



community through conversation

SPECTRUM



Untitled Construct No. 4. Oil on Canvas. 30"x28.25" 2018.

LOVE AND POLITICS | ROY ADAMS' REFLECTION ON RACE

Civil War Memorials: Remembering and Forgetting
That Vision Thing: The Sanctuary Teaching Forty Years Beyond Glacier View

community through conversation

SPECTRUM

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ABOUT SPECTRUM

SPECTRUM is a journal established to encourage Seventh-day Adventist participation in the discussion of contemporary issues from a Christian viewpoint, to look without prejudice at all sides of a subject, to evaluate the merits of diverse views, and to foster Christian intellectual and cultural growth. Although effort is made to ensure accurate scholarship and discriminating judgment, the statements of fact are the responsibility of contributors, and the views individual authors express are not necessarily those of the editorial staff as a whole or as individuals.

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ARTIST'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE ART

In the cover work, *Untitled Construct No. 4*, Donald explores formal tensions between abstraction and representation, order and disorder, architecture and sculpture, painting and photography. Through these tensions, Donald seeks to share that though many things within ourselves or in the world may seem in conflict—faith, hope, and beauty still persist.

Donald Keefe | *Untitled Construct No. 4* | 30"x28"
Oil on Canvas | 2018

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Additional artworks by Donald Keefe are viewable at www.donaldkeefe.com

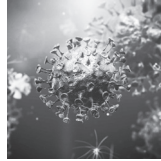


ABOUT THE COVER ARTIST: DONALD KEEFE

Donald Keefe (b.1984, Des Moines, IA) grew up in Temecula, California and has lived in Kentucky, West Virginia, Florida, and New York. He earned a BFA from the University of Kentucky and an MFA from the University of Florida. His artwork has been exhibited and published nationally. In 2015, he accepted a teaching position in the School of Visual Art & Design at Southern Adventist University (Collegedale, TN), where he currently serves as Associate Professor of Art. He lives outside of Chattanooga, TN with his wife, Evangelyn, and their son, Josiah.

Donald's interests in history, theology, literature, politics, and philosophy inform his artwork. A common visual theme in his artwork is a contrast between hard-edged architectural elements that suggest order and structure, and the disorder of those very same elements.

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EDITORIALS

What Does the Lord

REQUIRE OF YOU?

BY BONNIE DWYER

In these days, post the killing of George Floyd, one frequently hears the words of Micah 6:8 quoted, the verse that asks and answers the question in the headline. It speaks to this time of examining our country's and our community's history of racism, brings it home, and makes it personal. A phrase within that verse—to *do* justly—inspired this issue, given its emphasis on what a Christian is required to *do*. This is the *doing* issue. What does it mean to *do* justice? What does it mean to pursue truth and beauty? What does it mean to live the Christian life?

To delve into this moment, when members are marching with Black Lives Matter, and preachers are discussing racism within the church, we turned to Olive Hemmings, who can preach like an Old Testament prophet and does so for us with a look at the President's photo op with the Bible. Ramona Hyman uses poetry to tell Grace's story, a reminder of marches from times past, and how Grace walked to Selma and on to Montgomery for Jimmie Lee Jackson. Maïgane Diop addresses the politics in what we *do* to "love our neighbor" as ourselves. We are pleased to introduce Maïgane to our readers as she enters medical school at Stanford University this fall.

Another medical student is featured in our Doing Science section. Robert G. Hammond earned a PhD in chemistry before enrolling in medical school. His doctoral research just happened to be on a protein within the coronaviruses. Alex Aamodt reports the story of Hammond's research and his dream to eventually establish a lab where more minorities and Adventists can be involved.

Doing justice certainly requires having a vision of how things can be better in the future. That vision thing, it turns out, also plays a big role in how we respond to current circumstances. Writing from Australia, Trevor Lloyd shares his most recent work, illuminating what happened at that historical meeting at Glacier View by helping us to understand the

"imaginative vision" of that time.

In "A Word of Grace for Your Monday," a weekly devotional message that attorney Kent Hansen writes, he recently included an examination of the story about the rich young ruler in Luke 18, asking Jesus what he must do to be saved. After Jesus confirms that it is loving the Lord with all one's heart and soul and one's neighbor as oneself, their exchange takes a turn.

"The lawyer pushes his inquiry, as lawyers are prone to do, looking for a loophole. 'Who is my neighbor?' he asks Jesus (Luke 18:9).

"There are really religious people who argue the only important thing is salvation, and other concerns, social justice, for instance, 'aren't essential for salvation.'" Hanson writes. "This is where the lawyer is going, but Jesus is going to make the point that the life God gives is not just a 'goal.' The gift of life from a God of love must be lived with love."

Living a life of love, then, is another way to answer the question of what a Christian must do. In an interview with Maestro Herbert Blomstedt, we learn about his extraordinary life and the role of music in loving God. Artist Donald Keefe shows and tells us about his personal search for spiritual faith, hope, and purpose. Inspired by the biblical story of Babel, he says he is drawn "to structures that are collapsed, abandoned, or under construction as symbols for hubris, failure, and the persistence to 'try again' in life."

We hope this collection of stories and art will inspire you to broaden your vision of what it means to seek and speak the truth, to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God.



BONNIE DWYER is editor of *Spectrum*.

The Larger Prayer

BY CARMEN LAU

Adventists, while tending to be prideful with right belief, have fortunately incorporated foot washing as a ritual. In this way, we have a touchpoint to remind us of the primacy of orthopraxy, as well as orthodoxy. The Ordinance of Humility, as we call it, points to a different cultural context than the one in which we live. Seeing the master wash feet had not been a possibility when Jesus's followers were imagining what discipleship might bring forth.

Recently, on an Adventist Christian Fellowship (ACF) Zoom Bible Study, we pondered John 13 and the story of Jesus washing His disciples' feet. The University of Alabama at Birmingham chapter of ACF continues weekly meetings during the pandemic quarantine, joined by people from near and as far away as Arizona and even Panama. These students seek to practice an integrated Christian walk that includes learning from scripture, while preparing to participate in the world by attaining higher education.

In relation to the biblical story, my ACF friends brought up the notion that, strangely enough, vulnerability gives a sort of power. They cited researcher Brené Brown, particularly her book *Daring Greatly*, as evidence. My friends also sought to position themselves in a humble, open space, with an acknowledgment that God's mysterious ways might bring forth an unimagined outcome. Recently, there has been discussion that has pierced a prevalent numbness on the topic of racial injustice. What is the right action for Christ followers in this regard? How do humble acts transform?

It made me think that I don't really know how to transcend what I think I need when I pray. His way is the unimaginable way, that is always higher than any action imagined by contemporary cultural powers. Ednah

Cheney's words came to mind from hymn #488 in the *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*:

At first I prayed for light:
Could I but see the way,
How gladly, swiftly would I walk
To everlasting day!
And next I prayed for strength:
That I might tread the road
With firm, unfalt'ring feet, and win
The heav'ns' serene abode.
And then I prayed for faith:
Could I but trust my God,
I'd live enfolded in His peace,
Though foes were all abroad.
But now I pray for love:
Deep love to God and man;
A living love that will not fail,
However dark His plan.
And light and strength and faith
Are op'ning everywhere!
God waited patiently until
I prayed the larger prayer.

We worship a large God. We can partake of His nature by praying a larger prayer, which will clear a path for action.



CARMEN LAU is chair of Adventist Forum.

NOTEWORTHY



ADVENTIST ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVE MILLIONS IN FEDERAL PAYCHECK PROTECTION LOANS, *Despite Religious Liberty Concerns*

BY ALVA JAMES-JOHNSON

General Conference and North American Division entities, along with dozens of Adventist academies, conferences, and independent ministries, have received millions of federal dollars from the CARES Act Paycheck Protection Program (PPP) designed to keep workers employed during the COVID-19 pandemic. The Adventist organizations obtained the funds despite a strong NAD rec-

ommendation that church organizations abstain from participation in the program due to religious liberty concerns.

According to data released last week by the US Treasury Department, NAD entities that received funding are Pacific Press and the Adventist Media Center, each netting between \$1 million and \$2 million. GC entities that benefited from the program are ADRA and a medical clinic listed as the

General Corp. of Seventh-day Adventists in Guam, both of which received between \$1 million and \$2 million. Independent ministries on the list include Amazing Facts and 3ABN, which also separately received between \$1 million and \$2 million, and Weimar Institute, which received \$350,000 to \$1 million.

The Adventist entities listed in the government database are among thousands of religious organizations to receive the forgivable loans through the \$659 billion stimulus program, the first of its kind to cover the salaries of church workers, according to a recent article in *Christianity Today*.¹ The database categorizes the dollars received according to range of funding and not specific amounts, with tiers of \$150,000–350,000, \$350,000–1 million, \$1–2 million, \$2–5 million, and \$5–10 million.

Any small business with 500 or fewer employees may be eligible for a PPP loan, including faith-based organizations, according to government officials. The program, administered by the Small Business Administration (SBA), forgives the loans based on certain criteria, such as employee retention.

This program “provides small businesses with funds to pay up to 8 weeks of payroll costs including benefits,” according to information on the US Department of Treasury website.² “Funds can also be used to pay interest on mortgages, rent, and utilities.”

Spectrum analyzed the allocations via a searchable chart designed specifically to track Adventist organizations receiving the funding. It contains information for entities owned by the denomination, as well as independent ministries.

The chart, included at the end of this article, was created by downloading data from the government website—which identifies organizations that received \$150,000 or more—and cross-referencing it with data from Adventist datasets available through the Adventist *Yearbook* and eAdventist. Entities receiving less than \$150,000 were not identified by the SBA due to privacy concerns, according to US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin. Five news organizations, including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, are suing the SBA for access to government records regarding who received funding and the exact amounts.

Due to the complications of searching some church entities because of name variations, etc.—in addition to the government not identifying organizations receiving smaller loans—the chart is not comprehensive. However, it does

provide a sense of the widespread acceptance of federal dollars among Adventist organizations, despite the NAD’s recommendation and the denomination’s long-standing preoccupation with the separation of church and state.

The chart remains a work in progress and can be updated to include specific independent ministries that may not have been part of the cross-referencing.

Currently, the denominational chart lists fifty-five Adventist entities. Combined, those organizations have retained 7,499 jobs because of the funding, according to the data collected from the SBA website.

In total, the organizations and independent ministries listed in the denominational chart received between \$54 million and \$121 million.

While the GC remained silent regarding whether Seventh-day Adventist entities should accept the funding, the NAD issued an April 8 statement admonishing churches, schools, and administrative offices to refrain from tapping into the funds, making an exception for money covering childcare and extended sick leave.

Many church leaders and members have concerns regarding both restrictions and conditions surrounding the acceptance of this government aid. In addition, there have been questions regarding how receiving this money fits into the Seventh-day Adventist Church’s longstanding and historic commitment to the separation of church and state.³

“It is the North American Division administration’s recommendation to abstain from participation in both of these federal financial assistance programs,” the statement continues, referring to federal funds available through both the Coronavirus Aid, Relief and Economic Security Act (CARES) and the Families First Coronavirus Response Act (FFCRA). “While the risk associated with this money is uncertain, NAD leadership’s primary concern is remaining faithful to the counsel we’ve been given regarding church-state relations.”

When contacted with questions about at least two NAD entities accepting the funds, NAD Communication Director Dan Weber referred *Spectrum* back to the division’s statement.

“So, what we’ve decided to do is we’re not going to comment,” he said in a phone interview. “We will refer you

Paycheck Protection Program (PPP) Loan Data for Adventist Entities

\$150,000-350,000

Adventist Frontier Missions
 Beersheba Adventist Church, Inc.
 Dakota Adventist Academy
 Greater Miami Adventist Academy
 Guam-Micronesia Mission of SDA
 Highland Academy
 Madison Academy
 Milo Adventist Academy
 Newbury Park Adventist Academy
 North Caribbean Conference of SDA
 South Bay Junior Academy
 South Texas Christian Academy
 St. Thomas-St. John SDA School
 Sunnydale Adventist Academy

\$350,000-1 Million

Central States Conference Corporation
 Corporacion Educativa De La Asociacion De
 Los Adventistas Del Septimo Dia
 Dakota Conference of SDA
 Florida Conference of SDA
 Forest Lake Academy
 Forest Lake Education Center
 Glendale Adventist Academy
 Lake Union Conference of SDA

Maranatha Volunteers International, Inc.
 Mountainview Conference of SDA
 North Dallas Adventist Academy
 North Tampa Christian Academy
 The Seventh-day Adventist Mission
 of the Northern Mariana Islands
 Weimar Institute, Inc.

\$1-2 Million

Adventist Development and Relief Agency
 International
 Adventist Media Center, Inc.
 Amazing Facts International
 General Conference Corp. of Seventh-day
 Adventist*
 [388 Ypao Road, Tamuning, Guam 96913]
 General Conference of SDA*
 [1701 Robie Avenue, Mount Dora, FL 32757]
 Gulf States Conference of Seventh Day
 Adventists, Inc.
 Illinois Conference of SDA
 Indiana Association of SDA, Inc.
 Lake Region Conference of SDA
 New Jersey Conference of SDA
 Northern New England Conference of SDA -
 Sba Small 7a Term
 Ohio Conference of SDA

Oklahoma Conference Corporation of SDA
 Pacific Press Assn., Inc.
 Three Angels Broadcasting Network, Inc.
 Wisconsin Corporation of SDA

\$2-5 Million

Allegheny East Conference
 Kentucky-Tennessee Conference
 Association of SDA
 Pacific Union College
 Pennsylvania Conf Assn of SDA
 Southern California Conference of SDA
 Southwestern Adventist University Union
 College
 Washington Adventist University

\$5-10 Million

Potomac Conference Corporation of SDA
 Southeastern California Conference of SDA
 The Northeastern Conference Corp of SDA

BASED ON INFORMATION FROM THE US TREASURY

**Note that the addresses listed with these two General Conference listings are different than the main GC headquarters in Maryland.*

back to our statement. . . . It was a guideline from the division saying, ‘This is what we ask you to consider; this is how we feel about it. But we ask that you prayerfully consider it before you decide to apply for the money or not.’”

He said Pacific Press and the Adventist Media Center are both entities of the NAD, but they have boards to which they report, and it would have taken a voted action to apply for the money.

In a separate interview, Karnik Doukmetzian, who serves as general counsel for both the GC and NAD, said the NAD statement speaks for itself; therefore, he saw no need to comment further on that issue. He said the clinic in Guam is an operation that was entitled to funds and has continued to serve the people of that island by receiving the money.

“So, I don’t have any answer for them; they made that application themselves,” he said. “It just happens to have the General Conference name on it.”

Another recipient of the funds, listed as “General Conference of Seventh-day,” located in Mount Dora, FL, also received \$1–2 million. However, unlike the clinic in Guam, it is not a GC entity, Doukmetzian said. Instead, it is

a listing for the Southeastern Conference.

“And that’s not a General Conference entity; it’s a local conference within the Southern Union,” he said. “So I’m not sure why they listed the General Conference in that one. It was clearly an error.”

Regarding the PPP funds, Doukmetzian explained why the GC refrained from releasing a statement.

“Well, the PPP is an American thing,” he explained. “The GC let North America take the lead on it. They issued the statement with which the GC concurred.”

The denominational chart lists ten Adventist academies that each received between \$150,000 and \$350,000, and four that received between \$350,000 and \$1 million. Among them are Dakota Adventist Academy in Bismarck, North Dakota; Greater Miami Adventist Academy in Miami, Florida; Highland Academy in Portland, Tennessee; Madison Academy in Madison, Tennessee; Forest Lake Academy in Apopka, Florida; and Milo Adventist Academy in Days Creek, Oregon.

Five NAD conferences received between \$350,000 and \$1 million. Nine received \$1–2 million.



Amazing Facts posted a YouTube video on July 22, 2020, with President Doug Batchelor stating that Amazing Facts has sent the money back to the government.

Four conferences—Alleghany East, Kentucky-Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Southern California—received between \$2 million and \$5 million. In addition, another three—Potomac, Southeastern California, and Northeastern—received between \$5 million and \$10 million.

The four universities on the list—Pacific Union College, Southwestern Adventist University, Union College, and Washington Adventist University—all received between \$2 million and \$5 million.

Alan J. Reinach is executive director of the Church State Council, an Adventist religious liberty educational and advocacy arm of the Pacific Union Conference, representing five western states. He said there is a lot of confusion surrounding the Adventist position regarding government funding.

On the one hand, historically our church has been strongly supportive of the separation of church and state. And, those of us in Religious Liberty have strongly advocated for the historic no-aid-to-religion principle, which really goes back to colonial times and the founding of the Constitution. Having said that, NAD *Working Policy*, for as long as I've been here and longer—and I've been here since the early '90s—has never adopted an absolutist position on no-aid to religion. And so, when several of us in Religious Liberty were analyzing the Payment Protection Plan, we came to the conclusion that accepting the funds would be consistent with NAD *Working Policy*.

Reinach said the NAD recommendation reflects the historic view of remaining independent of government funding, and he does not have a problem with that stance.

“At the same time, the organization—faced with the prospect of potential layoffs and economic harm—had a real-world decision to make about a risk-reward assessment,” he said.

The PPP loans had no strings directly attached, Reinach explained. Though that could change in the future, the NAD and other Adventist organizations grappled with the possibility of laying off hourly-wage workers, who would be the first to go due to COVID-19 restrictions.

“I’m a plaintiff’s employment lawyer; I represent workers,” he said.

So, my heart is with our rank-and-file employees who are the ones who were going to suffer for the principled decision of Administration not to take money. I can see plenty of reason on both sides of the thing — either to refrain from taking the money or applying for the money. I think there are good rationales on both sides, frankly. And I don’t think there should be any aspersions on organizations that did take the money; or, for that matter, any criticism of those who decided, “No. We’re going to tough it out.”

Editor’s Note: Spectrum has been approved for a \$30,700 PPP loan.

Endnotes

1. <https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2020/july/pay-check-protection-program-loans-christian-churches-minist.html>.
2. <https://home.treasury.gov/system/files/136/PPP%20--%20Overview.pdf?>
3. <https://spectrummagazine.org/news/2020/nad-leadership-provides-guidance-government-funding-assistance-due-covid-19-crisis>.



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

DOING JUSTICE, LOVING MERCY



Photo by Jacob Morch on Unsplash



Photo by ammsoids on Unsplash



istockphoto.com/Alexandre_Tzinoouloff



Photo by Vlad_Tchomajlov on Unsplash

(Left) Police line tape in front of the White House. (Top Middle) A mural honoring George Floyd in Minneapolis, MN. (Top Right) Make America Great Again hats are sold at a sales booth in Washington D.C. (Bottom right) A protest is held outside the White House in Washington D.C. on June 6, 2020.

CHRISTENDOM, THE POLICE STATE, *and the "Upside Down" Bible*

BY OLIVE J. HEMMINGS

The theatrics on Monday, June 1, 2020 that played out in the vicinity of the White House—the president of the United States holding the Bible against the backdrop of federal law enforcement agents advancing through a crowd of peaceful protesters with flash grenades and tear gas—exposes the distortion of the Christian faith: the misuse of the Bible by a powerful sector of Christendom. The drama finds bold relief in the inaccurate press report that he held the Bible “upside down.” The new evidence that the president did not hold the Bible upside down does not take away from the fact that in essence the Bible was in an “upside down” position in the hand of the United States president. The entire scene is a stark picture of the dismantlement of the central prophetic element of the Bible that advocates against any kind of injustice. So the inaccurate report of the press is ironic—an act of providence. This is how the Bible has been for centuries in the hands of the principalities and powers of Christendom: “upside down” in the interest of power, control, and self-preservation. The leader of the most powerful nation in the world, standing in front of the St. John’s Episcopal Church, uses the Bible in a photo op as a symbol of domination. He brings out the military and law enforcers to teargas a peaceful demonstration against systemic injustice, and to clear the path so that he can walk with an all-White-male retinue of stooges, Bible in hand, towards the front of this historic church, now empty and boarded up (a church that stands strongly against injustice). He heads this delegation of the White, male, police state, to signal the assault on justice, and exposes the ugly underbelly of a cultural system that allows some to keep their knees upon the necks of others so that the principalities and powers can thrive—using the Bible as prop. (Yes, a woman is there in the all-White male line-up, but so uniformed like

the males, few seem to notice).

Monday, May 25, 2020, the body of George Floyd is vandalized not over the alleged counterfeit \$20 bill that he allegedly attempts to pass. It is vandalized in the interest of power and control. He has no weapon, he is handcuffed, he is lying on the ground, but that is not enough. Make sure. Oppress down some more—knee on neck for 8 minutes and 46 seconds while the man cries for his Mama and pleads. “I can’t breathe.” “Don’t kill me.” He lays still, and still the knee presses down upon his neck. America and the world witness this. Thousands of all stripes come out in protest—and the police state attempts to repress them. The president threatens to deploy the military on American citizens and calls on state law enforcement to overwhelm and “dominate” the streets.

This is not merely the story of an alleged criminal and a law enforcement officer. This is the story of a culture sustained by the “knee on the neck policy,” with the Bible as prop. Please, let not “separation of church and state” jargon deceive anyone. The police state is

It is because of its founding purpose that Fundamentalist Christianity identifies so comfortably with the “Make America Great Again” campaign slogan of Donald Trump.

the Fundamentalist Christian state¹—the “Law and Order” state. It uses the Bible to keep people in subjection—to hold on to slavery, to entrench the idea that the White race is superior to races of color, and to entrench male domination and female subjugation. These ideas were openly and consciously enforced by preachers not very long ago to keep slaves and women in subjection. In fact, the idea of female subjugation and male domination is still being spewed

from the pulpit, and from committees—Bible in hand, and written in denominational policies in the Southern Baptist and Seventh-day Adventist churches, for example. One only needs to visit the Washington Museum of the Bible in Washington DC to observe the “Slave Bible”—a demonstration of the extent to which Christendom

They turn the Bible “upside down,” and justice lies bleeding in the street with the knee of this influential sector of Christendom squarely on the neck of Jesus of Nazareth as it grabs power and control through the police state.

uses the Bible to instill obedience and subjection to the principalities and powers. This “Slave Bible” excludes 90% of the Old Testament and 50% of the New Testament in an attempt to purge the Bible of its prophetic element and discourage any kind of rebellion. The Exodus story is not there, but Ephesians 6:5 is there. Today, this editing of the Bible still occurs, through interpretation in the interest of power and control.

The Fundamentalist Movement arose in 1919, just after World War I, to address and stem the worrying inroads of modernism and liberalism. With the end-time apocalyptic fervor, Fundamentalism registered anxiety over the fight for women’s suffrage, the availability of birth control, the upending of traditional gender roles, and the African American struggle for full citizenship.² As the watchdog of Christian rights and freedom, it became progressively enmeshed in US sovereignty and Americanism. As such, it became a militarist wing of Christendom ready to go to war to protect “Christian rights and freedom,” and to own weapons to protect person and property. In fact, lynching was part of the quest to protect Christian rights and freedoms, for not all Americans were recognized as full persons. It is because of its founding purpose that Fundamentalist Christianity identifies so comfortably with the “Make America Great Again” campaign slogan of Donald Trump. Anxiety over survival—survival of the traditionally privileged, survival of traditional beliefs and practices, including those that marginalize huge segments of humanity—along with deference to the rich by government economic policy, this essentially defines the agenda of the (religious) right. It is difficult to understand the extent to which this materialistic/nationalistic and misanthropic stance can be compatible with end-time apocalyptic fervor. But it is

easier to understand how today, contrary to its moralist stance, this wing of Christendom backs a political culture of criminality, lies, and “alternative facts” towards its own ideological interests, i.e., the ideological agenda of the Christian right.

Matthew Avery Sutton writes in *The Washington Post*:

White evangelicals’ pragmatic and self-serving approach to political power has been consistent for at least a century, dating to fundamentalists’ adoration for Warren G. Harding in the 1920s—which sounded a lot like their championing of Trump today.³

In spite of, and because of, all the knowledge we now have that debunks those myths that sustain domination, it all goes underground—unconscious racism and sexism born in Sabbath School and Sunday School, but killed by knowledge and education. The ghost haunts us—coldly peering out at the world from the eyes of White police officers vandalizing the black bodies of George Floyd, and Breonna Taylor—just the most recent among millions of black bodies for 401 years now. This ghost appears as church leaders vote to disavow women called to represent God, in whose image they stand. It appears as Christian parents pull their children out of educational institutions that admit too many students of color, and alumni cease to support an alma mater that has become too black. It is only a ghost. This police officer with his knee on the neck denies that he is racist, and the Pope of Rome denies that he is sexist. It is only a ghost; it wanders the catacombs of deserted church buildings and (e)merges into civil society, haunting us. Who will exorcise it, this spirit of domination—needy and hungry for control?

The Bible has become an idol because too many in

Christendom equate it with the Word of God—even with God. The myths of human culture tell us that an idol can be an agent of death. Fundamentalist Christianity has long used the Bible towards institutional self-interests and as an agent of death. But the Word of God, as John 1:1 indicates, is not the Bible. The word of God is the *logos*⁴—the very life of God that sustains eternity, that manifests itself in Jesus of Nazareth (John 1:18) and seeks to (re)manifest in fallen humanity as we learn to love (1 John 12:4). As Jesus says to the “Bible thumpers” of his day, “you search the scriptures because you think you have eternal life in them, but they are they which testify about me” (John 5:39). To abide by the Word of God is to follow the difficult path of love, which is the path of life, rather than follow the easy wide road of “law and order” that leads to destruction (Matthew 7:12–14).⁵

No one, no institution, no religion, no society can lock the Word of God up in a book. How can one lock eternity up in a book, and fixate it in the annals of human culture, and subject it to arbitrary interpretations for institutional self-interests? The very Book screams to us to open it up so that it speaks life, not death. Let it breathe. Apostle Paul says that what we can know about God is visible in the creation; and Paul knew so much less about the creation than we now have the privilege to know. He was willing to admit that his knowledge was limited (1 Corinthians 13:12). How much did Paul know about human biology for example? Paul also declares that there are those without scripture who know the Word of God, because the Word of God is written on the conscience, not in a book (Roman 2:14)—“love your neighbor as yourself . . . love is the fulfilling of the law” (Romans 13:8–10). Prophet Jeremiah prophesies: “I will put my law within them, I will write it on their hearts” (Jeremiah 31:33). But religion/culture has dumbed down the human consciousness. That is why the knee of a culture remains upon the neck of those it marginalizes with the “upside down” Bible as prop. And in spite of, and because of, all that we know today, in science, technology, the arts, and the humanities, ignorance goes underground, entrenched in the consciousness; nothing has changed, knowledge is utilized to further the causes of injustice.

To abide by the word of God is to attend to all the knowledge and understanding that humanity now has, and biblical authors did not have. To abide by the word of God is to hear the story of creation as a story of the Oneness of God in humanity, the divine nature of humanity, the loss of that

divinity, and the message of Jesus that we can yet nurture and restore that image. Fundamentalist Christianity has lost that story of God and/in humanity. It has lost it in the attempt to hold on to its idol, the “upside down” Bible, which is really self—self-preservation. And today we have a police state, a Fundamentalist Christian state, largely unconscious of the true value of humanity, created in the divine image—male and female—them (not him) having dominion (stewardship) over creation.

The current president of the United States is not known for good morals. Neither does anyone know him to be a person of religious fervor. As Mike Mullen, seventeenth chairman of the joint chiefs of staff says, he has no need of religion, neither does he care about the devout, except as they serve his political needs.⁶ The Bible has little, if any, existential meaning to him. All of Christendom knows that. Yet, he holds it against the backdrop of law enforcement while they repress those who seek justice. This act is a coded statement to the real enforcers of the police state—Fundamentalist Christianity. You support me, and I support you, and I can stack the courts with those who support your agenda—transactional morality. They turn the Bible “upside down,” and justice lies bleeding in the street with the knee of this influential sector of Christendom squarely on the neck of Jesus of Nazareth as it grabs power and control through the police state.

Historic Adventism opposed the police state, spoke out against slavery and racism, and women had significant voice—even the prophetic voice of authority in Ellen White—at a time in America when women were supposed to stay home and shut up. It was a movement steeped in the study of the Bible while resisting statements of creed. But progressively it set creeds and closed the Bible so that as scholars continue to observe the Word of God—not to destroy the denomination, but to facilitate growth and strength—the principalities and powers of Adventism joined hands with Fundamentalism to preserve what they consider to be the pillars of Adventism.⁷ That is why they gave sanctuary to Jim Crow until he was outlawed. That is why they never backed the civil rights movement. That is why they still refuse to ordain women even though over and over the scholars of the church conclude that they have no Biblical reason not to. That is why today, in spite of the many clear Seventh-day Adventist leadership voices against this pandemic of injustice, we are yet to hear a clear voice from

the principalities and powers of Adventism—aside from the old clichés about signs of the end.

Our beloved community—a police state(?)—theologians dismissed *not* for lack of biblical integrity(?)⁸—compliance documents(?)—wary of those who put Christ before Church—Word of God before Bible traditions that sustain domination, and denominational identity(?). Observe the Sabbath School lessons of the past two weeks—May 16–29. What a lost opportunity to tell the story of creation. What a missed chance to prophesy—God is One; humanity is one. We have made a mess of it through systemic injustice—a culture of domination and alienation: “He shall rule over you.”⁹ What a profound story of Grace and hope—human nakedness covered by divine grace. Yes, that occasion to speak life out of the creation story has been eclipsed by the project of ecclesiastical self-preservation.

What if *all* of Christendom focuses on the living, breathing Word of God, and especially on the actual story of creation? What if it becomes less obsessed with proving the Bible is a science book, or using it to sustain dogmas of self-identity. What if it delights in the Word of God—the *logos* waiting to manifest in us and among us? Would the knees of a culture persist upon the necks of people of color; or the foreigner; or the non-Christian? Would the ecclesiastical powers still press women down? Would a United States president today have the temerity to use the Bible as a prop in a police state? Is the Bible turned upside down in the interest of self-preservation, power, and control?

What is God telling us here in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, which we now see to be not the real pandemic, but a culture of domination entrenched by religious dogma and enforced by the police state?

Are we ready to listen?

Are we hoping for Jesus to return to clean up our mess, or are we willing to clean it up ourselves?

Open the Bible—*up-side up*. Let the Word of God to which it points *b-r-e-a-t-h-e* life into a culture sinking in chaos, and unto a citizenry hoping in despair and despairing in hope.

Endnotes

1. Fundamentalist Christianity arose in 1919 to address and stem the worrying inroads of modernism and liberalism. It registered anxiety that the old structures that made America were passing away. With the end-time apocalyptic fervor, Fundamentalism registered anxiety over the fight for women’s suffrage, the availability of birth control, the upending of traditional gender roles, and the African American struggle for full citizenship. It is because of its founding purpose that it identifies so

comfortably with the “Make America Great Again” campaign slogan of Donald Trump. Today it backs a political culture of lies and “alternative facts” towards its own ideological interests, having become the watchdog against “anything that seems to threaten Christians’ rights and freedoms” (i.e., the ideological agenda of the Christian right). See Matthew Sutton, below.

2. Matthew Avery Sutton, “The Day Christian Fundamentalism Was Born,” *The New York Times*, May 25, 2019. Accessed June 4, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/25/opinion/the-day-christian-fundamentalism-was-born.html>.

3. Matthew Avery Sutton, “Explaining the Bond Between Trump and White Evangelicals,” *The Washington Post*, November 21, 2019. Accessed June 4, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/25/opinion/the-day-christian-fundamentalism-was-born.html>.

4. *Logos* in Greek is not equivalent to the English term “word.” Rather, it points to the principle of life itself, through which everything comes into being.

5. Jesus says in Matthew 7:12: “In everything, do to others as you would have them do to you for this is the law and the prophets” (i.e., this is what scripture is about). Many devout Christians will quote this text, but “others” for them may be a fellow member of a group alliance—the fellow White male, or the fellow male (as in “all men are created equal,” so that the racial struggle in America often appears to be a struggle among men, with women as props).

6. Mike Mullen, “I Cannot Remain Silent,” *The Atlantic*, June 2, 2020. Accessed June 5, 2020. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/american-cities-are-not-battlespaces/612553/>.

7. For a full discussion on this, see Olive J. Hemmings, *Sacred Texts and Social Conflict: The Bible and The Debate Over Women’s Ordination in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2013).

8. When Desmond Ford was dismissed because he called the denomination to review the doctrine of the sanctuary and the investigative judgement, no one accused him of lack of biblical integrity. Rather, he was accused of denominational disloyalty. See Raymond F. Cottrell, “The Sanctuary Review Committee and its Consensus,” *Spectrum* 11, no. 2 (November 1980): 18. For more insight into the discussion of church authority versus biblical authority, see Roy Naden, “The Authority Paradox,” *Ministry*, April 2000: 16–20; Douglas Clark, “Are Adventists Still People of the Book?” *Spectrum* 25, no. 1 (September 1995): 25–29; Raoul Dederen, “The Church: Authority and Unity,” Supplement to *Ministry*, May 1995; and C. E. Bradford, “The Authority of the Church,” *Adventist Review*, February 19, 1981: 4–6.

9. The so-called “curse” of Genesis 3 is not God’s prescription for human error; rather, it is God’s description of the result of it. Rosemary Radford Reuther argues that a patriarchal culture of domination lies at the root of all systems of domination and oppression. Christendom has been the perpetuator of this doctrine of domination that drives the police state and remains entrenched in the culture. See Rosemary Radford Reuther, *Sexism and God Talk* (New York: Beacon Press, 1992).



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Photo: Pono Lopez/Southern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists



Young members from the Breath of Life Seventh-day Adventist Church in Inglewood, CA, walk through their community with shirts that say “Adventists for Black Lives Matter.”

Love and Politics

BY MAÏGANE G. DIOP

As COVID-19 continues to change the face of our society, it has brought long-understood racial disparities back into the limelight. As a glimpse into this issue, according to a recent Centers for Disease Control (CDC) Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR), in a representative sample of 580 hospitalized patients with lab-confirmed COVID-19, White and Hispanic patients are underrepresented in the patient population relative to their percentages in the community, while Black patients are overrepresented compared to their representation in the outer community.¹ The death rates follow a similar trend, with rates highest among Black people and almost triply lower in White and Asian populations.²

In addition to the burden this places on the Black

community, the recent police murders—murders, not simply deaths—of 46-year-old George Floyd and 26-year-old Breonna Taylor, as well as the murder of 25-year-old Ahmaud Arbery by a former police officer and his son, have reignited public demands for our government and society at large to address the inequities that Black people face on a quotidian basis in America. The #BlackLivesMatter movement has received refreshed energy from millions of people across the world. They understand that until we acknowledge and act to remedy the systems in place that allow for the abuse of Black people, persistence of health disparities, and unpunished murder of Black lives, particularly by police, all lives do not matter in the eyes of our society.

However, much of the rhetoric and exhortative calls

have been missed by persons in the worldwide Christian community.³ Many Christians use “Love” as a blanket term in response to the brutal murder of Black people in America. However, “Love your neighbor” is not a passive command. Instead of understanding the problem and the terminology of the movement, many shift to the tone-deaf retorts of #AllLivesMatter and #BlueLivesMatter, or they deviate to messaging that denigrates protestors—peaceful and violent.

Worst of all, some rescind any personal responsibility and use their Christianity as an excuse. Whether it’s “We need to love each other” or “Only God can solve this” or “I’m heartbroken and praying” or “These are senseless deaths and we must pray that God changes the hearts of these people,” the messaging is clear: I’m sad about this, but my passive reaction is enough and all I need to do is pray and send feelings of love and healing. I’ll wait for God to do the rest.

Is that true Christian love? Frankly, no. We claim to follow a God who plainly said that He “hates” the sacrifices and feasts dedicated to Him by a people who rejected justice and righteousness in their lands (Isaiah 1). We claim to follow a God who promised to exact vengeance on a people that deliberately engaged in corruption (Isaiah 2). We claim to follow a God who emphatically pleads with His people to do right by the weak and oppressed so that they may avoid the desolation that evil always brings (Jeremiah 22). We claim to follow a God who tells us to seek justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with Him (Micah 6). We claim to follow a God who detests the despicable “noise” of the worship of His people who abused the oppressed and rejected justice (Amos 5). Rather, He calls for “justice to run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream” (Amos 5:24). Our prayers must be buttressed by action.

Furthermore, we claim to follow Jesus Christ, whose

entourage included those whom society despised, who purposefully ministered to those ostracized by the main society. Christ challenged the laws and customs of His time, calling people to rise above in their interpersonal relationships. And He did this out of love. God’s love meant sending prophet after prophet after prophet to His people in the Old Testament to warn them of the spiritual and physical consequences of rejecting justice

and righteousness. Jesus’s love meant praying for those who suffer, but also ministering to them and speaking out against evil. Jesus’s love meant pointing out shortcomings in the customs of the time and calling people to a higher code of ethics, as is evidenced by His many interactions with the Pharisees, His disciples, and gentiles.

God’s love is a love that makes its presence known. It’s a love that led Jesus to die very publicly in order that His death might serve as a testimony of God’s very loud love. A love with which being a passive bystander to the abuse and murder of your neighbors is incompatible.

Many would argue that Adventists should not be involved

in the political system at all, for reasons including but not limited to: the imperfection of all earthly governance systems, certain values that all parties hold that may be against one’s belief (in other words, incomplete alignment with one’s beliefs), and lack of faith in the political system’s ability to enact change. Some would even argue that engaging in politics has nothing to do with our Christianity.

However, consider that our politics have everything to do with our Christianity.

Christianity is a religion of interpersonal relationship, as evidenced by the “love your neighbor” command, six of the ten commandments referring to interpersonal relationships, Christ telling us that whatever we do for our fellow man we do to Him (Matthew 25:31-46),

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the many biblical indications that we will be judged by how we treat our fellow humans, and God's Old Testament judging of Israel based on how they treated (or mistreated) the oppressed in their society (widows, migrants, strangers, etc.). You can find indications of this last point in any of the prophet books (e.g., Amos, Habakkuk, Isaiah, etc.) and through Jesus's speeches. Thus, God doesn't want empty words that support Him, but for us to show our belief in His message via our actions towards our fellow humans.

Our politics is one of the most important ways in which we show our code of ethics regarding interpersonal relationships. We vote for people who best match our personal ideals. When we vote for a certain party, person, judge, representative, district attorney, etc., we vote to support their perspective on 1) how we treat the homeless [housing policy], 2) how we treat migrants [immigration policy], 3) how we treat the poor [policy for government welfare/social programs], 4) how we treat the uneducated [education policy], 5) how the government takes money from the poor, the rich, and those in between [tax policy], 6) how those funds are distributed [congressional and state/local budgets], 7) how we address societal inequities [civil rights policy], 8) how we treat those who commit crimes [criminal justice and carceral policy], 9) how we treat the sick [healthcare policy], and many other ways. All of these have to do with how we treat our neighbors. When you vote, you are showing how you think your neighbors should be treated. Avoiding engagement in government can oftentimes be synonymous with apathy and bystandership.

Given that our politics are the means through which

we express and contribute to the enactment of how we believe our neighbors should be treated, and Christianity is heavily centered on how you treat your neighbor, your Christianity and code of ethics has everything to do with your politics.

Now is a time for introspection amongst all Christians. Do we truly believe that every human has inherent, intrinsic, and infinite worth as we Christians claim? Are we willing to defend this Christian belief? Are we harboring biases towards Black people that lead us to dismiss the verified and abundant claims of abuse? Are we resistant to taking the initiative to learn more about systemic racism and how we contribute to it? Are we willing to call out injustice when we see it, regardless of perceived political affiliations? Are we complacent? Are we committed to modeling God's love in our own lives and circumstances? Or are we more committed to being comfortable?

Endnotes

1. https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/69/wr/mm6915e3.htm?s_cid=mm6915e3_w
2. <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/doh/downloads/pdf/imm/covid-19-deaths-race-ethnicity-04162020-1.pdf>
3. <https://sojo.net/about-us/news/some-evangelicals-struggle-black-lives-matter-movement>; <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/08/09/how-ferguson-widened-an-enormous-rift-between-black-christians-white-evangelicals/>.



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“BLACK LIVES MATTER” — THE SENTENCE A RACIST WILL NOT SAY.
“ALL LIVES MATTER” — A COPOUT WHOSE TIME HAS PASSED:

A Reflection on Race

BY ROY ADAMS

Sometimes my mind sees connections in stories seemingly unrelated. As in the two that follow:

Scene 1: It’s Friday, May 22, 2020, and 23-year-old University of Connecticut senior, Peter Manfredonia, begins a days-long flight from police, after a string of crimes: the machete killing of 62-year old (good Samaritan) Ted DeMers and the wounding of another man, in Willington, Connecticut; holding another man hostage in a home nearby, and stealing his guns and truck; driving to another town 70 miles away, fatally shooting 23-year-old fellow student Nicholas Eisele, kidnapping his girlfriend, and forcing her (imagine the terror) to drive him across state lines into New Jersey, before bailing out at a highway rest stop.

Scene 2. It’s Monday, May 25, 2020—about the mid-

point of (what would turn out to be) Manfredonia’s six-day flight. And some 1,100 miles to the west, George Floyd, exactly twice Manfredonia’s age, is arrested for passing a fake \$20 bill at a local convenience store in Minneapolis, Minnesota. On his belly beside a police vehicle, his hands cuffed behind his back, he finds himself squirming under the knee of a police officer, digging into his neck.

In the sequel to Scene 1, Manfredonia’s family-hired attorney, the very day of Floyd’s encounter with police, goes on air with a public plea: “Peter, if you are listening, you are loved . . . It is time to let the healing process begin. . . . We love you, please turn yourself in.” The following day, the Connecticut State Police join the appeal: Peter, this is “not who you are.” “We want you to

In that gruesome, slow-motion murder of George Floyd, a line was crossed, putting centuries-old abuses of Blacks in bold relief, the graphic killing searing its way into the collective global consciousness.

be able to tell your story. We are here to listen to you. . . . Your family has hired an attorney . . . and your rights will be safeguarded.”¹ One day later, Manfredonia is apprehended in Maryland *without a scratch*.

In the tragic sequel to Scene 2, Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin, callously ignoring the victim’s repeated plea (“I can’t breathe!”), as well as the persistent appeals from people on the street, keeps grinding Floyd’s neck into the pavement with his knee, for 8 minutes and 46 seconds, suffocating him in cold blood.

Peter Manfredonia is White; George Floyd was Black. Peter Manfredonia committed theft, kidnapping, wounding, and double murder, but is alive; George Floyd, for passing a fake \$20 bill, is dead. And that, unfortunately, is the story of America.

A Dark Mosaic

No two cases are exactly alike, of course. But many cases together can reveal a pattern, exposing the dark mosaic I’m trying to describe. Names like Tamir Rice come to mind—a 12-year-old boy playing with his toy gun in a Cleveland, Ohio park, on November 22, 2014; a police officer arrives and shoots him dead, no questions asked. Eric Garner of Staten Island, New York, 43-year-old father of six, killed July 17, 2014 in a police chokehold—for selling loose cigarettes on the street without a license. Then there was Freddie Gray, and Walter Scott, and Dontre Hamilton, and Rayshard Brooks, and a host of others. In the five years from 2014 to 2019, Blacks in the United States were killed by police at almost 2.5 times the rate of Whites—13 per million for Whites, 31 per million for Blacks.²

The stats are bad enough, but often it’s the sheer triviality of the offences that drives me crazy. A broken

tail light; selling loose cigarettes without a license; walking home from the store and looking suspicious; running away from police; falling asleep in your car outside a Wendy’s; or, like Breonna Taylor, lying asleep in the middle of the night on her own bed.

Blacks are not the only ones to encounter racial bigotry in the United States. Ask Native Americans. Ask Hispanics Americans. Ask Asian Americans. With the coronavirus being labeled “the Chinese virus”—or even “the Kung Flu”—by the highest office in the land, some Asian Americans are “being told ‘go back to China’ or having people spit in their direction.”³

But when it comes to sustained, naked bigotry in America, Blacks take the cake, hands down. And the mosaic of their suffering is dark.

The Situation in the Church

In a letter to *Review and Herald* editor F. D. Nichol in 1963, I inquired (as a young Caribbean Adventist) about the racial division in the American Adventist Church at the time. Nichol responded with a kind letter, in which he wrote, in part: “We are a peaceful people, seeking to move onward toward the kingdom while stirring up the least of political strife and emotions as possible. In this we follow the example of the Bible writers. We do not find Peter or Paul or the other apostles going out in a great campaign to abolish slavery.” Instead, “they tried gradually to inject the gospel . . . into the hearts of men and women, and thus strike slavery at its roots.” “In general,” he said, “I think we are coming along very nicely in this country in an attempt to find a solution of the problem of race.”⁴

Coming at the issue from the other end of the spectrum, Elder Nichol clearly shows a patience I do not

have. When I encounter racism, as someone from the Caribbean, I'm not thinking: *Please, please accept me for the human being that I am—please!* Instead, I'm thinking: *What an uneducated idiot, for failing to recognize another human being for what they are!* And by “uneducated” I'm not talking academic degrees or distinctions. Rather, I'm talking about a certain enlightenment; a certain elegance; a certain cultural sophistication; a certain decency; a certain *je ne sais quoi*.

Has the Nichol strategy of quietism and gradualism worked after fifty-seven years? In a powerful *Spectrum* article, just over a year ago, Daniel Xisto, a White Adventist pastor, described the overt racial slurs and behavior he has witnessed among fellow Caucasian Adventist pastors and leaders over the years.

And he told what happened when he preached at a Virginia Adventist church, following that bloody 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia—a rally that featured neo-Nazis carrying tiki torches, and KKK members in their hoods. “I'm not ok because White supremacists, White nationalists, neo-Nazis, KKK members, and other domestic terrorist groups thought they could come into my town and cause my friends to fear.” The moment that opening sentence left his lips, “several people in the congregation stood up and walked out.” At the end of the sermon (which was about unity in Christ), several church leaders made their objections known; and one elder later went to his home to emphasize that although no one at the church was a member of the KKK, almost everyone knew someone who was, and that, therefore, he ought not to preach that kind of sermon there again.⁵

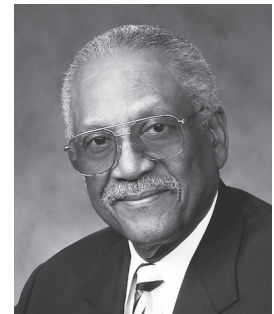
I feel sure not many Adventist congregations would react that way. But the deeper question is: How many others might harbor silent sympathy for that response?

But, in the wake of the George Floyd killing, Adventists have been making a lot of welcome noises. Former North American Division (NAD) president, Dan Jackson, issued a strong statement in early June.⁶ And

Adventist Review has carried several solid pieces on racial justice. In addition, many Adventist pulpits have delivered muscular sermons on the subject—among them, Loma Linda University Church, Oakwood University Church, Pioneer Memorial, Sligo, and many others. Like the Seabrook Adventist Church in Lanham, Maryland, whose (Hispanic) associate pastor Jimmy Muñoz preached two successive Sabbaths in July, wearing a “Black Lives Matter” t-shirt, with the same slogan draped behind him on a sofa.

But from certain important quarters of the church there is silence. And those of us who have watched this phenomenon over the years are well aware of a certain group of “concerned members,” so to say, who have mastered the art of lying low and striking at just the opportune time. They don't mind seeing Blacks and other minorities in what might be called “supporting roles.” But when it comes to filling the “highest” positions in the church, that's when they flex their muscle.

In my memoir, I tell a story that symbolizes the nexus of racism and money in the church. In the wake of Robert Folkenberg's resignation as General Conference president in February 1999, the committee finally came down to just two names, one Caucasian and the other African American. During a break before the vote, the NAD convened a meeting of its officers and union presidents to develop a coordinated strategy for the impending vote. “During the special confab, when it appeared that support was building for [Calvin] Rock's name, (then) NAD president Alfred C. McClure spoke up: ‘There are wealthy people in the church,’ he said, ‘who will withhold their support if Rock becomes GC president.’”⁷ And we know the outcome.



Calvin Rock

Election time. That's when our true colors show. And the test going forward will be whether in the midst

When it comes to sustained, naked bigotry in America, Blacks take the cake, hands down. And the mosaic of their suffering is dark.

of election fever, all races and genders will have an equal chance. Many have noted, for example, the resistance to electing African American males to General Conference presidential spots, for fear of setting in motion risky scenarios of succession. How I dream of the day when the race or gender of people elected to these positions would be completely unremarkable.

Thank God for our Adventist pioneers—people like Ellen G White, James White, John Byington, Joseph and Prudence Bates, Charles M Kinney, and a host of others—who “made protest against racial injustice inseparable from their Adventist faith.”⁸ Their principled stance in defense of justice is why Black Americans remain in the Adventist Church today.

Signs of Hope

In his novel, *Little Dorrit* (about the bleak Marshalsea prison for debtors in nineteenth-century London), Charles Dickens talks about something called “the Circumlocution Office”—the government agency responsible for processing citizens’ requests for documents, papers, licenses, and the like. People would return again and again and again, only to be told to come back, or to apply to another office, or be given some other excuse. Dickens referred to the agency as “the burial ground of hope.”⁹

For decades following the Civil War in America, that was the plight of Blacks, as they were told to wait; to come back; to apply again; to try another place. Every form of subterfuge (in regard to jobs, and schools, and housing) was used to keep them in their place, and preserve that precious legacy of White privilege and entitlement.

But, beginning in the 1960s, locked doors began creaking open, leading to the now well-known ebb and flow of progress and retrenchment, advancement and setbacks, for yet additional decades. Now it seems as if that tragic event in Minneapolis last Memorial Day has touched a nerve. In that gruesome, slow-motion murder of George Floyd, a line was crossed, putting centuries-old abuses of Blacks in bold relief, the graphic killing searing its way into the collective global consciousness. Millions took to the streets, the Coronavirus pandemic notwithstanding, demanding justice. Demonstrations spanned the entire country and stretched around the

world, to include improbable places like Wales, Bangkok, Turkey, Poland, and Bulgaria.

I’ve been encouraged by the fervency and resiliency of the demonstrations, and by their multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-generational character. It all suggests a radical shift we’ve not seen before. To paraphrase Angela Davis, people are “no longer accepting the things they cannot change. They’re changing the things they cannot accept.”

As Adventists, what should be our posture?

“Black Lives Matter”? Or “All Lives Matter”? It’s the verbal Rorschach test of our times. “All Lives Matter” is a copout whose time has passed. “Black Lives Matter,” an idea whose time has come, is the sentence a racist will not say.

But as Adventists, *we must say it*. It’s an affirmation of the gospel. And it is present truth.

Endnotes

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2. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>.
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Robert E Lee statue in Charlottesville, Virginia

CIVIL WAR MEMORIALS: *Remembering and Forgetting*

BY TERRIE DOPP AAMODT

In 2018, as I was preparing a lecture and article on work done that summer, the story became personal in ways I did not expect.

I was particularly interested in Civil War monuments—why we have them, why some people very much want to remove them from certain public outdoor spaces,

and why some people very much want to keep them where they are. I was industriously working on these materials when I learned that my hometown, Staunton, Virginia, was considering changing its public high school's name from Robert E. Lee High School to something else. I was stunned that the name might change. When our family

moved to Virginia from Massachusetts in late 1968, and I enrolled as a freshman at a nearby parochial high school, the fact that the town's public high school was named for the Virginian who embodied a Confederate heroic spirit seemed set in stone. Nearly fifty years later, as I worked on this project, I tried to wrap my mind around what had led to the change.

Discussions of Confederate monuments and flags—and legally authorized as well as spontaneous attempts to remove them—have seen a significant uptick since 2015, just after the sesquicentennial of the Civil War, and even more since May 25, 2020, when George Floyd died under the knee of a policeman after allegedly paying for cigarettes with a counterfeit \$20 bill. These discussions and actions constitute a sampling, a CT scan as it were, of our current attitudes toward race, the meaning of the Civil War, and remembering and forgetting.¹

Some context about what the Confederacy represented and why the Civil War was fought helps make meaning out of the events we have seen unfold recently. Confederates were clear about their intent as they left the Union in late 1860 and early 1861. The South Carolina Articles of Secession of 1860 explained that state's exit and paved the way for the departure of ten more states. Its reasons: "The nonslaveholding states have denounced . . . the institution of slavery." Worse yet to South Carolinians, the Northern states—without any help from the South—had just elected Abraham Lincoln, "a man . . . hostile to slavery [who] has declared . . . the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction."² Justification enough, said South Carolina, to dissolve its relationship with the United States.

The Confederate government soon afterward created a constitution closely modeled on its United States forebear, but it included the words "slave" and "slavery," terms the Founding Fathers dared not mention. Article IV, Section 3 cleared up any ambiguity about how the Confederacy would handle slavery in new territories seeking to become states (the issue that underlay secession and the Civil War): "In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any

of the States or Territories of the Confederate States."³ These additions, according to Confederate vice president and Georgia native Alexander Stephens in a March 1861 speech, "put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution African slavery." Antislavery critics, Stephens insisted, were "fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error."

Instead, he continued, the Confederacy's "foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. [The Confederacy] is the first [nation], in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."⁴ As the Civil War began, both free and enslaved Americans understood what the fight was about.

When the war ended, Congressional Republicans sought during Reconstruction to erase two hundred and fifty years of slavery-based racism in a few years, building into the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, they thought, civil protections and voting rights for the former slaves. Their reasons? They were responding to the almost-immediate ex-Confederate attempts to revive slavery-era labor conditions and racist violence.⁵

But soon after Reconstruction promised citizenship, equal protection, and male suffrage to the former slaves, the United States quickly retreated into the past. In the South, Black Republican politicians, pastors, and teachers, as well as former slaves, were attacked for voting, learning to read, teaching former slaves to read, or trying to enter public life, as were White Republicans (frequently northerners, or "carpetbaggers") who sought to aid former slaves. Thousands were slaughtered. A few years of that struggle were about as much as the country could bear, and by then the racial hypocrisy of many Northerners was on full display. Five years after it was ratified in 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantees were significantly reined in by the Supreme Court.⁶ The Fifteenth Amendment, intended to ensure voting rights for Blacks, was egregiously violated for eighty years. By the time Reconstruction sputtered out of existence in 1877, White supremacist Democrats in the former Confederate states had regained control of their state and local governments, systematically and violently squeezing the former

slaves out of public life and into the hellish conditions of Jim Crow segregation, which sought to separate the races utterly while degrading the humanity of Blacks.

All of this was accompanied by an imaginative retelling of the Civil War and Reconstruction, a narrative fueled by the cult of the Lost Cause. The ex-Confederate editor Edward Pollard, who created the idea of the Lost Cause, granted that the Civil War had ended slavery and the possibility of secession. “But the war did not decide negro equality,” he insisted; “it did not decide negro suffrage; it did not decide State Rights . . . it did not decide the right of a people to show dignity in misfortune, and to maintain self-respect in the face of adversity.”⁷ Pollard was the first of many defeated Confederates who sought to recast the war and its results in their own terms. Acolytes of the Lost Cause would assert that Reconstruction was a disaster, racial equality was nonsense, and the Confederacy had been morally superior to the Union. The centrality of slavery to the Civil War was suppressed, and the narrative’s emphasis on Confederates’ heroic struggle to preserve states’ rights sat well with many Northerners. Textbooks were rewritten and these myths became reality for many Americans, to the extent that although the Confederacy may have lost the military contest, it won the peace for well over a century. The Lost Cause narrative produced the public pro-Confederate monuments in Southern cities. They went up at the height of Jim Crow segregation, from the 1880s through the 1920s.

Here let me distinguish between kinds of war memorials. Statues of military heroes frequently appear on battlefields. The Gettysburg battlefield is so crammed with monuments visitors can hardly see the landscape, but they remind us that military veterans on both sides sought to claim part of the history of the largest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere. In 1917, the State of Virginia placed a monument topped by a large equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee on Seminary Ridge, near the edge of the woods where Pickett’s Charge began—and ended—on Day 3.

Statues on battlefields were raised to commemorate

specific military events, defeats as well as victories. Statues in public places, far from battlefields, tell a different story. Removed from their military context, they allude to battlefield heroism, but their placement is far more complicated. In fact, the best-known and most controversial monuments to Confederate military heroes were placed—every single one of them—during the time when Southern Whites were seeking to re-assert their racist dominance over their former slaves. While many White Americans have forgotten, or seem to have forgotten, why those statues went up, their reality for African Americans is virtually unchanged. Somebody remembers what they were intended to signify.

Certain examples of those monuments have dominated news stories in recent years. Before the Civil War, New Orleans boasted the largest slave market in the United States. The city fell to Union forces in 1862 and was quickly reorganized under Republican leadership. By 1874, Democrats there were ready for redemption into White supremacist political control. On September 14, more than 8,000 members of the local White League attacked some 3,000 Union soldiers and local police, quickly overwhelming the smaller force. Over 100 combatants were killed or wounded. Three days later, additional Federal troops restored the federal government, but White racists would never forget the Battle of Liberty Place, and they were restored to power three years later. So much for social change in Louisiana.

After Reconstruction, with the White League in charge, the government of New Orleans wasted little time in raising up high—very high—a statue of Robert E. Lee in the center of Lee Circle in 1884. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, firmly back in the hands of White Democrats, enthused: “We cannot ignore the fact that the secession has been stigmatized as treason and that the purest and bravest men in the South have been denounced as guilty of shameful crime. By every application of literature and art, we must show to the coming ages that with us, at least,

The Confederacy’s “foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition.”



Photo by Terrie Aamodt

Kehinde Wiley, *Rumors of War*, Times Square, New York (2019)

there dwells no sense of guilt.”⁸ The tone here is typical of the spirit that placed over 700 monuments to Lee and other Confederates during the Jim Crow era.

A few years later, in 1891, the White League decided it was time to commemorate their bloody 1874 uprising, so they created the Battle of Liberty Place Monument. To bolster their message, they later added this inscription:

. . . having been elected governor and lieutenant-governor by the white people, [the Democrats] were duly installed by this overthrow of carpetbag government, ousting the usurpers, Governor Kellogg (white) and Lieutenant-Governor Antoine (colored). United States troops took over the state government and reinstated the usurpers but the national election of November 1876 recognized white supremacy in the South and gave us our state.

This monument became more and more inconvenient as time passed, and eventually it was declared a public nuisance by the city council. Although they dared not remove it altogether, they quietly transferred it to an out-of-the-way location.

Meanwhile, in Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the

Confederacy and site of the second-largest slave market in the South, White citizens were trying to recover from the shock of watching their Black neighbors parade through the city’s streets during the first couple of years after the war ended, commemorating the day the Confederates evacuated Richmond, the day they were no longer slaves. When Robert E. Lee died in 1870, according to one art historian, ex-Confederates planned to memorialize him, believing his image would symbolize, as they said, “*liberties to be regained.*” It took twenty years, but in 1890, Lee landed on a brand-new boulevard, Monument Avenue, and the unveiling of his enormous equestrian statue put many things right for the White citizens of Richmond. Within a few days of the statue’s dedication, most of the Black voters there had been removed from the voting rolls. A few years later, in 1902, Virginia installed a new constitution, mandating separate schools, poll taxes, and voter-literacy requirements. Meanwhile, pro-Confederate demonstrations at the Lee statue became bolder year by year, with armies of uniformed veterans, battle flags flying, marching past 600 school children arranged in the shape of a giant Confederate battle flag.⁹ Until recently, the Lee statue was the rallying point for annual Confederate Heritage Days parades. A Jefferson Davis monument and statues of J. E. B. Stuart and Stonewall Jackson soon followed Lee’s memorial. In 2019, the Black artist and sculptor, Kehinde Wiley, unveiled his monumental bronze statue, *Rumors of War*, which depicts a young Black man in dreadlocks and torn jeans on a magnificent horse that, upon inspection, is quoted from the J. E. B. Stuart monument in Richmond. After six months on display in New York’s Times Square in late 2019, the statue was placed on permanent display in front of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, a short distance from the Confederate monuments.

In Charlottesville, Virginia, another statue of Robert E. Lee on a bronze horse was placed in a public park in 1924; both sculpture and park were donated by an admirer of Lee. That same year, the Virginia legislature passed the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which prohibited interracial marriage and defined as White only that individual “who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian.”¹⁰ This policy became known as the “one-drop rule.” The legislation also made interracial marriage a felony.¹¹ While it is inadvisable to draw a direct line from the placement of a particular statue to the passage of a

Statues on battlefields were raised to commemorate specific military events, defeats as well as victories. Statues in public places, far from battlefields, tell a different story.

specific piece of legislation, both actions stem from the confident acceptance of an accepted racial narrative.

Given the inconvenient proximity between veneration of Lee and Jim Crow racism, how could such an elegant, courtly Christian gentleman become saddled with the assumptions of hard-core racists? Surely it is not Lee's fault, many would insist. Well, yes and no. Lee was relatively enlightened on the subject of slavery, although contrary to the claim of some, he did not free his slaves (mostly inherited from his wife's family's estate) before the Civil War, but he did manumit them late in the conflict. (While some of Lee's defenders enjoy pointing out that General Grant owned slaves, he had just one, given to him as a gift by a relative, and he freed that individual in 1859.) But Robert E. Lee, deciding to stick with his "country" (Virginia), made a conscious choice to resign from the United States Army. It may be that he initially planned just to defend his home state, but his actions became much more than that, and he was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of young men in the same army where he had served for many years. He did this to defend a cause founded on the preservation and expansion of slavery.¹²

Over time, the Jim Crow-era memorials became increasingly controversial. But in spite of the complex layers of memory encrusting the Civil War and its aftermath, the United States skated through the entire sesquicentennial of the war—from 2011 to 2015—with plenty of fanfare but little drama. Even through the closing days of the commemoration, there were no major surprises. On April 19, 2015, Charleston, South Carolina marked the 150th anniversary of the end of the Civil War, capping the event with a ceremony at Hampton Park, where several hundred Union prisoners of war had died during the waning months of the conflict. One of the speakers that April day was the Reverend Clementa Pinckney, minister of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in

Charleston. "As a man of God," he stated, "I feel sadness that so many died for the freedom of others."

Not quite two months later, on June 17, 2015, a troubled young man and Confederate admirer walked into Reverend Pinckney's church and killed him and eight other saintly congregants, hoping his actions would start a race war. Instead, the gunman was quickly apprehended and forced to stand in a courtroom while family members of the slaughtered people told him of their pain and of how they forgave him.

This tragedy tore open an old South Carolina wound: the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia (often referred to as the Confederate flag, although it was never the official flag of the Confederate States of America), which had flown at the South Carolina state capitol grounds since 1961 as a rebuke to the civil rights movement and as an assertion of White supremacy, became as repulsive to many Whites as it had been to African Americans all along. After the shootings at Emmanuel, Governor Nikki Haley swiftly ordered the flag's removal.

The Charleston murders also re-ignited efforts in Mississippi to remove the image of the Confederate battle flag from the corner of its state flag, an 1894 Jim Crow product that had survived several referenda about changing it. After the Charleston shootings, the actor Morgan Freeman (who had famously said on *60 Minutes* in 2005 that the best way to end racism was to stop talking about it) joined other prominent Mississippians including John Grisham, Archie Manning, and Jimmy Buffet, in calling for the Confederate symbol's removal. Over the next two years, twenty flag-removal bills died in committee in the Mississippi state legislature. That rendition of the Confederate battle flag seemed immovable. Not until the strangling of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer under the watchful eye of a bystander's phone camera did the existing Mississippi state flag come to an end. On June

30, 2020, Governor Tate Reeves signed a bill ensuring its removal and replacement.

New Orleans revisited its Confederate heritage statues for reasons of its own. In 2014, the city began planning for its three-hundredth birthday celebration in 2018. As mayor Mitch Landrieu rounded up support for the event, he sat down with a good friend, the jazz musician and New Orleans native Wynton Marsalis.

“Will you help me with this event?” Landrieu asked Marsalis.

“I’ll do it,” Marsalis replied. “But there’s something I’d like you to do.”

“What’s that?”

“Take down the Robert E. Lee statue.”

“You lost me on that.”

“I don’t like the fact that Lee Circle is named Lee Circle.”

“Why is that?”

“Let me help you see it through my eyes. Who is he? What does he represent? And in that most prominent space in the city of New Orleans, does that space reflect who we were, who we want to be, or who we are?”

“Suddenly I was listening,” Landrieu recalled.

“Louis Armstrong left [New Orleans] and never came back. He did not even want to be buried in his hometown. You ever think about what Robert E. Lee means to someone black?”

As he spoke of the symbolic weight of Confederate monuments, Marsalis blindsided him.

“That would be one big political fight, Wynton.”

“Yeah, man. But it’s the right thing to do. You should think about it.”

Landrieu researched the Lee monument and the

Battle of Liberty Place Memorial, sites he had walked past since he was a child, never thinking about what they meant. He concluded that monuments aren’t just something people look at, that they are not just something that might mean different things to different people. The Battle of Liberty Place Memorial, put up by the White League, he said, “had long-lasting impact through the twentieth century. It kept black children out of good schools; it kept black citizens out of jobs; it condemned them to poor housing, terrible health care, and poverty.”

The things the monuments represented, he said, did not mirror either actual history or the soul of New Orleans, which has always been multicultural. “They were not tools for teaching,” he noted. “Instead, they were the product of a warped political movement [that] was determined to regain power for White people, to reduce blacks to second-class status, and to control how history was seen, read, and accepted by whites. . . . I concluded that Wynton was right. They should come down.”¹³

After a year and a half of court appeals, the city was ready to look for a contractor willing to do the work. Death threats against the project became common currency. No contractor from New Orleans would touch the job—it was too dangerous. The city had to go all the way to Texas to find someone who would lease them a crane. The White League memorial was removed at 2 a.m. one April day in 2017. The police SWAT team deployed sharpshooters and K-9 units. Workers wore bulletproof vests, with helmets and face masks to guard their anonymity. Cardboard covered the company name on the vehicles and the license plates. “All this,” said Landrieu, “to take down an icon to white supremacy!”¹⁴ In spite of these precautions, some in the crowd tried using high-definition cameras and hovering drones to identify the workers.

Why? It appears that within our collective amnesia about the issues underlying the Civil War, there are some things our country cannot forget, either. And then, on May 19, 2017, in broad daylight, Robert E. Lee came down from his 68-foot pedestal in New Orleans.

While these events unfolded in Louisiana, the city council of Charlottesville, Virginia, prompted by the murders in Charleston, re-examined the placement of its statue of Robert E. Lee and other Confederate monuments. The council decided in 2016 to move the Lee statue to a less prominent place. Lawsuits flew, and the summer of



Battle of Liberty Place Monument, New Orleans, 1891

Public Domain

2017 saw multiple demonstrations by tiki-torch-bearing neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan members, shouting “Jews will not replace us” and “Russia is our friend.” What these sentiments had to do with the Civil War or Robert E. Lee was murky, but these groups were inspired and energized by the Confederate symbols. On August 12, during a Unite the Right rally and counter-protest, a White supremacist jumped in his car and smashed into a group of counter-protestors, killing Heather Heyer and injuring nineteen others. Heyer’s death and the violent public embrace of Lee’s image by neo-Nazis in Charlottesville cemented Lee’s name and image to the cause of White supremacy even more directly than it had been before. The Lee statue was shrouded for six months out of respect for Heyer, but it remains on its original site, tied up in a lawsuit.¹⁵

After Charlottesville, officials in Richmond pondered what to do with their monuments, the most prominent Confederate memorials in the country. In the summer of 2018, a commission set up by the city council voted to remove the Jefferson Davis monument, but before that action could be carried out, the memorial was toppled by demonstrators after the death of George Floyd in 2020. On July 1, 2020, the J. E. B. Stuart monument, echoed by the nearby 2019 Kahinde Wiley statue, *Rumors of War*, was removed by the city of Richmond.¹⁶

The Charlottesville events in 2017 also increased local scrutiny of the high school name in my nearby hometown of Staunton, and, in late October 2018, as I was conducting research for this article, the school board there voted to rename it, eventually returning it to its original name, Staunton High School. When the high school was renamed for Lee in 1914, it was for Whites only, and none of them objected to the new name. But every day since 1966, when the Staunton schools were forced to desegregate, as Black students walked past Lee’s name on the building, they were reminded that its placement there was



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Robert E Lee monument in New Orleans, Louisiana

an icon of White supremacy, evoking a world where they were not welcome.

As I saw the reconsideration of Civil War monuments in Virginia unfolding, I searched through my own memory, and also sought to learn more about the racial history of my hometown. When “Staunton High School” became “Robert E. Lee High School” in 1914, Black students did not have a high school in the area at all, and Black elementary students in those days could only expect substandard schools. (The concept of free public education in the South was quite new at that point, and the Democratic [i.e., White supremacist] government of Virginia was not interested in spending much public money educating Black children.) Finally, though, in 1936, a high school for Blacks opened in Staunton and was named Booker T. Washington High. It served all the Black students in Augusta County and also the community of Waynesboro, fifteen miles distant. That building is still standing—it is a community center now—and was relatively well-

built for a Black school in Virginia during the Jim Crow era. By contrast, in the early 1950s, 450 Black students in the town of Farmville attended classes in a facility designed for 150 and expanded by a line of tar-paper shacks.¹⁷

Delving into this information, I had to acknowledge how utterly oblivious I had been to these facts as a Yankee transplant, barely 14 when I moved to Staunton, and how clueless I remained for years afterward. When Robert E. Lee High integrated in 1966, the “one-drop” rule and the state’s ban on interracial marriage were still on the books.

Staunton is justifiably proud of Gypsy Hill Park, a spacious green space with hillsides, a valley, and a long, paved loop. For decades, the Statler Brothers welcomed famous guests like Johnny Cash to their July 4 concerts at the park. I used to enjoy cruising around the park loop with my friends. It was so beautiful. One day, as we were driving through another part of town, I noticed a small park and was told it was the park for Blacks. I had never

I have learned enough about the prominence of the Civil War in Virginia memory to be confident that removing a name from a building will neither change what happened in the past nor allow people to forget their history.

seen a Black person set foot in Gypsy Hill Park and had never thought to wonder why. Even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made racial segregation of public facilities illegal, there were certain things Virginia Blacks just did not do.¹⁸

When I came home from college on weekends, I loved going to church in Staunton. The congregation was filled with warm, loving people who set the tone in the church building. I remember one time, while driving home after church was over, I noticed that a few blocks down the street there was another congregation leaving their church. They were all Black, and that was my first clue that there was also a Black church of my denomina-

tion in Staunton.

During my second year in college in Takoma Park, Maryland, I remember a quiet Black woman who lived on the same floor in my dorm and wore wire-rimmed glasses. I knew her by name but that was all. We never spoke, as both of us were rather introverted. It was only later that I noticed her name in my yearbook roster and realized she was from Staunton. I also learned that her father was the pastor of the Black church there. What a missed opportunity! Why hadn't I been more open, more friendly, to another quiet soul? We could have shared rides home on weekends. We could have become friends.

Staunton will always be my special place, and every



Jefferson Davis Memorial in Richmond, Virginia



J. E. B. Stuart Memorial on Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia

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time I visit, I feel like I am coming home. I am heartened by the strides the city has made toward becoming a more inclusive community. I have learned enough about the prominence of the Civil War in Virginia memory to be confident that removing a name from a building will neither change what happened in the past nor allow people to forget their history. However, it is incumbent upon all of us to learn how to separate historical facts from the myths that have concreted around them. Anyone who tries to wrap their minds around the Civil War, the watershed event in American history, needs to be willing to explore how and why the war actually unfolded and to understand what happened afterward. Dealing with the reality of the endemic racism that has characterized the American past and present requires such an understanding. Every American, in every part of the country, needs to own that reality.

In New Orleans in 2017, Mitch Landrieu gave a speech while the city's Confederate statues were being taken down, near the end of his two-term limit as mayor. Although he had earlier served as lieutenant governor, it is unlikely he will be elected to another statewide office—he lost half of the White vote over the monuments issue. But he had no regrets; what the removals meant to him were a way of city residents saying to each other: “I am sorry.” “I forgive you.” Landrieu also noted, “I can’t ever figure out whose fault anything is, but I am pretty clear that I have a responsibility to help fix whatever is broken. And so do you,” he told his fellow citizens.

To move forward, we must commit to tell the whole truth about our past. . . . We will find a new space, a zone of belief that holds promise for a nation committed to justice for all of our people, if we confirm our belief in democracy as a welcome table for people created equal under God, where the pursuit of equity is an open

field for opportunity and responsibility. We must learn to revise the mistakes in our perceptions of history, to acknowledge with honesty what went wrong so that we can learn how to make it right.¹⁹

Landrieu's advice provides a path to remind us of what truths of history we must remember—no matter how painful they might be—and what distortions of the past we need to repudiate. If we move monuments to mu-

seums and rename institutions for someone else, will we forget that we fought a Civil War? Not likely. Will we begin to remember what the war was about? Only if we pay attention. Although many neo-Confederates insist that the war was not really fought about slavery, that it was instead fought about states' rights, this claim ignores historical fact and the declarations of the seceding states. That fiction, wrapped in the dignified clothing of Robert E. Lee and other redoubtable gentlemen, fueled the Lost Cause, inspired the formation of the KKK, the Red Shirts, and other racist, vio-

If we move monuments to museums and rename institutions for someone else, will we forget that we fought a Civil War? Not likely. Will we begin to remember what the war was about? Only if we pay attention.

lent organizations, disenfranchised Blacks, and prevented them from enjoying the full rights of citizenship.

Just a few years ago, the Confederate monuments in the United States seemed as immovable as the Berlin Wall appeared to be in the 1960s. While the Berlin Wall came down as part of a largely nonviolent repudiation of Eastern European communism, the removal of Confederate monuments and flags from public places since 2015 has come in the wake of unspeakable acts of violence against African Americans, an echo of decades of unspeakable violence against Blacks that went almost unnoticed by Whites. The violence is not new, but the attention it has received is. American racism has outlived communism by centuries. Is that why it took the bloodiest conflict in American history to erase the institution of slavery? Is that why the meaning of racist symbols has only been

acknowledged after further bloodshed? And why has the burden of explaining racism to White Americans almost always been placed on people of color? What is the extent of the responsibility of White Americans to understand and own their acceptance of an order of things that protected potent racist symbols? It's time to own up to the past.

Endnotes

1. I am indebted to two 2018 postdoctoral seminars that launched me into this area of Civil War and post-Civil War studies: "The Civil War and American Memory" with David Blight, professor of History at Yale University (sponsored by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History); and a National Endowment for the Humanities Institute, "The Visual Culture of the American Civil War and Its Aftermath," at the City University of New York Graduate Center and directed by professors Joshua Brown (CUNY), Gregory Downs (University of California, Davis), and Sarah Burns (Indiana).

2. South Carolina Secession Convention, "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," Adopted December 24, 1860. Yale Law School Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_scarsec.asp.

3. Constitution of the Confederate States (March 11, 1861), https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_csa.asp.

4. Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Speech," Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861, as published in the *Savannah Republican*, <http://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/civil-war/cornerstone-speech-alexander>.

5. The dismal story of uncompensated labor via convict leasing practices after the Civil War is related by Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2009). Black Codes passed by ex-Confederate states immediately after the Civil War forbade Blacks from withdrawing from annual labor contracts, owning guns or large knives, and "assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time"; if convicted of such crimes, they would be fined or imprisoned. Since very few had the means to pay fines, almost all of those who were convicted would be jailed and thus could be leased out to White taskmasters. Former slaves under 18 who were orphans or whose parents could not support them were compelled to enter apprenticeships (their "master or mistress" could "inflict such moderate corporal chastisement as a father or guardian is allowed to inflict on his or her child or ward at common law"). See Mississippi Black Codes of 1865, <http://web.mit.edu/21h.102/www/Primary%20source%20collections/Reconstruction/Black%20codes.htm>.

6. In the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) the Supreme Court ruled 5–4 that "Any rights guaranteed by the Privileges or Immunities Clause [of the Fourteenth Amendment] were limited to areas controlled by the federal government, such as access to ports and waterways, the right to run for federal office, and certain rights affecting safety on the seas," and did not affect state law at all, <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/83us36>. This, and similar subsequent decisions, essentially gutted the Fourteenth Amendment's protection of rights for former slaves.

7. Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 1866), 752.

8. This 1884 editorial is quoted in Mitch Landrieu, *In the Shadow of Statues: A White Southerner Confronts History* (New York: Viking, 2018), 172.

9. Mauri D. McInnis, "'To Strike Terror': Equestrian Monuments and Southern Power," *The Civil War and American Memory*, ed. by Kirk

Savage (New Haven: National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2016), 138–144.

10. "Racial Integrity Act," *Encyclopedia of Virginia*, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/racial_integrity_laws_of_the_1920s#start_entry.

11. The one-drop law stayed on the books until it was overturned by the Supreme Court (*Loving v Virginia*) in 1967. It was formally disavowed by the Virginia legislature in the early 2000s.

12. The Virginia Ordinance of Secession, approved 88–55 by the Virginia Convention of 1861, repealed the state's ratification of the US Constitution on June 25, 1788, because the Federal Government had, of late, engaged in the "oppression of the Southern slaveholding states." See https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Virginia_Ordinance_of_Secession_April_17_1861.

13. Landrieu, 163–172.

14. Landrieu, 193.

15. On July 1, 2020, in the wake of George Floyd's death and subsequent protests, Virginia Governor Ralph Northam signed into law a provision for local governments to handle statues and monuments as they wished, which may clear the way for removal and relocation of the Charlottesville statue.

16. In July 2020, all of the Confederate statues on city property along Monument Avenue in Richmond were placed in storage during the 60-day waiting period that will decide their destiny. The Robert E. Lee statue is on state property, with a separate set of legal conditions, but its eventual removal from Monument Avenue is probable.

17. In the 1950s, Virginia Governor Lindsey Almond closed all public schools that were under order to desegregate, and the Prince Edward County schools remained closed for five years, 1959–1964. White students in the county received grants to attend a private, segregated academy, but Black students were left to fend for themselves. In 2004, the Virginia state legislature launched the Brown V. Board of Education Scholarship Program, funded by \$1 million from the state and \$1 million from a private donation, offering Blacks in their sixties, who had been excluded from obtaining high school degrees because of the closures, the opportunity to earn a \$5,500 scholarship that could lead to completion of the GED and could also be applied to college tuition. This legislation constituted the first state-sponsored reparations for the economic consequences of Jim Crow segregation. The inability of these students to obtain high school degrees in their teens (and, for some, to thus prepare for college) meant a lifetime income loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars per student. See "Education and Lifetime Earnings in the United States" (2016), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4534330/>.

18. Currently, all parks in Staunton emphatically state that all individuals are welcome in all parks, and Gypsy Hill Park has been the site of the city's African American Heritage Festival since the 1980s.

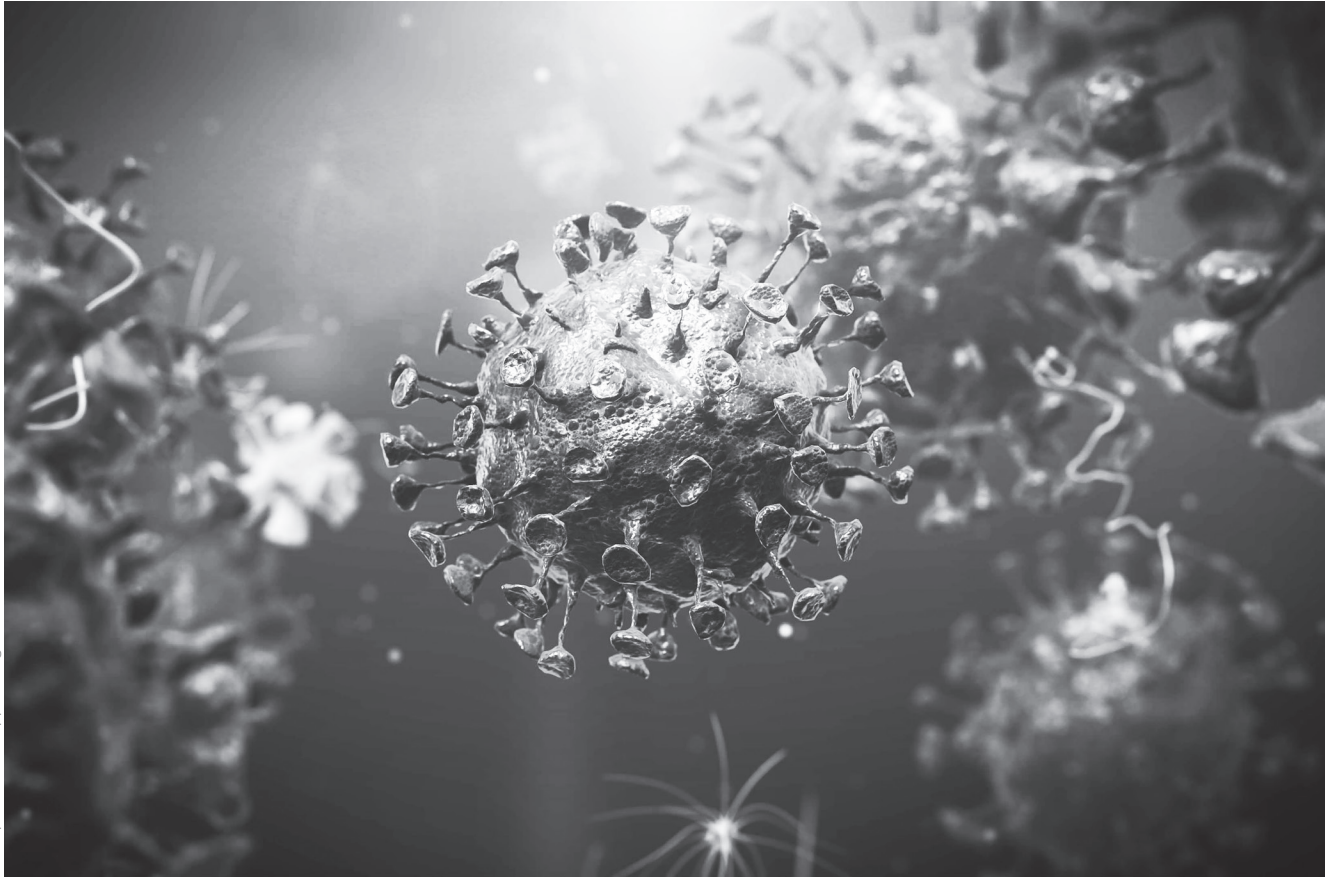
19. Landrieu, 192.



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DOING SCIENCE



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A 3D rendering of coronavirus outbreak and influenza disease virus

INVESTIGATING *COVID-19*

BY FRITZ GUY AND BRIAN BULL

Editor's Note: Fritz Guy and Brian Bull have written three books together. In the early days of the pandemic, at Spectrum's request, Guy questioned Bull about his research on COVID-19 at Bull's Pathology Laboratory in Loma Linda, California. In July, they added an update to their conversation. It is included at the end of the article.

Fritz Guy: From a medical science perspective, what is COVID-19, what's special about it and, in particular, how is it similar to and different from the flu—with which it is often compared nowadays?

Brian Bull: It is appropriate to compare COVID-19 to the flu because both are respiratory diseases. That is, both viruses multiply in the cells that line the air passages of the lungs—the bronchi and bronchioles—and in the lining cells of the tiny little air sacs called alveoli at the end of the smallest air passages, where the blood picks up oxygen. In the lining cells of the air passages, both viruses co-opt the machinery in the cell cytoplasm—the machinery for making things. They hijack the cell to produce more copies of themselves. These newly formed viruses then spread out and infect other cells lining the respiratory tract.

What you have been saying is true of the flu as well as of COVID-19?

Correct. They don't belong to the same family of viruses though. However, there are viruses that you may have heard about that are much more like COVID-19 than influenza. The SARS virus was quite similar and so was MERS, the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome virus. All three are coronaviruses and so, under an electron microscope, they would look very much like each other and not at all like the influenza virus.

Now, can you unpack the term "corona," which sounds very much like a crown or at least a circle?

The virologist who first named it thought it looked like a crown! It is a spherical virus with

knobs scattered over its surface. To me it doesn't look much like a crown but the name sticks once the viruses of a particular group have been named. When more viruses are discovered in the same group, not surprisingly they are given the same name—in this case corona.

Let's get back to the flu. How is COVID-19 disease similar to and how is it different from the "good old flu" that most of us grew up with?

Well, as I mentioned, it's similar in that it lives in the respiratory tract. Both viruses are alike in that both produce pneumonia—fluid filling portions of the lung and making that part of the lung useless for getting oxygen into the blood. However, the similarity ends there, for the pneumonia that is produced by COVID-19 and the pneumonia that is produced by the flu virus are quite different. The flu virus produces a pneumonia that has bacteria multiplying in a fluid-filled portion of the lung, making it impossible for oxygen-containing air to get into the little air sacs—the alveoli—because the air sacs are full of fluid.

Bacteria are not directly involved in the pneumonia caused by the coronavirus. Rather, it looks as though clots in the tiny blood vessels in the air sac walls are preventing the blood from getting to the oxygen. Patients with either type of pneumonia may be put onto ventilators to get the blood and the oxygen interacting again.

The COVID-19 pneumonia has other features that are very strange. Its onset is sudden, very sudden. A patient might be sit-

Bacteria are not directly involved in the pneumonia caused by the coronavirus. Rather, it looks as though clots in the tiny blood vessels in the air sac walls are preventing the blood from getting to the oxygen.

ting up in bed chatting to the nurse or doctor—or maybe checking a cellphone—and 45 minutes later is struggling for air and getting rapidly exhausted. Given how suddenly patients can start fighting for air, we are reasonably sure that it is not bacteria that have suddenly infiltrated their lungs. Our best guess is that it is a shower of tiny clots that are plugging up small blood vessels.

Now, given those clots, does that make COVID-19 more deadly; is the mortality rate from COVID-19 higher than it is from similar diseases?

Yes, it is higher, but just how much higher we're not sure. We know that it is more deadly; it may be a great deal more deadly. We know that influenza kills about 0.1% of those it infects. That would be one in every thousand. Early on in the pandemic, COVID-19 seemed to be a great deal more deadly, causing death in 2–3% of patients; that would be twenty to thirty deaths for every thousand people infected. We now know that a lot of people infected with COVID-19 are never identified as being “sick.” Thus, the mortality is a lot lower because the number infected for every person who dies is a lot larger than we thought at the beginning. At present, our best guess is that COVID-19 causes death in about two to three patients per 1,000. That would make it about two to three times as lethal as the flu not twenty to thirty times as it seemed early on.

So then, I could very well be infected, not have any symptoms, and not realize I have had it until I get tested?

That is correct. However, the chances of you having been infected without showing any symptoms are significantly less than the chances of somebody else who is significantly younger than you are.

Which is most of the population!

I would agree; that would, indeed, be most of the population! The mortality in COVID-19 pneumonia primarily affects people over the age of 65. The very depressing lethality statistic for those like you and me,

who are older, is that the mortality is ten times higher for those above 65 than those below the age of 55!

Can you explain why that is so?

No I can't. We don't know what it is about age that makes you and I so much more likely to die. That is one of the reasons we are having so much difficulty deciding how patients with COVID-19 are best treated because we don't understand why getting older makes a person so much more likely to die.

I find your confession of “professional ignorance” just astounding! One would suppose that as long as medical science has been interested in aging and mortality somebody would have figured out some connections between the way one “is” at 55, and how one is different at 65! What do you have to say, as a medical scientist about a topic that is practically universal (we all get older) and about which you are so ignorant?

We've been getting older for a very long time and medical science knows a lot about aging in general, but how COVID-19 infection interacts with aging is another matter entirely. The virus has been available for study for maybe three months, even less time than that in North America. During the several weeks that patients have been coming down with COVID-19 in North America—and some have been dying—we haven't yet figured out why this virus is so much more likely to kill people than the flu virus, and we haven't yet figured out why it's more likely to kill old people! But while we are on the topic, there are a whole series of even more curious coincidences. COVID-19 kills disproportionately, not just older people, but also people who have high blood pressure. It kills diabetics, and it particularly targets people who are significantly overweight. Our ignorance is extensive indeed!

Is gender a factor at all?

Gender does appear to be a factor, and you would be troubled to hear that males die more frequently than

COVID-19 kills disproportionately, not just older people, but also people who have high blood pressure. It kills diabetics, and it particularly targets people who are significantly overweight.

females. The difference is not great but it is statistically significant—in the data from New York, one of the hardest hit places in the US, mortality has been about 60/40 in favor of males. So elderly males are definitely a vulnerable population!

Now this gives me a good excuse to go back to a question I asked you a few days ago, “Is there any statistical information about COVID-19 and Adventists?” The Adventist lifestyle is purported to contribute to longevity—it certainly appears to have done so in my case. You, I know, are well acquainted with the Adventist Health Study. Are there any implications here? I don’t know of any Adventists who have died of COVID-19; are there any numbers on this at all?

No, and for the very reason you just commented on. All of those who join the Adventist Health Study make their contribution to the statistics on longevity only on the occasion of their death!

Oh, okay.

And since neither you nor I are aware, at present, of any Adventists who have died, we cannot begin to study the matter until some COVID-19 deaths are entered into the database of the Adventist Health Study.

Doesn’t that leave us in an awkward emotional position? We can hardly wish that some Adventists would die of COVID-19 in order to give us some information. On the other hand, I am intrigued by the question, “Does the Adventist lifestyle, whether it has to do with diet or something else, have any impact on the mortality rate or even the morbidity of COVID-19?”

Well, we could study the morbidity of COVID-19, all right; but the Adventist Health Study is a study of longevity among Adventists. To study longevity it is necessary to know when your study subjects died. The Adventist Health Study, of course, also records what they died from.

We hope that data on Adventist deaths from COVID-19 will be a long way off! Changing the subject a bit, are there any additional preventive measures besides what I call the “big three”: staying at home away from crowds; covering your face; and maintaining physical distance? By the way, I find the term “social distancing” odd because it isn’t social distance that we seem to care about but it is the ac-

tual physical distance of people who are socially connected.

I assume you would approve of the terminology “physical distancing of people who are socially connected.”

Yes, that may sound a little pedantic but it does the trick.

To a former editor such as yourself, that phraseology would warm the “cockles of the heart”?

Yes, yes. Are there any dietary implications here? I mean, you medical scientists ought to be useful at a time like this! Are there any foods that we ought to avoid?

There are some dietary implications, but not of the sort you are asking for. Obesity—that is, eating too much food over a long period of time—is a strong co-morbidity. More than half of the patients I have had the opportunity to study have been obese. It has been the most common finding in that particular group of COVID-19 patients.

Maybe the connection of obesity to COVID-19 morbidity will give us another “scare tactic” to get people to avoid becoming obese?

Yes, but for those who are now obese it is very difficult to rectify the situation in the time period which appears to be available. That would be on the order of twelve to eighteen months before a vaccine becomes available. Then, of course, the “fear factor” would become a great deal less intense. Once vaccinated, it is likely that a person would be immune for at least a year or two.

We don’t know for certain if that is true, but we assume it is so because that has been true for other viruses, including other coronaviruses.

I would like to shift the subject a bit. Why does it take so long to develop a vaccine? I mean, we’re supposed to be the most scientifically advanced country in the world and yet the time frame I hear is twelve to eighteen months to develop an effective vaccine against COVID-19. Why does it take so long? Why aren’t you guys smarter than that?

It is easy enough to take a portion of the COVID-19 virus and multiply it, and then expose volunteers to it (in an aerosol, perhaps). Then, a couple of weeks later, determine if they have produced antibodies. That can



be checked in a laboratory by using cultures of the virus and plasma from those volunteers who have been exposed. Does their plasma inactivate the virus?

This, however, is only the first step. It is now necessary to determine first that the vaccine is safe, and next, to determine if it is effective. Further, to the question of safety, suppose that two or three months (or two or three years) in the future, some of these vaccine recipients develop some new or hitherto poorly described medical condition (or even a medical condition that is well understood, such as heart disease or liver disease) in significantly increased numbers—what then? But even more difficult—and this is why we don't have a vaccine for other corona viruses that have recently afflicted populations around the world—when the vaccine has shown itself to be safe, there must still be people getting sick. In order to determine if this new vaccine is protective, members of a population must still be getting sick. So, if COVID-19 disappears before that twelve to eighteen months is up (which is devoutly to be hoped!), vaccine development grinds to a halt. The only other way we could proceed to see if the vaccine worked would be to give it to some people randomly selected in a population, withhold it from others (also randomly selected), and then arrange to have both groups exposed to the virus. Given that 0.1–0.3% of the exposed but unvaccinated group would likely die, that could obviously not be done for ethical reasons.

Yes, and I think we can understand why volunteers might be reluctant to participate in such an experiment! I regard myself as a generous and ethically

caring soul but if you were to ask me to be infected with the virus and also to take a vaccine to see if the vaccine was effective—I would be very hesitant to participate in such a project!

Could you break down that “very hesitant” into a crisper category?

Well, I think I would say “no way!”

There you go! And, that is one of the reasons it takes a long time to develop a vaccine. But, of course, we don't actually ever do that in developing a vaccine. What we actually do is vaccinate members of a population and then look to see if they are protected against the natural infection—infections that people are going to get regardless. But, in order to do that, the disease must still be progressing through the population.

Yes, so the participants in the vaccine trial must at least have an average chance, a reasonable statistical probability of encountering the virus and becoming infected. Now that leads me to my last set of questions. What is your best guess about the future of COVID-19? Is it here to stay? Is it likely to be a recurring outbreak and is it going to become increasingly severe? Or is it going to kind of fade away as the human population gets more experienced with it? What happens to this kind of virus?

Well, everything that I might say on this topic is a guess—a moderately informed guess, but a guess, nonetheless. But in this case, because it is a virus that is still so poorly understood, everything that I might say about its future course is even more speculative

Excuse me, you say “poorly understood.” Could

you give additional detail on that? I know what the words mean.

“Poorly understood,” in this case, means that we do not yet understand the pathophysiology—the specific malfunctioning of body mechanisms—that make the disease so lethal. We do not yet understand how this virus kills, and until we understand how and why this virus kills people, we are not going to be able to devise an intelligent and coherent strategy. Of course, it is possible that we may hit upon an effective treatment by accident—it has happened before—but we are much more likely to overcome a disease that we thoroughly understand than one that remains stubbornly enigmatic.

In the meantime, we are treating the symptoms of the disease as they make their appearance. If patients have trouble breathing, we can put them on a respirator. That is not going to get us to an understanding of *why* they are having trouble breathing, but it may well save lives. So, until we understand the pathophysiology—the disordered functioning of various body organs and glands that the virus causes—until we understand that, it is a wildly speculative guess as to what its future course might be.

What we already know is that people infected with COVID-19 can die from a wide variety of immediate causes. At least fifteen (or maybe twenty) causes-of-death have been identified. Death can come from several different heart malfunctions, from strokes of a variety of types, from kidneys that fail, and also from “multisystem organ failure.” That, as you can probably guess, covers a very wide territory. One of the commonest causes-of-death is lung failure. Often the disease looks like a pneumonia, but it acts differently from the usual pneumonia of the elderly. It was this difference in the way the pneumonia presented that led to the first cases in Wuhan, China, being identified. Until we understand how all of these different fatal outcomes are produced by a single virus, we are like the proverbial group of blind men feeling and attempting to describe an elephant.

Yes, and I can't think of any ethically acceptable alternative to just waiting until enough people are infected (and eventually die) to enable scientists to crack the mysteries surrounding the disease.

No one now knows what that time frame looks like. If someone can put all these disparate observations

together into a coherent explanation it could be quite short. In the meantime, our puzzlement about the pathophysiology is affecting our ability to determine whether a drug is beneficial or hurtful. Clearly, if a drug becomes available that inactivates the virus or slows it down, that is going to be helpful. But most deaths are occurring for reasons other than an overwhelming growth of the virus. Patients are not dying from a very large number of virus particles overwhelming the body and causing multi-system organ failure; they are dying from causes that we understand, like strokes and heart attacks and liver failure. Why this particular virus manages to produce this wide variety of causes-of-death is what is making it so difficult to understand as a coherent disease process. This is one of the reasons it is so scary.

Yes, this really is a nightmare scenario, isn't it? We have a mortal threat that we don't understand and so don't know how to counteract. And, I gather that there's no way to speed up our learning process?

There are people who are trying. I have heard that somewhere in the US there is a multimillionaire who has funded a group to do just that. It is composed of a number of experts. But just how do such experts get chosen? If we don't know how the virus kills, do we put a virologist in the group, a pulmonologist, and maybe even a pathologist such as myself? Since it is not clear where the answer will come from or would look like, how do we select precisely the right experts?

So where does that leave us?

It leaves us physically distancing ourselves in social situations until we learn a whole lot more about the virus.

But what I'm hearing you say is that there is no ethical way to speed up that learning! Do we just have to wait until more people get ill and subsequently die?

I notice that both times you have asked this question you have underscored the word “ethical” I'm not sure why. At this point in time I cannot think of any *unethical* way in which we could speed up the learning process! After all, the virus is spreading through the population, and in so doing is providing us with ever more information about itself.

Well, that's good, I suppose. You researchers won't be tempted! I guess a simple-minded, high-

We are now so convinced that clotting is involved that all COVID-19 patients who are sick enough to be treated in an intensive care unit are given blood thinners. This is probably one of the reasons that the virus is killing fewer infected patients now than when we first spoke.

school-level proposal would be to select a prison population, perhaps, and infect half of them with the virus and not the other half, and see what happens?

It's the "see what happens" that's the tricky bit! We know already that what will happen is that two or three or four out of every thousand will die and, in all likelihood, they'll die from a wide variety of different causes, with pneumonia being the most common.

But presumably the people who have been deliberately infected would have a higher mortality rate than the people who were not infected?

Absolutely! But if those that were infected are going to die from several different causes where do we go next? Suppose recipient one died from heart failure, recipient two died from liver failure, recipient three died from a stroke, recipients four, five, and six died from what looked like a viral pneumonia (because at autopsy there was no evidence of bacteria in the non-functioning lungs), and recipient seven dies from bacterial pneumonia. That is exactly the information we already have! That is the information that we don't yet know how to integrate into a coherent picture.

So, where does that leave us? I guess with a need for patience, and hope?

Well, definitely a need for hope! The one thing we cannot do is to give up.

You anticipate that it will pass? Or do you think that COVID-19 is here to stay?

I'm guessing that it is going to end up like the flu, because it is now so widespread that at all seasons of the year there will be a flare-up somewhere in the world. Because it is so highly infectious, I don't think it will be

possible to stamp it out in the same way we were able to stamp out smallpox. So, yes, I think it is with us to stay. But it will not be so scary once we have a vaccine and drugs or other therapeutic agents that lower its lethality to that of influenza.

Can you give me a descriptive term? Are you "confident," "hopeful," or maybe "desperate"? How should we feel about COVID-19 and the future—the future that is beyond our own, the future of our children and grandchildren?

In time it will probably be like the flu. It may spread more rapidly in colder weather, when people are more likely to be in closer contact. However, it will not be nearly as frightening as it is now, because then there will be a vaccine. Between those who are immune because they have been vaccinated and those who are immune because they have had the disease, the majority of the population will not be susceptible to infection—and the infection will spread much more slowly. Having a bout of COVID-19 will, by then, probably be so non-scary that a lot of us will not even bother to get vaccinated, just as many now skip getting vaccinated for the flu. For those who do come down with COVID-19, there will be drugs and/or other therapeutic agents that will decrease the intensity of the infection to that of a bad case of the flu.

Maybe on that hopeful note, (I don't know that I would say "optimistic note"), we can proceed into the future with COVID-19 since it looks very much as though we will not be proceeding *without* COVID-19.

So, Brian, six weeks have passed and more than 130,000 people have died in the US. Last I heard, over three million people have been found with the COVID-19 virus in their noses. The test that found them sounds complicated and seems to take a very long time—days in fact. Why don't you speed up testing and why don't you test everybody? Why are you scientists limiting the tests so much?

The test to which you refer is very sophisticated. It belongs to a category that until very recently could be found only in University teaching-hospital labs and at research centers like the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Tests of this sort have never before been produced and used on such a massive scale. These tests (RT-PCR) identify the presence of the virus in nose swabs by using enzymes (reverse transcriptase) that can multiply virus particles if they are present in the nose swabs, and do it without even identifying the virus particles first. This multiplication process takes time, and that is why the most sensitive RT-PCR tests take a minimum of several hours to complete. The multiplication process will raise the levels of the virus (if any are present to start with) to levels that can be confidently detected.

Okay, so the tests for the virus are complicated and you scientists are doing the best that you can. So what's with Remdesivir, is it a cure? And, how about Dexamethasone?

Remdesivir is not a cure, but it sure can help. It was developed to fight the Ebola virus and it is ingenious indeed. To a virus it looks like something that the virus needs to make more viruses. However, when the COVID-19 virus tries to use it in this way, it messes up the process by which new viruses are created. In general, it slows down the rate at which the virus multiplies and this, in turn, means that the antiviral defenses of the body have an easier time fighting off the attack.

As for Dexamethasone, it appears to be acting by quieting the body's defenses in situations where there is an overly exuberant response from the body. It is only effective later in the course of the disease when the virus is in retreat. If given too early, it seems to speed up the multiplication of the virus.

And when the defenses of the body are finally

overwhelmed . . . What can you tell me now about how the virus kills?

Some weeks ago, when first you asked me that question, I guessed that clotting was probably involved—that clotting might account for the dramatic way this coronavirus pneumonia, over twenty minutes or so, could take a patient from breathing normally—to gasping for air, with chest muscles failing from exhaustion. We are now so convinced that clotting is involved that all COVID-19 patients who are sick enough to be treated in an intensive care unit are given blood thinners. This is probably one of the reasons that the virus is killing fewer infected patients now than when we first spoke. It also seems likely that clotting is a major way in which the virus can cause damage in widely separated body organs—the virus appears to be doing so by causing clotting in the small blood vessels in the heart, liver, kidneys etc., and also in the brain. It is an odd sort of clotting that we have not previously seen with other respiratory viruses, such as those that cause influenza and the common cold. This widespread clotting doesn't produce the kinds of symptoms that are usually associated with large vessel clots. This is likely an important clue as to why, and how, the virus kills. We still, though, have much to learn.



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Photos Courtesy of Dr. Robert G. Hammond

OAKWOOD GRAD *Pursues Research Dream*

BY ALEX AAMODT

When Dr. Robert G. Hammond began to study them, coronaviruses were just another obscure pathogen on the outskirts of the collective consciousness. Yes, the SARS outbreak of 2003, which killed some 700 people and sickened thousands more, was still a vivid memory for some—especially within the countries in Asia that were hardest hit—but the average person likely couldn't identify what a coronavirus even was. Another coronavirus disease,

MERS, emerged as a deadly threat in the Middle East during 2012, again killing hundreds, but did not make the jump to a truly global crisis.

It was 2013 when Hammond started his doctoral studies in chemistry at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB). He would be working in a new lab, established by Dr. Margaret Johnson, who had also just joined the institution as an associate professor and researcher. Some of Johnson's previous work had included

studying the minute structure of the original SARS virus, and the new lab would continue working to better understand such viruses. The implications of such research at the molecular level are profound, for it can be the foundation for developing groundbreaking antiviral drugs.

Hammond was intrigued by the significance of the viruses, but expected the work to remain in an obscure scientific niche.

“I [was] just resigned to the fact that my work would probably never be understood or relevant to people,” Hammond told me recently. “No one knew what it was.”

Of course, in just a few short years, all that would change.

The COVID-19 pandemic, caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus, that has uprooted life in every corner of the globe during 2019 and 2020, seemed like a shock out of the blue, but it really shouldn't have been a surprise. The journalist David Quammen, writing in *The New Yorker* not long into the pandemic, recounted meeting with Dr. Ali S. Khan in 2006. Khan was then in charge of combating emerging diseases for the CDC in the United States, and while there are many fascinating and terrifying diseases caused by pathogens, Khan had a quick answer for what he thought was the most interesting: SARS.

“Because it was so contagious, and so lethal. And we were very lucky to stop it,” Khan said.¹

A quick refresher, if one doesn't remember the details of the original SARS: In late 2002 and early 2003, a cluster of pneumonia patients—whose conditions couldn't be traced to any standard diseases—began to concern health officials in Southern China. Eventually a new-to-humans virus, SARS-CoV, would be identified as the cause. It quickly became concerning, as evidence emerged



Dr. Robert G. Hammond

that it spread from person to person with rapidity. A large number of eventual cases were traced to one man sick with the virus who stayed in a hotel in Hong Kong—a superspreader. Other hotel guests on his hallway became sick, and spread the new disease to several countries. Eventually it was contained, with less than 10,000 known infections, through a concerted effort to isolate patients and trace their contacts. Still, many health authorities, including Khan, thought that avoiding a

global disaster had been extremely lucky; all the elements of a pandemic had been there.

The coronavirus family, *Coronaviridae*, has many different members, and can infect everything from plants to mammals to birds. Seven are now known to infect humans. Ascending the coronavirus family tree, there is one of the four genera that has been relevant to the most dangerous human infections: betacoronaviruses. Ascending even further, betacoronaviruses are separated into four lineages, labeled A, B, C, and D. SARS and COVID-19 come from lineage B, MERS from C (two from lineage A are among the many viruses that cause the common cold).

All of the complicated taxonomy is to say, there are many coronaviruses, a few of which infect humans, and a few of which cause serious diseases when they do so. A connecting thread is that most, if not all, likely originate in bats. For reasons that scientists are still exploring, bats are excellent hosts for viruses; they seem able to carry many of them without being negatively affected. There are other betacoronaviruses found in bats that haven't infected humans but are similar to those that cause the dangerous diseases, and studying them can be useful in finding weaknesses that might apply across the whole of the betacoronavirus genus. Perhaps there is a common thread that could neutralize all of the dangerous ones in one fell swoop.

When Dr. Robert G. Hammond began to study them, coronaviruses were just another obscure pathogen on the outskirts of the collective consciousness.

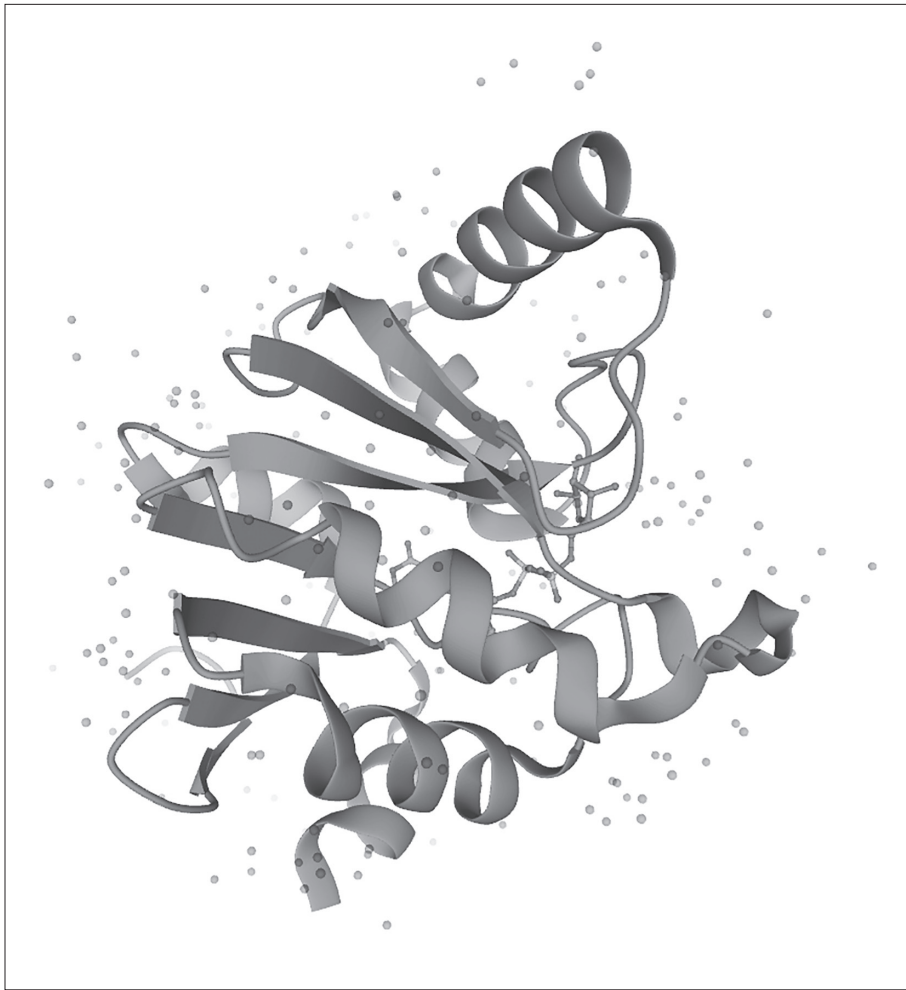


Image courtesy of the RCSB Protein Data Bank (rcsb.org)
PDB ID: 6MEA

Hammond, R. G., Schormann, N., McPherson, R. L., Leung, A. K. L., Deivanayagam, C. C. S., Johnson, M. A. (2019) Crystal structure of a Tylonycteris bat coronavirus HKU4 macrodomain in complex with adenosine diphosphate ribose (ADP-ribose) doi: 10.2210/pdb6MEA/pdb

Robert Hammond grew up in the Dallas-Fort Worth area of Texas. He attended Forest Lake Academy in Florida for part of high school, and then went on to complete a degree in chemistry at Oakwood University, graduating in 2008. He was interested in doing an MD-PhD program, wherein he could engage with scientific research alongside medical practice, but had trouble finding the best path forward.

“At the time, I didn’t really understand what graduate school was like,” Hammond said, remembering the difficult application process. He didn’t feel that he had many mentors who could help navigate all of the complexity, and after not getting into the programs he targeted, looked for what to do next. “I had to figure things out and try a different method,” he said.

Hammond settled on teaching. After doing several different jobs for a time, he taught science for two years at an intercity public high school in Texas and then at a suburban school. Still, the ambition to do graduate work remained, and when a scholarship for studying at UAB became available in 2013, Hammond took the opportunity.

Since the UAB lab where he would be working was brand new, there were challenges and work to do beyond what might be typical when starting a PhD.

“They had to renovate and make a new space for us,” Hammond remembered. “It was interesting those first years, but I learned a lot, for sure, about how to start a lab.” He also spent time developing protocols and standards for the operation of the lab.

Hammond worked to get several projects up and running. One that he spent a significant amount of time working on—

an attempt to make a complex polymer—never functioned as planned. Around 2015, he started work on analyzing the genome of a bat coronavirus, catchily named HKU4, which is closely related to the MERS virus—it might be thought of as a sibling. So far, it has never been known to infect humans, but its genetics are very similar to the MERS virus that does.

Today, unlike the early days of working with infectious diseases, it’s possible to do a multitude of research without actually handling an intact—and potentially dangerous—virus. If researchers are able to get a sample of a virus, whether from a human patient or from an animal, it’s now a relatively simple task to sequence its genome, which can then be shared with researchers around the globe; everyone can look at the molecular details from afar.

HKU4 was actually found and sequenced before MERS made the leap to humans. In 2006, researchers

in Hong Kong published the results from 309 samples taken from different species of bats over a sixteen-month period.² HKU4 was one of six new coronaviruses they discovered, and was found in the lesser bamboo bat, a miniscule species with a body only an inch and a half long.

From his lab in Birmingham, Hammond looked at HKU4's genetic sequence to determine a promising research target.

A single virus particle, a virion, is a remarkably small yet efficient structure. "Viruses are perfect parasites," an author in the *Biophysical Journal* described³. They also exist in a strange area between the living and non-living. Without the mechanisms of an organism, they multiply only by hijacking cells, using the host's molecular machinery for their own purposes. The virion is just a bundle of genetic material that holds the instructions for replicating itself, surrounded by a shell of protein (enveloped viruses, which include coronaviruses, have an

additional outer layer as well).

To be successful in replicating, a virion has to figure out how to enter a host cell, and then, once inside, copy itself. A simple idea, but understanding the details of

the process at the tiny scale where it happens is difficult, and even today filled with many unknowns.

"I wanted to know the shape of some of the proteins that were made after the virus infects a cell," Hammond explained to me about the goal of his research. These proteins are of great importance because some are involved in perpetuating the replication process. Identifying the correct proteins and developing a drug that stops them—while also not damaging human cells—could lead to an effective therapy.

Since many of the proteins are shared between different strains of virus, such a therapy might work across multiple examples.

The coronavirus family, *Coronaviridae*, has many different members, and can infect everything from plants to mammals to birds. Seven are now known to infect humans.



Hammond settled on trying to study a section of a protein in HKU4 called a macrodomain.

“I tried to find a particular domain that had high physiological value,” he said. With the potential section identified, he began working to create it in the lab so that he could then study it closely.

Creating a complicated protein is no easy task. First, Hammond had to clone the section he wanted to study, then implant it into *E. coli* bacteria. Next, he nurtured and fed the bacteria, so that it and the cloned protein would grow. Once properly developed, the protein then needed to be removed from the bacteria that had harbored it.

“It looks like this brown putty,” Hammond said of the matured *E. Coli* and protein mixture. He concentrated it into a pellet, then chopped it up and added water to make a sludge-like material, which was bombarded with sound to break up all the bacteria cells into fragments. Only then could the fragments—the “guts” of the bacteria—could be filtered out, leaving only the desired protein, pure and unadulterated.

If it sounds like a complicated process, that’s because it is. When he first started, it took Hammond around a month to advance through all the steps and get an individual sample. Later, with more practice, he cut the time to a week, though doing so sometimes required staying in the lab for eighteen to twenty hours straight to do multiple steps at once.

Originally, Hammond wanted to study the protein with a technique called nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR). NMR is related to the MRI machines familiar in hospitals, but shows the structure of molecules rather than tissues in the human body. It is a powerful tool that can give a three-dimensional look at the atomic level, but also is very sensitive and difficult to make work properly. In 2017, Hammond and his UAB collaborators used NMR to map the structure of a protein in another coronavirus, HKU9, and he wanted to use the same technique on HKU4.⁴ Yet with time starting to run out and needing to

finish his doctoral work, Hammond was still fighting with the NMR process and decided to move to the technique of X-ray crystallography (Hammond did eventually succeed with the NMR structure on a different HKU4 domain, which was published to the RCSB Protein Data Bank in 2018).

There was help from other scientists as well. Hammond met a researcher from Johns Hopkins who ended up having additional tests that would be helpful. Back in the lab, Hammond flash-froze some of his samples, put them on dry ice, and shipped them to Johns Hopkins—crossing his fingers that they would survive the trip. They did, and the tests delivered more useful information.

At the end of 2018, Hammond graduated and moved on to the other part of his original plan: medical school. While at UAB, he published several papers, including one with work on another bat coronavirus, but, since graduating, he has been working to publish his most significant research, from the HKU4 virus. While always a significant topic, the start of the COVID-19 pandemic has changed the stakes for such research, with the whole world clamoring for scientific answers to the health emergency caused by the SARS-CoV-2 betacoronavirus. Suddenly, everyone knows the significance of what he was working on all those years.

When we first spoke, Hammond was still trying to publish his principal research, but in the summer of 2020, the full paper—coauthored with his collaborators at UAB and Johns Hopkins—was accepted for upcoming publication by the *PNAS*, the official journal of the National Academy of Sciences (known for being one of the most prestigious scientific journals in the world). The paper discusses both the structure of the macrodomain, and of three different mutations that Hammond created. The mutations are essentially small alterations to the protein, to see if it’s possible to change how the virus replicates and thwarts the host’s cellular defenses. And the

Identifying the correct proteins and developing a drug that stops them—while also not damaging human cells—could lead to an effective therapy.



paper concludes that yes, the changes did affect how the macrodomain functioned.

Hammond’s work isn’t a cure for betacoronaviruses, but it might contribute to a future antiviral treatment. As of July 2020, several of the many developers rushing to create a COVID-19 vaccine have announced promising early results, but there is still no guarantee that a safe and effective vaccine will ever be ready for widespread use. Hopefully, one will be, but even so, a future antiviral treatment could still be immensely important. There are many other betacoronaviruses out there, lurking in different bat species, with the potential to jump to humans. The odds are that in the coming years other ones will.

Now in his second year of medical school at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, Hammond is working to ready himself to do further science that leaves the sort of impact he wants to see in the world.

“I realized that in order for my research to be as effective as I wanted it to be, it needs to be as close to the community as possible,” he said. The sum of his experience, from being a teacher to a lab scientist and soon a medical doctor, has left him wanting to develop his own lab in the future.

“I want to develop a research facility for people to enter the scientific process,” Hammond said. “And I want

different types of people other than [from] the selective process that I think our current system presents.”

Hammond thinks there is a dearth of both minority and Adventist scientists who present their work in high-impact journals: a fact he is determined to change.

Endnotes

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KEYWORDS: journey from fundamentalism to faith, fossilized dinosaur eggs, ornithology, paleontology



Photo: C. R. Hill

The author examines a ring-billed gull nest site on May 19, 1980, the day after Mount St. Helens's ashfall. The nest and eggs were completely buried beneath the volcanic ash.

LEARNING *Firsthand*

BY JAMES L. HAYWARD

The following article is from the book, Dinosaurs, Volcanoes, and Holy Writ: A Boy-Turned-Scientist's Journeys from Fundamentalism to Faith (Resource Publications, 2020).

Charlie Amlaner and I landed our boat at the south edge of Harper Island on Sprague Lake. We scrambled out, climbed the volcanic ash-covered slope, and hiked the short distance to the gull colony. I had not set foot here since the previous year when Mount St. Helens emptied its fury on the colony. The eruption had buried nests and eggs and sent my research into a tailspin.

As we made our way to the nesting area, anxious

gulls flew up and circled about. Hundreds of nests, most containing from one to three eggs, punctuated the pale, dusty colony surface. But we were not here to observe living birds—there would be plenty of time for that later. We were here to look for last year's nests and eggs buried beneath the ash.

I recently had talked with a geologist friend who told me that a fossilized dinosaur nesting colony had been discovered in northern Montana. Nests, eggs, and baby

Photo: C. J. Amlaner



A volcanic ash-buried ring-billed gull nest is uncovered on May 16, 1981, one year after Mount St. Helens's eruption. In addition to fragmented eggshell, an unbroken egg can be seen at the center of the photo.

dinosaurs had been buried by sediments eroded from the Rocky Mountains, which were then rising to the west. Volcanic ash deposits were also present in the region.¹ I wondered if my study site could serve as a modern-day analog to the Montana dinosaur colony. That's what Charlie and I were here to find out.

We walked over to where there had been a high concentration of ring-billed gull nests the year before. I got down on my knees and carefully scraped away the layer of volcanic ash. Charlie was poised to capture any finds on film. Within minutes my spade struck an ash-coated, brownish-green structure with a convex surface—an eggshell! Then another and another! Soon I had uncovered an entire buried nest with three eggs. As I continued to dig, more nests with eggs were uncovered. We had hit pay dirt.

The eggs were not fossilized, but they had been protected by the overlying ash. Had they not been completely covered, they would have been eaten by predators. The year-old insides contained a smelly paste of decomposing fats and proteins. Despite the fact that these gull eggs were not yet fossils, they would teach us important things about events that lead to egg fossilization, as well as about the process of fossilization itself. And because bird and dinosaur eggs are very similar, preservation of the

gull eggs would help us understand processes leading to dinosaur-egg fossilization.²

As it turned out, our dusty find opened up an entirely new research arena in paleontology, and it connected me with some of the top people in dinosaur research. Like most scientific discoveries, ours was the result of curiosity, initiative, knowledge, and plain-old good luck converted to action.

This chapter is about scientific discovery of physical reality, which has played a crucial role in my journey from fundamentalism to faith. For me, nothing is more satisfying than uncovering a hitherto unknown corner of the universe, and then sharing that corner with the rest of the world. To illustrate the excitement and joy of discovery, I share several of my own long-term research projects that have opened new areas of inquiry in paleontology and



Photo: J. L. Hayward

Karl Hirsch and his dog, Maggie, at the Devil's Coulee, Alberta dinosaur-egg site in 1993

ecology. But first, I will mention a few reflections on the nature and value of scientific research.

First of all, I think that physical reality should serve as a control on the contours of belief and faith. People who

Despite the fact that these gull eggs were not yet fossils, they would teach us important things about events that lead to egg fossilization, as well as about the process of fossilization itself.



(Left) The author and Joe Galusha (right) in 2006, at the cabin where they lived on Protection Island, Washington. The converted van served as their “mobile blind.”
 (Middle) Glaucous-winged gulls, common residents along the Pacific Northwest coast, have served as the author’s primary research subjects for nearly a half century.
 (Right) The author, on the Protection Island gull colony, is dressed in protective gear—for reasons obvious in the photo.

undervalue physical reality are vulnerable to all sorts of spurious ideas—that the earth is flat, that flying saucers bring aliens to earth, that water filtered through lava cures cancer, that prayer cloths perform miracles, that vaccinations cause autism, that global warming is a myth, that dinosaurs and humans walked together. Faith does not involve believing in things falsified by evidence from the physical world. This is not to say that science provides a foolproof basis for understanding; in fact, science does not employ the idea of proof. Scientific perspectives shift over time, but generally our understanding of the universe shifts closer to reality as evidence accumulates. Advances in technology and medicine, practical applications of scientific understanding, provide powerful support for the idea that the scientific method is an effective way to progressively illuminate physical reality.

Scientific research forces investigators to become intimately familiar with the systems they study. My research on the fossilization of eggs and on the behavioral ecology of gulls has provided me with insights about life in the past and present that I never could have obtained from reading or classroom work. Intimate and long-term connection with nature, especially in association with the rough and tumble of the scientific peer-review process, is a prerequisite for anyone hoping to speak intelligently about the complexities of life and its history. Research involves the combined skills and drama of *Curious George*, *Indiana Jones*, and *Sherlock Holmes*, but scientific research also involves tedium, innumerable trips down blind alleys, and countless failures. Patience, and lots of it, is required for the successful researcher. The folly of attempting to be seen as an expert in matters of science without an active research program is illustrated by the life and work of George

McCready Price. Price disliked fieldwork, set himself up as an armchair critic of geology and evolutionary biology, wrote extensively on these topics—and has been thoroughly discredited, even by other creationists.³ But lest we become overconfident about our knowledge, we need to keep in mind the cautionary remark by Scottish biologist, D’Arcy Thompson, that we can “never know all, about the smallest, humblest thing.”⁴

We must also recognize that every scientist has bias. But scientific methodology, carefully applied, helps us minimize, as much as possible, the effects of bias on scientific conclusions. In science, the philosophical assumptions behind a hypothesis should be relatively unimportant; what is crucial is that the scientific method is applied rigorously as one tests that hypothesis. In fact, philosophical background and interests can be an important creative force in shaping one’s research hypotheses, and indeed career. In an earlier chapter, I described the first research project I tackled as a student—development of a simple mathematical model to define factors necessary for the upright flotation of trees. The motivation for this project was the belief that the Genesis flood ripped trees from the ground, floated them about, and eventually left them in an upright position once the flood waters receded. I no longer consider a worldwide flood to be a viable explanation for the data, but that does not negate my conclusions about the factors necessary for the upright flotation of trees. In the same way, my more recent work in experimental paleontology has been motivated by curiosity about the past, curiosity inspired by my fundamentalist roots, even though my perspectives on what that was like have shifted since my youth.

Field research, my specialty, combines white-collar

cognition with blue-collar grunt work. I enjoy physical labor—assembling an elevated observation blind, pounding nest stakes into the ground, building camera platforms. It's fun to figure out ways to use limited resources in creative ways. For nearly all my career I have worked on remote islands, places where you have to make do or lose opportunities to obtain important data. Learning to use what is at hand—scrap lumber, driftwood, an old piece of umbrella or tripod, a clothespin—to do what needs to be done is an important skill to develop.

These days, good research almost always involves collaboration. Scientific research generally requires the knowledge, ideas, and skills of a variety of experts. Collaboration has been a crucial aspect of my research career. I cannot overstate the advantages I have enjoyed as a result of collaboration. In most cases, my collaborators became good friends and introduced me to other helpful people.

Good research also involves good storytelling. Humans love stories, and scientists are no exception. The scientist who makes ripples on the pond of knowledge needs to be able to communicate effectively. Narratives in science need to be presented, not only factually and with integrity, but also in ways that motivate continued listening or reading. I work hard on both my technical and popular writing. Good writing happens in concert with good reading, so each day I try to read well-written literature.

Mount St. Helens' ashfall happened the year before I began teaching at Union College. As much as I enjoyed working at Union, my teaching load was so intense that it was difficult to think about research. I did, however, manage to publish a report on the effects of the ashfall on the nesting gulls. Don Miller, my dissertation advisor

at Washington State, and Calvin Hill, the friend who was with me when the ashfall occurred, were coauthors. Our paper appeared as the lead article in the October 1982 issue of *The Auk*, a prominent ornithological journal.⁵ In 1989, Charlie Amlaner and I published the results of our

discovery of ash-buried eggs and nests in the *Journal of Vertebrate Paleontology*.⁶

These two papers formed the basis for a productive research tangent—a tangent, because most of my research would continue to focus on the behavior and ecology of living animals. Yet this foray into historical biology and paleontology would remain a point of interest during the remainder of my career and provide many students with research projects. It would also give me firsthand experience and insights into

the geologic column and history of life as I continued to shape my philosophical perspectives.

When I searched for someone who knew something about eggshell fossilization, I came up with only one name—Karl Hirsch. He was connected with the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History. In late-summer 1983, I wrote to him and described my experience with Mount St. Helens ashfall. I mentioned that I was a novice in paleontology, included a copy of our *Auk* article, and asked for any information he might be able to provide on eggshell fossilization. He quickly responded, saying that as far as he knew, he was the only person in North America working on fossil eggs. Moreover, no one anywhere was working on eggshell taphonomy.⁷ He was delighted to find someone else with an interest in fossil eggs. The following year, he called saying he would soon be visiting Lincoln, Nebraska, where

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Photo: J. L. Hayward

Mathematical ecologist Shandelle Henson has just been shot with hot "white-wash" from the bowels of an angry gull. Gulls "shoot" with remarkable accuracy.



Using only three environmental variables, Shandelle Henson's mathematical model predicted the number of gulls loafing on this pier at any hour of the day with uncanny accuracy.

I was living at the time, and he wanted to get together.⁸

Karl was a strong extrovert, smoked tobacco, loved cognac, and spoke with a thick German accent. By contrast, I'm a strongly introverted, non-smoking, teetotaling, monolingual American, yet we hit it off immediately. As a young man, Karl was conscripted as a Nazi soldier. During Hitler's invasion of Russia he suffered three wounds, one of which nearly cost him a leg. "Out of two hundred twenty men in my unit," he said, "only ten were left after the war was over." In 1945, he was captured by the Russians and spent the next two-and-a-half years as a starving prisoner of war at a Siberian labor camp. After his release, he and his wife, Hildegard, immigrated to the United States, where they became rock hounds. In 1973, they found a fossil bird egg in the Nebraska badlands, and this got Karl interested in these ancient relics. No one seemed to know anything about fossil eggs, so he decided to learn about them himself.

Except for two courses at the University of Colorado, Karl had no formal training in geology or paleontology.

In Germany, he had been trained in accounting and management, but here in the States he worked as a maintenance technician at Rocky Flats Weapons Plant in Denver.⁹ He had taught himself what he needed to know about geology and paleontology, and he even learned scanning electron microscopy for the purpose of imaging and describing eggshell microstructure. He eventually published thirty-three technical papers on fossil eggs, including one in the prestigious journal *Science*, thus establishing himself as the world's expert on the topic. In 1990, the University of Colorado awarded him an honorary doctorate in recognition of his groundbreaking work, and, in the same year, The Paleontological Society honored

him with its prestigious Strimple Award.¹⁰ When I met him, Hildegard had recently died, leaving him depressed and lonely. His fossils and his friends were all he had left.

Karl was anxious for someone to maintain an interest in fossil eggs after he was gone. He was most interested in eggshell microstructure, and we published a paper together on the microstructural changes in gull eggshells buried by Mount St. Helens ash.¹¹ I was more intrigued, however, by the taphonomy of whole eggs and large-scale taphonomic features such as fracture patterns and fragment orientation, which could tell us important things about ancient environments and dinosaur behavior. Following Karl's death in 1996, several younger paleontologists continued to pursue his eggshell microstructure studies, and I continued with my studies on the taphonomy of whole eggs and eggshell fragments.

Karl and I enjoyed two extended trips together, during which we visited fossil egg sites and consulted with various paleontologists. In August 1992, we visited the Museum of the Rockies at Montana State University. There, Jack

I was more intrigued, however, by the taphonomy of whole eggs and large-scale taphonomic features such as fracture patterns and fragment orientation, which could tell us important things about ancient environments and dinosaur behavior.

Horner showed me the museum's extensive dinosaur nest and egg collection, all cataloged and neatly stowed on heavy-duty metal shelves. We then traveled to Egg Mountain—really only a large mound—near Choteau, Montana, where, fourteen years earlier, Horner had discovered the first evidence of nesting dinosaurs in North America. Karl took me to several sites in the vicinity of Egg Mountain where dinosaur nests with eggs had been uncovered.

In 1993, Karl and I once again traveled to Egg Mountain. When we arrived, the site was bustling with paleontologists instructing volunteers who had paid for a chance to dig up dinosaur remains. An extensive dinosaur bone bed had been found, and enthusiastic volunteers were exposing the bones. Other volunteers were marking locations where concentrations of eggshell fragments had weathered out at the ground surface. All personnel were housed in large teepees—the site looked like a nineteenth-century Native American village.

The next morning we drove to Dinosaur Provincial Park, Alberta, where we enjoyed a tour of the dinosaur-infested badlands. From Dinosaur Provincial Park we traveled southwest the next day to Devil's Coulee, near the little town of Warner, Alberta. Here, in 1987, a high-school student and fossil enthusiast, Wendy Sloboda, found some pieces of dinosaur eggshell exposed in the eroding badlands. This led to further exploration, which revealed the presence not only of duck-billed dinosaur eggs, but also bones of juvenile duck-bills. Sloboda, it turned out, had discovered a dinosaur nesting site similar to the one at Egg Mountain further south.¹²

These two trips networked me into the paleontological community. Karl knew just about everyone working in the area of dinosaur paleontology. During our trips to field sites, museums, and professional meetings, he introduced me to many of the top people in the field, some of whom ended up as collaborators. Now that he is gone, I miss his friendship, his thickly accented phone calls (“Hi Chim! This is Karl!”), his cheerful enthusiasm, and his professional guidance.

Karl's pioneering work in eggshell microstructure and Jack Horner's discovery of the dinosaur nesting ground at Egg Mountain stimulated great interest among paleontologists. This interest led to the first book on the topic, *Dinosaur Eggs and Babies*, edited by Kenneth

Carpenter, Hirsch, and Horner. The introductory chapter referenced the two papers on taphonomy my colleagues and I had published to that point and predicted the results of our work would “shed light on dinosaur nesting sites,”¹³ which is indeed what happened.

Lots of things can happen to an egg laid at a nesting site before it becomes a fossil. Burial by volcanic ash is an important one, but there are many others. Eggs, for example, can be predated, burned, crushed, attacked by bacteria, dissolved by acidic soil, or get washed into the sea. Eggshell fragments can be trampled at the nest site or transported by water, wind, or rising tides. None of these possibilities had been rigorously examined. Knowing how these factors affect eggs and eggshell fragments could provide “forensic evidence” about the behavior of dinosaurs and the types of environments in which they lived. Given the tremendous interest in dinosaurs, I decided this would be a fruitful area of research.

My students, colleagues, and I carried out an extensive series of experiments to find out what happens to eggs



Photo: J. L. Hayward

Over the years, more than sixty student members of the Seabird Ecology Team have contributed to the success of the research. Here, in 2008, Kelly McWilliams and Andre Moncrieff take a break beside an elevated blind. Kelly now teaches science at Wisconsin Academy, and Andre is a doctoral candidate in zoology at Louisiana State University.

Gulls make excellent subjects for animal behavior studies: they nest in large, open colonies with hundreds or even thousands of individuals; they are active during the day; they exhibit interesting and relatively complex behavior and communication patterns; they walk, run, fly, and swim with equal ease; and more than four dozen species of gulls make comparative studies interesting and feasible.

under various circumstances. We used modern chicken, ostrich, and emu eggs for our experiments. These eggs served as excellent proxies for ancient eggs, both bird and dinosaur, because bird and dinosaur eggs share such similar physical properties. We lowered chicken eggs into the Pacific Ocean to a depth of about 2,000 feet from the oceanographic research vessel *New Horizon*, and demonstrated that eggs at those intense pressures don't crack. We found that when gulls build nests and lay eggs too low along the beach, high tides cause nests and eggs to float away from shore; eventually the eggs drop from the disintegrating nest to the ocean floor. We found that chicken eggs placed on the ocean bottom are not eaten, but gradually serve as substrates for the growth of bacteria and other microorganisms. We discovered that eggshell buried in soil laced with various species of soil bacteria, or placed in solution of different levels of acidity, develop characteristic patterns of pitting on the eggshell surface. We crushed whole eggs under sediment loads and found that the fracture patterns differ depending on whether the eggshell is hollow, freshly laid, or filled with plaster to mimic eggs that have fossilized. We heated ostrich and emu eggshell fragments at different temperatures for varying lengths of time, and showed that during a forest fire, eggshells turn various colors—some quite beautiful—depending on the type of egg and the amount of heat. Each of these experiments helped with the interpretation of the taphonomic histories of fossil eggs described from around the world.¹⁴

Our taphonomic work that attracted the most interest, however, were experiments on eggshell fragment orientation. We found that the ratios of eggshell fragments

oriented concave-surface up versus concave-surface down vary depending on their transport histories. Fragments transported by wind or water tend to exhibit a concave-surface down orientation. By contrast, if transport has not occurred, the predominant orientation is concave-surface up. This simple test allowed us to infer that dinosaur eggshell fragments found at a site in northern Montana, and at another site at Devil's Coulee, Alberta, were in the locations of the ancient nest sites and had not been transported from other locations.¹⁵

Finding dinosaur eggshell fragments predominantly concave-surface up implied, among other things, that these sites had not been inundated by flowing water. Had these eggshell fragments been pushed around, for example, by the Genesis flood, they likely would have assumed predominantly concave-down orientations. Moreover, eggshell at some dinosaur sites occur at multiple levels, separated by one or more sediment layers. This suggests the sites were used for more than one nesting season, not just a single season in the year purported for Noah's flood.¹⁶

Our eggshell taphonomy work provided paleontologists with useful tools and concepts for reconstructing the original environmental conditions at dinosaur nest sites. It has been heartening to see our ideas and techniques adopted by other scientists. Moreover, research in taphonomy has taught me a great deal about the fossil record, and has supplied ample reason for me to reject the notions of flood geologists.

Most of my research has focused on the behavior and ecology of living animals, including gulls, harbor seals, marine iguanas, and bald eagles. As I mentioned

earlier, I studied gull reproductive behavior for my PhD dissertation, and this was the reason I was on a gull colony in eastern Washington when Mount St. Helens erupted in 1980. I had already spent three field seasons working on another colony, studying gull communication for my master's degree, so I was well acquainted with these birds. Gulls make excellent subjects for animal behavior studies: they nest in large, open colonies with hundreds or even thousands of individuals; they are active during the day; they exhibit interesting and relatively complex behavior and communication patterns; they walk, run, fly, and swim with equal ease; and more than four dozen species of gulls make comparative studies interesting and feasible.

For my master's thesis research project, I determined how gulls use sequences of behavioral units and *body orientations* to communicate messages. From motion picture film and video recordings, I transcribed the sequences of behaviors and body orientations used during territorial disputes. I found that body orientation plays a significant role during aggressive encounters by these birds. For example, body orientation toward an intruder by a territory defender conveys a higher level of threat than orientation away from the intruder. Moreover, the communicative function of a behavior may be altered by the behaviors that precede it in sequence. Just as humans use body postures, orientation, and syntax when we communicate with one another, so do gulls.¹⁷

The philosophical implication of this to me is profound. Gulls use the same elements of communication—vocalizations, postures, orientations—as we do, albeit with considerably less complexity. Both gulls and humans modulate communicative signals by changes in vocalization amplitude and pitch, along with changes in the rate of movement. Especially fascinating to me is that communicative signals cross species boundaries. If I orient my body toward a gull, stare directly at it, or raise my arm to it, I communicate more threat than if I stand still and look the other way. Similarly if a gull orients toward me, raises the feathers on top of its head, and vocalizes an attack call, I know that I had better watch my head! Common rules of communication bond us together as social creatures. Although we humans may be more complex than gulls, each of us exists as part of the remarkable, interacting fabric of nature.

In 1987, the summer after I moved to Andrews

University, Joseph Galusha invited me to participate at the research site he had established on the Protection Island gull colony, the largest seabird colony in Washington State's inland waters. I had become acquainted with Joe during the summer of 1971, when I was a senior biology major taking summer coursework at the Rosario Beach Marine Laboratory. Joe was completing his master's degree research on gull behavior under John Stout who, in turn, became my master's thesis advisor. Upon completion of his master's degree, Joe earned a doctorate at Oxford University with Niko Tinbergen, the "father" of gull studies. During the time Joe was his student, Tinbergen, Konrad Lorenz, and Karl von Frisch won the 1973 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for their pioneering work in animal behavior. When Joe returned to the States with a newly minted Oxford doctorate, he was hired to teach biology at Walla Walla College.

Joe understood gull behavior better than anyone I knew, and he had developed an excellent research setup on Protection Island, home to thousands of nesting glaucous-winged gulls. It was a generous offer to share



Photo: J. L. Hayward

Three Andrews University students who worked with the Seabird Ecology Team during 2014: left to right, WayAnne Watson, Ashley Reichert, and Sumiko Weir. All three women have completed, or are completing, MD degrees.



Photo: J. L. Hayward

The egg cannibal has just touched down on its nest territory with a stolen egg. The egg will be immediately broken open and its contents devoured.

his field site with me—many researchers are protective of their productive research sites. Little did I know that I would spend the next thirty-three field seasons working on Protection Island where gulls, bald eagles, harbor seals, vegetation, and even geology would attract my focus. I would come to know and love this island better than any place on earth. Joe not only shared this outstanding research site with me, he also taught me much about gull behavior, research techniques, and how to mentor students.

Protection Island is located in the Salish Sea at the southeast corner of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Washington. The island is about a mile and a half long and a half mile wide, and is shaped a bit like a plump, reclining comma with long, gravel spits forming its tips. The main part of the island consists of a grassy plateau, 100–200 feet above sea level. Two wooded areas also occur on the plateau. The northern edge of the plateau—the convex hump of the comma—forms a nearly vertical cliff, along which the island’s geologic history is vividly exposed by the sediment layers. From a single location at the top of the island, the San Juan Islands to the north, Vancouver Island to the northwest, the Olympic Mountains to the south and west, Mount Rainer to the southeast, and the North Cascades to the east and northeast are all visible. I could not have

asked for a more aesthetically pleasing site at which to do research.

Western Washington is famous for its lush, evergreen forests and abundant rainfall, but because of its position in the rain shadow created by the Olympic Mountains, much of Protection Island is a dry, tallgrass prairie. The temperatures are mild and mosquitoes, which plague denizens of the surrounding mainland forest, are mostly absent; a lack of standing freshwater and frequent sea breezes keep the pesky critters away. A research site on an island within an inland sea, surrounded by scenes of other islands and snow-covered peaks, and blessed with pleasing temperatures and a paucity of mosquitoes, is a rarity for field biologists. I had always dreamed of studying animals on an isolated island, like my boyhood hero, Sam Campbell, and that’s what I was privileged to do on Protection Island for more than three decades.

From 1987 to 2001, I spent the field seasons getting acquainted with Protection Island. I engaged in a variety of disconnected projects—collecting gull chick carcasses for a gull bone development project, timing the duration of various gull behaviors, collecting and analyzing the contents of great-horned owl pellets, assessing bald eagle activity patterns, characterizing the diversity and distribution patterns of vegetation, and quantifying

the taphonomic characteristics of eggs and eggshell. In the process I learned a great deal about the island and its tenants. Much of my time was spent perched atop a bluff overlooking Violet Point, the eastern gravel spit, and each hour for fifteen-hour days I counted the number of birds of each species in various habitats on the spit below. By 2001, I had accumulated a large data set which nicely showed contoured fluctuations of numbers of each species in the various habitats. When I plotted these fluctuations, I saw that they varied in complex ways, with environmental variables such as time of day, tide height, wind speed, and day of the year. My modest analytical skills, however, did not extend to understanding how to evaluate these complex relations. I needed something more than basic statistics to figure out the meaning of the fluctuating trends in the data.

In the fall of 2001, Shandelle Henson, a new professor in Andrews University's Department of Mathematics, gave a seminar in which she described how she analyzed fluctuations in lab populations of flour beetles. She was a member of the well-known "Beetle Team," an interdisciplinary group of mathematicians, statisticians, and biologists from Rhode Island, Arizona, California, Idaho, and now Michigan, that provided the first demonstration of the mathematical phenomenon of "chaos" in an animal population—a big deal theoretically and one that captured the attention of ecologists worldwide.¹⁸ I didn't understand the mathematics she used, but I did understand that she possessed the mathematical tools to analyze fluctuations in animal numbers. After the seminar, I went up to her and briefly explained that I had an extensive data set that described rising and falling numbers of marine birds and mammals. I asked if she would be willing to take a look to see if her methodologies could be used to analyze these data. To my surprise, she agreed.

I sent my data to her, and after a few days she responded that she thought they were something with which she could work. Our first meeting, however,

turned out to be a clash of "two cultures"—mathematics and biology. After I described the gull system, we agreed that fluctuations in the number of gulls "loafing" on the marina pier would work best for a first try at analysis. But when I began to list important environmental factors—time of day, windspeed, barometric pressure, air temperature, solar radiation, tide height, day of the year, and so on—she protested. "No, no, just give me the two most important factors!" Thinking she was terribly naïve, I said it would be impossible to list only two factors—ecosystems are complex, and any model worth thinking about would need to incorporate many factors. After a good-natured argument during which I continued to view her perspective as that of a hopelessly clueless mathematician, I skeptically compromised with a list of *three* factors: tide height, time of day, and day of the year. She said she would try to work with these three variables.¹⁹

Two weeks later, she announced she had developed a mathematical model that described the rises and falls of my loafing-gull counts. When I saw the graph that showed how beautifully her model described the number of gulls on the pier, I was astonished. I discovered that I was the one who was clueless and Shandelle was right: you don't need, or even want, to include all the environmental factors impinging on a system to model it effectively. She explained that the purpose of a mathematical model is to find the *main* factors that drive the system. If all the factors were included it would no longer be a model, it would be the system itself. In this case the main factors appeared to be tide height, time of day, and day of the year.

Shandelle then explained that the real test of model effectiveness is whether it can *predict* the behavior of a system in the future. Now a believer in her technique, I constructed a spreadsheet listing the tide height forecast, available from the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) website, for every hour of the day for each day we planned to work on Protection Island the following spring. Shandelle used her differential

A research site on an island
within an inland sea, surrounded
by scenes of other islands
and snow-covered peaks,
and blessed with pleasing
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mosquitoes, is a rarity for field
biologists.

equation model to generate predictions of rises and falls of counts of gulls on the pier. All we had to do now was wait for the next field season and hire a couple students to help collect the data needed to test the predictions.

Shandelle, two students, and I arrived on Protection Island on May 8, 2002, got set up, and began counting the next day. From atop a bluff overlooking the colony, we counted gulls on the pier every hour, from 5:00 am until 8:00 pm for twenty-nine consecutive days. Each count was a time-consuming process, frustrated occasionally by fog, eagle disturbances, or caretakers cleaning the pier.

At one point, Shandelle had to travel to Rhode Island for a meeting with the Beetle Team, leaving the students and me to do the counts. During her absence a seasonal island resident, Warren Odegard, whom I knew from previous visits, appeared with his *Thor*, a forty-plus-foot landing craft which he tied up to the pier. That in itself would not have posed a problem for us; short gaps in our counts would not create difficulties for our analysis. The problem was that Warren decided it was a good time to make extensive repairs on the outside of his boat. His activity would seriously interfere with our counts. I called Shandelle and told her what was happening.

“You’ve *got* to find a way to keep him off the pier!” she exclaimed. I agreed, but this would be tricky—he had as much right to be on the pier as we did. So I decided to offer him a bribe.

“Hi Warren!” I said, as I approached him on the pier. “We’re doing some research which requires us to count gulls on the pier at the top of each hour every day. I’ll pay you one hundred dollars if you’ll agree stay off the pier while you’re here on the island.” Warren thought a moment about my strange offer and then said, yes, he would be willing to stay off in exchange for my bribe. I reached into my pocket, pulled out five twenties, and

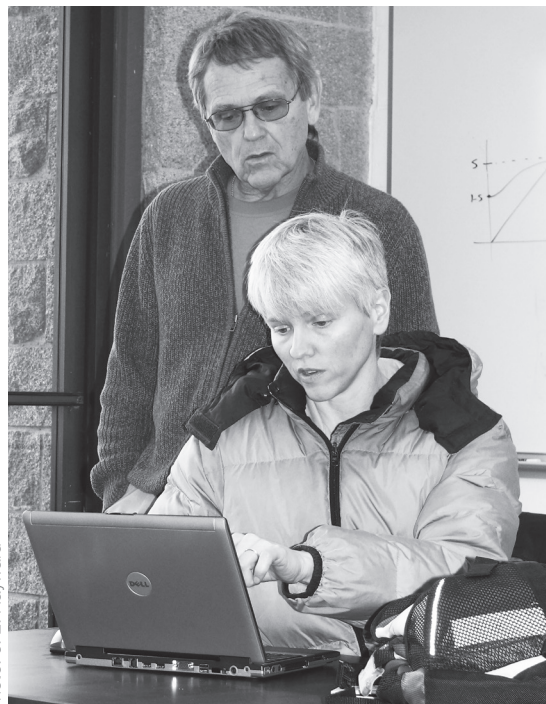


Photo: J. L. Hayward

Jim Cushing and Shandelle Henson have spent extensive time creating and successfully testing computer-based mathematical models of gull behavior.

handed him the cash. He kept his word and our counts continued unimpeded by repairs to the *Thor*.

At the end of the twenty-nine days, Shandelle compared our counts to her model predictions. The model accounted for 61% of the variability in the data.²⁰ Sixty-one percent may not sound spectacular, but for ecological and behavioral data from a wild population, this level of predictability is spectacular. Based on these results, we applied for a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant to extend our work to other parts of the gull colony system.

Our proposal was successful, and we were awarded funds to support travel, salaries, equipment, and supplies for continued work. All those tiresome counts were paying off. Our work was novel—no one had ever made successful predictions like these for vertebrate animals in a natural population. Over the next nineteen years, NSF granted us \$1.25 million to support research on the mathematical prediction of animal behavior in relation to environmental variables, including climate change.

With help over the years from more than sixty students, colleagues, and volunteers, we have used Shandelle’s mathematical approaches to assess the behavioral dynamics of harbor seals, bald eagles, and four species of gulls in the United States, and of marine iguanas on Isla Fernandina in the Galápagos Islands. Her approach has worked well in every case. Since 2004, we have published more than thirty scientific papers on our joint work.²¹

Our most exciting project involved a complex interaction between gull-egg cannibalism and egg-laying synchrony. We began this project unknowingly in 2006. In 2005, we documented a dramatic failure of gull reproductive success on Protection Island. By the end of the breeding season, fewer than a dozen gull chicks had survived—there should have been thousands. In 2006, we decided to determine what factors were important to

the reproductive success of these birds. We established five study plots, each containing thirty or more breeding territories. A numbered, wooden stake was placed by each nest when the first egg was laid. The first egg was marked “A,” and subsequent eggs, if laid, were marked “B” and “C.” Every day we checked each egg in each sample nest until hatching, or until some other fate such as predation eliminated the egg. We knew of only two species of egg predators on Protection Island—bald eagles and the gulls themselves. When bald eagles preyed on a nest, all the eggs were destroyed. When only a single egg was lost, it was usually because a gull had cannibalized it.

Over six field seasons, egg cannibalism by gulls accounted for 55% of the eggs lost. We had known that egg cannibalism played a role in the colony, but we were surprised at how large a role. Cannibalism turned out to be the most important factor determining the degree of reproductive success, or lack thereof, in the colony as a whole. The rate of cannibalism each year varied from about 14% of the eggs laid, to over 40%. What could cause such large year-to-year differences?

We considered a variety of environmental factors that might fluctuate with the rate of cannibalism. The only factor that stood out was sea surface temperature. When sea surface temperature is high—even by only a fraction of a degree—forage fish move to deeper water. In contrast with other seabirds such as puffins and cormorants, gulls can’t dive. So if fish go to deeper water, gulls go hungry. Hungry gulls look around for other food, and eggs are the most nutritious non-fish foods available. An adult gull can obtain nearly all the calories it needs in a day if it devours only two of its neighbors’ eggs. Some gulls do just that—and more.²²

Sea surface temperatures are on the rise in most of the world’s oceans. Will gull egg cannibalism rise as the seas get warmer? Our research suggests it might. What will this mean for populations of gulls and other seabirds? We don’t know, because our unintentional climate change experiment is still ongoing. But though we don’t know the ultimate fate of ocean warming on gull reproduction, we think we do know how female gulls combat the effects of cannibalism on their reproductive success.

When we began monitoring reproductive success in 2006, we noticed something very strange. We would check nests in our study plots one day, and there would

be lots of new eggs; the next day, however, there would be just a few new eggs, but the day after that there would again be lots of new eggs. We thought, that’s funny—it seems as though female gulls in our sample areas tend to lay their eggs together on alternate days. We graphed our data and sure enough, a distinct up-and-down, every-other-day, zig-zag pattern emerged. The graphs seemed to confirm our perception of what was happening: the females, which individually lay an egg every other day until they completed their clutch, were synchronizing their egg-laying. What looked like egg-laying synchrony only occurred in some but not in other years. It seemed to happen in years when both the sea surface temperatures and egg cannibalism rates were high.

We knew, however, how easy it is to see patterns in data when patterns don’t really exist. This is because the human mind wants to see patterns everywhere—just think how the ancients saw constellations of stars in the night sky, which in reality have no intrinsic meaning. We had to come up with a way to determine if the up-and-down fluctuations were random—like constellations—or if they were nonrandom and held intrinsic meaning. It



Photo: J. L. Hayward

In 2012, Gordon Atkins, with graduate student Amanda Sandler, mounted “spy” cameras in lengths of PVC pipe. The cameras were deployed on the gull colony to study egg-laying behavior.

took us quite some time to come up with an objective way to do this, but we finally determined an effective method. In the end our perceptions were supported: statistically significant egg-laying synchrony occurred in years with high rates of cannibalism and when sea surface temperatures were high.²³ Why would this be?

The mathematicians on our team—Shandelle Henson and Jim Cushing from the University of Arizona—developed a series of models which provided an answer. The models showed that cannibalism confers an advantage to cannibals in the short term—it serves as a “lifeboat” mechanism to carry them through bad years when the food supply is poor. When good times return, they can resume non-cannibalistic behavior. At the same time, by engaging in egg-laying synchrony during years of high cannibalism, the females in the colony lower the chance their eggs will be cannibalized. This is because cannibals can eat only so many eggs on a given day; if most eggs are laid on one day, the chance that a particular egg will be eaten is reduced. Natural selection appears to have favored behavioral flexibility which allows gulls to switch between synchronous and non-synchronous egg-laying, depending on the rate of egg cannibalism in a given year.

What are the long-term effects of cannibalism on the population? The mathematicians developed other models demonstrating that in the long run, this ability to switch between high levels of cannibalism plus synchrony in bad years, and low levels of cannibalism and no synchrony in good years, allows the population to persist over the long haul. If, however, the string of bad years is too long, the population could experience a “tipping point” and completely collapse.²⁴

One final question needed to be answered to complete our story about cannibalism, egg-laying synchrony, and climate change: What signal enables the female gulls to synchronize their behavior? Is it chemical, visual, auditory, or something else?

If you hang several identical pendulum clocks on a wall, with their pendulums swinging out of synch, after a while all the pendulums will swing synchronously. Slight vibrations generated by the clocks travel through the wall and function as synchronizing signals. Every synchronous system requires a synchronizing signal such as these vibrations.

Gordon Atkins, a physiologist on our team with extensive experience in the analysis of auditory signals in insects and birds, has worked hard to identify the signal that synchronizes egg-laying in our gulls. Through a clever series of experiments and observations, he may have discovered it. He noted that the copulation call emitted by males during the act of mating is loud and distinct. This call, emitted by a single male, can be heard throughout the entire colony. By playing recorded copulation calls back to a small group of nesting gulls isolated from the rest of the colony, he was able to stimulate courtship and copulation at will. He showed that the call alone, separate from the dramatic wing-flapping that occurs during the call, was a sufficient stimulus to elicit courtship and copulation.²⁵

Atkins then mounted a series of automated cameras on posts in dense parts of the colony. Each camera was programmed to take a digital photo of a small area of the colony every five minutes. Each nest within view of the camera was monitored daily for the presence of new eggs. With this technique, Atkins demonstrated a strong, negative relationship between the occurrence of copulation and egg laying. On days when a female gull lays an egg, she seemed to exhibit no urge to copulate. Instead, she waited for the next day to copulate. Hormonal cycles account for the every-other-day egg-laying pattern in individual gulls, but the copulation call seems to synchronize the laying patterns of densely-nesting females during years of high cannibalism.²⁶

So how do these research experiences relate to my journey out of fundamentalism into a more open view of reality? Participation in research demonstrates that natural patterns can be described, quantified, and predicted. Natural patterns tell us important things about reality. To deny the existence of patterns in, for example, the fossil record, or to ignore their existence because of so-called “faith commitments,” amounts to an absurd and gross trivialization of the notion of faith. Serious and mature faith development requires careful attention to physical reality. Faith should be consistent with physical reality, not contradictory to it. Research offers firsthand glimpses into reality, which for me provide a meaningful and joyful context for real faith.

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KEYWORDS: Herbert Blomstedt, conducting, truth in music, Sabbath keeping

DOING ART



All Photos Courtesy of Herbert Blomstedt

"Too loud!" (Rehearsal in Dresden c. 1975)

A CONVERSATION *with Herbert Blomstedt*

WRITTEN BY BONNIE DWYER AND ALITA BYRD

When the pandemic struck, Maestro Herbert Blomstedt was in Chicago, finishing the last concerts of a six-week tour of the United States. He caught one of the last flights back to Switzerland, as concert halls worldwide were all closed down. About twenty of his scheduled concerts in Europe were cancelled.

Blomstedt, who turned 93 on July 11, was scheduled to conduct ninety concerts in 2020.

He has been in isolation at his home in Lucerne in Switzerland for more than three months.

“I have used the extra time to study the new scores I am planning to perform next season, and the two seasons after that as well. I study every day as if I had a rehearsal the next morning,” he says.

Now, orchestras are beginning to play again, via live online streaming, or in concert halls with restricted audiences, and Blomstedt is slowly resuming his hectic schedule.

On Sunday, February 2, 2020, Herbert Blomstedt conducted the San Francisco Symphony in Davies Hall, playing Berwald Symphony No. 1 and Brahms Symphony No. 3. Following the concert, Spectrum editor, Bonnie Dwyer, interviewed the Maestro at the concert hall. The interview was broadcast on our Adventist Voices podcast, and published on the Spectrum website.

Blomstedt gave a wide-ranging interview about finding God in powerful music, what he learned from his fundamentalist father and his pianist mother, his philosophy of the Sabbath, the problems with music in Adventist churches, and what ingredients make a truly worthwhile composition.

Bonnie Dwyer: That was an exciting concert. You talk about truth being in the actual performance. Did you hit truth today?

Herbert Blomstedt: Yes, some truth. And if I come close to the truth, I am happy. The closer you come to truth the happier you become. What is truth in music? Truth is when the message comes through. That is never 100%, but you are happy when it comes close.

Were you happy with today?

Sure. Yes, I am happy. I am never fully satisfied

though. That is part of my profession. But still I have to keep happy. That is a tricky balance.

Was this the best concert of the weekend? I believe you conducted three or four?

Friday was also very good. There was a marked difference between Thursday and Friday. We learn all the time. We learn even more in concerts than in rehearsals. To learn the maximum you have to have absolute, complete concentration.

I think Friday was an especially fine performance. Afterward I thought, “Why was it better?” Privately, I thought maybe because it was Sabbath. I often have that experience—that Sabbath concerts are better. I am more relaxed myself. My work is done. I feel freer.

Why do you think some of your best concerts are on Friday nights?

I ask myself that. There can be several reasons; maybe we become closer to the center of the music. But I often think: God was in the hall in a special way.

When I was a student in Basel [Switzerland], studying music from the medieval age, Baroque, and Renaissance, I stayed with the [Adventist] pastor there, who ministered at the church where J. N. Andrews had

been a missionary 100 years before. The pastor was a wonderful, philosophical man.

One Friday evening, as we were eating supper, he said: “Tonight my wife and I are going to hear three string quartets by Beethoven. Would you like to come?”

I was dumbfounded that a pastor was going to a concert on Friday night.

I told him I would rather stay at home, because attending concerts for me at that time was like part of my schoolwork, and I listened with a critical ear, but that really made me think.

Other moments were even more decisive for me, as I made my own decisions about Sabbath-keeping.

The CEO of the Philharmonic in Stockholm knew



Blomstedt with Sir Yehudi Menuhin, who spoke the Laudatio at Blomstedt's inauguration as music director of the Gewandhausorchester in Leipzig, 1998.



A family photo from Finland where Blomstedt's father was conference president from 1932 to 1937. "My pianist mother used to play a movement of Beethoven or Chopin before my father lectured on Revelation. My brother Norman [left] served our denomination all his life as a medical doctor."

that I would not conduct on Friday evenings. But he said to me: "You say that you play music for the glory of God—don't you want to glorify God on Sabbath?"

I had no answer to this, and it put me into several months of reflection and prayer. I couldn't ask my father—I already knew what he would say. I couldn't write a letter to the GC President. I had to decide for myself.

So, I read the Gospels through once again. I knew them very well, and have known them from childhood. But I read them again, paying special attention to how Jesus acted on Sabbath. He got angry at the Pharisees for the way they acted. He healed a man who needed help, making the Pharisees angry at him. The next time he healed, it was again on Sabbath. He did it on purpose. He wanted to show the Pharisees that Sabbath is the Lord's Day, and a day of joy and peace. You are not made to keep the Sabbath—the Sabbath is made for you to enjoy God's presence.

So, I started to conduct concerts on Friday and Sabbath.

Along with the Brahms Symphony No. 3, you also conducted Berwald's First Symphony tonight. I believe it had been a long time since the Symphony performed that one?

Yes, the Berwald is not part of the regular repertoire. I think Franz Berwald is one of the really interesting composers from the 1840s. People around him did not understand his music. It was so new and original. He was not really appreciated in his home country, in Sweden,

until one year before he died. Before that he spent most of his time abroad, in Berlin and Vienna. Back home they thought he was odd.

Berwald's idol, without him saying it, was Beethoven. Beethoven was a master of symphonies, for all the nineteenth-century composers. Including for Brahms. Brahms did not dare to write a symphony until he was 50 years old. Because he felt you could not surpass Beethoven. And, of course, you could not copy him. If you just copy someone, it's worthless.

Berwald, when he became professor of composition at the conservatory, he wrote this little manual for his students, which is quite cute. If you compose something, it has to pass a test. Ask yourself:

Is there something original and something new in this that nobody else has yet tried?

Is there something in the harmony that is out of the ordinary?

Is there something special in the rhythm that not everybody does?

Is the invention fresh?

Is the balance between the different parts okay?

If you say no to all of this, throw it away in the ocean where everything is forgotten.

Berwald himself is completely original. He doesn't sound like Schumann or Mendelssohn or Beethoven or anybody else. He sounds like Berwald—completely original. And yet, the music is still not just taken out of the blue. It's all traditional. But the balance between the different parts is different. I think that is a wonderful lesson. The central lesson is this: You have to deny or renounce many things that we think are normal in life, in order to reach your goal.

What do you feel you have had to renounce to reach your goals?

My father was a pastor and a very rigid moralist. For my sister, who was 11 years younger, it was quite painful. But though he was very rigid, my older brother and I never suffered. My father taught us to ask ourselves, before we would venture on anything: "Does it have any eternal value?"

We lived in Finland when we were boys. My father was head of the Finnish/Swedish [Adventist] conference. We had some friends who started to play chess. Our father let us understand that was not good for us. Not that chess playing is sinful, but it takes too much time. It is so engaging, and you get so interested, that you don't do what you are supposed to do: lessons at school, violin practice,

whatever you are meant to do. So, whatever detracts from your main purpose is not good for you.

We never played chess.

I am a little bit like that. I am built of the same material as my father, and I recognize I get more and more like him the older I get.

But I don't share his theological views in all respects. He was a typical fundamentalist. He was a follower of M. L. Andreasen. [One of the most prominent Seventh-day Adventist theologians during the 1930s and 1940s.] That was his god, symbolically. And that almost drove him crazy. Because our mother, his wife, was very sick with rheumatism.

My mother was a pianist—a very fine pianist. She studied with the best teachers the country had. She played only classical music, of course. (Music for us is only classical—the other is just trash.) She was a real musician. But she never concertized because she got rheumatism when she was 20 or 21 years old. Her hand had become crippled and she had to be in a wheelchair.

My father thought that if he prayed, she would recover. Because that is what Jesus says: "Ask and it will be given." But he prayed and nothing happened. According to his philosophy that meant something must be wrong in him. I can still hear his voice, locked in his study, crying out to God: "Show me what is wrong in my life! Why don't you hear me? You promised to heal my wife! Please show me, show me!"

But she didn't get better.

If you are that rigid . . . that can kill you.

My mother died in 1957, when she was 58 years old, from Spanish flu. And he was the one who infected her. My father was at a pastor's conference in Norway where they had a bad type of the flu. He came home, and my mother caught it and she died within a month or so. She died in the hands of my brother, who was a doctor. That was a very difficult experience for my brother. She came to him, to his department in the hospital, but he couldn't save her.

But you saved her music. You kept her music alive.

Well, from my standpoint, I cannot really evaluate her playing. But I can still hear her playing—the playing that I heard when I was a small child. She told me that sometimes I would refuse to go to bed until she played a certain piece.

She was a very romantic musician. Her musical gods were Schumann, Beethoven, Chopin, Franz Liszt. She used to play the "Revolutionary Etude," which is a piece with very difficult fingerwork, by Chopin. She told me I loved the "Raindrop Prelude," I don't know if you know it? In G flat major . . . [Blomstedt hums]. I thought that was so beautiful.

But she lived long enough to see me in my first position as a conductor. We lived in the same city, and she was able to come in her wheelchair to the concerts that I was conducting.

But I don't remember even now how she reacted. She was too inhibited. We never talked about music on a professional level. When we played together, of course it was all about the music. She would accompany us, and she could simplify things on the piano. She could still sound wonderful even if she didn't play all the notes. She was a magician in that way. We played Haydn.

But I cannot remember asking her opinion about this music or that music.

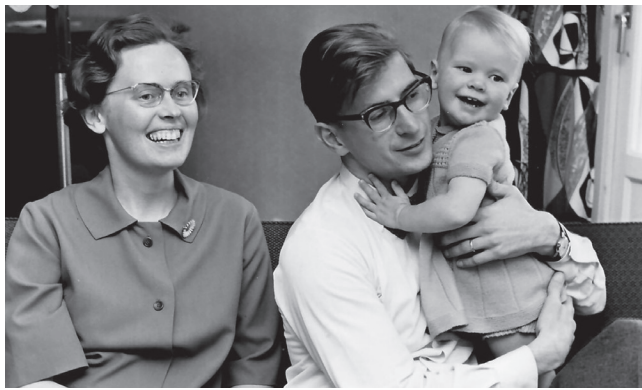
I would love to talk to her today.

When we came to Sweden, my father was in charge of the pastoral training college, so he taught a whole generation of pastors. And my mother taught them to play the piano. Because in these small congregations that they were founding, in small cities in Sweden, you could not count on having anyone to play the hymns. So she taught all these pastors how to play simple hymns. Not all were equally talented! But some were, and that was also very good for me because these pastors had some idea about classical music.

Did your father talk about the importance of music for a congregation? Was that a conversation in your house?

We did not converse about that. I was a rebel when I was a young, when

I can still hear his voice, locked in his study, crying out to God: "Show me what is wrong in my life! Why don't you hear me? You promised to heal my wife! Please show me, show me!"



Blomstedt and his wife Waltraud welcome their firstborn child, Cecilia, in 1958, in Norrköping, Sweden, where he had his first orchestra.

it came to the music of the church. And it was nothing compared to the awful things they sing today. It was just that the songs that they were singing—the solos, the duets, the pastors and their wives—were cheap and sentimental. From a musical standpoint, it was worthless. It had a function. It was not terrible. It was just sentimental. And very early on, I hated that. Because it is not sincere.

A typical example is number 86 in our hymnal: "How Great Thou Art." It's a very popular hymn. Everybody likes it. [Blomstedt hums the tune.] If you sing it simply, it passes me without making me sick. But when I hear it in some of our churches, and they sing it like this: [Blomstedt hums with great exaggeration, very romantically] it makes me *mad!* Sentimentality is like a virus—it turns even the best intentions into deadly poison. They are singing about a great God, and they make God into a little teddy bear.

I felt this way as a boy. I feel the same way now. But I can control myself. You have to be very tolerant in our church. I don't judge them. They do their best. Not everyone has the musical background.

What is your favorite hymn? Is there one you really like?

Most of the ones I like are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Those are great hymns. They will live forever. In our present hymnal these are the best hymns, but unfortunately they are rarely sung. Many of the most popular hymns sung today are pretty



Blomstedt's daughters Cecilia and Maria at the harpsichord in Norrköping, 1961.

worthless musically. Some are even detestable. Like the march tunes. We are singing about God's love on the cross and how he died for us, and they are set to a march tune! They don't match. There are many songs like that. I try to swallow it, and I try to behave myself! And when I choose the hymns myself, I try to choose different hymns, and set an example.

I will tell you something funny. I think it was 1965. Andrews University, or Emmanuel Missionary College at that time, had an extension school in Norway. They had the strange idea to invite me to come and talk about music. I went for a weekend in the summer, and I thought this was a great opportunity. I used my vacation time beforehand to go through our hymnal and evaluate it.

Now, I like to collect mushrooms. I am sort of a forest person—I love to be out in the forest and pick mushrooms. And there is a system for evaluating mushrooms using stars, from five stars down to poisonous. I used this system for the hymnal. Some were poisonous, and worthless. Mostly I gave the hymns three stars. Sometimes the music was good but the words terrible; sometimes the words were good but the music terrible.

I copied out this list, and shared it with the young pastors at the school. Some pastors kept this list that I made their entire lives!

I studied not only violin and conducting at the conservatory, but also church music. Church music in the Scandinavian countries is of a very high quality. Many hymns are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A few of these are in our Adventist hymnbook in the US.



Blomstedt's wife Waltraud on Mother's Day 1984 in their home in Stockholm, with their four daughters (from left to right): Maria, Elisabet, Kristina, Cecilia

Is it time for a new hymnbook?

I think so. The hymnbook as it is, is a development of what was before. They included quite a few hymns from the early Protestant church. These are wonderful hymns, but the way they are written in the hymnbook we use now is not the way they were written originally. There is a reason why these hymns were not very popular with musicians of the twentieth century. It's because in the nineteenth century, people started to sing them slower and slower and slower. They had this idea that the slower a hymn is, the more sacred it is. So they drew them out, and they became very heavy. Then the songs lose all their rhythm. They dressed in black and had this idea that it's more religious. That is not true! We are a happy religion. It should not be dance music, but for instance, a song like "A Mighty Fortress" [Blomstedt hums the tune], in Mrs. White's day, it would have been like this [and Blomstedt hums the tune in a slow and dirge-like way].

But then they sped it up a little for our hymnbook, though the notes were still the same. [He sings the tune a bit faster.] But originally, it would have sounded like this [and Blomstedt hums the tune with dotted notes and a much more creative rhythm]. The rhythm was very lively. A beautiful hymn. That is the way it should be sung. Some modern hymnbooks are going back to that. Not our hymnbook. We are not that advanced. But I think in the new German hymnbook of our denomination it is that way.

Has a new Adventist hymnbook in German been published recently?

Yes, about five or six years ago, a new hymnbook in German came out. But it's typical of the theological division in our church in Europe that the Austrian Adventists don't accept [it]. They are much more conservative. Even in Switzerland, where I live, the pastors are trained in Austria and are very conservative. The German pastors are trained in Friedensau [Adventist University] and are much more open. So this wonderful new hymnbook is used in northern Germany and



Blomstedt conducts Brahms' *Requiem* at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig, June 23, 2005. "It must have been at a dramatic point—probably when the chorus sings 'O Death, where is your sting?' 1 Cor. 15:55."

central Germany, but not in Austria. They have their own, more old-fashioned, hymnbook.

What do you use in Switzerland?

Every church is a little bit different. In Lucerne, where I live, we have a wonderful church. Not big—about 105 members. It is a lovely church, basically conservative, but also very tolerant. That creates an especially warm atmosphere which everybody appreciates. But in other parts of Switzerland there has even been propaganda against the new hymnal: "Thirteen of the hymns are written by Catholics! This is the way Satan is trying to sneak into our church. Don't use that one!"

We have to learn how to deal with things like this.

I like my conservative brothers and sisters very much—in fact I am rather conservative myself. And we can always learn from each other. But at some other churches, especially in the South, some members are unusually rigid and intolerant in their attitude. Some Adventists will not visit certain churches because they are so fundamentalist and the people feel frozen out—they might drive 50 kilometers

to attend other churches that are more open.

I have a very good friend in Germany who doesn't feel welcome in his own church anymore. I have a good friend in Munich who is a physicist and a music-lover. He told me that when he was baptized, an older lady sat down with him and asked him what he thought about the sanctuary doctrine. When he said he didn't know very much about it, she said: "Then you don't belong to us."

There is a church in Austria near where I visit to conduct every year. I cannot remember hearing a sermon there that has not been about Revelation. It's a very sincere church, with wonderful people—just very focused. Once, a pianist in that church who teaches the young people asked me to come and speak to them when I next visited. About two weeks later, I got a letter from the pastor asking me not to speak after all. He had heard I was playing a concert with the Philharmonic on Friday evening.

I replied that I understood. But I couldn't help telling him about a concert I conducted once in Copenhagen on a Friday evening. We played Beethoven and Sibelius. A guest at the concert (who was a youth pastor at that time, and later went on to be president of the South American Division) came to my dressing room after the concert, took both my hands in his, and told me he had not felt so close to God in thirty years.

The pastor in Austria still did not permit me to speak to the young people.

You grew up with your mother teaching you piano and violin. Why did you decide to become a conductor?

It wasn't my dream to become a conductor. I loved classical music—I loved only classical music. As youngsters have sometimes, I had a very definite view. It was highbrow music that I loved. What was more popular was trivial for me.

Especially when I got this good violin teacher, I loved playing violin.

I was very impressed by

the first symphony concert I ever heard. I was a teenager, and my music teacher was conducting. I loved the music because it spoke to me. It was so beautiful and so intelligent. I heard a drama and I understood the story without anyone speaking a word.

Then I went to symphony concerts twice a week, every Thursday and Sunday. We had a wonderful concert hall in Gothenburg [Sweden] with some of the best acoustics in Europe. I had to buy a season ticket, but for young people it was quite cheap. I remember it cost me 42 crowns for a whole season. But of course, we didn't have that money, so I earned those 42 crowns myself. I sold the *Signs of the Times*. I got 10 cents for each copy I sold.

My parents did not object to that. They sent me to music lessons. They supported that, though they had no money for it. At that time, pastors were not so well paid. And my father was also very strict in that way. He lived on the minimum. He felt that our money belonged to the church, and to the Lord. He never asked for more. So he never had a car. He walked or took his bike. He had wonderful, old-fashioned morals.

When my father was conference president, the younger pastors did not always like him, because he would come down upon them. "Buy a car? It's the Lord's money! You can walk!" One of the older pastors was retiring and bought a house. My father said: "It's the Lord's

money! You can live in an apartment!" That was his type. Very strict. But he was a wonderful pastor and wonderful scholar. He was maybe the only one in the whole of Scandinavia at that time who had an academic degree.

My father went to the Broadview Swedish Seminary in Illinois. At that time, it was an Adventist college for seminary students from Scandinavia living in America. That's where my father and mother met.

My father graduated with a bachelor's degree in theology at age 21. But

I was very impressed by the first symphony concert I ever heard. I was a teenager, and my music teacher was conducting. I loved the music because it spoke to me. It was so beautiful and so intelligent. I heard a drama and I understood the story without anyone speaking a word.

I found out much later, from a woman who had been a classmate of my mother's, that my father had wanted to become a singer. That was new to me. I knew he had a good voice and loved music, though he had no formal training, but I had not known he had wanted to make it as a musician.

My father wanted me to become a pastor, too. But because he loved music, he agreed to let me study music. It helped that he accepted my interest in music.

I went to the conservatory in Stockholm where we lived at that time and started a broad education in music. Little by little I understood that this was what I really wanted to do.

I learned from my father, and in many ways, I am a copy of him.

For instance, he had a big library. I loved to be among his books. I loved school, I worked very hard, I practiced my violin, but on Friday nights we put it all away. We still played music, but we didn't play etudes. My father stopped reading. He just listened.

When I had to make my own decisions about Sabbath-keeping, I had my father as a model. My father worked hard on his sermon during the week, but on Sabbath, the sermon preparation was done. When the Sabbath day came, he preached.

With concerts, I prepare everything beforehand, but on Sabbath I give to the public. I give music. And I think God blesses it, even if some pastors who don't understand music very well don't understand.

At the conservatory, they always had concerts on Friday evening. I explained that I couldn't conduct because after sundown was Sabbath. The director had a wonderful sense of humor—he said: "But we are preparing for a concert in October, and it's full of fog at that time of the year, and we will never see the sunset, so I think you can conduct!"

When I was younger, I never went to Adventist schools because there were no Adventist schools. And the state schools held classes on Sabbaths. When we moved to a new town, my father always went to the principal and explained that we were Adventists and that I couldn't go to school on Sabbath. I always had to study especially hard so that I didn't miss anything, and had to show that I could keep up.

Conducting seems so physical. How do you keep



Recording session in the Lukas Church in Dresden, c. 1982. "We recorded about 130 works of classical music together. Here it is a huge piece of music for 125 players, lasting about 50 minutes, the 'Alpine Symphony' by Richard Strauss, which he dedicated to the orchestra in 1915. We recorded in a church, the 'Lukas Kirche', because of its excellent acoustics."

fit enough to do it?

Bringing in my father again, he had good health and a good physique. He could not go slowly. He always walked fast. He was very sporty. He didn't play games and so on, but he ran fast. He even had a nickname among his fellow pastors. He was called "The Flying Jehu." He told me that when he was young in Stockholm, 10 or 11 years old, he used to impress the girls by walking around the block on his hands. I think I inherited some of that.

Do you train?

I like sports. I played lots of soccer when I was a boy, after school. I used to play soccer for two hours after school. But not in an organized way—just for fun. My father did not like that—he thought it was too much. I remember I had a school comrade who was also an Adventist boy and we played together. But both of our fathers were a little bit annoyed that we played so much soccer and thought we should be working hard on school things. My father used to say: "Will that ball never be kicked for the last time?" The father of my friend used to lament: "What will become of you boys?" My friend became a doctor and I became a conductor!

But when I got a really good violin teacher, I had no more time to play soccer.

I was well trained. The first time I was in the newspaper was not as a musician, but as a sportsman. I was the one in my class who could jump the highest and run the fastest, and when we held our school championships, that was how my name first appeared in the newspaper.

I loved it. But I was also a little bit conceited. As I



Blomstedt speaks to a crowd assembled at the statue of Carl Maria von Weber, on the 150th anniversary of his death, June 6, 1976. "Weber, the composer, was one of my most famous predecessors as music director in Dresden. It was a Sabbath morning—my driver picked me up during Sabbath School, and drove me back in time for the service. In Communist East Germany!"

felt my body was growing in strength, I dreamed of doing fantastic things. I read that in India, people could even float above the floor by sheer concentration. I tried to do that, I tried really hard, but it didn't happen. Slowly I understood that there was a limit. But such ideas I had: that if you train and concentrate hard enough you can do it.

I don't do sport any longer, but I do try to walk every day. Otherwise I get pain in my knees.

Of course, when you conduct you have to be very relaxed. If you are tense, you get sick. And I don't use more movements than necessary. The orchestra doesn't need big movements.

I think that is what most conductors learn—they start out using big, energetic body movements, but as they get older, they understand that isn't necessary and the movements get smaller. There must be clear signs, but all this dancing is detrimental to the music.

The orchestras love it. Big movements all over the place distract the orchestra. Especially in America it's not popular to conduct like that. They think the energy comes from the conductor. That you have to push them and make them play. But that is completely wrong. The energy certainly comes from the conductor, but it is a mental energy that spreads immediately. Physical energy is detrimental.

I studied with Leonard Bernstein. When I saw the

brochure to celebrate his hundredth anniversary, I saw that the picture used was him as a young man, and the way he stood was like this [Blomstedt demonstrates] but that is the wrong message to young people! I tried to learn this from him.

Was Bernstein the most influential teacher you had?

No, the least. Igor Markevitch was the most influential. Markevitch was the opposite of Bernstein. He did not express the emotion. He taught a mellow way of conducting. And that above all, you have to learn the score. When I studied with Markevitch at the Summer School in Salzburg we were not even allowed to have the score on the podium. You had to know the music by heart. Markevitch was so rigid—a bit like my father.

I had an incredible experience with Markevitch, near the end of his life, during a six-week course I was taking in Salzburg. He asked me to conduct the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto by Bach. This was a great opportunity for me. But the rehearsal was on Sabbath. I always skipped the classes on Sabbath, as the school had agreed to beforehand. So I had to tell him thank you for this wonderful opportunity, but I can't do it, because I can't be there on Sabbath. Markevitch said: "Can't you ask your priest for special permission?"

I told him: "No, that's not the way it works. It's between God and myself."

Then he got angry, but he arranged it. He talked to the orchestra for me, which included some students and some professionals, and they agreed to have the dress rehearsal on Sunday morning instead. Markevitch came and told me: "I think they are much better Christians than you, because they want to help!"

That was very hard for me to hear. He told me: "You are just stubborn."

But that is only one part of the story.

In 1983, I think, I was conducting his orchestra in France. Already he had organized the dress rehearsal for Sunday. Markevitch came to my hotel on Monday morning before the first rehearsal, and asked: "Do you remember Salzburg?" I knew immediately what he meant. He began talking about my Sabbath, and I understood that he was worn out. "I think differently today. Stick to your Sabbath, it is the secret of your success." I always liked working. I am prone to working more and more. Without the Sabbath, I

would be worn out. Markevitch was worn out because he had no Sabbath.

How and when do you choose the music for a program? In the concert you just played today with the San Francisco Symphony, did you choose the music?

Yes, I choose the program, but they have to accept it. It's a two-way discussion. I will not play anything that I don't agree with. I have the ultimate decision. But to take a practical example: I might say that I want to play the Brahms Third Symphony and they might say I have to pick something else, because they just played it last week. Or they might ask me to conduct something specific, and then I can consider that. Usually we choose at least two years ahead.

Do you have contracted concerts through 2022?

Yes.

How many concerts are you doing this year?

About ninety. That's normal now. When I was music director with this orchestra and others, it was about 100 concerts a year.

So you have cut back—to ninety?

It's good. Eighty to ninety is a good number. It keeps me in shape. When you are as old as I am, you have to have challenges, or else you rust.

You have the music all memorized? That is how you conduct?

Yes, most of it. My repertoire is enormous, so I cannot do everything. But most of it, I always did it by heart, even when I was young. I was trained like that. I was not allowed to have a score in front of me. You have to know everything. But if it's some repertoire I do rarely, or I do a really big work, like maybe the Bach B Minor Mass (a two-hour work that I only do maybe once every ten years), then I cannot spend that much time preparing for that. But when you are used to using your eyes for the musicians, then you are not so bound by the score, even though you know it is lying there.

I think that is what most conductors learn—they start out using big, energetic body movements, but as they get older, they understand that isn't necessary and the movements get smaller. There must be clear signs, but all this dancing is detrimental to the music.

So, you are playing ninety concerts. In how many cities?

Well, I am in America for six weeks, playing with the San Francisco Symphony, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Cleveland Orchestra, the Chicago Symphony. Three concerts with each, and different programs.

The week before I came to San Francisco, I was with the Vienna Philharmonic. The week before that I was in Paris with the Orchestre de Paris, and before that with the Berlin Philharmonic.

I am awfully busy.

When do you take a rest?

Sabbath.

And where do you go when you finish this US tour?

I will go to Washington and stay with good friends of mine. I stay with Karnik Doukmetzian [General Counsel for the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists], who is a great music lover. You know, he travels a great deal, so I send him my schedule, and if he can come to a concert, he shows up. Karnik has asked me to come and give a presentation on Sabbath at the Spencerville Church in Maryland.

Do you enjoy doing church presentations?

Yes. I give about four sermons a year. This one at Spencerville is for Sabbath School.

I believe you will soon be preaching in Palo Alto. What will you talk about there?

Jesus walking on the water. This is a wonderful symbol for me. It is about the importance of doing the impossible. In the Bible, it was only Peter who dared to do the impossible. If you have heard Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*, you can hear Peter's enormous remorse for denying his Lord, when he goes out and cries bitterly. It is very moving. But Peter then remembers that it was Jesus who saved him and helped him to walk on water. The other disciples only knew Jesus when he was in the boat. The boat could symbolize

the church. And Jesus was outside the boat—Jesus was out in the world. That is where my work is.

I think we need to be more open with our mission to the world. We must be aware of the center, which is Christ. But we cannot stay in the boat. No, God is working in the world—in music, in business, and everywhere.

So you rest on Sabbaths. Do you also take other time off? August? Christmas?

I try to have a week off every month to prepare for new concerts. I have a very good manager, who is also a Christian. He understands. He looks after me.

I take a few weeks off in the summer to spend with my girls. I have four girls—one in Norway and three in Sweden. My daughters also love music, and they come to my concerts. The two oldest are medical doctors, and the third is a librarian. The youngest daughter is an undertaker. I have seven grandchildren.

But it can be so difficult today to make sure young people know real music.

What can we do to educate them?

I wrote a letter to Andrea Luxton [president of Andrews University] last year to make some suggestions. She answered very nicely.

Last year, during a week off, I went to a church in New York City where the music students used to go. What I heard was guitar, piano, drums—of course it was amplified. It was rock music from beginning to end. I almost had to go out to save my ears. They were singing about Jesus in ecstasy, crying “*Jesus, Jesus, Jesus!*” celebrating their own emotions instead of their Master. Jesus asked for a worship ‘in Spirit and Truth.’ What I heard was far from it. I wanted to hear the sermon, which was good, but the music was so grating!

In my concerts, what I appreciate is when, at the end of a piece, there is no applause right away—instead there is a moment of silence. This is typical of the public in Leipzig and Dresden. In America they immediately jump up and shout. But here they let the music sink in. They don’t move at all until they see the conductor has dropped his hands. I think that silence is wonderful. There is awe in silence. Here is where God speaks. He has the last say. You can only hope that each person listens to his or her own inner voice. But when the music is just loud noise, it doesn’t work. If we just produce these loud voices, we are acting like there is no hope. This makes me really scared.

I do believe in the sound sense of young people. If



Blomstedt rehearses in Berlin, 2014.

There is awe in silence. Here is where God speaks. He has the last say. You can only hope that each person listens to his or her own inner voice.

they are given the opportunity to hear something good, they will respond. But if they grow up thinking that this is the way to do things, they will mature much later.

I work in Japan every year for three weeks. We have three [Adventist] churches in Tokyo. We have maybe 15,000 members in Japan, as compared to South Korea with 280,000 Adventists. But in all three churches in Tokyo there are pipe organs, and they are played mostly by young people. It's not that they are cleverer, but they have made a choice. They are not blocked by a culture like we have in America, with this nineteenth-century, sentimental music, so they can choose what they think is the best. And they have chosen Bach.

It's like the pastor who felt close to God while listening to Sibelius and Beethoven at my concert in Copenhagen. This is only possible when you know something about music. Then you can let the music speak to you. You can understand the message of the music and find an atmosphere that is close to God.

This is the aim of my life. To help to create a situation where God can speak to people. I may not be able to teach my public about the heavenly sanctuary. But I can certainly teach them about having awe in front of God. To be quiet. To just listen and let God speak to you. Music is a wonderful means to accomplish that.

Editor's Note: We have also included in the transcript above a few additional details that Blomstedt shared with the Sligo Legacy Sabbath School class in an interview with Charles Sandefur on June 6, 2020.

Herbert Blomstedt, a devout Seventh-day Adventist, is one of the world's most preeminent conductors. Born in the US to Swedish parents, he was brought up mainly in Scandinavia. He lived in many different places as a child, as his family moved around following his father, who was a dedicated Adventist pastor and administrator. Blomstedt first studied at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, and went on to study at some of the world's most famous

music schools and with some of the most renowned musicians of the twentieth century. He made his conducting debut in 1954 with the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra, and then served as chief conductor and music director of some of the most distinguished and revered orchestras in Europe, as well as of the San Francisco Symphony in the US. He is now Conductor Laureate of the San Francisco Symphony, and holds the title of Honorary Conductor of orchestras in Denmark, Sweden, and Germany and the NHK Orchestra in Tokyo, Japan. He conducts all of these orchestras regularly, and is also invited to many other orchestras all around the world. When he is not traveling, Blomstedt makes his home in Lucerne, Switzerland. Wherever he goes, Blomstedt attends Sabbath School and church in the nearest Adventist church. He does not rehearse on Friday evening or Sabbath—he only conducts concerts. Herbert Blomstedt, with his vast accomplishments and towering reputation, is a humble and thoughtful person, according to all those who know him. The Adventist Church is blessed to number someone of Herbert Blomstedt's gifts and stature as a member of its flock.



BONNIE DWYER is editor of *Spectrum*.



ALITA BYRD is interviews editor for the *Spectrum* website, and has been writing for *Spectrum* since 1995. She holds a degree in English and journalism from Washington Adventist University and an MA in history from the London School of Economics. She recently moved with her husband and four children to Santiago, Chile, where they will live for the next several years.

KEYWORDS: abstraction, disorder, architecture, conflict, collapses, faith, hope, beauty



All art courtesy of Donald Keefe

Mythos. Oil on Canvas over Panel. 40" x 32" 2020.

THE PERSISTENCE OF HOPE *in the Art of Donald Keefe*

An out of work horse, a man sitting alone waiting in a house of shambles, collapsed buildings, shipwrecked boats, the subjects of many of the paintings by Donald Keefe seem to

capture the displacement of 2020, the way the world has turned upside down again and again. Yet the work was done over a period of years.

Inspired by the biblical story of the tower of Babel,

Keefe says, “I am drawn to structures that are collapsed, abandoned, or under construction as symbols for hubris, failure, and the persistence to ‘try again’ in life. Sometimes I compare or contrast these structures to forms I associate with my personal search for spiritual faith, hope and purpose.”

Keefe is associate professor of art at Southern Adventist University where he has been on the faculty since 2015. He earned an BFA from the University of Kentucky in 2009, and then an MFA from the University of Florida in 2013. His artwork was recently featured in the Huntsville Museum of Art’s “Red Clay Survey Exhibition of Contemporary Southern Art,” in Alabama. He has also exhibited in New York, Florida, Kentucky, and Ohio, completed private commissions, received a federal grant for a public arts project, and has been published in several books and magazines.

Professor Keefe comes from a secular Jewish background and became convinced of Jesus’s messiahship from the study of Scripture, particularly from the prophecies of Daniel 9, Zechariah 11 and 12, Isaiah 53, and Psalm 22. He started attending a Seventh-day Adventist church in 2004 and became immersed into the faith in 2005. He continues to explore the relationship between

Judaism and Adventism and was one of the first recipients of a Certificate in Jewish-Christian Relations from the North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists.

On his website, he says, “The use of hard edged angular forms in my paintings reflects a desire for order, control, and certainty in life. However, their entangled and precarious condition suggests disorder, fragility, tentativeness, confusion and doubt.

“To communicate the epochal tensions present in the vacillation between order and disorder, these forms are cast in grey subdued colors as if in a fog, dramatic chiaroscuro or unnatural colored light. As in many of romanticism’s great history and landscape paintings, light becomes the vehicle to direct the viewer toward the transcendent, the sublime and the presence of Divinity: ‘The light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.’”

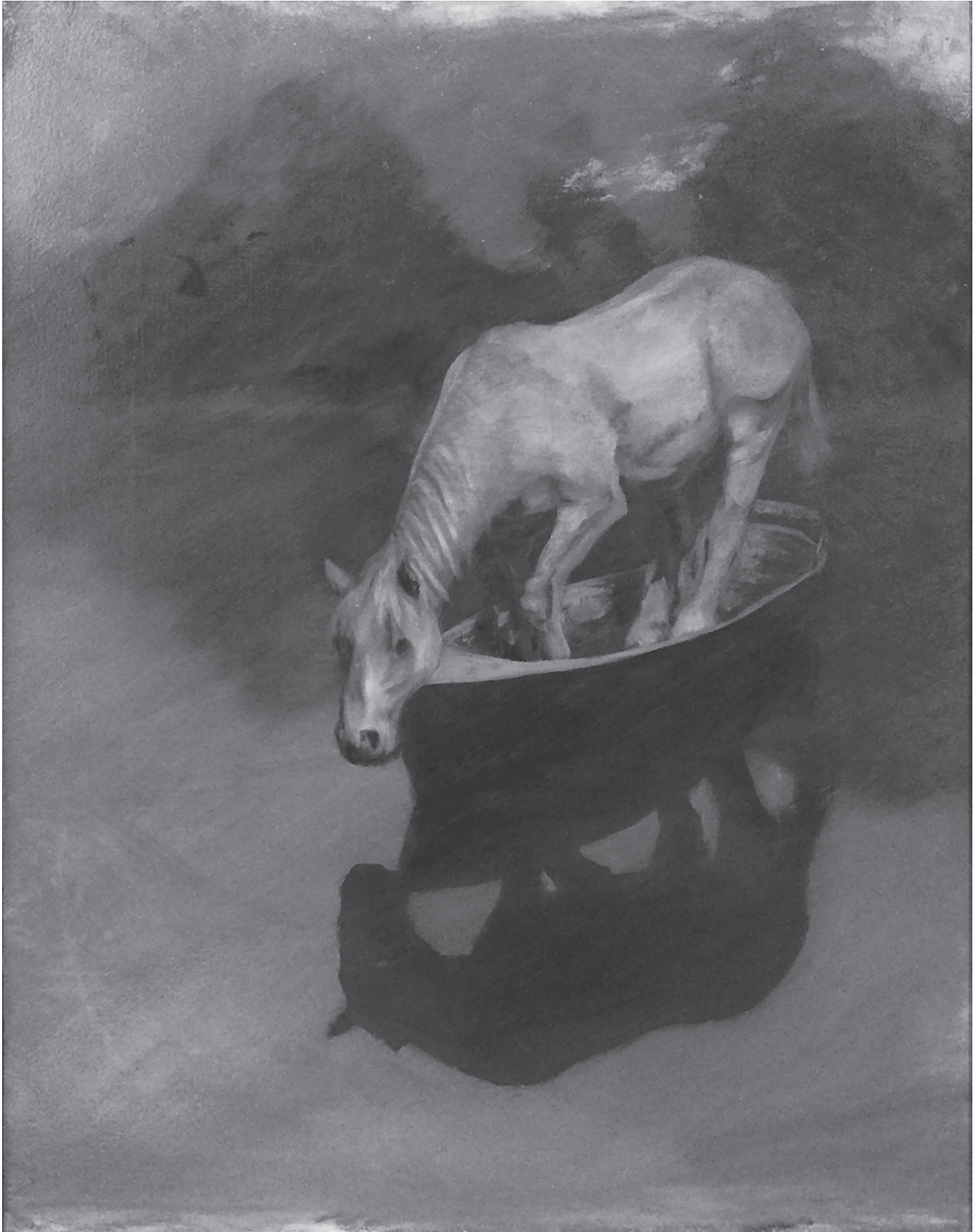
He says that making art is part of a “born again” experience. “Through my artwork, I hope to communicate to viewers that beauty, faith, hope and contentment can persist through the uncertainties of life, even when one’s support structures are weakened, confused, collapsing, being rebuilt—or being built up for the very first time.”



Waiting. Acrylic on Canvas. 68.5" X 66" 2014



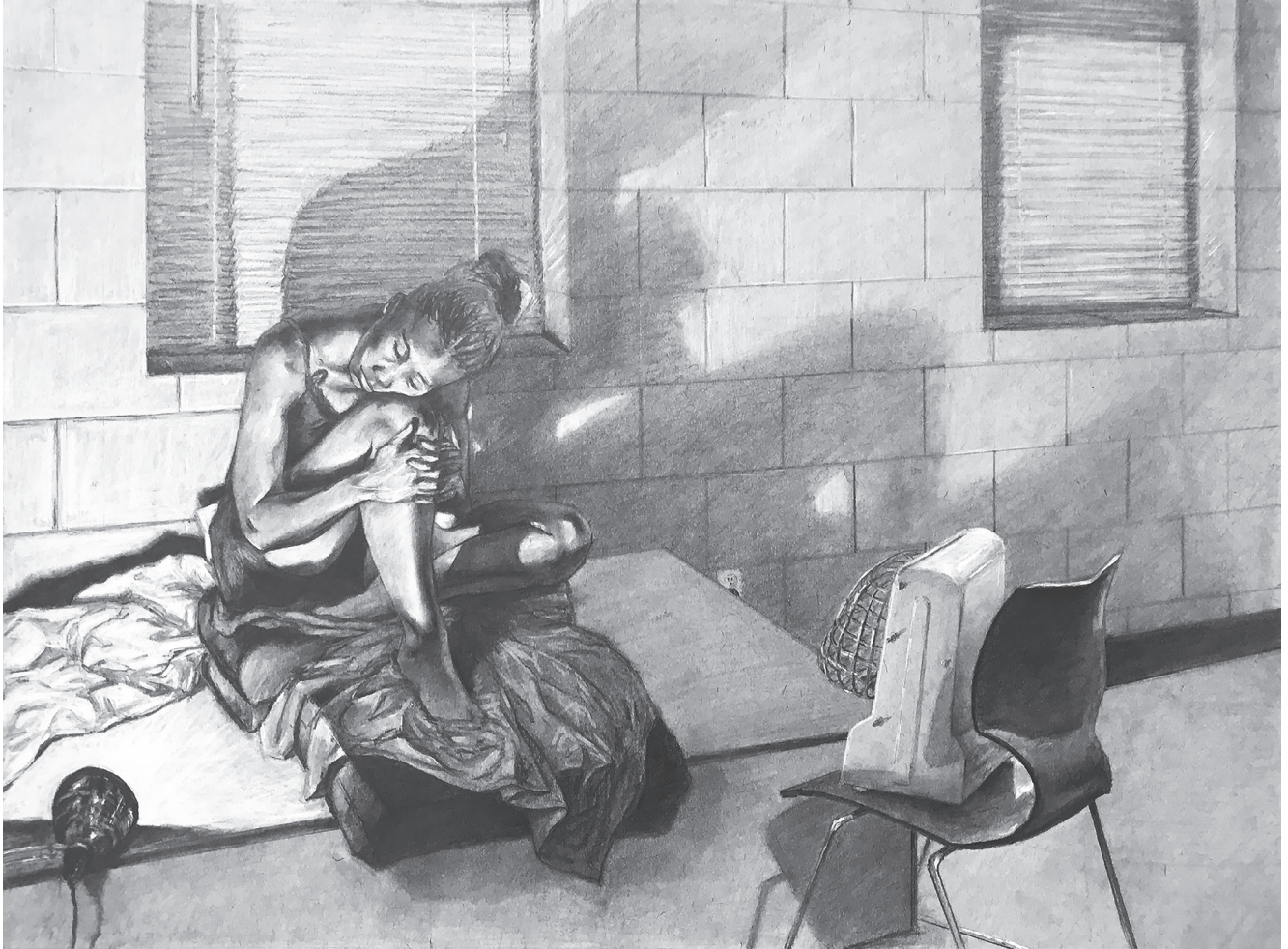
Consolation. Acrylic on Paper. 32" X 42" 2012.



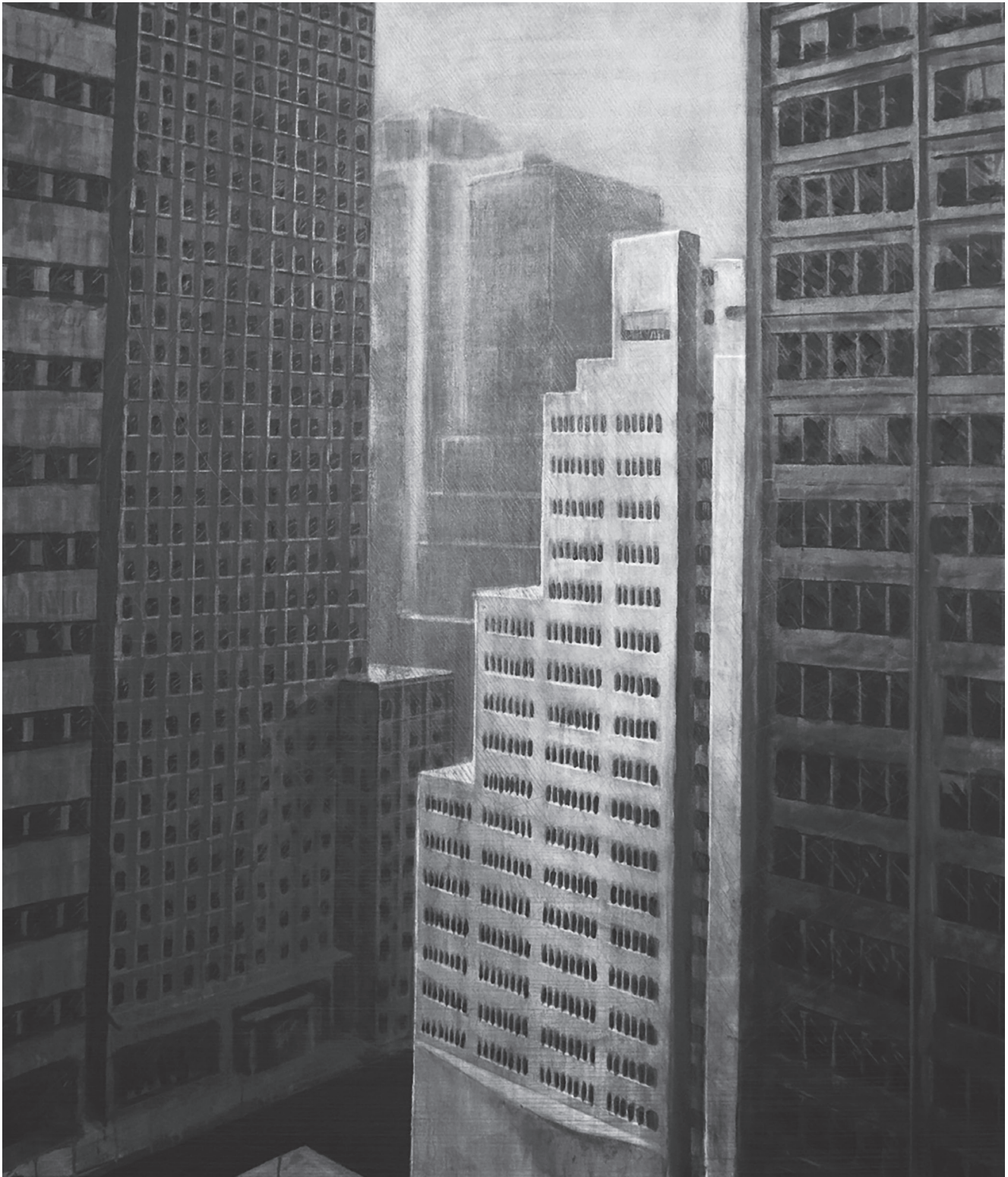
Out-of-work Horse. Oil on Panel. 26" x 21", 2015.



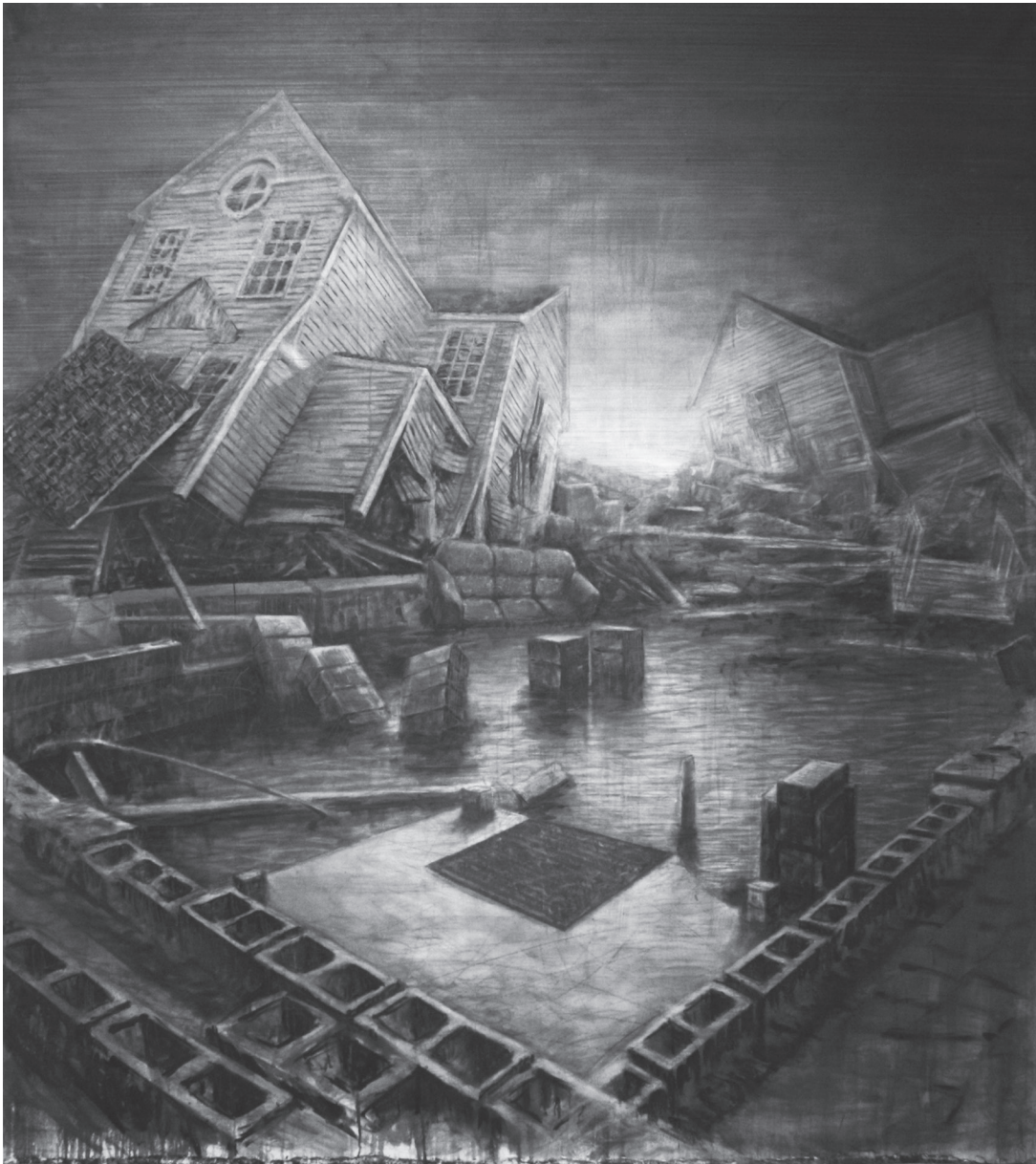
Revival. Acrylic and Collage on Paper. 22" X 18" 2012.



Autumn 2. Graphite and White Charcoal on Paper. 16"X22" 2017



Alone (Not Alone). Acrylic, Charcoal and Graphite on Canvas. 63" X 53" 2014.



The Inauspicious Present #2. Acrylic, Charcoal, and Graphite on Canvas.
92" X 82" 2013.



The Inauspicious Present, Installation photo.

DOING HISTORY



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Hiram Edson's Vision of the Heavenly Sanctuary

That Vision Thing:

THE SANCTUARY TEACHING, FORTY YEARS BEYOND GLACIER VIEW

BY TREVOR LLOYD

“I have spread my dreams under your feet,” confided William Butler Yeats. “Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.”¹ I take it as a reminder that the things we cherish most may be the most fragile and vulnerable to the careless, even calculated, strokes of others. In there, beside our delicate dreams, I would put something just as personally meaningful and open to threat—that is, my “vision.” And, for this occasion, I’m thinking of the term with a special meaning—and shall return to it several times in the course of the present paper.

British moral philosopher, Mary Midgley (1919–2018), put it memorably like this: we all live our lives against “an *imaginative vision* that serves as a background to all the rest of life” (emphasis supplied).² This *vision* is an amalgam of the facts, experiences, and beliefs we have put together, that gives security, meaning, and purpose to our daily lives, and without which we cannot function. Here are encapsulated our hopes, our goals, and our values, and its “imaginative patterns [and] networks of powerful symbols . . . suggest particular ways of interpreting the world.”³

Since this imaginative vision, forever in the background of our thinking, means so much to us, it is to be guarded constantly against suspected threat. Such inroads, Midgley points out, can happen with the emergence of a stubborn “brute” fact that will not fit into our present spectrum of selected facts and beliefs, even threatening its inner core. Under these conditions, such a person, faced with the loss of “a whole greater than oneself,” may come to believe that there is no ultimate meaning to life and nothing to live for.⁴ Small wonder that such a prospect raises fear and anger! Similarly, it is readily conceivable that criticism of a person with whom we have closely identified may well disturb our raft of personal hopes, values, goals, and purposes—for, if these, our heroes, are vulnerable, then there may be vital planks of our under-girding imaginative vision also under threat.

I have no indication that Richard Hammill (1913–1997) had seen any of Midgley’s writings; however, in

1990, ten years beyond the historic Glacier View meeting, he showed an awareness of the spirit of the position she proposed. In this regard, he pointed out the need, in discussing the sanctuary teaching, for “tolerance, Christian love, and mutual respect,” noting that “[w]hen deeply-held and long-cherished religious beliefs are called in question, most Christians become emotional and grievously troubled.”⁵ It is evident that, for many of us, the rationale for our religious beliefs lies at the core of our personal imaginative vision(s).

It has been suggested that, with the appearance of a “brute” fact, three possible responses are open to us. We can try to avoid facing the challenge it presents—for example, in our conversations with others and in our reading—and, should such threats arise, we might try to live as if they had not entered our consciousness: not an easy option, nor an intellectually honest one should it continue for long!⁶ Or, we can give up on our former sense of personal identity, with its hopes, goals and values, and live without purpose and sense of direction—a shattering option indeed! Best of all, we can work, perhaps with the help of someone we trust, to adjust our present imaginative vision, even reconstructing it, commencing with the inner core, to allow the newly troublesome fact to find a suitable place.

The foregoing Yeats/Midgley gambit has been outlined with the intention of throwing light on the process of doctrinal change within an hierarchical denominational system—in the present case, adjustment of the long-standing sanctuary doctrine within the confines of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. We are to inquire whether, quite apart from the involvement of doctrinal dissidents, adjustment/change has taken place at official church levels in the teachings supporting this central doctrinal pillar—and in what directions, with what results. We are to note particularly the maintenance of corporate and individual imaginative vision(s).

Before we look for attempts to bring about such



British moral philosopher, Mary Midgley, advised that we all live our lives against the backdrop of our chosen “imaginative vision” that encapsulates our hopes, our goals, and our values.

change or update in the Seventh-day Adventist sanctuary doctrine, we are to look back at four chapters in the book of Daniel (2, 7, 8, 9) which, from early in the nineteenth century, played a central part in the formation of this doctrinal pillar. This is to be followed by a review of the historic interpretation of the sanctuary doctrine, based largely on the content of these chapters. With this settled, an inquiry is to be conducted for updates in the sanctuary teaching as endorsed by Adventist leaders in the 1950s’ *Questions on Doctrine (QoD)* deliberations, and in the 1980 convocation of the Sanctuary Review Committee (SRC) at Glacier View Ranch, Colorado.⁷

The discussion commences, following, with a refresher of the above prophetic chapters of Daniel.

Where the Sanctuary Discussions Began

The book of Daniel is renowned amongst Adventists for anticipating both the first and second advents of Jesus. This appears first in Chapter 2, with a dream of a multi-metal image (gold, silver, brass, and iron) representing the successive kingdoms of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome, followed by the fragmented nations of Europe. All of these are ultimately crushed by a stone prefiguring an everlasting kingdom to be set up on earth by the God of heaven.

A similar outcome is foreseen in Chapter 7, with these same four kingdoms represented, this time, in a vision of four fearsome beasts (a lion, a bear, a leopard, and a non-descript beast), the last of which has ten horns, of which

three are uprooted by a further horn. This was a little one with human-type eyes and mouth, which became “more stout” than any of the other horns, and went on to “speak great words against the most High” and to “wear out” God’s saints. This was followed immediately (in the vision) by the setting up of a court of judgment at which “the Ancient of days” presided, the record books were opened, and “one like the Son of man” arrived in glory to be given “an everlasting dominion.” At this time, “judgment was given to the saints of the Most High” who go on to “possess the kingdom forever.” Meanwhile, the heavenly judgment in session decrees that this former little, and now stout, horn will lose its dominion and be destroyed (7:26). We could try remembering this first “little horn” as the *boasting horn*—because of its “mouth speaking great things.” (We are due, following, to come across a further, equally evil, “little horn” that is quite physical in its attacks. I suggest we call that one the *trampling horn*.)

So much for dreams/visions representing kingdoms as metals and as wild beasts. The vision of Chapter 8 brings in two sacrificial animals—a ram (for Medo-Persia) and a he-goat (for Grecia). In this vision, Daniel found himself by a river where he saw a formidable ram standing on the bank and then “pushing westward, and northward, and southward” so that none was able to resist him. That is, until a male goat with a horn between its eyes, came charging swiftly from the west. When they met, the ram was crushed and the goat “waxed very great” until, at the height of its powers, its “great horn” (representing its first king) was broken.

In the above setting, the breaking of the single horn was a cue for four other horns to spring up in its place, “toward the four winds of heaven.” Then, from one of those four horns⁸ “came forth a little one” (the one I’m suggesting we call the *trampling horn*), which exerted an “exceeding great” influence to the south, to the east, and to the “pleasant land.” This little horn “magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away, and the place of his [the prince’s] sanctuary was cast down.” Still further, this *trampling horn* “cast down the truth to the ground,” meanwhile practicing and prospering.

The Daniel 8 vision comes to its climax with a brief question-and-answer exchange between two “saints,” one

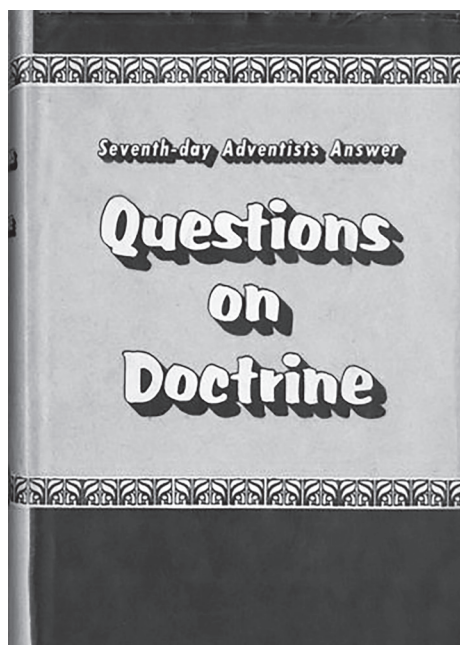
An inquiry is to be conducted for updates in the sanctuary teaching as endorsed by Adventist leaders in the 1950s' *Questions on Doctrine* (QoD) deliberations, and in the 1980 convocation of the Sanctuary Review Committee (SRC) at Glacier View Ranch, Colorado.

of whom asks how long all of this would be—specifically, the taking away of the “daily *sacrifice*” and the treading under foot, by the trampling horn, of “the sanctuary and the host” (8:13). Immediately, a reply comes back: “Unto two thousand and three hundred days: then shall the sanctuary be cleansed” (8:14).

The remainder of Chapter 8 is made up of a call to the angel Gabriel to give Daniel understanding of the vision he has just seen (8:16), followed by Gabriel’s going on with this assignment. In spite of such personal heavenly attention, in the last verse of the chapter, Daniel reports that he “was astonished at the vision” and that “none understood it” (8:27).

The story continues in Daniel 9—with a difference. From Daniel 8:15 to the end of the book, there are no further figurative visions: the angel Gabriel, for example, speaks of literal events, though at times metaphorical expressions may be used.

In Chapter 9, we are told that the action is to take place in “the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, . . . of the seed of the Medes.” This means that the youthful, pulse-and-water Daniel of Chapter 1 is now approaching ninety years of age and aware that Jeremiah’s seventy-year prophecy regarding “the desolations of



Jerusalem” is about to be accomplished. Accordingly, more than half of the chapter is made up of his prayer for God to intervene, particularly on behalf of “thy sanctuary that is desolate” (9:17).

With this fairly long prayer still on his lips, Daniel feels the touch of a hand, and he turns to discover Gabriel is again by his side. In a reminder of the incomplete nature of his previous visit, the heavenly visitor bids Daniel “understand the matter, and consider the vision” (9:23). It then becomes clear that the marker for the close of the seventy years that

Daniel has had upon his heart and mind is to be the commencement of a further period—this time seventy *weeks* that are to be “determined upon [his] people.” Commencing from “the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem,” this time projection will see the inauguration of a series of events of cosmic proportions. First, the doom is pronounced of all forms of evil: high-handed transgression (*pasha*, in the original Hebrew), sinful “missing of the mark” (*chata*), and even the ingrained perverseness of iniquity (*awon*) in the human heart. At the same time, “everlasting righteousness” is to be ushered in, the prophetic vision is to be sealed up, and the “most Holy” is to be anointed (9:24).

These monumental provisions are to be accompanied by the arrival of none other than “Messiah the Prince”

who is to “be cut off, but not for himself,” and who “shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease.” This is to be followed by the destruction of “the city and the sanctuary” and “desolations” (9:25–27), whereupon we discover that Jerusalem was to be seen as returning to the state in which it was found at the commencement of the seventy years (and at the opening of the Book of Daniel). However, in between, Heaven is to show its hand in a new and special way. There is bright hope for the future, and Planet Earth can never be the same again.

These four prophetic chapters held special interest for Millerite Adventists and, later, Seventh-day Adventists, and it turns out they have been variously interpreted over the past two hundred years. For the present, I want to look into the traditional Adventist way of going about this interpretation for Daniel 7, 8, and 9, especially. With this accomplished, we are to inquire whether church-sponsored efforts have been made to find any alternative interpretations of these three chapters, in particular. These two styles of interpretation are dubbed in the present paper as “Historic” and “Updated,” and we are to look for them in this order.

The Historic Interpretation of Daniel 7, 8, and 9—As Seen by William Miller and His Predecessors

Elements of the historic position on Daniel 7, 8, and 9 go back at least to the early nineteenth century.⁹ With the Great Lisbon Earthquake (November 1, 1755) and the horrors of the French Revolutionary Terror (September/October 1793 to July 1794) well within living memory, there were ample reasons to take an interest in the fulfillment of prophecy. Then, upon the imprisonment and exile of Pope Pius VI by the French revolutionary General Berthier (February 1798), contemporary confirmation was accepted for the 1,260 day/year prophecy.¹⁰

Serious Bible students, from the eighteenth century, were intent on allotting specific years for the commence-

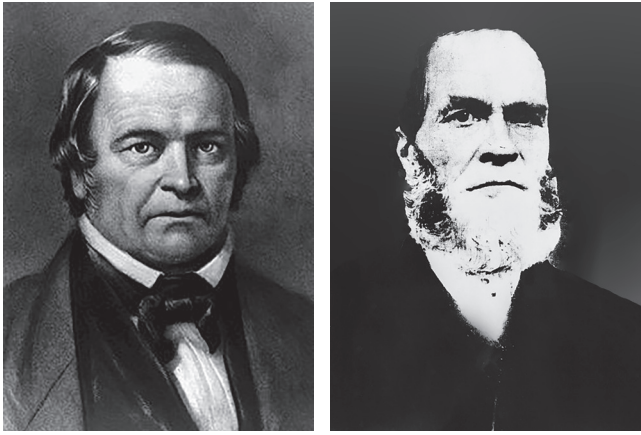
ment of the various time prophecies in the book of Daniel. Following the example of Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) in settling on 457 BC for the commencement of the 70 weeks/490 years of Daniel 9:24–27, thirteen new historicist-type commentaries went so far as to offer interpretation for details as specific as the identity of the little horn of Daniel 8.¹¹ Some linked the seventy weeks with the 2,300 days/years of Daniel 8:14. Along similar lines, LeRoy Froom reports that a number of expositors in the earlier 1800s were predicting the 2,300 days/years of Daniel 8:14 would find fulfillment “somewhere between 1843 and 1847.”¹²

Enter former army captain *cum* farmer, William Miller (1782–1849), with a deep commitment to “arriv[ing] at truth through [his] own study of the Bible,” without dependence on a knowledge of the original languages in which the Scriptures were written. Such study led to his confirmation of the main historic pillars set up by his predecessors, together with what he saw as fifteen separate prophetic lines, all pointing to the return of Jesus in 1843.¹³

One of these additional prophecies, based on Leviticus 26:18–28, Miller titled the “prophecy of Moses.” There he found a warning to Israel that, should they disobey, God would “bring seven times more plagues upon [them].” His Cruden’s Concordance led him to believe that the word *time/times* is well interpreted as a year so that, for this passage in Leviticus, seven times (7x360) would come out as 2,520 years which, commencing with the arrest of King Manasseh by the Babylonians in 677 BC (indicated by the Ussher chronology in Miller’s copy of the KJV), reached to the year 1843.

Contemporary academic, Professor George Bush, was ready to accept Miller’s use of the year-day principle; however, he pointed out that the word for “time” is not found in the Hebrew text from which the KJV translation of Leviticus 26:18–28 is made. There, Bush pointed out, the word means no more than “sevenfold,” that is, *seven*

Miller, however, was unmoved. To him, the King James version was
“fifty times better [than] any, however learned, ‘opinion’
on the original text.”



William Miller (left) and Hiram Edson (right)

lots of. Miller, however, was unmoved. To him, the King James version was “fifty times better [than] any, however learned, ‘opinion’ on the original text.”¹⁴

In addition to his seemingly unbounded confidence in the KJV translation, Miller laid down as one of his rules for scriptural interpretation that the One who “takes notice of the sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our head, will guard the translation of his own word, and throw a barrier around it, and prevent those who sincerely trust in God, and put implicit confidence in his word, from erring far from the truth, though they may not understand Hebrew or Greek.”¹⁵

Quite apart from the niceties of translation from the Hebrew, there was a major difference between Miller and most of his contemporaries with regard to the event(s) to be anticipated at the end of the 2,300 days of Daniel 8:14. He saw the Second Advent and the cleansing of the earth by fire as coming at that time, to be followed by the millennium. In contrast, the popular attitude was that life on earth was improving and that they could look forward to a thousand years of peace and plenty, to be followed by the Second Advent. So, then, while other religious groups were bent on hastening social reform, Miller and his associates were committed to proclaiming the date of Jesus’s return and to calling for personal preparedness for that event.¹⁶

When Jesus did not return in the spring of 1844, several of Miller’s contemporaries made further calculations related to the ancient Jewish Day of Atonement and settled on October 22, 1844, as the true terminus of the 2,300 day-year prophecy.¹⁷ Miller withheld his support until shortly before the predicted date.

Sabbatarian Adventists Add Their Part to the Historic Interpretation of the Sanctuary

At the stroke of midnight on October 22, 1844, The Great Second Advent Movement proclaimed by William Miller and his associates was replaced by The Great Disappointment. Precisely how many, in fact, had their hopes dashed, we cannot tell for sure. Whatever the number, it is evident that, after the proclaimed date, they dispersed in several directions. Some, with their *imaginative visions* shattered, lost faith altogether; some set further dates; and some (the spiritualizers) claimed that Jesus had come, but not visibly.

Of special interest in the present inquiry is the small group that grew into the Seventh-day Adventist Church—a group that came to believe that the already-advocated terminus for the 2,300 days/years of the Daniel 8:14 prophecy and the cleansing of the sanctuary (corrected to October 22, 1844) was beyond question, but that the event proposed by William Miller was incorrect. For them, a fresh interpretation was initiated by a prosperous farmer, Hiram Edson, who lived near the Erie Canal, south of the township of Port Gibson, New York. For some months prior to October 22, he had led an earnest group that included a medical doctor, Franklin Hahn, and a talented young schoolteacher, Owen Crosier.

After a sorrowful night and the breaking of the day, several of them went to Edson’s barn for prayer. There they remained “until the witness of the Spirit was given that [their] prayers were accepted, and that light would be given.”¹⁸ Following breakfast, several of them decided to call on their neighbors to pass on the encouragement they had received, and set off across a corn field. It was an auspicious moment. Midway, Edson felt arrested in his walk. He told later how, looking up, he seemed to catch a view through into the heavens and was convicted that Jesus was not to come to this earth at the close of the 2,300 days. Rather, Edson reported, “He, for the first time, entered on that day into the second apartment of [the heavenly] sanctuary, and that he had a work to perform in the most holy before coming to this earth.”

With no understanding, at that time, of what such a work might be, Hahn and Crosier joined Edson, equipped with “Bibles and concordance and little else, [as] they pioneered their way into the mazes of the sanctuary question.”¹⁹ From a study of Leviticus, Daniel 7–9, Hebrews,

and Revelation, especially, they became convinced that Edson's insight of October 23 was correct, that the sanctuary to be cleansed in Daniel 8:14 was the sanctuary in heaven, and that the cleansing required was the "blotting out" of the confessed sins of believers accumulated there through the ages. This work they saw as the anti-type of the yearly Day of Atonement service of the wilderness sanctuary detailed in Leviticus 16, and itself involving the cleansing of the tabernacle from the sins accumulated there as a result of the daily sacrificial offerings during the preceding year.

As Edson, Hahn, and Crosier had hoped, their findings were a source of renewed hope and encouragement both for themselves and for the "little flock" that was emerging around them. This "new understanding of the cleansing of the sanctuary became," as Seventh-day Adventist historian, George Knight, puts it, "a primary building block in the development of Sabbatarian Adventist theology." Clearly, James White saw things that way, describing the newly understood sanctuary teaching as "the key to the great Advent movement, making all plain. Without it the movement is inexplicable." It came to be regarded as "the great center."²⁰ In terms of our present discussion, here was a powerful, newly minted *imaginative vision*.

Related doctrines came to be clustered around the acceptance of the cleansing of the sanctuary. For example, by the close of 1846, the seventh-day Sabbath had become well accepted by the earliest pioneers of the church, with former ship's captain, Joseph Bates, prompt to point out that, at the sounding of the seventh trumpet (Revelation 15:15–19) and the giving way of the "kingdoms of this world" to the "kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ," "the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament." All were aware that within the ark was to be found the law of God enshrining the Sabbath commandment.²¹

Like any deeply heartfelt
imaginative vision, its
terms came to be seen as
inviolable and essential to
the identity and mission of
the Seventh-day Adventist
Church. It was considered
that, without it, this church
could be regarded as a
deception.

That same law was seen as the basis for an "investigative judgment," commencing in 1844, of all who have claimed to be God's children—the dead first, and going on to the judgment of the living, who could not tell whether on any given day their names might come up and their lives be examined for unconfessed sin.

In unmistakable terms, this work of judgment of the lives of God's people was seen as prefigured in the judgment scene in Daniel 7:9–14, with the heavenly court set up and its books opened to determine the eternal destinies of God's people. The process was celebrated in a hymn with words and music

composed by the gifted Adventist writer, Franklin Belden (1858–1945).²² Written in 1886, the hymn was published that same year in *The Seventh-Day [sic] Adventist Hymn and Tune Book* and in a succession of hymnals down to the one published in 1985 and officially in use in Adventist churches well into the new century. With the opening words taken directly from the Daniel 7 scene, the hymn placed the worshippers personally in the judgment setting:

The judgment has set, the books have been opened;
How shall we stand in that great day
When every thought, and word, and action,
God, the righteous Judge, shall weigh?

The work is begun with those who are sleeping,
Soon will the living here be tried.

Twice president of the Australasian Division, W. G. Turner urged, in a 1938 Week of Prayer reading, the solemnity of going about our daily lives in the shadow of the judgment. "We are living," he advised his readers,

in the antitypical day of atonement. . . . living
in this time today. The cleansing of the [wil-

derness] sanctuary and the putting away of sin, demanded that each afflict his soul, and with deep repentance and sincere confession see that everything was right between himself and his neighbor, and right with his God.

Further into the article, Turner quoted 1 John 2:1, (“If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous”) and later still advised: “The work of judgment is almost completed. Our names may soon be considered.”²³

Returning to the two types of services in the wilderness tabernacle ritual, we may note a further critical feature maintained specifically in the historic Adventist interpretation of the sanctuary service into the post-1844 era. In the daily service, following the confession of sin by the repentant sinner over the sacrificial victim, the animal was slain, and some of its blood was placed by the officiating priest on the horns of the altar of burnt offering in the courtyard. The blood of animals slain for corporate sins of the people could be carried into the holy place and sprinkled before the curtain adjacent to the most holy place. In view of the conviction that “[s]ins were conveyed into the sanctuary during the year by the blood of the personal sin-offerings offered daily at the door of the tabernacle,” this procedure was seen as adding to the year’s accumulation of sins in the sanctuary.²⁴

Later, on the yearly Day of Atonement, the “Lord’s goat” was sacrificed by the high priest and its blood was carried beyond the inner curtain into the most holy place, where it was sprinkled on the mercy seat.²⁵ In the tracing of his steps back to the sanctuary courtyard, the high priest was regarded as carrying the year’s aggregated sins on his own person.²⁶ There he “confessed” those sins over

the head of the goat for “Azazel,” which was then taken by a “fit man” out into the wilderness, never to return to the camp. So was the sanctuary and the camp cleansed for another year.²⁷

It was the discovery, via the ever-trusty concordance, of the word “cleansed” in Leviticus 16, where the Day of Atonement is described in detail, that gave the key to the meaning of Daniel 8:14 (KJV) and, later, an understanding of what is presently taking place in the most holy place of the sanctuary in heaven. There a “cleansing,” or “blotting out of sins” was said to have commenced on October 22, 1844.

Ever at the ground of these historic interpretations of the sanctuary, was Edson’s momentous insight of October 23, 1844—that, on the previous day, Jesus had moved from a first-apartment ministry in the heavenly *holy place* to a second-apartment ministry in the heavenly most holy place. If this were to stand, an important question remained to be answered. Within several years of the ascension of Jesus, did not Stephen, while being stoned, see “the Son of man standing on the right hand of God”?²⁸ And, at the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews, during the first century, had not Jesus “when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high”?²⁹ With that type of proximity to his Father given in Scripture, how could Jesus be confined to the holy place in the heavenly sanctuary for the better part of two thousand years? Under the historic interpretation, there was a ready answer, as follows.

Future General Conference president, William H. Branson (1887–1961), responded in practical terms.³⁰ Taking the judgment scene in Daniel 7:9, 10 as a description of an investigative judgment of God’s people, Branson noted that God’s throne “was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire” (7:9).” He turned his attention, as well, to the description in Ezekiel 1:5–21 of the lightning-like movement of the four living creatures, taken to comprise God’s “living throne.” He saw these as indicating that “the throne of God is movable, and that its location is changed from time to time.” By Branson’s reckoning, there had been no change of location for God’s throne for the better part of two thousand years: “It had been situated in the first room of the sanctuary from the beginning of [Christ’s] priestly ministry down to the time of the judgment, and at that time is shifted into the second

Photo courtesy of South Pacific Division Heritage Centre.



Adventist Archives



William Gordon Turner, c. 1920 (left) and William H. Branson (right)

Aware their answers would be minutely examined for logical grounding in Scripture, for demonstrable understanding of the original languages, and for awareness of historical precedent, the Adventist conferees approached their assignment with meticulous attention to detail.

room, or most holy place.” By this means, “the ministry of Christ as high priest was performed in the presence of the Father in the first apartment of the sanctuary in heaven until [the close of the 2,300 days].”³¹

Further, in support of Jesus’s first apartment ministry at the ascension, Branson referred to other Scripture passages. He took the reference in Revelation 1:13 to “one like unto the Son of man” standing “in the midst of the seven candlesticks” as an indication that Jesus, when John the Revelator saw him at that post-ascension moment, was represented as standing within the holy place of the heavenly sanctuary—and this, in view of the candlesticks in the earthly type, being in the first apartment.³² As well, does not Hebrews 6:19, 20 refer to our high priest as having entered as our Forerunner “within the veil,” and this without qualification; whereas “[w]hen Paul refers to the dividing veil, he calls it ‘the second veil’”?³³

Summary of the Historic Interpretation of the Sanctuary

The foregoing gives an overview of what has been seen as the historic view of the sanctuary doctrine as held by Seventh-day Adventists for the better part of two hundred years. This became a vital component of the corporate “imaginative vision” for the church as a whole, and the essence of an individual “imaginative vision” for thousands of believers. Its propositions are summarized following:

- On the basis of the long-held, year-day principle, the 2,300-day period given in Daniel 8:14 is to be interpreted as 2,300 years, is to commence in 457 BC as

for the starting point of the seventy-week prophecy of Daniel 9:24, 25, and is to end on October 22, 1844.

- In parallel with the daily service in the earthly tabernacle, Jesus’s ministry in heaven to October 22, 1844, took place in the holy place of the heavenly sanctuary and has to do with the forgiveness of sins.
- The cleansing mentioned in Daniel 8:14 refers to the sanctuary in heaven where the confessed/forgiven sins of God’s people have been accumulating over the centuries in the books of record.
- From October 22, 1844, in parallel with the yearly Day of Atonement service of the earthly tabernacle, Jesus’s ministry moved to the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary and has to do with the cleansing/blotting out of the record of confessed/forgiven sins.
- The above process of the blotting out of sins, first for the dead and then for the living, involves a work of judgment and is foretold in Daniel 7:9, 10 and Revelation 14:6–12.
- Unaware of when our names may come up for judgment, we are to examine our hearts for unconfessed and unforsaken sin.
- The Father’s throne is movable and, after being in the holy place from Jesus’s ascension to the close of the 2,300 days, it transferred to the most holy place. By this means, Jesus’s ministry in both heavenly apartments may be seen as in the Father’s presence.

It may be noted that the historic interpretation of Daniel 8:14, as surveyed above, remained generally stable for over one hundred years. Like any deeply heartfelt imaginative vision, its terms came to be seen as in-

violate and essential to the identity and mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It was considered that, without it, this church could be regarded as a deception. Any suggestion of tampering with it was to be met with indignation, even anger. Adventist pastors who persisted in this direction were eventually defrocked.³⁴

At this point, as foreshadowed earlier, our inquiry is due to turn in a different direction, asking if there have been significant moves at official church levels toward adjustment of the above historic interpretation of the sanctuary doctrine. Our inquiry focuses on two periods, in particular: one in the 1950s and the other in the 1980s. Interestingly, both of these were at times of doctrinal inquiry. In their own way, both occasions involved challenges to corporate and individual *imaginative vision*.³⁵

Has the Historic Interpretation of Key Passages in Daniel 7–9 Been Further Examined?

It is evident that times of challenge can be a benefit in the gaining of further understanding of doctrinal positions, at times prompting change at deep levels. The challenges were thoroughly real in the early 1950s, as indicated following.

1. The evangelical inquiries of the 1950s and the “seventy weeks” of Daniel 9:24 (KJV)—are they actually “weeks” after all?

Fresh inquiry into the significance of Daniel 9:24 came about in a memorable setting. In the mid-1950s, Protestant evangelical writer, Walter Ralston Martin (1928–1984), approached the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, DC, seeking access to printed material to allow for a re-examination of his earlier view that Adventism is a cult (along with Jehovah’s Witnesses, Christian Scientists, Mormons, and others).³⁶ Key doctrinal areas due for investigation included the inspiration of the Bible as God’s Word and as sole basis of doctrine; the eternal deity of Jesus and his sinless earthly life; Jesus’s all-sufficient atonement on the cross; and Adventist understanding of human conditional immortality and of the sanctuary. Martin’s inquiries were summed up in forty-eight questions, the answers to which he planned to use in the preparation of a book exclusively on Adventists.³⁷ A close collaborator in the original and subsequent

approaches was Donald Grey Barnhouse (1895–1960), editor of a widely circulated and influential evangelical journal, *Eternity*. The verdict reached by these two men was set to be broadcast throughout the evangelical religious world.

The set of questions was willingly accepted by a group of Adventist conferees at church headquarters in Washington, DC. This was made up of historian/apologist, LeRoy Edwin Froom (1890–1974); evangelist and secretary of the General Conference Ministerial Association, Roy Allan Anderson (1895–1985); Hebrew scholar, Walter Edwin Read (1883–1976); and local conference president, Tobias Edgar Unruh (1894–1982), whose initial contact with Barnhouse had opened up the whole inquiry.³⁸

Aware their answers would be minutely examined for logical grounding in Scripture, for demonstrable understanding of the original languages, and for awareness of historical precedent, the Adventist conferees approached their assignment with meticulous attention to detail. This sort of scholarly precision applied alike to the key areas referred to above and to areas their invigilators might regard as optional.

In the above context, their answers concerning the topic raised in Question 25 (“Relation of Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9 to the 2,300 days of Daniel 8”) are of special interest. At the outset, they were fully aware that, following the Daniel 8 vision, there are no additional prophetic symbols in the whole of the book of Daniel—no further wild beasts, no domestic animals, no evil little horns—all in literal style from immediately after the crucial declaration of 8:14, when the angel Gabriel is called on to explain what the prophet has seen in “the vision.” This, as we have noted, Gabriel launches into, but is cut short when Daniel is emotionally and physically overcome (8:27).

On the above basis, the literal approach continues into Chapter 9, where Gabriel returns and bids the prophet to “understand the matter, and consider *the vision*” (9:23, emphasis supplied). At this point, Daniel’s heavenly visitor introduces the prophecy of “seventy weeks” (9:24).

A question faced by the 1950s Adventist conferees is whether this period of seventy weeks is to be taken as symbolic (and relevant to the year-day principle) or is to be seen as literal. Aware that they were to be transparently consistent, the foursome made it clear where they stood: “inasmuch as Daniel 9:24–27 is a portion of the *literal ex-*

planation of the symbolic vision, we would logically expect the time elements likewise to be given in literal terms.”³⁹ This, they were aware, would mean that, with a literal seventy weeks in Daniel 9:24 (that is 490 days), we have lost the 490 years extending to “Messiah the Prince.”

There was still light ahead, however, and, as the Adventist conferees understood it, this was based on the most appropriate translation of a key Hebrew noun in Daniel 9:24. There, Gabriel let it be known that “seventy *shabu'im* (singular *shabua'*) are determined upon thy people,” and they gave their understanding of *shabu'im* as “sevens” or “lots of seven” with the following noun, in this case unspecified, left to be interpreted from the context. For example, with *shabua'* “simply denot[ing] a unit of seven,” this could be seventy lots of *seven days* or seventy lots of *seven years*. The Adventist conferees in their presentation of this part of their answers to Martin and Barnhouse gave detailed support for interpreting the Hebrew *shabu'im* in Daniel 9:24 as *seven literal years* and, by this means, saved the day for arguing for 490 (70 x 7) years stretching down to the appearing of “Messiah the Prince” and beyond.

For example, they were able to point out that, in Daniel 10:2, 3, where the Hebrew *shabua'* is associated with actual days, it is followed by *yamin* (“of days”), while in Daniel 9:24 there is no such association.⁴⁰ As well, they gave instances from post-Biblical Hebrew literature (*Midrash* and *Talmud*) where the writers effectively defined *shabua'* as referring to a “week of years”—for example, *Midrash Rabbah* was quoted as pointing out: “‘Week’ [in Daniel 9:27] represents a period of seven years.”⁴¹ Interestingly, more recent Hebrew lexicons may also be seen as allowing for such a definition.⁴²

Still further support for *QoD*'s reading of *shabua'* in Daniel 9:24 as *years* is offered by Ross Cole in a 2014 paper on the basis of “the distinctive use [there] of the masculine plural form” in parallel with “Sabbath years” as, for example, in Leviticus 26:34, 35.⁴³

Such accomplishments in translation were not to be expected in the 1840s of Edson, Hahn, and Crosier, none of whom had training in the Hebrew language. By way

of contrast, Read's language skills in the 1950s and the knowledge and insight of a goodly number of Adventist linguists with whom the *QoD* answers were shared at the time, had made possible the refining and updating of the historic interpretation, including distinguishing between the figurative language of Daniel 8 and the literal language of Daniel 9.⁴⁴

A further monumental occasion for updating the church's understanding of the sanctuary teaching remains to be examined.

2. The 1980 Sanctuary Review Committee holds promise of a new interpretational outlook.

The year 1980 witnessed the most concerted re-examination to date of a Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal position. One hundred and fourteen scholars and administrators were called in from around the world field to meet at Glacier View Ranch, an Adventist conference center in Colorado, to re-examine the Adventist position on the sanctuary teaching.⁴⁵ Never before had such a large, widely representative, and scholarly body been assembled to deliberate in a cardinal doctrinal area. This Sanctuary Review Committee (SRC) met from August 10 to 15 and, after careful inter-relating of small group and plenary sessions, it produced and approved (close to unanimously) a Consensus Document (CD)

titled “Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary,” comprising 4,000+ words. Early in the document it was stated that,

The committee sought to make a serious and frank appraisal of our historic positions, evaluating them in the light of criticisms and alternative interpretations that have been suggested. Such suggestions are beneficial in that they drive us to study, force us to clarify our understanding, and thereby lead us to sharper insights and a deeper appreciation of the truths that have shaped the Advent Movement.⁴⁶

So, then, the SRC expressed a willingness to look



Neal Wilson served as the president of the General Conference from 1979 to 1990.

The year 1980 witnessed the most concerted re-examination to date of a Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal position.

again at the time-honored historic positions regarding the sanctuary doctrine. Considering the pivotal nature of personal and corporate imaginative visions, they had a delicate task on their hands. In the end, they presented their consensus findings with the proviso that “while we believe that our historic interpretation of Daniel 8:14 is valid, we wish to encourage ongoing study of this important prophecy.”⁴⁷ Interestingly, while the SRC gave what might come across as blanket approval of the historic interpretation (as above), the Consensus Document proceeded to explore a number of fresh insights—meanwhile barely pointing out specific limitations in the historic interpretation.

A. “Cleansed” or “restored” and who/what defiled the sanctuary?

In what may be the closest the Consensus Document comes to noting directly any limitation of the historic position, it observes that “[a]ccording to many older versions of the Bible, at the end of the 2,300 days the sanctuary is to be ‘cleansed;’” and then points out that the key Hebrew verb is *nisdaq* with the “basic idea . . . ‘make right’, ‘justify’, ‘vindicate’, or ‘restore’,” with “‘purify’ and ‘cleanse’

. . . within its conceptual range.” While the historic interpretation had followed the KJV and a KJV concordance, giving the same focal verb, “cleanse,” in both Leviticus 16 and Daniel 8:14, the Consensus Document favors an updated interpretation of this key passage, using the verb “restore” and placing the villainous [trampling] horn of Daniel 8: 9–13 at center-stage:

In Daniel 8:14 it is evident that the word [*nisdaq*] denotes the reversal of the evil caused by the power symbolized by the “little horn,” and hence probably should be translated “restore.”⁴⁸

Concession is made to the historic position with the words:

While there is, therefore, not a strong verbal link between this verse [Daniel 8:14] and the Day of Atonement ritual of Leviticus 16, the passages are, nevertheless, related by their parallel ideas of rectifying the sanctuary from the effects of sin.⁴⁹

Overview of a historic meeting

The Sanctuary Review Committee, characterized by unity and controlled by the Holy Spirit, finds strong support for the church’s historic positions.

By WILLIAM G. JOHNSON

The Sanctuary Review Committee, appointed by the General Conference, convened at Glacier View Ranch, Colorado, August 10-15, 1980. The assignment of the committee was to examine the historic positions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church concerning the sanctuary of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary. They came to realize that they had been right about the time had swung about the nature of the event. Instead of Christ’s returning to earth to cleanse it by fire, He had entered the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary to begin the work of judgment.

Two items from the work of the committee are significant for subsequent developments. In its recommendations, the Daniel Committee called for further study in disputed areas, predicting that if this were not done, Adventist preaching on the sanctuary doctrine would become apologetic. Second, the major issue to emerge from the five years of discussion was the relation of the writings of Ellen White to the Bible in the development of doctrine and prophetic interpretation.

The crucial nature of those two items was demonstrated on October 27, 1979, when Dr. Desmond Ford, a Bible teacher at Pacific Union College on leave from Avondale College, Australia, gave a public lecture on the sanctuary doctrine. In his talk he raised many of the questions with which the Daniel Committee had struggled, and then set forth answers at variance with the church’s historic interpretation. His address was received by many to challenge the established views on

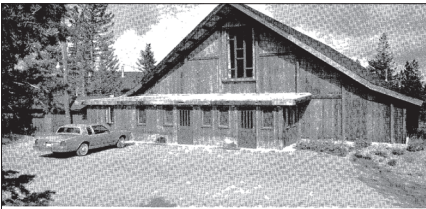
ting to the General Conference a majority report, a minority report, and a number of recommendations. Since the papers had been written for consideration by the committee alone, they were not made public.

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Neal C. Wilson speaks at the opening meeting.



The Sanctuary Review Committee met August 10 to 14 at Glacier View Ranch’s amphitheater, which is converted to a covered walkway.

the meaning of Daniel 8:14, Hebrews 9 and 10, the Day of Atonement, the investigative judgment, and the role of the Ellen G. White writings in Seventh-day Adventist theology.

Two recordings of Dr. Ford’s talk, circulated worldwide, led to much discussion, debate, and, at times, considerable perplexity. Thus, on November 28, 1979, at the request of the Pacific Union College administration, the college president and academic dean met with leaders of the General Conference in Washington and arrived at the decision announced on the back page of the December 20, 1979, Review. Dr. Ford was to be given a leave of absence to clarify and write out his views, which in due course would be considered by an appropriate body.

Dr. Ford moved to Washington, D.C., and spent the first six months of 1980 in research and writing. During this period he produced a document of six chapters and almost 1,000 pages, including appendices.

This was to be the basis for understanding and discussing his views. At a committee of 14 granted Dr. Ford as he was preparing his document. Copies were mailed to each member in July, 1980, with instructions that through study be given

Conference. It was composed principally of scholars in Biblical studies and theology. The committee met three times with Dr. Ford in Washington and reviewed the entire first draft of his document.

This committee of scholars was advisory in function. It dialogued with Dr. Ford, seeking to aid his ongoing tasks by pointing out areas of weakness in exegesis or argument, and suggesting needed clarifications and other source materials. No votes were taken; committee members reacted individually to Dr. Ford’s written draft of the document, the first of the views of the critics of this committee, was his own work and is not intended to reflect the views of the guiding committee.

As a member of this small committee, I was impressed by the fairness of the chairman and the ease and frankness of discussions. Areas of agreement and disagreement were identified; members were requested to state their criticisms in writing for Dr. Ford’s benefit.

Dr. Ford’s document in its final form became the basis for the work of the Sanctuary Review Committee. Copies were mailed to each member in July, 1980, with instructions that through study be given

to matters how difficult the task. He made it clear that the conference was not a trial of Dr. Ford who, though present, was not a delegate; rather, that the views of the Ford document called for study—open, fair, honest study. These views had to be tested by the Bible and the writings of Ellen White, and compared with historic interpretations of the church. Elder Wilson pointed out that our historic views were not on trial; the alternatives were on trial.

This challenged and directed, the conference set to work. The format for the first four days of the session, Monday through Thursday, was essentially the same.

Each morning delegates studied in seven groups of about 16 members each. All groups studied the same issues, which focused in turn on the nature of Old Testament prophecy, the interpretation of Daniel 7 to 9.

Then, with their satissfying bulging with documents and papers, committee members arrived at Glacier View from the four corners of the earth.



Committee delegate Bruce Neph, Utah, enters the session.

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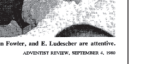
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James Lewis, Lynn Voren, Gerald Dunnington, John Foster, and E. L. Ladd sit at a table.

On these terms, the defiling of the sanctuary was attributed to the workings of the evil trampling horn, with no mention of the confessed sins of God’s people as in the historic interpretation. Placing responsibility for the disordering of the heavenly sanctuary upon the trampling little horn, the Consensus Document observed, leads to a “contextual problem” in view of the trampling horn’s carrying out its nefarious work on earth, while the sanctuary it has left in need of “restoration and purification” is in heaven. The difficulty was dealt with by noting that “the attacks of the ‘little horn’ have a cosmic, as well as historical, significance.” We may note that seeing a work of judgment of the trampling horn at the close of the 2,300 days puts the vision of Daniel 8 (and especially verse 14) importantly in parallel with the judgment scene of Daniel 7 and its boastful horn.⁵⁰

Again, knowledge of the original language held by the linguists of the SRC, together with closer attention to the context of Daniel 8:14, allowed the Consensus Document to provide an important update to the original interpretation.

B. In the judgment, do we face uncertainty or assurance?

Earlier we noted that while the historic interpretation of Daniel 8:14 recognized the advocacy of Jesus in the meeting of our sin (as in 1 John 2:1, for example), it pointed to a judgment of our lives, without warning, on any given day, and it gave a reminder of the way the Israelites, on the Day of Atonement, were to afflict their souls. We may compare this with the assurance given in the Consensus Document: “For the believer in Jesus Christ, the doctrine of judgment is solemn but reassuring, because the judgment is God’s own intervention in the course of human history to make all things right. It is the unbeliever who finds the teaching a subject of terror.”⁵¹

The Consensus Document adds further that “[f]or the child of God, knowledge of Christ’s intercession in the judgment brings assurance, not anxiety.” Referring to Romans 8:1 (“There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus”), it continues in similar

vein: “In the righteousness of Christ the Christian is secure in the judgment.”⁵²

The above positive note has been reinforced in a 2005 exposition on the beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists. After quoting Philippians 3:9, it affirms: “All who are united with Christ are assured of salvation” and goes on to refer to our personal response.

All who wish to retain their names in the Book of Life must make things right with God and their fellow man during this time of God’s judgement.⁵³

A further item remains for our present consideration in the outlining of updated interpretations of the sanctuary teaching by the large representative group of scholars and administrators that made up the Sanctuary Review Committee (SRC) meeting at Glacier View in August 1980. Again there is notable contrast with the historic interpretation.

C. The timing of Jesus’s entry into the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary

The first thing to note from the Consensus Document account of the activity of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary is that there is no suggestion made there of a prior work in the

heavenly holy place—indeed, a heavenly holy place is not mentioned in the entire Consensus Document. Where, then, according to the SRC update, does Jesus carry out his high-priestly ministry on our behalf? Strange as it may seem, in view of the specificity of the historic interpretation on this point, the Consensus Document does not spell this out precisely. Instead, it quotes four passages from the book of Hebrews (KJV) as follows:⁵⁴

... when [Jesus] had by himself purged our sins, [he] sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high. (Hebrews 1:3)

Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast [sic], and which entereth



Spectrum covered the Sanctuary Debate in November, 1980.

into that within the veil; Whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made an high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec. (Hebrews 6:19, 20)

For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. (Hebrews 9:24)

For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect. (Hebrews 10:1)

The Consensus Document then lifts short phrases from these passages (as given following) to make its point concerning the completeness of our access to God. It goes on:

Hebrews stresses the fact that our great High Priest is at the very right hand of God (chap. 1:3), in ‘heaven itself . . . in the presence of God’ (chap. 9:24). The symbolic language of the Most Holy Place, ‘within the veil,’ is used to assure us of our full, direct, and free access to God (chaps. 6:19–20; 9:24–28; 10:1–4).⁵⁵

While the immediate intention of this statement in the Consensus Document is to assure us of our total access to God through Jesus, our great High Priest, the description given provides something of a contrast to the positions taken earlier in the historic account. For example, as given above, this passage associates the expression “within the veil” with “the Most Holy Place.” Such a designation is in contrast to Branson’s claim (noted earlier) that this expression applied to the entrance curtain of the holy place where, the historic interpretation maintained, Jesus ministered from the ascension up until 1844. As well, if Jesus, in the first century at the time of the writing of the Book of Hebrews, is said to be ministering “within the [dividing] veil,” (that is, the veil between the holy place and the most holy place) then Hiram Edson’s graphic insight of October 23, 1844 has been bypassed.

The Consensus Document update goes further. Not only is the expression “within the veil” said to be “language of the Most Holy Place,” it is said, as well, to be “symbolic language” (emphasis supplied). With this in mind, we may go on to ask, symbolic of what?

As we have already discovered, the Consensus Document is reluctant to picture the high priestly ministry of Jesus in terms of heavenly compartments. As well, it makes no mention of the first apartment and a fleeting note only regarding the most holy place, and this latter with an intimation of symbolism. In place of describing what is taking place in the holy place of the heavenly sanctuary, the Consensus Document refers to a “first phase of the heavenly ministry of Christ,” which includes “continually appl[ying] the benefits of His sacrifice for us.”⁵⁶ Likewise, this same SRC centerpiece refers to a “final phase of Christ’s ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, during which His work “is that of judgement, vindication, and cleansing.”⁵⁷ In this latter phase, the Consensus Document emphasizes that “while Christ is Judge, He is still our Intercessor.”⁵⁸

At this point, it may be noted that the “updated” reference to *phases* in the place of sanctuary apartments was not an innovation of the SRC there at Glacier View, in August 1980. Four months earlier (April 1980), the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, in session at Dallas, Texas, adopted a doctrinal fundamental on the sanctuary that explicitly stated: “In 1844, at the end of the prophetic period of 2,300 days, [Christ] entered the second and last phase of His atoning ministry. It is a work of investigative judgment.”⁵⁹

It is clear, of course, that the above use of “phases” terminology does not deny that Jesus’s high priestly ministry took place in heavenly counterparts of the rooms in the wilderness tabernacle; it does, however, within its own terms, bypass imposing earthly architectural specifications on the salvation-related procedures of Heaven.⁶⁰

Predictably, the foregoing final form of the sanctuary fundamental passed at the Dallas General Conference session in April 1980, did not go through without question. A number of calls were made from the floor of the session “in favor of specifying the place (i.e., the apartment) in heaven where Christ ministers, as well as affirming a cleansing of the sanctuary in heaven.” These included speeches by senior session delegates such as “Edward

Zinke, assistant director of the Biblical Research Institute, Reginald Dower, the retiring secretary of the Ministerial Association, [and] William Murdoch, dean emeritus of the SDA Theological Seminary.” A General Conference vice-president, W. Duncan Eva, who had led out in the revision process from its earliest days, explained that “the paragraph was a Bible-based one and no different in this respect from the previous (1931) statement.” This carried the day, so that specifications of heavenly apartments and the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary were not included in the final form of the 1980 sanctuary fundamental.⁶¹ By this means, the way was left open, in August 1980, for the Sanctuary Review Committee at Glacier View to confirm this significant doctrinal update already voted through four months earlier.

In Search of Confirmation of the Enduring Validity of the Historic Interpretation of the Sanctuary Teaching

As we have seen, the Consensus Document gives as an affirmation of the Sanctuary Review Committee “that our historic interpretation of Daniel 8:14 is valid.” Following *Merriam-Webster*, we can take it that *valid*, in this context, refers to a position or argument that is “reasonable” and “having a sound basis in logic or fact.” Further shades of meaning, “strong,” “capable of being justified,” are given by *Collins*. In view of the range of updates noted in the foregoing, we might ask: Valid in what way? The matter is considered following.

Clearly, if our present review has been conducted along sound lines, there are significant variations in the Glacier View Consensus Document from long-held historic positions on the sanctuary teaching. For example, from William Miller through to early Sabbatarian Adventists and to pioneering Seventh-day Adventists, the KJV translation of the pivotal verb in Daniel 8:14, “cleanse,” was fully accepted. By way of contrast, the Sanctuary Review Committee went to the original Hebrew *nisdaq* which, it observed, “probably should be translated [as] ‘restore’.” Along this line, it attributed the defiling of the sanctuary not to the accumulated confessed sins of God’s people (as in the historic interpretation) but to the depredations of the evil [trampling] little horn.

As well, we have noted that the historic position advised that God’s people could not know when their names might come up in judgment, with a reminder of the way

the Israelites, prior to the Day of Atonement, were to “afflict their souls.” With this we can compare the encouragement given in the Consensus Document for “the believer in Jesus Christ” to see “the doctrine of the judgment [as] solemn but reassuring” and to understand that “[i]n the righteousness of Christ the Christian is secure in the judgment.”

Perhaps the most surprising feature of the updated interpretation of the sanctuary doctrine in the Consensus Document (as already noted) is its bypassing of the original Hiram Edson insight regarding Jesus’s literal/actual movement on October 22, 1844, from the holy place to the most holy place in the heavenly sanctuary—there to engage in an “Investigative Judgement.”⁶² As already indicated, the Consensus Document makes no mention of a heavenly holy place at all, and but one reference to the most holy place, where it is indicated that the expression “within the veil” is “symbolic language of the Most Holy Place,” and not (as in the historic account) as related to Jesus’s pre-1844 ministry in the holy place.

Such variations from the positions set up by the pioneers of the church, it should be recognized, are close to the heart of the early sanctuary teaching and far from peripheral. This being the case, it is evident that, for the SRC to regard the historic position as valid, it did not require long-standing doctrinal tenets to be confirmed case by case.

In what ways then might we consider the validity of the historic position to shine through in the SRC Consensus Document? Several options are raised following:

- In bonding the fulfilment of Daniel 8:14 and its 2,300 days with the declaration of the 490 years of Daniel 9:24–27, the historic interpretation was a valid means of bequeathing to Adventists an ongoing context for the greatest prediction of all time: the coming of an anointed Prince who would be “cut off” for others and return later to gather the cosmic family into one.
- The historic interpretation may be seen as valid in setting up a template, the elements of which later generations might regard as symbolic of Jesus’s phase-by-phase heavenly ministry.
- The historic interpretation was valid in making way for a later understanding of the parallel nature of the three symbolic visions (Daniel 2, 7 and 8) and the

two literal visions (Daniel 9 and 11/12) and, by this means, emphasizing God’s commitment to staying by Planet Earth to the end.

- Overarching the above, the historic interpretation of the sanctuary teaching may be seen as a valid demonstration of the means that might be followed in the setting up of a newly conceived imaginative vision in the face of devastating disappointment.⁶³

Along with all of the above, while offering important updates to historic interpretations of the sanctuary teaching, the Sanctuary Review Committee gave clear notice that its Consensus Document was not to be seen as a final word on the interpretation of Daniel 8:14 and related passages, but that further study was called for. With this attitude in mind, we may well look for further updates to be added in the future.

Some Closing Observations

It is of interest to note the significance of the title *Consensus Document* for the leading article of the Glacier View consultation. This may be illustrated in the course of events that surrounded Question D, as listed for Tuesday, August 12: “Where does the Bible teach that in the services of the Hebrew sanctuary the offering of a sacrificial animal with confession of sin transferred sin to the sanctuary and defiled it?” (It may be recalled from earlier in the present article that the historic interpretation held that “[s]ins were conveyed into the sanctuary during the year by the blood of the personal sin-offerings offered daily at the door of the tabernacle.”)

In point of fact, there is no record in the Consensus Document of an explicit answer to the above question—and this, quite evidently, because on the matter of the transfer of sin by way of sacrificial blood, there was no consensus across the Sanctuary Review Committee as

a whole. An important background comment on this matter was made in a personal letter written by one of the leading conveners of the conference, Richard Hammill, to highly regarded, and by then retired, Harry W. Lowe (1893–1990), who had not been able for health reasons to be in attendance at Glacier View:

We cannot find any compelling Biblical evidence [that the blood of a sacrificial animal defiles the sanctuary]. Since Ellen White placed so much stress on this, it does raise a question of the role of Ellen White as a final interpreter of the Bible. Most of the younger men (both administrators and scholars) did not stumble over this matter, but the older ones including some of the key leaders found this an almost insurmountable problem. They just could not see how Ellen White could be mistaken on a matter which they considered vital. Many of the others consider it not a core matter concerning sanctuary doctrine since the essential doctrine would stand if we conclude that it is sin itself that defiles God’s sanctuary and not the confessing of it.⁶⁴

The above instance of understandable generational difference may be taken as confirmation of the important consensus of the Sanctuary Review Committee on those matters that did appear in the final document, including the updating of positions held under the historic interpretations made up to a hundred years (and more) earlier.

Amongst the conspicuous achievements of the Sanctuary Review Committee was their coming through without notable threatening of what we have referred to as individual and corporate *imaginative vision(s)*—that is, the personal background against which we all live that gives

Offered a secure atmosphere in which to work, our scholars, in whatever setting, are well placed to build upon the epochal findings of the Sanctuary Review Committee, and to lead us further into this important and sensitive field of study, whether the time it takes is short or long.

our lives meaning, hope, and purpose. Potentially, there were many administrator and scholar conferees at Glacier View who, as was noted at the outset, were open to “becom[ing] emotional and grievously troubled.” And, yet, evidently it did not take place—and this, though a number of historic sanctuary interpretations were passed by in the ongoing discussions. In the allotted five days, there may well have been more explicit doctrinal ground broken at an official level on the sanctuary teaching than in the previous one hundred years.

How could such a constructive outcome have been achieved? Careful reading of the Consensus Document suggests that, in the discussion groups, there were no front-on attacks directed against either the long-standing historic positions or against dissidents from the immediate or the distant past. Credit for this may be due in no small part to the wisdom of the conveners of the event in the wording of the research questions in an open, non-prejudicial, and non-confronting style. At the same time, the discussion groups were set up with scholars and administrators prayerfully facing the challenge of the various questions together—and together reaching consensus in their conclusions. As well, it is evident that, throughout, respect was shown for those who, in good faith, first formulated the terms of the earliest sanctuary teaching.

As already noted, there was clear indication in the Consensus Document that the Sanctuary Review Committee understood it did not have all the answers to the interpretation of the sanctuary-related prophecies of Daniel 7, 8, and 9, and, accordingly, advised further study along these lines. In this regard, no specific examples were given; however, something of the research task comes to mind. For example, the historic interpretation taught that it is the confessed sins of God’s people that have defiled the heavenly sanctuary, with these to be cleansed from the heavenly records commencing at the close of the 2,300 days. Now, with the prime culprit for this desecration named as the evil [trampling] little horn, and with the specified remedy (as in Daniel 8:14) for the defilement being the restoration of the sanctuary to its rightful state, we are in need of a fresh scenario.⁶⁵

It is presently unclear from which direction such important additional research is likely to take place. For example, should clusters of biblical scholars in or across university schools/faculties of religion be encouraged to

work in this direction? Or should we look for initiative to be taken by a centralized body such as the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference? Could there be a place for the convening, by loyal bodies of Adventist laity (the Association of Adventist Forums comes to mind), of research groups of committed Adventist biblical scholars? Offered a secure atmosphere in which to work, our scholars, in whatever setting, are well placed to build upon the epochal findings of the Sanctuary Review Committee, and to lead us further into this important and sensitive field of study, whether the time it takes is short or long.⁶⁶

Our stated purpose in the present discussion has been to inquire whether attempts have been made, at official church levels, to adjust/change the teachings supporting the sanctuary doctrinal pillar, and with what results. If the present discussion has moved along sound lines, we may answer affirmatively. In looking into the *QoD* discussions of the 1950s and the Glacier View deliberations of 1980, we have discovered a number of important updates. And such update/change has come through with minimal upset to individual and corporate imaginative vision(s). Viewed in the light of the furthering of the gospel commission, these changes may be seen as placing the church on vantage ground.

Through it all, I want to advocate that, as a prophetic movement, we owe a debt of gratitude to the *QoD* conferees of the 1950s and to the 114 stalwarts of the 1980 Glacier View convocation. They came up with adjustments to the historic interpretations of the Adventist sanctuary teaching and they did so with respect and consideration. And, in the process, their far-reaching findings of two score years ago (and more) have offered us the nucleus of a fresh corporate vision centered on the person of Jesus, our “anointed Prince.”

Endnotes

1. W. B. Yeats (1865–1939): “He wishes for the cloths of heaven.”
2. Howard Jacobsen interviews Mary Midgley in the BBC production: “The Bible as History: Creation,” January 2010. (*Imaginative*, as used in the above context, has the sense of creative cognitive composition aimed at deepening understanding of reality, with parables a prime example. By way of contrast, *imaginary* may refer to objects/events unrelated to reality.)
3. M. Midgley, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1.
4. M. Midgley, *Evolution as a Religion* (London: Methuen, 1985), 13–15.
5. R. Hammill, Unpublished paper, “Reflections on the Adventist Typological Interpretations of the Mosaic Tabernacle and its Cultus” (January 1990), 22.

6. We do not need to be reminded of the command to love the Lord “with all your mind” (Mark 12:30). Helmut Thielicke (1908–1986) has pictured the situation like this: “Jesus Christ wants me totally. He wants me to belong to Him with more than my conscience, my emotions, and my anxieties: he wants my reason, my knowledge, and all the areas of my consciousness, as well. But if I have to repress or suppress anything that I as a scientist or historian know, if I run to meet him with a mind that is not awake and intact and able to say, ‘Here you have me with all I am and have, including my knowledge and my reason,’ then I do not belong to Him totally. At most I am placing at His disposal only a part of me—my religiosity or my pious feelings. Jesus Christ, though, wants all or nothing.” Helmut Thielicke, *How Modern Should Theology Be?* (Philadelphia: Collins Fontana Books, 1969), 15, 16.

7. It is understood that ultimate change to the church’s fundamental beliefs can only be made at convened, world-wide sessions of the General Conference. Updates discussed at other times may further the understanding of church doctrines but are to be regarded in no way as binding on the church.

8. Grammatically, the horn could be pictured as coming either from one of the four horns or from one of the four winds. Coming from one of the horns is preferred here in view of the incongruity of having a horn coming from a wind and of the angel’s interpretation in 8:22, 23.

9. While the term “historic” is widely employed in Adventist parlance and publications to describe long-standing doctrinal teachings, it may be pointed out that such usage is not close to leading dictionary specifications. Merriam-Webster, for example, defines “historic” as “famous or important in history” such as “historic battlefield.” For its part, Cambridge gives “important or likely to be important in history,” such as “historic day.” The term “traditional” (“used by the people in a particular group, family, society, etc., for a long time”—M-W) may be closer to the use understood by Adventists in referring to long-standing doctrinal teachings. However, in that the present paper is written for Adventists and “historic” is used consistently in a prominent Adventist source referred to in the present paper, this term is retained as communicating effectively in the present context.

10. See George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2010), 13.

11. Kai Arasola, *The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament*, (University of Uppsala, c.1990), 35–41.

12. Knight, *William Miller*, 14.

13. Knight, 30–34.

14. Arasola, *End of Historicism*, 100.

15. Arasola, 52.

16. Knight, *William Miller*, 14–20.

17. It was discovered that, in adding 2,300 to 457 BC, they had not allowed correctly for crossing from BC to AD time—so that they were out by one year and the terminus year should be 1844 not 1843.

18. Hiram Edson is said to have written out the account by hand and this was not fully to appear in print until the publishing of the *Review and Herald* on June 23, 1921, pp. 4, 5. The piece is reprinted in Paul A. Gordon, *The Sanctuary, 1844 and the Pioneers* (Silver Spring, MD: The Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2000), 24, 25.

19. Arthur W. Spalding, *Captains of the Host: First Volume of a History of Seventh-day Adventists Covering the Years 1845–1900* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949), 99.

20. Knight, *William Miller*, 261, 262.

21. See Knight, 264.

22. Highly gifted both poetically and musically, F. E. Belden was known to compose words and music for a hymn to the theme of a sermon while it was being preached.

23. William G. Turner, “Christ, Our Intercessor and Coming King,” *Australasian Record*, May 2, 1938, 2–4. William H. Branson made a related point: “a man’s being reckoned guilty or innocent will depend entirely upon whether he has kept the whole law.” “A Christian who through faith in Jesus Christ has faithfully kept the law’s requirements will be acquitted; there is no condemnation, for the law finds no fault in him. If, on the other hand, it is found that one has broken even a single precept, and this transgression is unconfessed, he will be dealt with just as if he had broken all ten.” *Drama of the Ages* (Warburton, Victoria, Australia: Signs Publishing Company, n.d.), 350.

24. *Bible Readings for the Home Circle: A Topical Study of the Bible, Systematically Arranged for Home and Private Study*, New, Revised, and Enlarged Edition (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2010 [1920]), 240.

25. The golden mercy seat was the lid of the ark, the box that carried a number of sacred items: the tables of stone on which the Decalogue had been inscribed; a pot of manna, commemorating the food provided six mornings in the week during the wilderness wanderings; and the budded rod of Aaron, giving God’s authentication of the high-priesthood of Aaron, the brother of Moses. Between the two golden angels situated at each end of the mercy seat appeared the light of the Shekinah, the representation of the presence of God.

26. William H. Branson, *In Defense of the Faith: The Truth about Seventh-day Adventists: A Reply to Canright* (Takoma Park, Washington, DC: 1933), 287.

27. See *Bible Readings for the Home Circle*, 241.

28. Acts 7:56.

29. Hebrews 1:3.

30. W. H. Branson was president of the General Conference from 1950–1954.

31. William H. Branson, *The Atonement in the Light of God’s Sanctuaries*. (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, c. 1935), 40, 41.

32. It seems to have escaped Branson that Jesus, in the vision of Revelation 1, explains that “the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches” (Revelation 1:20), rather than the candlesticks in the holy place of the heavenly sanctuary.

33. Branson, *In Defense of the Faith*, 280, 281. Earlier, James White had taken the approach that Jesus could be in the presence of God while in the first apartment on the understanding that “God’s throne is above the cherubims, and His glory can be seen from either side of the second veil [sic].” *The Present Truth*, May 1850, quoted in Gordon, *The Sanctuary*, 55.

34. Three prominent church ministers who raised their voices against the historic interpretation of the sanctuary teaching are Albion Fox Ballenger (1861–1921), William Warde Fletcher (1879–1947), and Desmond Ford (1928–2019).

35. For the purposes of the present paper, the immediate post-war years have been chosen as a cut-off period for distinguishing between the historic interpretation of the sanctuary doctrine and later interpretations. This allows, from the mid-century, for the extended influence of an augmented body of Adventist scholars with advanced biblical training.

36. Walter Martin, *The Rise of the Cults* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1955), 12.

37. Frequently, the submissions were question clusters, rather than individual questions. This allowed for the inquirers to probe the issues more closely.

38. The events surrounding the *Questions on Doctrine* interchange are well covered in several sources: T. E. Unruh, “The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences of 1955–1956” in *Adventist Heritage* 4 (Winter, 1977), 35–46; Walter Martin interview, *Adventist Currents* (July 1983), 15–29; *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, Annotated Edition with Notes with Historical and Theological

Introduction by George R. Knight (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2002), xiii–xxxvi.

39. *Seventh-day Adventists Answer* (known generally by its shorter title, *Questions on Doctrine* or *QoD*) (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1957), 267. (Emphasis in the original).

40. *Questions on Doctrine*, 227.

41. *Questions on Doctrine*, 276.

42. By 1988, William Holladay had translated and edited Koehler and Baumgartner's 1971 *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans), with *shabua'* given somewhat flexibly as "unit (period) of seven:—I. seven days, **a week** Dn 9²⁷" (358). Similarly, Douglas Stott's 2004 translation of Botterweck, Ringgren and Fabry's 1993 *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* Vol. XIV (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans) gives "'unit of seven, week,' . . . a denominated [designated/named] abstraction deriving from the cardinal number" (341). Still more recently, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, ed. David Clines (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011) offers "**week, period of seven days**" and, specifically related to Daniel 9, "**period of seven years**, i.e. seventh part of a jubilee" illustrated as "*from the issuance of the word . . . until (the time of) the anointed leader is seven periods of seven years* Dn 9²⁵" (226). (Bold print in each of the above quotations is in the original.)

43. H. Ross Cole, "The Shabuum of Daniel 9:24–27—Weeks, Sevens or Weeks of Years" in *Davaria* (Pacific Adventist University, 2014, 2[1]), 62–69. (See <http://www.pau.ac.pg/davaria>).

44. Before we leave the findings and arguments of *QoD*, an observation may be made regarding the objections that surfaced concerning certain elements of the book's theology. We do well to ask if the meaning of the key Hebrew term *shabua'* was amongst the matters objected to by Milian Lauritz Andreasen (1876–1962), Adventist theologian and former Washington seminary professor (1938–1949). In fact, he disapproved of "only those sections that dealt with the atonement and the related subject of the human nature of Christ." *Questions on Doctrine*, xxvi.

45. The immediate catalyst for the convening of this unprecedented gathering was a Forum presentation by influential Australian biblical scholar, Dr Desmond Ford, on October 27, 1979, at Angwin, California.

46. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary" *Ministry*, October 1980: 16-ii (that is, page 16, column 2).

47. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 18-iii.

48. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 18-ii.

49. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 18-ii.

50. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 18-ii, iii.

51. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 18-iii.

52. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 19-i.

53. Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of Fundamental Doctrines*, 2nd edition (2005), 362.

54. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 17-iii.

55. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 17-iii.

56. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 17-iii.

57. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 18-i.

58. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 17-iii.

59. "Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," 16-i.

60. Still earlier, Arthur Whitefield Spalding (1877–1953) had emphasised the symbolic nature of the sanctuary and its rituals: "The two apartments, the holy and the most holy, and all the furniture in the earthly sanctuary were symbolic of the work of the heavenly sanctuary." "We speak of all this in the language of men; for only so,

by symbol and speech, could God convey any idea to men of the great work of the atonement and judgment. . . . the holy place and the most holy—not rooms as we conceive them but the ineffable abode of the great God and His ministering spirits." Arthur W. Spalding, *Captains of the Host* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949), 101, 103.

61. Lawrence Geraty, a participant in the drafting process of the range of fundamentals both before and during the Dallas General Conference session, gives a revealing account of the stages through which the formative documents passed. See "A New Statement of Fundamental Beliefs," *Spectrum* 11, no. 1 (1980).

62. Ten years after the Glacier View conference, Richard Hammill, one of its conveners, expressed his disapproval of using the Mosaic sanctuary as "a prefiguring or a predetermining" of the heavenly sanctuary. Further, he argued convincingly that Moses on the mountain was shown not the heavenly sanctuary itself or a model of it, but a blueprint or an architect's drawing. He concluded that "the architecture and services of the Mosaic tabernacle are in no way definitive for the make up or service of the heavenly sanctuary introduced in the New Testament Book of Hebrews." He claimed, as well, that the "Adventist teaching of the investigative judgement and of the final eradication of sin from the universe are not dependent on the existence of two divisions or two holy places in the heavenly sanctuary." Hammill, "Reflections," 15-17, 20.

63. Significantly, in its turn, the Glacier View Sanctuary Review Committee, while bypassing central elements of the early sanctuary teaching, proceeded to bring together the beginnings of a new imaginative vision firmly based on authentic translations of the original languages and on faithful attention to actual context.

63. Richard L. Hammill, letter to Harry W. Lowe, September 18, 1980 (dictated August 20, 1980).

65. For example, what might this sanctuary restoration in Daniel 8:14 involve—both in heaven and on earth? And what was to be the fate of the [trampling] little horn at the close of the 2,300 days? Has it already taken place—or is it still future, as for the judgment of the [boastful] little horn of Daniel 7?

66. Looking back to Glacier View from a 1990 vantage point, Richard Hammill was not optimistic of a speedy consummation of the research assignment in his own day, advising that "[i]t is inappropriate . . . to talk in terms of trying to get our church to revise its official statement on [sic] sanctuary doctrine." He raised, in this context, the call for further work to be done by our biblical scholars who "need to probe more deeply into the intricacies of Daniel 8 and 9." R. Hammill, *op cit.*, 22.



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Grace's Story: *for Jimmie Lee Jackson*

RAMONA L. HYMAN

February 26, 1965:

When Jesus caught up with Grace
She was sitting on the steps of the
shack-house—Broomstick resting on her lap
A bleeding cross around her neck
Her blood shot eyes were traveling up
Heaven met her half-way
She whispers—Jesus

*Did you know Jimmie Lee Jackson?
Your deacon at the St. James Baptist Church
Cager's grandson, Viola's boy
Was shot down right there in Mack's Cafe
Old Fowler stole the boy's life
I'm marching in honor of
Jimmie Lee Jackson
Need to hug him healed in my head*

When Jesus met Grace
She was leaning on the broom
Cross hanging from her neck—dripping blood
She's walking to Selma on to Montgomery
For Jimmie Lee Jackson
Like Jesus walked on water

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RAMONA L. HYMAN, PHD, writer, speaker, professor, serves as department chair and professor of English at Oakwood University.