyond my expectation, I feel anxious about what they may bring forth: not that I am unfavorable to spreading known truth abroad—rather this is what I seek—but because this method is not that best adapted to instruct the public. I have certain doubts about them myself, and should have spoken far differently and more distinctly had I known what was going to happen.

Can you relate to Luther here?

Ford: No, I have no regrets about the Forum meeting, even though Luther had some regrets about the publication of his early writings.

HV: Was there any particular moment during the two years [1979–80] that you felt became definitive of the outcome even before the Glacier View Conference was concluded?

Ford: I did not feel any concern about the period of time that people had to think about what was offered to them in the material given in the first talk (the Forum). I

was very happy that what was given that first day remained available for two years and longer.

HV: Looking back on the sequence of events, is there anything that you wished that you had done differently?

Ford: Anything that I would have done differently would have been to emphasize that the scholars of the church knew that what I was saying was correct, and that they should have been backing me to the hilt.

This was a repeated theme in conversations with the Fords over the years. As Gil and I sat with them from time to time in their living room, most of our conversation would be catching up on our families and friends, sharing about books we were reading or writing, and sharing news about various Adventist happenings. Des would often ask how the sanctuary message was currently being addressed. He maintained a keen interest in the topic for he felt that the teaching on the sanctuary was vital gospel truth. But he wanted to see it corrected and clarified—not just for it to wither away.

HV: Is there any particular outcome for you personally that you felt particularly blessed by?

Ford: Yes, I rejoice in the fact that all around the world people who read that Forum transcript rejoice in its accuracy.

HV: How would you like the church to remember the entire episode?

Ford: I would like the church to be led to read minutely [carefully] the Scriptures that were used in my talk.

What, for many Adventists, is no longer a living doctrine of the church, continued to define Ford’s theology during the last days of his life.

HV: After the Glacier View meetings, when you, Gill, and Luke got into the car that would take you down the mountain, my family stood near our cabin and waved goodbye to you. My mom, holding back tears, said something like, “we’re not just driving them down the mountain, we’re driving them out of the church.” Do you recall what your feelings were at that time?

Ford: Our feelings were full of rejoicing that the truth was out and that everybody could now study it for themselves from Scripture.

Concluding Thoughts: Adventism after the Forum Presentation and Glacier View

In his recent articles reflecting on ways in which Desmond Ford changed the Adventist church, Loren Seibold recalls an Adventist church in the late '70s and early '80s as a church anxious about the delay of the Advent, and the necessity of church members becoming perfect in order to prevent any further delay. Ford changed that, he suggests. "Because of Des, the rest of us went on to preach the gospel he'd taught, even as he faded into semi-obscurity." Seibold then suggests a variety of other ways in which the church changed. For example, he recalls that for himself and his generation of young minister colleagues, for quite some time after Glacier View, discussion of any "present truth" perspectives on "Adventist theology went underground."

As a teenager, it was a little different for me after Glacier View. Church and its theology became front and center to daily life. Sabbath afternoons became energetic conversations with people visiting from all over the US and from around the world asking tough questions, having jobs threatened, trying to get access to Ellen White Estate files, and making what seemed like daily discoveries in the church's archives. While my teenage peers might have found church boring, I sure didn't! I remember starting to study on my own at that time because I, too, wanted to believe in something so important that I would put job security on the line for it.

On one of those Sabbath afternoons, Dr. Ford sat on the floor of our living room and, when in animated discourse leaned against the curtains, they fell down on him. My mom was mortified. Others who were crammed into our living room helped put them back up. If anyone made a comment about "Des making the house fall down," he remained gracious and good-natured, quick to laugh and doing his part to keep the "Aussie insults" going. Another Sabbath afternoon, during one of those energetic conversations, I spoke up for the first time with a question I no longer recall. But I remember that the room suddenly became quiet—too quiet. In my nervousness the silence seemed to go on for a long time. Then I heard Dr. Ford say: "that's an excellent question, Kendra." And, in some ways, his affirmation of a thirteen-year-old that day launched my own journey of theological exploration.

Adventism, for me, became a grace-oriented church with a focus on righteousness by faith. "Grace" and its

implications for church life became so generally desired that by the time I attended my first pastors' meeting in 1989, how to have more grace-oriented churches was the subject of the meetings. Seibold notes that while the "last generation theology" folks are gaining momentum with what seems to be a renewed focus on sinless perfection, there are far more grace-oriented Adventists today who would resist a "standing without a mediator" theology. If that is so, the church has Desmond Ford to thank for much of that.

I was able to grow up in an Adventism where Ellen White was no longer the only source for sermons and Bible study guides. Because of this new location for Ellen White, there seemed to be more of an openness to fresh ways of reading prophecy and apocalyptic with faithfulness and integrity. When, fourteen years after Glacier View, I began a doctoral program with a focus on reading the book of Revelation with the help of Mikhail Bakhtin, no one seemed to find that a problematic endeavor. I am grateful for those changes.

In his last sermon, on December 1, 2018, Desmond Ford pleaded with his listeners:

there is only one ambition that is worthy of our pursuit: that we should be a very happy person on judgment day. . . . Dear friends, do you have Christian assurance? Do you know you are right with God? Do you know He loves you?

He concluded with this prayer: "Grant us Lord, this sweet assurance that we may rejoice whatever happens knowing that it is not our hold on Jesus but his hold on us that saves us today and forever. Amen."

The theology in that prayer had not changed in forty years.

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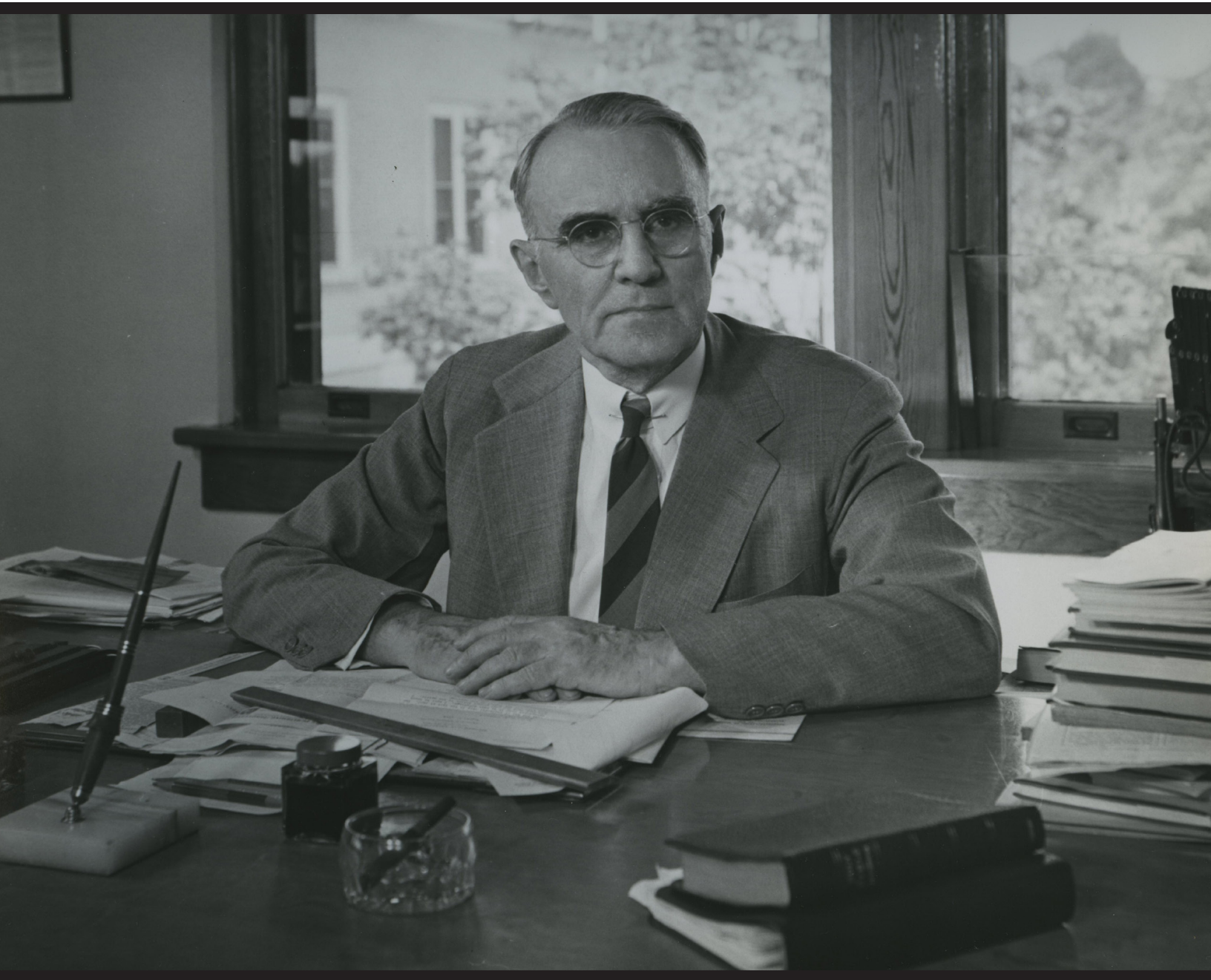
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Heber Votaw, Religious Liberty director (Photo courtesy of the General Conference Archives)

TALES *from the* (GC) Crypt

BY MITCHELL A. TYNER

Some time ago, I dropped by the office of David Trim, director of the General Conference Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, told him I was experiencing a bit of withdrawal and boredom after retirement, and asked if he could use some volunteer help one day a week. He jumped at the offer. The resulting experience has not been boring.

One of my assignments was to collect and catalogue the papers of a gentleman named Heber Votaw, perhaps not a familiar name to many church members, but known to me as he was one of my predecessors in what is now the Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty.

Heber Votaw was born in Mansfield, Ohio, on March 3, 1881. When he was seventeen years old, on October 2, 1898, he was baptized into the Seventh-day Adventist Church, of which his mother and siblings were already members. He attended Mount Vernon Academy when it

was a junior college. In 1903, shortly after graduation, he married Carolyn Harding, younger sister of Warren G. Harding, of whom more later. That same year he was employed as a minister in the Ohio Conference, and was ordained just one year later.

There then occurred a seminal event in the Votaws' life; they received a letter from the General Conference, then located at 222 North Capitol Street in Washington (now in the middle of the park on the north side of the Capitol), notifying them that they were selected to be the first Adventist missionaries to Burma.¹ Married one year, a denominational employee less than a year: things apparently moved much faster in those days!

The choice of a young, partially educated, untraveled and unsophisticated pastor was not unusual. The church was sending many such young couples to major cities across the world with no instruction in missiology and no in-depth exposure to the cultures they would

enter. Like the eleven chosen by Jesus, their curriculum vitae were exceedingly short. But, like those eleven, they went out and successfully started new churches across the globe.

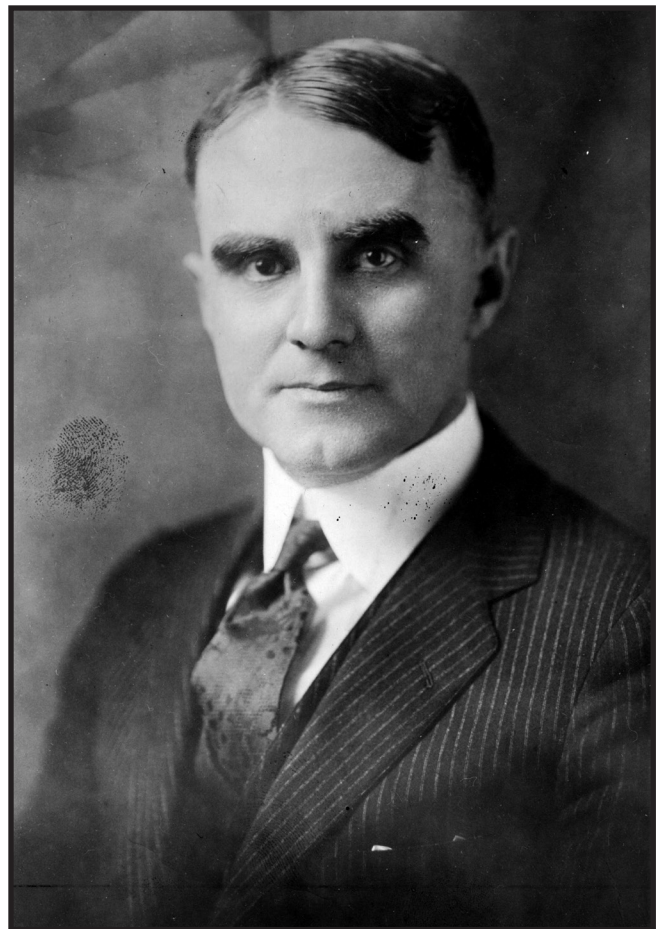
The Votaws followed a common pattern: they immediately started language study, and laid plans for a school, a clinic, and publishing work. All this in a hot, steamy, tropical climate that had proven hard to take for many of those accustomed to more temperate weather.

Their efforts bore fruit; soon there was a Sabbath School meeting in what passed for mission headquarters (and their residence) in Rangoon.² But soon they, like so many others, fell victim to the weather and tropical diseases. Carolyn had to go back home for recuperation, but Heber refused to leave his post. Eventually, it came to the point that one of Carolyn's brothers, a physician, wrote to the secretary of the General Conference and told him that if they didn't bring the Votaws home immediately, Heber would not survive.

On their return, in 1915, the Votaws moved to Takoma Park, where Heber taught religion classes at Washington Missionary College until 1917.³

Another of Carolyn's brothers, Warren, had been moving up politically while the Votaws were in Burma. He was a member of the Ohio Senate from 1900–1904, and then served as Lieutenant Governor of Ohio from 1904–1906. He then lost an election for Governor, and went back to Marion, Ohio, where he owned and edited the local newspaper—and remained very active and well connected in Ohio Republican circles. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1915, shortly after the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution initiated popular election of senators. He served in the Senate until 1921, when he was inaugurated as the twenty-ninth president of the United States.

The geographical distance did not lessen contact between Carolyn Votaw and her upwardly mobile older brother. While in Burma, she wrote to Warren and urged him to leave politics and enter a more reputable line of work. The advice fell on deaf ears. The relationship deepened with the Votaws' move to Takoma Park. In 1918, Heber went to work for his brother-in-law, first as a clerk, later as assistant clerk for the Senate Committee on the Philippines, which Harding chaired. After becoming president, Harding appointed Heber Votaw to



Heber Votaw (Photo courtesy of the General Conference Archives)

be superintendent of the Federal Bureau of Prisons and chair of the parole board for each prison.⁴

Carolyn Votaw, during this time, served as a member of the Women's Bureau of the DC Metropolitan Police Department as a probation officer, and director of a program for unwed mothers. In 1920, she was appointed to head the social service division of the US Public Health Service, and as an advisor to the Federal Board of Vocation Education within the Veterans' Bureau, which caused her name to arise during testimony in the prosecution of the Bureau's director, Charles R. Forbes, on corruption charges.

Warren Harding died unexpectedly in San Francisco in 1923, while on a tour of the western states. Shortly before, a close aide shocked him by disclosing details of a number of instances of corruption involving his cabinet members. Whether this contributed to his sudden death is unknown.

Immediately following his death, Harding was hailed as a great president, but soon the scandals involving his staff broke. The country learned that his superintendent of veteran's affairs had looted the funds of his office and absconded to Paris. Then the Teapot Dome scandal broke, exposing Albert Fall, Harding's Secretary of the Interior, as having a central role in the illegal leasing of a naval petroleum reserve in Wyoming for considerable personal gain. Congressional investigation of the affair brought to light the involvement of Harry Daugherty, Harding's former campaign manager whom he had selected as Attorney General. Daugherty was forced from office by Harding's successor, Calvin Coolidge.

As Superintendent of Prisons, Votaw answered directly to Daugherty. As Daugherty's political enemies drew him into the congressional investigation of Teapot Dome, charges of corruption at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary brought Heber Votaw, as prison superintendent, into the investigation. Votaw stayed on in his position for another two years, during which he was called to testify before Congress about the Atlanta penitentiary matter. He did so successfully and was cleared of any wrongdoing.

For a year following his departure from government, Votaw worked as a service manager at Washington Sanitarium.⁵ Recognizing the value of his knowledge of government and contacts therein, the GC in 1926 elected Votaw associate secretary of what was then the Religious Liberty department. He served in that capacity until 1941, when he became departmental secretary—equivalent today to director. From 1941 until 1954, he also served as editor of *Liberty* magazine.

Heber Votaw apparently was a quick study. He seems to have immediately applied the knowledge he gained while working in government to the religious liberty

problems brought to him in his new position. During the 1930s, these issues often had to do with helping members with immigration matters. In the early war years, he was called on to assist a recent Loma Linda medical graduate who had accepted government money and promised to serve the country as needed. He was then drafted into the military, declined to serve, and Votaw was called on to intercede. Votaw didn't waste time with sergeants—he had entrée to the offices of general staff officers and used it.

On one occasion, a member of the Capitol Hill Church in Washington called Votaw directly, complaining that as a janitor at Union Station she had not been scheduled to work on the Sabbath until the arrival of a new manager. Votaw said, "I know the Director of Union Station personally. Let me take care of this." And he did.

In 1945, Votaw was asked to assist with the repatriation of Adventist missionaries in the Philippines, one of whom was Charles Wittschiebe, a colorful character whom many of us enjoyed later as a professor at Andrews University.

Reading the reports of these and other cases, it struck me how similar the issues were to the cases I handled in the same position half a century later—Sabbath work, especially in the manufacturing and transportation industries, labor unions, literature evangelists, zoning, immigration. Some things remain constant.

Votaw lived just eight years after retiring, living in the house he and Carolyn built on Carrol Avenue in Takoma Park until his death in 1962.

When we go digging around in records of the past, we seem to find about as many questions as answers, and this exercise was no exception.

When the Votaws left Burma, they came home, like many missionaries, short on cash; witness the fact that

The geographical distance did not lessen contact between Carolyn Votaw and her upwardly mobile older brother. While in Burma, she wrote to Warren and urged him to leave politics and enter a more reputable line of work. The advice fell on deaf ears.

they had to ask the GC to advance funds for the steamship tickets to come home. The house they built in Takoma Park, just across the street from the hospital and college campus, is white columned and elegant. Where did the money come from? The answer came to me not from the files, but in a conversation with a member of the Faith and Reason Sabbath School Class at Sligo Church—Heber Bouland, now 92. Heber said that his parents lived near and were friends of the Votaws, and that was how he got the name Heber. He also said that when President Harding died, he left the Votaws \$50,000, a considerable sum in those days, and they used it, at least in part, to build that home. It's now the residence of the president of Washington Adventist University, and still the nicest house in the neighborhood.

Votaw was in Washington as a federal employee during both the 1919 Bible Conference and the 1922 General Conference session when the GC president and secretary switched positions, and surely was aware of both, but no mention of either was found in his papers. Did he not have conversations with one or more delegates to either or both?

What knowledge did the Votaws have of Warren Harding's affairs? Carolyn kept close contact with her brother,

and, among other functions, acted as contact person and guide for Ohioans who wanted to visit the White House. She would regularly take them into the mansion without advance notice, show them the public rooms and then introduce them to the president. On one occasion, one such visitor from home, named Nan Britten, asked for a tour. Apparently, Carolyn didn't know that the little girl with Britten was the child she claimed was fathered by Warren Harding in a White House closet, and that Britten came there to introduce the girl to her father. Oddly enough, the president was nowhere to be found that day.

As director of the Bureau of Prisons, Heber Votaw worked under the direction of the Attorney General,

A. G. Daugherty, as described above. The relationship evinced in their correspondence was formal, correct, and apparently a bit distant. There is no evidence of cordiality or personal friendship. But did Votaw have any inkling of the corruption with which Daugherty (and other administration figures, including Votaw himself, as described above) was charged? In his defense, it should be stated that the president himself seems to have been genuinely surprised when, just before his death, he was made aware of the facts.

Let me be clear: I am in no way inferring any doubt as to Votaw's honesty and rectitude. During his years in

Burma, he was scrupulous in financial and other record keeping and adherence to standards and policies.

For the answers to these and other questions, I looked to the correspondence between Votaw, A. G. Daniels, and William Spicer. Along that route, some interesting bits appeared that illuminate the personality of Heber Votaw.

First, he was not one to blindly follow precedent. Most other missionaries in new territory began by working with expats and with locals who spoke English, many of whom were

the children of one European parent. Votaw did this, but he also looked at the wider picture and did not want his work confined to Rangoon and the Burman people. He made contact with a member of the Karen people from northern Burma who had some previous contact with Adventism in India and came to Votaw asking for a worker to be sent to his people. After that, virtually every letter from Votaw to Spicer contained an urgent plea for a worker to be sent to the Karens.

Second, he was not afraid to differ with and even confront his organizational colleagues and superiors. In 1940, F. D. Nichol, the highly respected editor of the *Review and Herald*, wrote an article that Votaw interpreted (with good

Heber Votaw apparently was a quick study. He seems to have immediately applied the knowledge he gained while working in government to the religious liberty problems brought to him in his new position.

reason) as arguing that a vegetarian diet made people more moral. Votaw took issue with this and sent Nichol a seven-page letter stating his reasons. Perhaps the most interesting is this: "I spent eleven years working among the Buddhists of Burma, virtually all of who are vegetarians, and could discern no difference in morality between them and others."

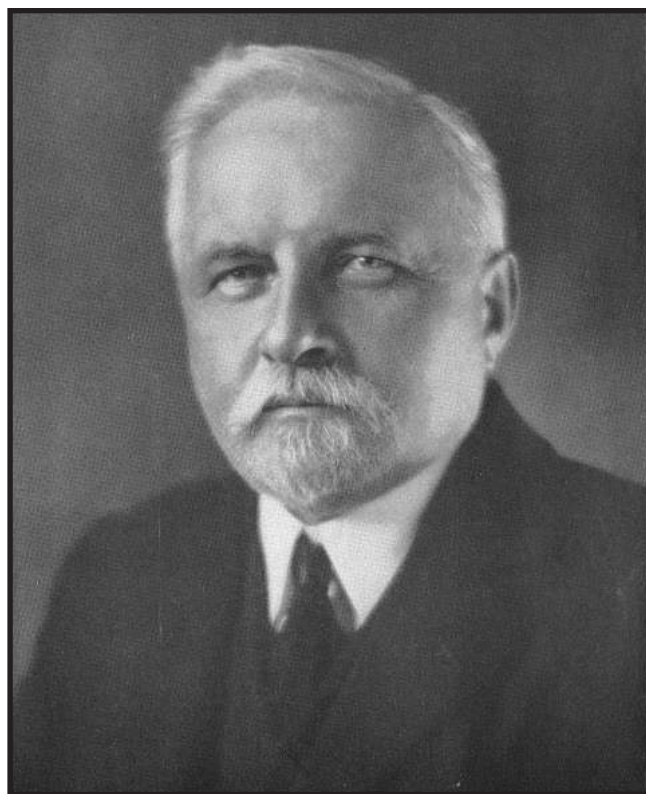
These papers also disclose interesting insights as to Spicer. On occasion, Spicer wrote of his frustration with an evangelist who had made outlandish false accusations of the Vatican. His conclusion: "Perhaps we owe the Vatican an apology."

Spicer must have been one industrious and highly organized individual. Certainly he was a master correspondent. He had far fewer workers in Secretariat than now and kept up personal correspondence with, seemingly, all overseas workers. After the 1904 reorganization, he was still understaffed, or perhaps he under-delegated. The carbon copies of his outgoing letters were kept and bound in letter-size books, typically of at least 1,000 pages, and he often filled more than one per year.

On November 25, 1914, Spicer wrote to Daniels, who was on an extended itinerary in India. They had both realized that, with the outbreak of war in Europe the previous August, transportation to bring Daniels back home for Annual Council was going to be hard to find and potentially dangerous. Spicer urged Daniels to remain in India and finish his itinerary, which he did. This may be the only occasion of an Annual Council going forward without the GC president present.

The Spicer/Daniels correspondence also touched on how the war would affect the church and its workers. One name that occurs frequently is that of L. R. Conradi, whose influence in the European church was so important. In a letter of October 4, 1914, just weeks after the outbreak of World War I, Spicer wrote to Daniels concerning letters from Germany:

The German letters are pretty full of patriotism, and I have kept them close. I do hope our brethren in the various countries in Europe will not make themselves a part of the world's conflict. Personally, I am clinging to the conviction that while many of the brethren may be swept off their feet and take part in actual conflict, others



William Spicer (Photo courtesy of the General Conference Archives)

will hold steady to John's commandment to the soldiers of his day and see to it that they do violence to no man. This is a thing we cannot talk about in print or in public very freely.

Spicer's correspondence sometimes unknowingly sheds light on current discussions, such as this passage from a letter dated June 24, 1913, from Spicer to Sarah McInterfer, Ellen White's secretary and companion: "I enclose with this missionary credentials voted you by the General Conference for the ensuing quadrennial term. I also enclose ministerial credentials for Sister White. Will you kindly see that they are placed in her hands?"

Also of interest is a February 21, 1937 letter from Arthur White to H. T. Elliott, in which he stated that although Mrs. White never baptized, she did perform weddings. The White Estate has a copy of this letter, in which someone has written in the margin, "Mistake."

On February 2, 1922, Spicer initiated an extended correspondence with W. C. White concerning the power of the pope to change events. At issue was a statement in a revision, then underway, to *Great Controversy*. They

debated at length the facts, the best way to present them, how they would be received, etc. But interestingly, in a discussion of how to best to word a book written by Ellen White, there was no discussion of what she actually wrote!

Other incidentals gleaned along the way:

1906: R. P. Montgomery was sent as a missionary to Borneo. Decades later, in retirement, he would serve as my wife's teen-years' pastor in Cleburne, Texas.

1906: Pearl Rees, for whom the women's dormitory at Union College is named, is listed as secretary of the Atlantic Union Conference.

1907: Fordyce Detamore was sent as a missionary to Singapore.

1909: An Ohio farmer wrote to Spicer stating that he and his wife were fluent in English, Swedish, and German, and wanted to be sent as missionaries to Madagascar. Spicer, in reply, thanked them for their dedication and willingness to serve, but noted that their language skills would not be relevant in Madagascar, that the French authorities were not easing the way for Protestant missionaries, and that the denomination was giving preference to sending missionaries to locations easier to enter. He closed with what we would now interpret as "don't call us, we'll call you." After a few months, he received a letter from the farmer, now in La Paz, Bolivia, telling of the self-financed work he and his wife had established and of their intent to move on to Lake Titicaca and Peru. It was signed Fernando Stahl.

1910: Roland Loasby, a secondary-school teacher in Bermuda, wrote to Spicer about his desire for more graduate education. Thankfully, his ambition was achieved, as he became perhaps the church's greatest linguist of his time. Years later, at the Seminary, he would impress his students by selecting an important biblical word and writing it on the board, in twenty-five languages.

And throughout these years, one family name appears repeatedly: Westphal, the family so important in the growth of the church in South America. One of the members of that distinguished family did her best to teach us Spanish at what was then Southwestern Junior College.

Why was all this of interest? In a very real sense, it was like doing genealogy. My wife, Patsy, and I both come from small families and between us have only one living relative.⁷ As a result, the church has been our

family though the years. It has been observed that we can choose our friends, but not our families. We don't always agree with our families, we may find ourselves diametrically opposed to positions and ideas they advocate, but they are still family. That relationship is so valuable that it must be broken only under the direst circumstances. Doing genealogy may thus lead one to surprises, and not always pleasant ones, but it is always better to know the truth.

But here I found reasonable, sane, dedicated people approaching real-world problems rationally within their realm of knowledge. We, with hindsight, can see what was then the future, but they could not. All in all, I found a comforting record of people honestly giving a difficult job their best shot. Not a bad example for their successors.

Endnotes

1. Now Myanmar.
2. Now Yangon.
3. Later Columbia Union College, and now Washington Adventist University.
4. One wag has speculated that Votaw's lack of prison experience was perhaps offset by his time in an Adventist boarding academy.
5. Now Washington Adventist Hospital.
6. By all accounts, the Annual Council went forward with serious problems. Given the history of the last two such councils, this may be a precedent with consideration.
7. My mother, now 105 years old.



MITCHELL TYNER, now retired, was a pastor for ten years, a department director in the Kentucky-Tennessee Conference for seven years, during which he received his law degree, and was on staff at the General Conference for 24 years, first in Public Affairs and Religious Liberty (PARL), then in the Office of General Council (OGC).



The Sparrow family. Left to right: David Sparrow, daughter Alvinah, wife Sallie [or Sally], and son Herbert. (Photo courtesy of Gapman Publications)

Early Adventist Evangelism in Western Kenya

The Life of Ezekiel Kimenjo

BY GODFREY K. SANG

The edge of the vast Uasin Gishu Plateau in Western Kenya opens into the sprawling lowlands of the Lake Victoria basin on the north-eastern side of the lake. It is on the northern fringes of the lake, Africa's largest, that the Luhya people of Western Kenya live. Adventism was not known here until 1933, when a young Nandi colporteur named Caleb Kipkessio araap Busienei made his sojourn there to sell his book *Vita Kuu*, the Kiswahili version of *The Great Controversy* that had just rolled off

the Adventist Press at Kendu Bay.¹ Literature evangelists at that time had to overcome great odds, the greatest in this part of British East Africa being widespread illiteracy. Sales were low and they had to walk far to make a sale. At Shandike, Caleb met a young Luhya man named Petero Chetambe and interested him in his book.

Caleb had become an Adventist through the effort of David Sparrow and his wife Sallie, who were early European settler-farmers on the Uasin Gishu plateau of

western Kenya. The Sparrows arrived from South Africa in 1911 and settled among the Nandi people. They immediately set about to reach them with the Adventist message.² Bringing the Adventist message to the Nandi was no mean feat. The Sparrows were fluent in southern African languages, including Zulu and Xhosa, but Nandi, a Nilo-Hamitic language, proved to be a challenge. With the help of Caleb, they managed to learn the language enough to conduct Bible studies and hold Sabbath services. Soon, the reputation of the Sparrows' Ndege farm spread far. People began to refer to it as "that farm where no work is done on Saturday."

David Sparrow became an Adventist at Rokeby Park in the Eastern Cape of South Africa through the efforts of Ira J. Hankins, who moved to the area in 1890.³ After his baptism in 1892, and his marriage the following year to Sallie (née Pittaway), the Sparrows worked for the church as missionaries in many parts of South Africa and Rhodesia. In 1910, he met a Cape Town dentist, Dr. Bridgeman, who asked if he could manage his farm on the Uasin Gishu Plateau in British East Africa.⁴ He accepted and, with his wife and son Bert, settled among the Nandi people and began to share their faith with them. It was not easy. Early efforts to enter this country by missionaries of various denominations had come to nothing; one mission, which was established in 1909, packed up and left after several years without a single convert.

Caleb became the first Nandi to accept the Adventist message and David Sparrow sent him to school in Nairobi, some 200 miles eastward, so he could return and run a school on the farm. Going to Nairobi then was no easy thing. The railway station at Londiani was some seventy miles away by oxcart, requiring several days' travel each way. Caleb gained a good measure of literacy in Nairobi: enough to return and teach the other workers on the farm and to run the Sabbath program.

Just after the First World War, a dapper young Nandi ex-soldier joined the Africa Inland Mission at Kapsabet. This was one of the first missions to be established among the Nandi, taking over in 1914 from another mission that had closed without a convert. They, too, had to wait another five years before the Nandi gave them some attention. Kimenjo was one of the first. Here, he learnt to read and write and studied the Bible with the plan to go into full-time ministry. In 1926, the missionary in charge at the

Kapsabet mission heard that the Adventists were drawing away large numbers of members from his mission's branch in South Nyanza. He bade Kimenjo to venture into the area to counter the teachings of the Adventists. When Kimenjo arrived, he began earnestly teaching against the Adventists in various gatherings. In one of those, an Adventist evangelist took his hand and asked him how he could logically explain the Sabbath question using the Bible alone. Kimenjo was momentarily lost for words and asked for more time. Even then, he could offer no logical explanation. It was not long before he believed.

The first Adventist missionaries, Arthur Carscallen and Peter Nyambo, had entered this area in 1906 and started the work at Gendia, on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria. By 1920, when Carscallen left, the Adventists had already created six more stations: Wire Hill, Karungu, Rusinga Island, Nyanchwa (Kisii), Kanyadoto, and Kamagambo.⁵ Little work took place in western Kenya among the Nandi, other than the work by the Sparrows. W. T. Bartlett took over from Carscallen and he came with a fresh team of missionaries from England, one of whom was Spencer Maxwell.

The Place of Education in Evangelism

To the early missionaries, Western education was regarded as important in attaining the level of enquiry necessary to appreciate biblical teachings and to counter traditional African religion and thought. Simply put, you could not be a Christian without an education. The demand for education was so high at Gendia that Carscallen simply could not cope. Almost as soon as B. L. Morse arrived in March 1909, Carscallen dispatched him to help at the school at Gendia. The enrollment continued to climb, and they had to turn away hundreds of young people eager to learn.⁶

In August 1913, several young Luo men (known then as the Kavirondo) walked the 106 miles (172 km)⁷ from Gendia to the Sparrows' farm near Eldoret to enquire from him if he was going to start a school. Sparrow was taken aback by the need that was before him. Writing in the *South African Missionary*, Sparrow said,

About two weeks ago some Kavirondo boys came and asked if we were the people who kept the Sabbath of (*Mungu*)⁸ God, and inquired when we shall

start a mission with books to learn from. The Nandi have also asked the same questions, stating their willingness to work for an education.⁹

The Luo walking so far, and bypassing numerous other missions along the way, is testament to the spiritual capital that the Adventists had built so early in their mission work in British East Africa. David Sparrow was merely a farmer, and not even a missionary, but the reputation of his faith had gone ahead of him. Realizing the enormity of the need, Sparrow decided to send for help from South Africa. Writing in the *South African Missionary* in February 1916, he expressed his desire to have a South African come over to help him with his evangelism work and on the school. He wrote:

We need a young, strong, reliable native or coloured¹⁰ man with his wife, both converted Seventh-day Adventists. He must know Zulu or Xhosa and be able to read one of these languages. Must have education to help him study this (the Nandi) language. He should develop into a teacher and evangelist for these natives, but must be able to drive oxen, run a single and double plow, care for stock and do general farming.

This part of the country is very healthy, the climate is good and soil fertile. My mind it is a splendid place for a native school. A good home will be provided for the man and his wife and we will do all we can for them both spiritually and temporally. Full particulars as to conditions, salary and passage can be obtained by writing to me.¹¹

As far as we know, nobody fitting the description responded to the call and so he was left to depend on what he had on hand. Caleb Kipkessio was then sent to Nairobi

for further training in order to return to the farm to help out. Caleb worked until the arrival of this very able brother in the faith—Ezekiel Kimenjo.

Early Life of Kimenjo

Ezekiel Kimenjo araap Maswai was born about the year 1897, at Kapeywa, in Tinderet in Southern Nandi. In 1906, after the Nandi war of resistance against British rule had ended, Kimenjo was one of those that were relocated to northern Nandi by the British. As a little boy, he witnessed some of the great difficulties suffered by the Nandi people at that time, which partly explained why they wanted nothing to do with the Christian faith. When the First World War began, he enlisted with the

King's Africa Rifles (KAR) and fought with the British in the East Africa Campaign, which took him, among other places, to Tabora in Tanganyika. Like many soldiers, the war changed him. He could now speak Kiswahili, the new *lingua franca* of East Africa, and having travelled far and met many people, had gained new perspectives about life. After the war, he became one of the first people to join the Africa Inland Mission founded by American missionaries. He learnt to read and write and was baptized and given the name Ezekiel. In 1922, he married Esther, who had also

been a member of the same mission, and together they had a daughter.

Upon conversion to Adventism, Kimenjo returned to Kapsabet and tried to reconnect with his old mission but was immediately expelled when they found he had switched sides. About this time, his wife Esther became seriously ill. He took her to the Kaimosi Hospital, run by Quaker missionaries, but she died there, leaving behind their only child. Leaving the child in the care of relatives, he returned to Gendia where he had developed a good friendship with Paul Mboya (who would later become

To the early missionaries, Western education was regarded as important in attaining the level of enquiry necessary to appreciate biblical teachings and to counter traditional African religion and thought.

Kenya's first African Adventist pastor). Mboya took him further into biblical study. He was baptized in 1928 at Gendia and while there he was trained to conduct literature evangelism and other aspects of personal evangelism. A man of a quiet but resolute demeanor, tall and lanky, Kimenjo did not come from the usual mold of evangelists. He was not outgoing or argumentative, but the depth of his faith was quite apparent in his mastery of biblical knowledge. Kimenjo avidly studied the Bible, which at this point was only in the Kiswahili language,¹² which he had mastered in his army days.

In 1929, Pastor Spencer G. Maxwell took over from Bartlett as superintendent of the East Africa Union Mission. He quickly realized that Kimenjo could help expand the work among the Nandi people and sent him to Eldoret to connect with David Sparrow's work. By this time, the Sparrows had already brought to the faith about two dozen Nandis and were holding regular Sabbath services on the farm.¹³ Kimenjo took over the young congregation.

After about a year of working with Kimenjo, David Sparrow felt it was time to reach into the Nandi Reserve. In 1930, he charged Kimenjo with finding a suitable place on the Nandi Reserve to establish a church. Kimenjo first went to Kimolwet, some twelve miles (19 km) south of the Sparrow farm, where an old friend named Chebotok araap Terer lived.¹⁴ It was Terer who informed him that he would have a better chance of introducing his faith to the Nandi people in the Kaigat area to the north.

The following day he arrived at Kaigat, which turned out to be just what he was looking for. He was embraced by the local people there and Kimenjo returned to Sparrow with the good news. The following year, Kimenjo relocated to Kaigat and held the first Sabbath service, under a tree. David Sparrow happily used his trusty old oxcart to ferry building materials to Kaigat, nine miles (14 km) from his farm. During the week, the church building served as school. Maxwell sent a Luo teacher to Kaigat named Silvano Achia, who had completed his education at the Kamagambo Training School under E. R. Warland. Even then, the authorities frustrated the Adventist work, persistently denying them a license despite them meeting all the obligatory requirements.

It was not until the end of 1933 that the District Commissioner, K. L. Hunter, who was due to leave Nandi shortly, consented to give the Adventists their license as a parting favor. A former Adventist missionary, Pastor

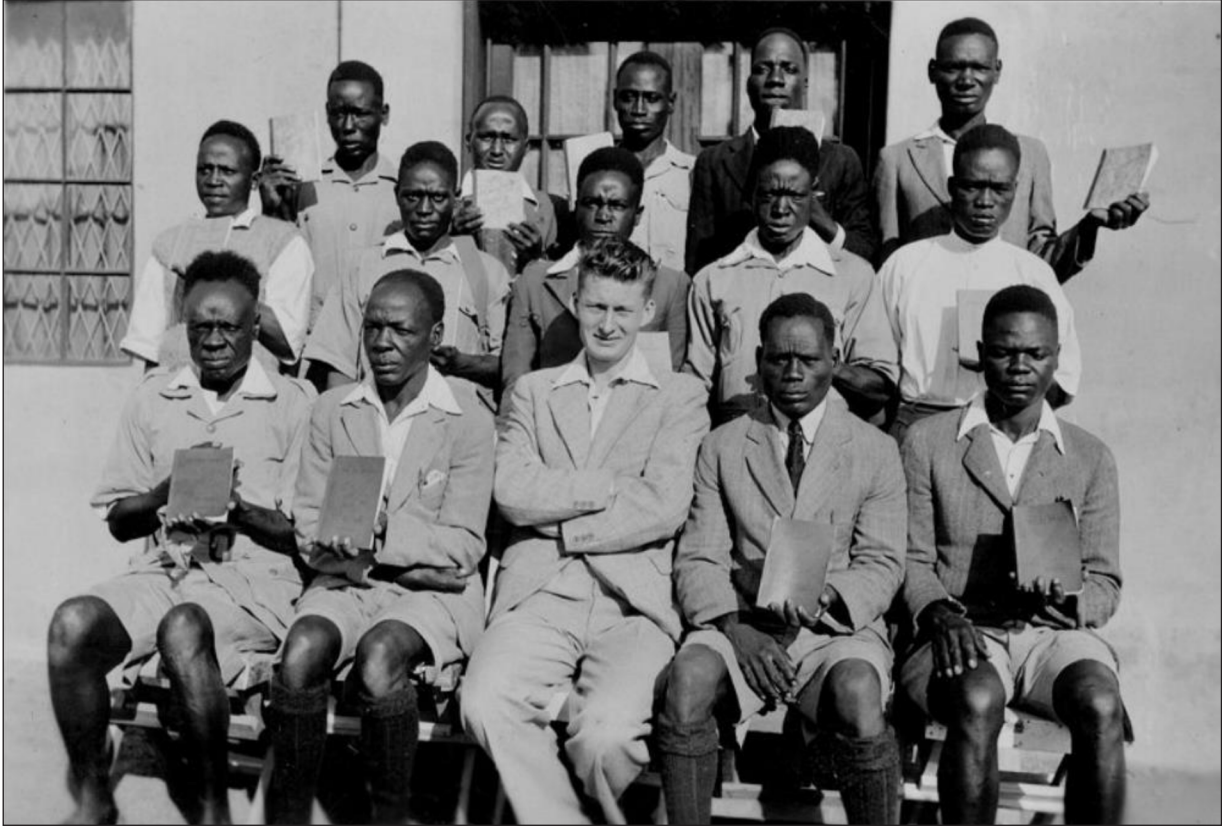
William Cuthbert, who had left the ministry in 1931 to become a farmer at Lemook, constantly ministered at the young church at Kaigat, which was not far from his farm.

In August 1933, Maxwell travelled to Kaigat and presided over the dedication of the church. Kaigat became the first church under the newly organized North-West Kenya Mission (NWKM). By this time Kimenjo was a credentialed missionary and was placed in charge of the congregation at Kaigat and also the unentered areas of the Kabras in North Nyanza.¹⁵ He appears in the 1934 *Adventist Yearbook* as a Missionary Licentiate of the North-West Kenya Mission.¹⁶ He was put on a wage of 12 shillings a month (about £0.6 or \$3 in 1933 rates).¹⁷ This improved to 16 shillings (about £0.8 or \$4) from July 1, 1933.¹⁸ He was assisted by Caleb Kipkessio who had since joined full-time literature evangelism.

That year, Kipkessio led Kimenjo to Petero Chetambe at Shandike. Chetambe had organized a group of about twenty members and had requested that an evangelist be sent to tell them more about the Adventist message. Kimenjo brought Chetambe, and several others in the congregation, to the faith and soon a baptism was organized by Pastor Maxwell. This marked the entry of Adventism into the vast and populous Luhya country and Chetambe would now lead the charge. The first church in Luhya country was organized at Shandike in 1935. Chetambe had purchased a piece of land at Chebwai which he offered the church; after considering the intense resistance to Adventism in Nandi, it was felt that Chebwai, rather than Kaigat, was most ideal to be the headquarters of the North-West Kenya Mission.

In 1935, Kimenjo married Rebecca Jteptekeny at Kaigat and started a family. Applications were already underway to establish at Chebwai and, with the help of the local Chief Mulupi Shitanda, the Adventists were offered land. Chief Mulupi, despite being a practicing Muslim, enthusiastically assisted the Adventists establish at Chebwai. In 1936, Maxwell sent H. A. Matthews and Mariko Otieno to assist Kimenjo's work in the area. In July 1937, Otieno left, leaving Kimenjo and Chetambe as the principal workers there of the NWKM. In 1936, Matthew C. Murdoch became the first resident missionary in charge of the NWKM, now based at Chebwai.

In 1941, the members at Kaigat decided that they would have to disperse to other parts of Nandi to hasten the



Ron Carey (front row middle), the press manager at the Kavironondo Press at Gendia, with early Adventist colporteurs in 1931. Ezekiel Kimenjo is seated second left, while Caleb Kipkessio is standing on extreme left. (Photo courtesy of the British Union Conference)

spread of Adventism. Kimenjo left for Samitui, the southern-most tip of Nandi, close to the border with Kisumu, some 53 miles (85km) away from Kaigat. He was offered the land that was once owned by the famous diviner *Orgoiyot*, or Laibon Kimnyolei araap Turugat, whose son, Koital-el araap Samoei, had led the bloody resistance against the British from 1895 until 1905.¹⁹ The *Orgoiyot* was so feared that even after his death, which occurred there in 1887, nobody dared to live on his former lands, and the ruins of his old homestead could still be seen in 1941 when Kimenjo arrived. It was on this same spot that Kimnyolei had famously cursed the Nandi and Kipsigis people for plotting to kill him and had predicted the coming of the Europeans and their “Iron Snake” (the railway) and the defeat and subjugation of the Nandi by the British as their punishment. The end of the disastrous Nandi Resistance in 1906 was seen as a fulfilment of that prophecy.

The people there, distrusting the Adventists, offered Kimenjo the land in the belief that he would soon die and

leave them in peace. Undeterred, Kimenjo constructed a home and church right on top of the ruins of Kimnyolei’s homestead and curious villagers were surprised that nothing happened to him. Despite the great odds, the faith was established, albeit slowly. But not everyone was happy. Kimenjo encountered serious resistance from the local administration, who denied him a license for the church and school. Despite repeated applications, they would not budge.

Matters got worse in October 1948, when two young men kidnapped his adopted daughter Chesum and had her forcefully circumcised. When the word reached him, he angrily stormed the place of seclusion and rescued the poor girl but in so doing he seriously violated the customary law that strictly forbade men from entering the place. He was charged with the offense in a local tribunal which found him guilty and ordered him to pay a bull. He refused to pay and invoked his right of appeal. The matter went to the district officer, P. D. Abrams, who found him guilty and worsened the fine. Undeterred, Kimenjo refused to

pay and appealed to the district commissioner, J. K. Thorp, who again found him guilty and ordered him to pay the two fines imposed earlier and also to leave Samitui. Kimenjo further appealed yet again to the provincial commissioner in Nakuru, D. L. Morgan, who, together with the chief native commissioner, P. Wyn Harris, in Nairobi, declared him not guilty and harangued the lower officers for tolerating the barbaric custom.²⁰

During the entire affair, Kimenjo received tremendous support from the church. His immediate boss, Pastor K. J. Berry, then in charge of Chebwai, together with the Kenya Mission Field president, Pastor E. W. Pedersen, rallied the churches across Kenya to pray for Kimenjo. There was jubilation at his acquittal across all the churches of western Kenya. However, after the politically charged Chesum affair, the church felt that it would be better to move him from Samitui. In 1950, he was posted to Kebeneti in Kericho to pastor the pioneer church among the Kipsigis people, another sub-tribe of the Kalenjin people similar to the Nandi. He remained there for five years, planting a number of churches.

When he returned to Nandi, he settled again in his old homestead at Samitui (even in his absence nobody took over the land) and continued his work. The coming of Kenya's Independence in 1963 removed all religious restrictions. He organized the church at Samitui and the school he founded in 1942 was finally registered and has since expanded to include a boarding secondary school. Kimenjo conducted his final camp meeting in August 1969 at Kapcheplanget, in Ziwa in Uasin Gishu, north of Nandi, bidding his farewell to the people among whom he had laboured tirelessly. He passed away on the morning of July 5, 1972 and was laid to rest at his Samitui home two days later. He was survived by Rebecca and their five children. Petero Chetambe died in February 1990, while Caleb Kipkessio died in December 1998.

From the old North-West Kenya Mission, pioneered by Kimenjo in 1931, today stand three conferences—the Greater Rift Valley Conference, the North-West Kenya Conference, and the Central Rift Valley Conference, which have between them over 4,000 congregational establishments, including about 1,500 organized churches with over 160,000 members worshipping there.²¹ They are all served under the West Kenya Union Conference. In sending Kimenjo to Samitui, it appears God wanted to overturn the curse of the old *Orgoiyot* over the Kalenjin people.

Endnotes

1. It was known at this time as the Kavirondo Press, based at Gendia, the traditional birthplace of Adventism in Kenya.
2. Godfrey K. Sang and Hosea K. Kili, *On the Wings of a Sparrow: How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Came to Western Kenya* (Gapman Publications Ltd.: Nairobi, 2017).
3. Virgil E. Robinson, *Third Angel over Africa*, unpublished manuscript held at the Pieter Wessels Library, Helderberg College, Somerset West, South Africa.
4. *The South African Missionary*, vol. 11, no. 9, (March 4, 1912): 4.
5. Ibid.
6. "The Story of Our Missions for 1909," in *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, vol. 87 no. 24 (June 16, 1910): 41.
7. The distance measured by Google Maps uses the main roads for motor transport today from Gendia to Ndege farm in Kipkenyo, near Eldoret. The same journey may have been slightly shorter made on foot but passed through dense forests and the territory of hostile tribes. The journey was definitely not a simple one.
8. The Kiswahili name for God.
9. *The South African Missionary*, vol. 12, no. 30 (August 18, 1913): 2.
10. Term used to refer to a bi-racial person in South Africa.
11. *The South African Missionary*, vol. 15, no. 7 (February 14, 1916): 2.
12. The translation of the Bible into the Kiswahili language was completed in 1890. It was not until 1939 that the Nandi Bible was completed by his former mission.
13. Ibid.
14. Sang and Kili, *On the Wings of a Sparrow*.
15. *The Advent Survey*, vol. 5, no. 11 (November 1933): 4.
16. *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 1934* (Takoma Park, Washington DC: Review & Herald Publishing), 148.
17. <http://www.miketodd.net/encyc/dollhist.htm>, accessed in July 2019. Back in 1920, the East Africa shilling was introduced, and the exchange rate pegged at £1 to 20 shillings.
18. Minutes of the East Africa Union Committee held at Kamagambo, Session no. 139, May 28–31, 1933 (Archived at the East Kenya Union offices in Nairobi).
19. He was shot dead in October 1905 by the British forces. Some Nandi continued to resist despite his death but that did not last long. In February 1906, the Resistance was brought to an end.
20. Sang and Kili, *On the Wings of a Sparrow*.
21. *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 2018*.



GODFREY K. SANG is a historical researcher and writer with an interest in Adventist history. He is the co-author of the books *On the Wings of a Sparrow: How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Came to Western Kenya* and *Strong in His Arms: The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Central Kenya*.



The Shakers took in Elizabeth Temple, a poverty-stricken single mother, and taught her about medicinal herbs.

Mrs. Temple: A Millennial Utopian

BY RON GRAYBILL

In 1883, Mrs. White wrote: “Brother Whalin[’s] . . . health has been very poor, but he is improving since I gave him Mrs. Temple’s remedy.”¹ On another occasion she wrote: “[Fannie] has been suffering greatly . . . She has now been using Mrs. Temple’s remedy and is having relief.”² And again: “I send you Mrs. Temple’s remedy. Be sure and have Rheba take it.”³ In 1895, she wrote “Will you inquire if any

one of our family has the recipe for Mrs. Temple’s remedy, or the recipe for cholera mixture?”⁴ So, who was this Mrs. Temple? At first, I thought it was only a brand name on a patent medicine, but there was a real Mrs. Temple who made a small fortune selling her remedy.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, America was full of passion, promise, and peril. The new steam

presses were spewing out thousands of inexpensive newspapers, books, pamphlets, and posters. Railroads were expanding; the telegraph was spreading across the country.⁵

Orthodox medicine was under attack by new medical doctrines.⁶ Indeed, reforms of all sorts sprang up: dress reform, prison reform, asylum reform, health reform. Peace movements and anti-slavery movements sought to rid the world of oppression, exploitation, and violence.

It seemed to many that the long-awaited millennium, the thousand years of peace foretold in the Book of Revelation, might soon arrive. The predominant view was known as “post-millennialism.”⁷ This view posited that human efforts would improve the whole of society and bring about a thousand years of peace, at the close of which, Christ would return to earth. The Millerites called this a “temporal millennium,” and strongly rejected it. They were “pre-millennialists,” who believed that the world would get worse and worse before Christ would come. But actually, the pre-millennialists and post-millennialists of the 1840s were very much alike. They both believed the millennium was about to dawn, and that their efforts were essential to bringing it about. The pre-millennialists believed they themselves had to reach millennial perfection before Christ could come. The utopian communities of the day set about identifying the great sins of the age in order to eliminate those sins from their utopian enclave and thus be ready for the millennium. Even if they despaired of perfecting the whole world, they were to be paradigms of millennial peace, whether with the complex marriage of Oneida or the celibacy of the Shakers, the polygamy of the Mormons or the correct Sabbath-keeping of the Adventists.

Later, Mrs. White wrote: “When the character of Christ shall be perfectly reproduced in His people, then He will come to claim them as His own.”⁸ So Adventists must reach millennial perfection before Christ can come; Christ can only come after that perfection is reached.

The Shakers, who figure in Mrs. Temple’s story, were a utopian community with a number of ties to Adventism.

The United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, more commonly known as the Shakers, were a Christian sect founded in the eighteenth century in England. They were initially known as “Shaking Quakers” because of their ecstatic behavior during worship services. Shakers came to America in 1774 under the leadership

Please read, and then pass to your Sick Friends.

MRS. TEMPLE'S
RENOVATING REMEDY
The Greatest Medicine of the Age!



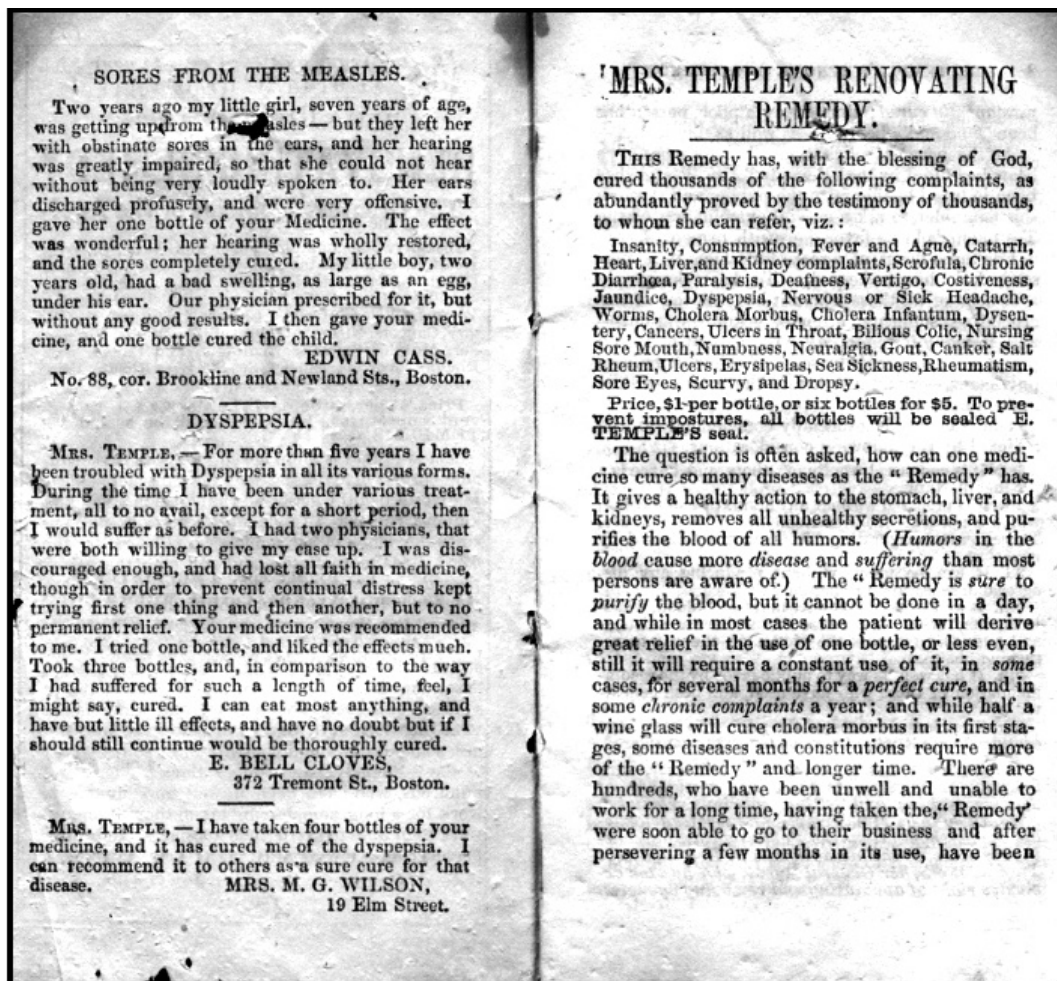
MRS. E. TEMPLE, PROPRIETRESS,
41 Shawmut Avenue, Corner Milford Street,
About One Minute's walk from Tremont, Washington,
Waltham, and Dover Streets.
 The Horse-Cars run within a few rods of the house.
 Persons coming on Tremont Street should get out at Milford Street.
All orders by mail or otherwise promptly attended to.
THOMAS BOND, Gen'l Travelling Ag't, Boston.
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BARRE, MASS.:
R. WM. WATERMAN & CO.,
 CHRONICLE BOOK AND JOB OFFICE.
 1866.

After leaving the Shakers, Elizabeth brewed her own medicinal tonic, and set to work promoting it.

of Mother Ann Lee. Her followers believed she was imbued with the female element of divinity. This belief resonated with the spiritualizing remnants of the Millerite movement, people who believed that Christ had already come spiritually. Shakers practiced a celibate and communal lifestyle, pacifism, and equality of the genders. During the mid-nineteenth century, specifically the 1840s, Shakers experienced an Era of Manifestations which included visions and trances for young women.

Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day Star* in Cincinnati, Ohio, had already exhibited an interest in the visionary trances of young women by publishing Ellen Harmon’s first vision in January 1846. Six months later, in June, Jacobs joined the Shakers. He was one of some two hundred Adventists to join a Shaker commune. Shakers actively recruited Adventists—attending their meetings, even bringing wagonloads to their villages.⁹ Most Adventists did not



Like most patent medicine makers, Mrs. Temple claimed hers could cure a vast array of maladies.

stay more than a year or two. Jacobs himself was expelled for violating their rule of celibacy, declaring he would rather go to hell with Electra, his wife, than to live among the Shakers without her.¹⁰

How was Mrs. Temple involved with the Shakers? Samuel and Sarah White had a baby girl in 1809 whom they named Elizabeth.¹¹ This means she was nearly twenty years older than Ellen White, who was not born until 1827. Both Ellen and Elizabeth ended up marrying a man named James. About 1834, Elizabeth married James Lyman Temple, but he generally used his middle name, Lyman. The couple had two sons, Lyman Jr., born about 1837,¹² and Israel, born about 1845.¹³

The couple were Millerites, or at least Elizabeth was. Half a dozen years after the Great Disappointment, Elizabeth was dangerously ill. Otis Nichols and his wife Mary, hearing she was near death, hastened to her home

in Boston. Elizabeth's brother, who was "not a believer" was asked to leave the room, and the visitors began to pray for Elizabeth.¹⁴ Mary Nichols anointed her abdomen with oil, because that was where the pain was, and Elizabeth was healed instantly. The next day, Nichols visited her again and found her walking around the house, singing and praising God.¹⁵

We learn a great deal about Elizabeth Temple once we can identify the mysterious "Sister M" in Ellen White's *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 2. As you may know, the names of individuals to whom the original testimonies were addressed have been replaced by a sequence of alphabetical letters in the volumes we have today. So, there is a Brother A, B, C, and a Sister A, B, C and so on until "M" is reached. But we have several clues to Sister M's real identity: she lived in Boston, she had a violently abusive, alcoholic husband, she had two sons who served in

and survived the American Civil War, she was poor for much of her early married life, and then became rich. Every line of the testimony fits Elizabeth Temple exactly.¹⁶

Apparently, Elizabeth's marriage began well; Mrs. White says her husband was an "affectionate, noble-minded man." However, "intoxicating drink benumbed his brain," and he became a hopeless alcoholic.¹⁷ For much of their marriage he subjected her to "persecution, threats, and violence."¹⁸ Elizabeth struggled with poverty, barely surviving on the meager wages of a housekeeper.¹⁹ There were periods of time, perhaps long periods, when the couple lived apart. James was in a boarding house in 1855, while Elizabeth lived elsewhere with her younger son.²⁰ By the early 1860s, James Temple had died.²¹

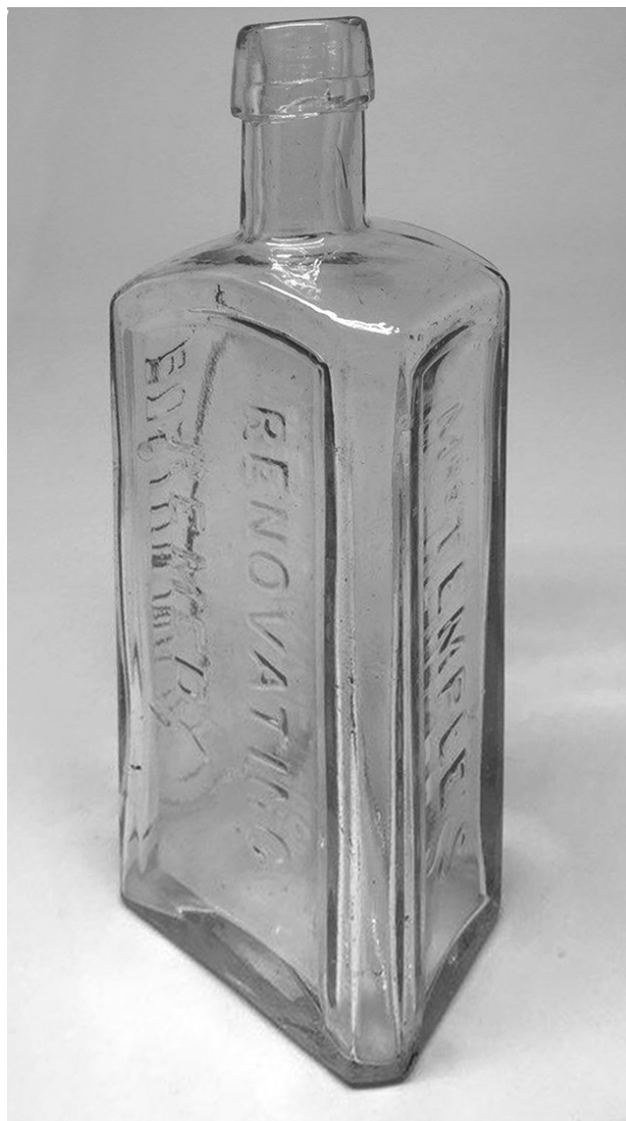
But Mrs. White provided one more fascinating detail about "Sister M." She spent time among the Shakers. We don't know when Mrs. Temple sojourned in a Shaker Village, but it may have been in the late 1840s, and thus during the period when Shakers were experiencing visions. Mrs. White wrote: "Some of the Shakers had received spiritual manifestations, telling them that you were designed of God to be a prominent member of their society."²²

It was common for poverty-stricken men and women, faced with a hard winter, to seek food and shelter among the Shakers. These godly people did not reject these "Winter Shakers," even though they knew that most of them would be gone by the next summer.²³ Some Adventist friends who had helped Elizabeth earlier had joined the Shakers, so, for a time, Elizabeth did also.²⁴

We remember the Shakers today for their elegant furniture, but in Elizabeth's day they were famous as the nation's principle source of medicinal herbs.²⁵ It is entirely possible that during her time with the Shakers, Elizabeth was put to work drying, powdering, packaging, and shipping herbs to apothecaries (drug stores), physicians, and individuals throughout the country. Even if she was not directly involved in the medicinal herb business, she would have been able to see the business in operation.

"The Lord opened the way for you to leave that deceived community," Mrs. White wrote, "and you left unharmed, the principles of your faith as pure as when you went among them."²⁶

Shortly after she left the Shakers, Elizabeth suffered another serious bout of illness. This time James and Ellen White visited her, prayed for her, and again she was



Mrs. Temple had her own bottles made with the name of her tonic on it.

healed. "At the time you felt . . . a decided change, . . . joy and gladness . . . filled your heart. The praise of God was . . . upon your lips. 'Oh, what hath the Lord wrought!' was the sentiment of your soul."²⁷

At some point, Mrs. Temple concocted her own herbal remedy, doubtless drawing on the insights she had gleaned from the Shakers. She mixed it into a tonic, fed it to family and friends, and they seemed to believe it was effective in relieving their ills. Well, she reasoned, if the Shakers could make money on herbal remedies, so could she. She had nine-inch-tall bottles made with her name and the name of her product embossed into the glass, and "Mrs. Temple's Renovating Remedy" went on the market. By 1864, she had sold 5,000 bottles of the brew. She even had brown stoneware jugs made with her

name stamped on them for customers who wanted to super-size. But “brew” is not the right word, because unlike most patent medicines of the day, Elizabeth claimed hers contained no alcohol.

We should insert here, parenthetically, that the other recipe Mrs. White used was quite different. Cholera mixture included a liberal dose of brandy and a bit of opium (in the form of laudanum) as well.

Even as her medicinal business was growing, Elizabeth realized another welcome blessing. Both of her sons had enlisted in the Union Army and while the younger one, Israel, did not see combat, her older son, Lyman, saw a great deal. He joined the Massachusetts Tenth Light Artillery Battery and served under General Grant in a number of battles. At the incredibly bloody Battle of Cold Harbor, Lyman spent part of his time on the front lines, but he was not among the 13,000 Union soldiers killed there. He called it “good luck,” but Ellen White said “a mother’s prayers from an anxious, burdened soul . . . had much to do with their preservation.”²⁹

So, what was in Mrs. Temple’s Renovating Remedy? We don’t know exactly what was in those bottles, but we do know the recipe Mrs. White used for it, which she probably got directly from Mrs. Temple. Pasted in the back of her 1892 diary, along with the recipe for cholera mixture, is the recipe for Mrs. Temple’s Remedy.

Genetain five ounces; bloodroot, five ounces; cubebs, three ounces; snake root (serpent) three ounces. [*Aristolochia serpentaria*] The snake root is the large kind, not the fine. All should be powdered finely and then mixed together. For use, take one teaspoonful of fine powder, and steep in the pint of hot water. Dose, — a table spoonful three or four times a day, before or after meals as is convenient.³⁰

How did it taste? We know that too. One of Mrs. White’s young secretaries, writing in the 1950s, when she

was old, said: “Sara McEnterfer used to make this for her, and it seemed to be a sort of general cure-all, tonic, or something, that she, Sister White, indulged in quite frequently, with apparent good results, at least I remember she had much faith in the brew, which was the bitterest stuff imaginable; in fact, it was terrible, for it stayed in the mouth so long—that bitterness.”³¹

But it wasn’t only Ellen White who believed in it. In 1864, Mrs. Temple published a twenty-four-page pamphlet, full of testimonials from her customers. They claimed to have been cured of scrofulous humors, scarlet fever and consumption, sore eyes, ulcerated kidneys, rheumatism, dropsy, dyspepsia, numbness, erysipelas, and even insanity. One mother wrote of her darling little boy, four years old, who was on the point of death, but then took Mrs. Temple’s Remedy; from the day he began to take it, he cried for bread, and before he had finished one bottle, he was able to walk around the house.

By 1866, Mrs. Temple’s business was really thriving and she published another promotional pamphlet. By this time, she had hired a sales agent. A single bottle cost \$1, equal to about \$27 in today’s money. And although some maladies could be cured with a single bottle, chronic conditions might require a whole year of treatment. Little wonder Mrs. Temple grew rich.

But Mrs. White’s interest in Mrs. Temple was not only about her bitter remedy, it was that money and its impact on her spiritual life. Daniel Walker Howe, in *What Hath God Wrought*, cites foreign visitors’ observations about America during this period:

Most observers at the time [found] Americans obsessively preoccupied with earning a living . . . Americans pursued success so avidly they seldom paused to smell the flowers. A kind of raw egotism, unsoftened by sociability, expressed itself in boastful men, demanding women, and loud children.

We learn a great deal about Elizabeth Temple once we can identify the mysterious “Sister M” in Ellen White’s Testimonies for the Church.

God had tested Mrs. Temple in her days of poverty, Mrs. White said, and she had passed the test admirably; he had protected her from the Shakers' devices; but then he had decided to test her with prosperity and, on this test, she was failing. Indeed, she was not the only one—all through the 1850s and 1860s, Mrs. White issued numerous testimonies warning various Adventists that their pursuit of money was damaging their spiritual life.

Mrs. Temple does seem to have wandered to the margins of Adventism over the years. During the years of her poverty, Elizabeth maintained her subscription to the *Advent Review*, paying a dollar or two per year, but contributed little else. Once her fortunes changed and her business began to grow in 1863, she became very generous with the church. She paid \$10 to get more than a dozen copies of the new prophetic chart to share with friends and prospective converts. In 1864, she made several large donations, which in today's money would probably amount to \$700. She even offered discounts on her Remedy to poor people. But after mid-1866, when her new pamphlet proudly boasted that her medicine was the "Greatest Medicine of the Age," her donations ceased—she didn't even maintain her subscription to the *Advent Review*, and there was no mention of consideration for the poor. Perhaps there was more than a little pride shown when city directories started listing her occupation as "physician."

In 1867, she married Ransom Hicks, who in earlier years had been part of the Messenger Party, vociferous opponents of Ellen White. He had once equated Mrs. White with Jezebel.³² The marriage didn't last long, even though she was stuck with his name on legal documents till the end of her life.³³ The marriage symbolized Mrs. Temple's spiritual decline, or at least the loosening of her Adventist ties.

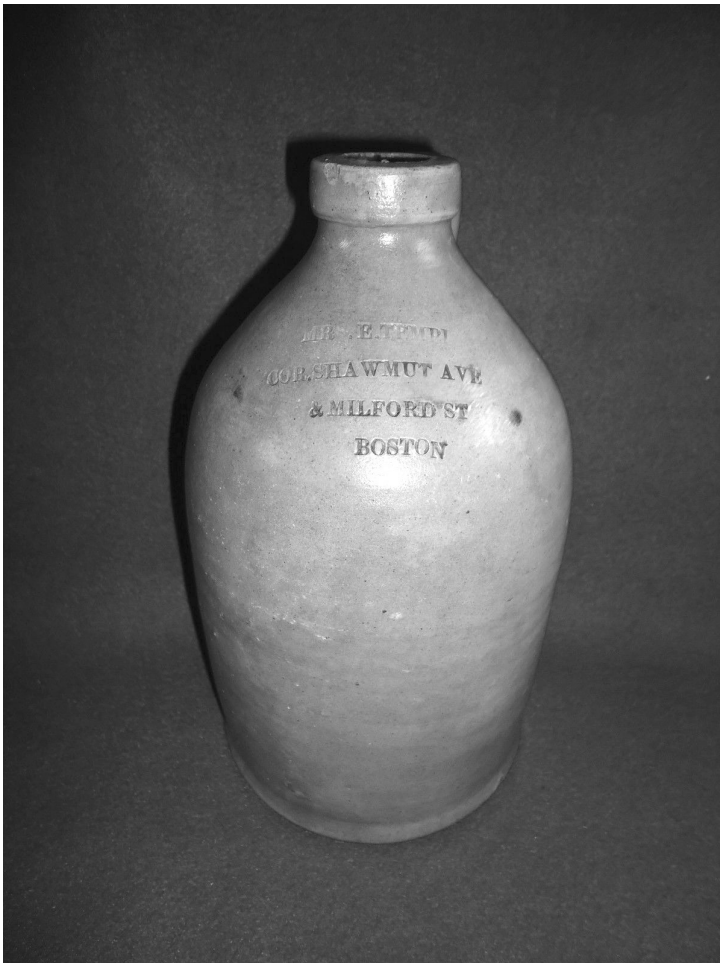
Mrs. White reminded Elizabeth of the role prosperity played in her spiritual decline: "As means came into your hands, I saw you gradually and almost imperceptibly separating from God."³⁴ "The business and cares of your new position claimed your time and attention, and your duty to God was not considered."³⁵ Mrs. Temple did feel that her new position as a prosperous businesswoman required her to upgrade her house and her wardrobe.³⁶ An additional factor undermined her spiritual life. Her son Lyman had married, and he and his wife were living with Elizabeth. The wife objected to Elizabeth praying aloud during family worship, so Elizabeth abandoned family devotions.³⁷

She had divorced Hicks by late 1868. In December, the Whites, on an eastern tour, stopped in Boston and visited with Mrs. Temple. The visit must have involved some touching personal appeals and confessions. Mrs. White wrote, "We left Boston and Sister T. [Temple] yesterday about noon. We hope now her long state of inactivity will end and she be again an interested worker in the cause of God, as she has been."³⁸ Arriving home, James White wrote in the *Review*, "The Lord is doing a great work for this woman, who is consecrating herself anew to God."³⁹

After returning home, and already assured of a positive response, Mrs. White mailed Elizabeth a long testimony. She sympathetically reviewed the older woman's whole life up to that point, and urged her to return to a more active, more committed religious life—something, it appears, she had already decided to do. Mrs. Temple responded in a letter to Mrs. White, which was published in the *Review*:

I received your testimony last evening, for which I thank the Lord. It is true. It seemed to spread my past experience, trials, and the

A single bottle cost a dollar, equal to about \$27 in today's money. And although some maladies could be cured with a single bottle, chronic conditions might require a whole year of treatment. Little wonder Mrs. Temple grew rich.



For some ailments, a long series of doses was recommended. Customers could order the Remedy by the jug.

dealings of God, fresh before my mind, as though it was but yesterday. I could not have stated facts more correctly. I read and wept until I had read them over twice, and commenced to read them a third time. It was past eleven o'clock, and I thought I would leave them until this morning. . . . Oh! I am astonished to think that I should be so ungrateful to my Heavenly Father, who has done so much for me. . . . What a change has come over me. . . . What heavenly wisdom I need to be a just steward. . . . How many times I have felt to thank the Lord that, in his providence, you and dear Bro. White, came this way, and for your faithfulness God will bless you, and everyone who is faithful in trying to search out his lost sheep. . . . We had a good meeting yesterday. There were three children that arose and requested an interest

in our prayers. May the Lord convert and lead them in the way everlasting.⁴⁰

In *Testimony for the Church*, 17, which appeared even before Mrs. Temple's confession could appear in the *Review*, Ellen White published the whole testimony.⁴¹ Elizabeth Temple's name was blanked out, but many Adventists would have known exactly whom Mrs. White was addressing. However, they would almost immediately have seen Mrs. Temple's positive response in the *Review*.

In the final fifteen years of Elizabeth Temple's life, she remained a faithful Adventist. In the 1870 *Boston City Directory*, her ad restored the line "The poor always liberally considered." Her enterprise does not seem to have continued at the same level, and she spent a good deal of money trying to set her sons up in the grocery business.⁴² Nevertheless, she maintained her subscription to the *Advent Review* and contributed a handsome \$100 to help buy a printing press for J. N. Andrews' missionary efforts in Europe. By 1876, she had moved out of town about ten miles, but she was still the first to arrive at the Boston Church for a Sabbath of fasting and prayer. It was a "blessed season,"

the pastor reported. In fact, Sister Temple paid it the highest compliment a pioneer Adventist could offer: "This is a '44 meeting," she exclaimed, "such as we experienced just prior to the tenth day of the seventh month."⁴³

We don't know much more about those final years of Mrs. Temple's life. The day after Christmas in 1884, Elizabeth Temple died, and rests in the "blessed hope."⁴⁴

Endnotes

1. Ellen G. White to W. C. White, Feb. 6, 1883, Letter 19, 1883.
2. Ellen G. White to J. E. White and Emma White, Aug 19, 1895, Letter 126, 1895.
3. Ellen G. White to Mary White, Jan. 10, 1890, Letter 79, 1890.
4. Ellen G. White to Marian Davis, Nov. 12, 1895, Letter 103, 1895, paragraph 4.
5. Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007), 564, 691, 696.

6. *Ibid.*, 471–472.
7. *Ibid.*, 285.
8. Ellen G. White, *Christ's Object Lessons*, (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publ. Assn., 1900, 1941), 69.
9. Suzanne R. Thurman, “*Oh Sisters Ain't You Happy?*” (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2002), 130.
10. Lawrence Foster, “Had Prophecy Failed? Contrasting Perspectives of the Millerites and Shakers,” in *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 173–188.
11. *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620–1988* for Elizabeth Temple, Boston, Births, Marriages and Death; see marriage record to Ransom Hicks in 1867, see Ancestry.com.
12. Lyman W. Temple in “Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861–1865,” see Ancestry.com.
13. Israel S. Temple in “Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1961–1865,” see Ancestry.com.
14. “I saw that Bro. Bates erred again in praying for the sick before unbelievers. I saw if any among us were sick and called for the elders of the church to pray over them we should follow the example of Jesus. He went into an inner chamber, and we should go into a room by ourselves separate entirely from unbelievers, and then the atmosphere would not be polluted by them. By faith we could take hold on God and draw down the blessing. I saw that God's cause was dishonored and reproached in W. New York at the general conference by praying for the sick in the midst of unbelievers.” September 26–29, 1850, MS14-1850.4.
15. Otis Nichols, “Letter from Bro. Nichols,” *Present Truth*, Vol. 1 (May 1850): 79–80.
16. Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 2 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publ. Assn., 1948), 268–288.
17. *Ibid.*, 268.
18. *Ibid.*, 269.
19. Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Hastings, May 21, 1849, Letter 5, 1849.
20. James L. Temple in the Massachusetts State Census, 1855, see Ancestry.com; Elizabeth Temple in the Massachusetts State Census, 1855, see Ancestry.com.
21. Elizabeth Temple in the Massachusetts State Census, 1865, listed as widow, see Ancestry.com.
22. White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 2, 271.
23. Stephen J. Paterwic, *The A to Z of the Shakers* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 247.
24. White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 2, 271.
25. Amu Bess Miller, *Shaker Medicinal Herbs* (Pownal, VT: Storey Books, 1998), 2.
26. White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 2, 272.
27. *Ibid.*, 273.
28. John Davis Billings, *The History of the Tenth Massachusetts Battery of Light Artillery* (Boston, MA: Arakelyan Press, 1909), 268.
29. White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 2, 275.
30. Ellen G. White, typewritten note pasted in back of Diary 26, 1892.
31. Edna Kilbourne Steele to Bessie Mount, March 18, 1955, see “Mrs. Temple's Remedy” in Ellen G. White Estate, Document File 34-G-2-A.
32. Theodore N. Levterov, “The Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Understanding of Ellen G. White's Prophetic Gift, 1844–1889” (PhD diss. Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, 2011), 86.
33. Ellen G. White to J. E. and W. C. White, December 2, 1868, Letter 25, 1868; Massachusetts Death Records, 1841–1915 for Elizabeth Hicks. We know this is the death record for Elizabeth Temple because her maiden name is listed as “White,” and the date matches the date of her obituary published in the *Review*; S. N. Haskell, “Obituary Notices. Temple,” *Advent Review*, Vol. 62 (February 24, 1885): 127.
34. White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 2, 278
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, 279.
37. *Ibid.*, 280.
38. Ellen G. White to J. E. and W. C. White, December 16, 1868, Letter 26, 1868.
39. James White, “Eastern Tour,” *Advent Review*, Vol. 32 (Dec. 22, 1868): 285.
40. Elizabeth Temple, “Sister E. Temple, of Boston, writes . . .” *Advent Review*, Vol. 33 (March 2, 1869): 79.
41. James White, “Testimony No. 17,” *Advent Review*, Vol. 33 (February 16, 1869): 64; Ellen G. White, *Testimony for the Church*, No. 17 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publ. Assn., 1969), 91–115, now in White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 2, 268–288.
42. J. N. Andrews to James White, Jan. 26, 1874.
43. M. Wood, “A Good Day in Boston,” *Advent Review*, Vol. 47 (January 27, 1876): 31.
44. Elizabeth Hicks in the Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841–1915, see Ancestry.com; S. N. Haskell, “Obituary Notices: Temple,” *Advent Review*, Vol. 62 (February 24, 1885).



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Penultimate

We take unreasonable comfort in thinking we're the last generation
Putting a bow on history;
Making the closing argument;
Vindicating the character of God.

But what if we are the next to the last generation,
Living before the holy are holy still,
And the wicked have had their fill?
Before the veil is torn like a bandage from reality.

What difference would that make? Should we be
Serving or sharing?
Cleaning the rivers or cleansing the church?
Helping the homeless or seeking for holiness?

Or do we say, who cares,
It won't matter in eternity.
The books will be audited,
And all evidence of sin will be burned away.

What can really be expected of penultimates if we are only
Pilgrims and strangers;
Spectators and rubberneckerers;
Well-wishers and weekend warriors
Until the end begins?

-Don Williams

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