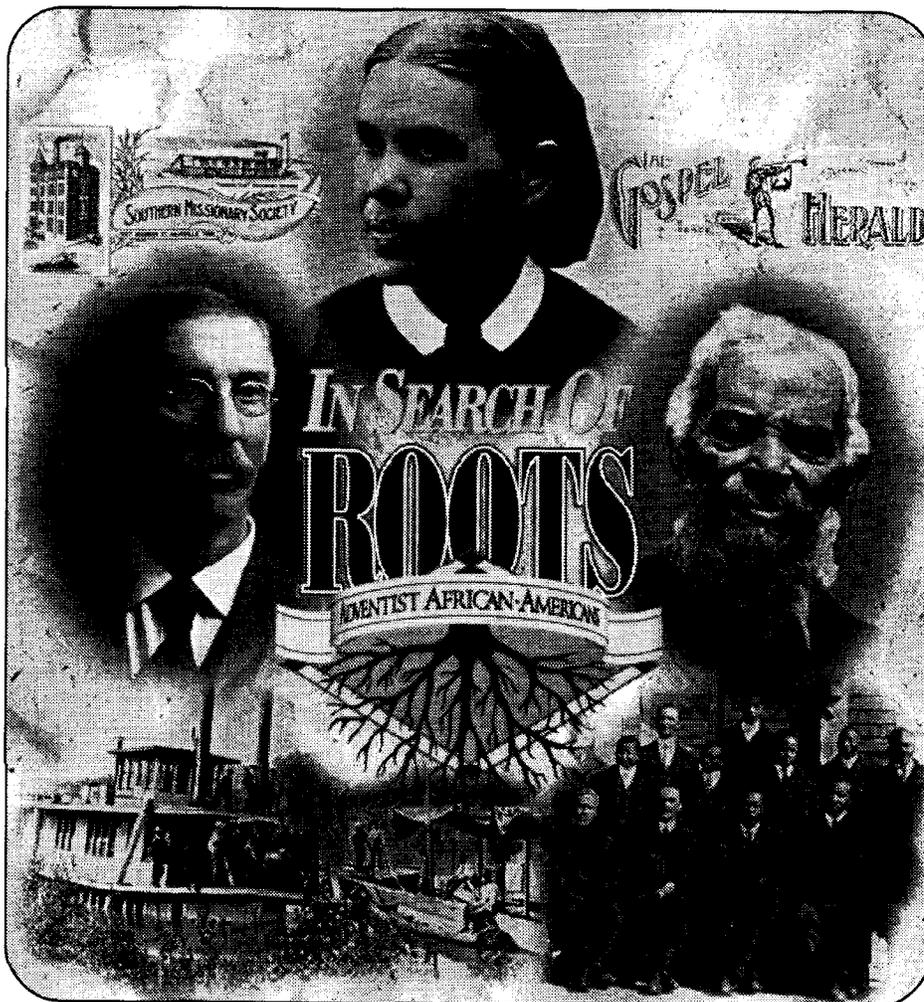


TELLING THE STORY

An Anthology on the Development of the Black SDA Work



**A Collection of Historical Documents, Articles, and Visuals
on Selected Topics Relevant to the Black SDA Work**

**Compiled by
Delbert W. Baker, Ph.D.**

*In Cooperation with the
Black Caucus of SDA Administrators*

Printed 1996 (Second Printing, March)
In cooperation with the
Black Caucus of SDA Administrators
Atlanta, Georgia, and Nashville, Tennessee

The anthology, *TELLING THE STORY*, is a collection of more than 100 selected documents and materials that cover approximately 150 years of Black Seventh-day Adventism. This is a representative collection of literature in the area of Black SDA history. For purposes of authenticity, whenever possible, materials were left in their original form. Suggestions and comments are welcomed for future editions. For more information write P.O. Box 1540, Loma Linda, California 92354.

This anthology of more than 100 selected historical documents was:
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FOREWORD To the First Edition

This period (1995-97) marks the 50th anniversary of the beginning of Regional Conferences (1945-47). Although the establishment of Regional Conferences is one of the most significant developments in Black SDA history, it is a part of a larger spiritual heritage. God's providence in the history of how Black people have helped to build and support the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church—in spite of incredible odds—is inspirational and miraculous. It is a story that needs to be told and retold. *Telling the Story* is the purpose of this anthology.

According to prophetic literature, the work among Black people is under a divine mandate. Ellen White wrote in *Southern Work* that as surely as God led the Israelites out of Egypt, so He led the Black race out of slavery. Then, to further note His continuing providence she added that it was “His desire to work still further for them” and lead them into a knowledge of His truth (p. 42). As surely as God was with the Jews in the Exodus and beyond, so He was with Black people in the Emancipation and beyond. It is a wonderful story. It is the intent of the Black Caucus of SDA Administrators to facilitate *Telling the Story* of the Black SDA work in a variety of ways—through videos, oral history, conference-wide programs, and projects like this literary anthology.

There are many other reasons for an anthology of articles and documents. One obvious reason is to make the materials readily available to the interested reader. Often after I make public presentations, teach a class, or conduct a workshop, people ask for copies referred to. While I would cite the reference, in many cases the person was not able to easily acquire the document(s). One of the questions most frequently asked is “how can I get a copy of that document?” So this anthology will effectively make these documents more readily accessible in a permanent and convenient form.

This collection is composed of more than 100 selected historical articles, book chapters, essays, monographs, supporting original documents, charts, models, position papers, outlines, and visuals. Many of the documents are out of print or were never published. Due to space considerations, many of the materials were printed here in a reduced form. In most cases; legibility is not a problem. Each of the five sections is separately paged to allow for additions in the future. While it does not claim to be exhaustive, this collection is definitely representative of historical literature in the respective areas.

The materials have been written by scholars, pastors, administrators, and laypersons over a period of more than 150 years. Several writers may have a different perspective of the same event or issue. However, this allows the reader to see the breadth of opinion on a given topic. Whenever possible, sources and writers have been fully credited. If the original source is still in print, the reader is encouraged to purchase the publication. The writers and originating organizations are appreciated for their insights.

The materials in this anthology are organized under the following topical sections:

- Telling the Story . . .*
- Section 1: About the Black Work**
 - Section 2: About Regional Conferences**
 - Section 3: About Ellen White, Race Relations, and Black People**
 - Section 4: About Pioneers of the Black Work**
 - Section 5: About Issues in the Black Work**

It is the sincere desire of the compiler and the Black Caucus of SDA Administrators that this anthology will be an inspiration and blessing as one studies and traces God's providential leadings in the development of the Black work. Further, may this collection motivate and inspire others to continue to research and write in the important area of Black SDA history. As this anthology will be revised from time to time, suggestions for improvement and inclusion of other helpful materials are welcomed.

Delbert W. Baker, Ph.D., M.Div.
Loma Linda University
March, 1996

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TELLING THE STORY...

SECTION 1: ABOUT THE BLACK WORK

“In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans,” *Adventist Review*, February, 1993,
 Delbert W. Baker:
 Part 1: “Exploring the History” (p. 4), Feb. 4, 1993. 1/2
 Part 2: “The Crucial Year” (p. 11), Feb. 11, 1993 1/5
 Part 3: “A Providential Story” (p. 18), February 18, 1993. 1/8
 Part 4: “Evangelism Nurtures Growth and Challenges” (p. 25),
 February 25, 1993 1/11
 “Our Duty to the Colored People,” *Southern Work* (pp. 9-18), 1966 reprint,
 Ellen G. White (edited by James Edson White). 1/14
 “101 Facts About Blacks and the Regional Work in the SDA Movement,”
Message Magazine, 1990, Black Caucus of SDA Administrators. 1/20
 “New Trails in the Old West,” *We Have Tomorrow* (pp. 171-189), 1984,
 Louis B. Reynolds 1/24
 Spiritual: “I Got a Home in Dat Rock.”. 1/33
 “Major Developments in the Early Black SDA Work (1890-1910) Resulting From
 Ellen White’s Direct or Indirect Influence”—Chart, 1993, Delbert W. Baker. 1/34
 “Into the Southland,” *Origin and History of SDAs*, Vol. 1 (pp. 167-190),
 Arthur W. Spalding. 1/35
 “Entering a Neglected Field,” *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (pp. 233-249), 1979,
 R.W. Schwarz. 1/47
 “The Southern Missionary Society and the Subsequent Merger into the Southern
 Union (1898-1901)”—Chart, 1993, Delbert W. Baker. 1/56
 “American Negro Evangelism,” *Origin and History of SDAs*, Vol. 2 (pp. 341-352),
 Arthur W. Spalding. 1/57
 Spiritual: “Who’ll Be a Witness for My Lord?” 1/63
 “Blacks,” *Seeking A Sanctuary* (pp. 192-206), 1989, Malcolm Bull and
 Keith Lockhart. 1/64
 “Adventism’s Rainbow Coalition,” (pp. 60-82), Chapter 2 by Roy Branson,
 1995, *Make Us One*. 1/71
 Spiritual: “Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jerico.”. 1/82
 “Ministering to Minorities,” *Origin and History of SDAs*, Vol. 3 (pp. 311-332),
 1962, Arthur W. Spalding. 1/83
 “Organizational Development Model of the Black SDA Work (1860s to 1990s),”
 1993, Delbert W. Baker. 1/94
 “Ellen G. White’s Influence on SDA Approaches to Race Relations,” *Ellen White
 Co-Founder of the SDA Church*, (pp. 223-296), 1985, Roy E. Graham. 1/95
 “A Short History of the Work Among the Negroes in North America Before 1909,”
 Academic Manuscript, 1932, Harold D. Singleton. 1/132
 “Reports on the Southern Missionary Society and the Southern Work,” *The Gospel
 Herald*, October, 1900, James Edson White and F. R. Rogers. 1/154
 “Report on the Southern Field,” *General Conference Bulletin*, April 9, 1903,
 George I. Butler. 1/162

SECTION 2: ABOUT REGIONAL CONFERENCES

“Regional Conferences: 50 Years of Progress,” *Adventist Review* (pp. 11-15),
 November, 1995. Delbert W. Baker 2/2

Telling the Story...

“Events Leading to the Establishment of Regional Conferences,”—Chart, July 18, 1995, Delbert W. Baker	2/7
“C.M. Kinny’s Statement on the Concept of Regional Conferences,” General Conference Archives, October 2, 1889	2/8
“Shall the Four Freedoms Function Among Seventh-day Adventists?” Committee for the Advancement of World-Wide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists, April, 1944, Joseph T. Dodson.	2/10
“G.E. Peters’ Statement on Organization of Negro Conferences,” <i>Organization of Negro Conferences</i> , Book I, Spring Council, April 8, 1944, Oakwood College	2/17
“Regional Affairs, Office of, and Regional Conferences,” <i>SDA Encyclopedia</i> , 1976, Vol. 10 (pp. 1191-1196).	2/18
“Seventh-day Adventist Historical Highlights,” <i>Adventist Review</i> (p. 31), 1983.	2/24
“The First Steps in Black Leadership,” <i>Righteous Rebel</i> (134-141), 1990, Walter W. Fordham.	2/25
“They Without Us Shall Not Be Made Perfect,” <i>Go On!</i> (pp. 99-106), 1994, Calvin B. Rock	2/29
“A Celebration of the Pioneers and Progress of Regional Conferences,” <i>Message Magazine</i> , Special Supplement, 1995, Delbert W. Baker and Charles E. Dudley (contributors).	2/33
“Regional Conferences,” <i>Angels in Ebony</i> (pp. 43-64), 1975, Jacob Justiss.	2/37
“Do We Still Need Regional (Black) Conferences?” Southwest Regional Conference Helvius L. Thompson, 1995.	2/49
“Separate Conferences--A Road to Fellowship,” <i>We Have Tomorrow</i> (pp. 293-322), 1984, Louis B. Reynolds	2/57
Spiritual: “Roll Jordan, Roll.”	2/72
“Historic Meeting in Chicago--Organization of Regional Conferences--Bricks Without Straw,” <i>Righteous Rebel</i> (pp. 78-83), 1990, Walter W. Fordham	2/73
Negro Anthem: “Lift Ev’ry Voice and Sing.”	2/76

SECTION 3: ABOUT ELLEN WHITE, RACE RELATIONS, AND BLACK PEOPLE

“Tension Between the Races,” <i>The World of Ellen G. White</i> , Chapter 3 (pp. 47-60), 1987, Norman K. Miles.	3/2
Spiritual: “Swing Low Sweet Chariot.”	3/9
“Guiding Principles in Race Relations,” Ellen G. White Estate File: WDF 411A, Arthur L. White	3/10
“Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?” part I <i>Review and Herald</i> (pp. 2-3), April 9, 1970, Roy Branson.	3/22
“Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?” part II (Slavery and Prophecy), <i>Review and Herald</i> (pp. 7-9), April 16, 1970, Roy Branson.	3/24
Spiritual: “Many Thousand Gone.”	3/26
“Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?” part III (The Crisis of the Nineties), <i>Review and Herald</i> (pp. 4-6), April 23, 1970, Roy Branson.	3/27
“A Plea for Objectivity” (editorial), <i>Review and Herald</i> (pp. 11-12), April 9, 1970, Kenneth H. Wood.	3/30
“An Example in History,” <i>Review and Herald</i> , December 17, 1895, Ellen G. White.	3/31
“Ellen White’s Communication Frequency on the Black Work During It’s Early Progressive Period: A Model,” (1891-1910), 1993, Delbert W. Baker	3/34
“Ellen White on Racial Equality,” <i>E.G. White and Church Race Relations</i> (pp. 108-113), Ronald Graybill	3/35

Telling the Story...

“Conclusions,” <i>E.G. White and Church Race Relations</i> (pp. 115-118), Ronald Graybill	3/38
“Possible Conflicts Over the Racial Situation,” Ellen G. White Estate File: WDF 408-f.	3/40
“The Race War Question: Its Relevance Today” part I, <i>Adventist Review</i> (pp. 12-14), January 16, 1986, Delbert W. Baker.	3/44
“Race War Predictions Reach Fulfillment” part II, <i>Adventist Review</i> (pp. 12-13), January 23, 1986, Delbert W. Baker.	3/47
“A Statement on Ellen G. White’s Use of the Term Race War,” Ellen G. White Estate, Document File (Monograph) 1983, Delbert W. Baker.	3/49
“Comments on the Ellen G. White Statements Relative to the Revival of Slavery,” Ellen G. White Estate File: WDF 408-f.	3/75
Spiritual: “Down in the Valley.”	3/86

SECTION 4: ABOUT PIONEERS OF THE BLACK WORK

“William Foy: Messenger to the Advent Believers,” <i>Adventist Review</i> (pp. 8-10), January 14, 1988, Delbert W. Baker.	4/2
“An Overview of the Life and Ministry of William Ellis Foy--Multicultural Roots of the Advent Movement: A Case Study,” 1988, Delbert W. Baker.	4/5
Photograph of William E. Foy gravestone.	4/9
“Arthur L. White on William Ellis Foy,” Ellen G. White Estate File: DF 231-1.	4/10
“William Foy - A Statement by Ellen G. White” (from an interview with D.E. Robinson about 1912), Ellen G. White Estate File: DF 231-2, 1912	4/13
“A Comparison of Two Prophets,” <i>The Unknown Prophet</i> (pp. 147-153, 158), Delbert W. Baker.	4/15
<i>The Christian Experience of William E. Foy</i> , Ellen G. White Estate File: DF 231, 1845, William E. Foy.	4/19
“Bound for Glory,” <i>Adventist Review</i> , December, 1994, Walter L. Pearson, Jr.	4/29
“The Abolitionist--Millerite Connection,” <i>The Disappointed</i> (pp. 139-152), 1987, Ronald D. Graybill.	4/32
“Edson White’s Southern Work Remembered,” <i>Southern Tidings</i> , October, 1995, R. Steven Norman III.	4/39
“The Morning Star Missionaries in Vicksburg,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> (pp. 25-43), unpublished dissertation, 1942, Otis B. Edwards.	4/41
“Letter from James Edson White to Ellen G. White: On the Conditions of the Southern Field,” June 26, 1900, Ellen G. White Estate File	4/51
“Ellen White on the Gospel and The Needs of the Southern Field,” (letter from Ellen White to James Edson and Emma White, July 31, 1901).	4/68
Spiritual: “Steel Away to Jesus.”	4/72
“Action Principles for the Development of the Black Work in the South: A Spirit of Prophecy Blueprint Model,” 1993, Delbert W. Baker.	4/73
“Charles M. Kinny,” <i>A Star Gives Light: Seventh-day Adventist, African-American Heritage</i> (pp. 23-26), Norwida A. Marshall and R. Steven Norman III, editors	4/76
“Appeal Letter from C.M. Kinny to the readers of the <i>Review and Herald</i> , December 21, 1890, General Conference Archives	4/80
C.M. Kinny obituary, <i>Review and Herald</i> Sept. 27, 1951.	4/81
“Eighty Years of Adventism,” a narrative by Elder H.D. Singleton, 1995.	4/82
“Story of Anna Knight” (as told to A. W. Spalding in Atlanta, Georgia, Nov. 19, 22, 1914), Ellen G. White Estate File: DF 372-1, 1914	4/85
Spiritual: “We’ll Soon Be Free.”	4/91

Telling the Story...

“The Southern Union Conference and Local Organizations,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> (see highlights on Anna Knight on p. 59 of original document), unpublished dissertation, 1942, Otis B. Edwards.	4/92
Spiritual: “My Way’s Cloudy.”	4/94
Sustentation record of Alphonso Barry, General Conference Archives.	4/95
Obituary of Alphonso Barry, General Conference Archives.	4/95
“Letter from A.J. Haysmer to W.C. White,” (December 21, 1909), Ellen G. White Estate.	4/96
“Reply Letter from W.C. White to A.J. Haysmer,” January 5, 1910, Ellen G. White Estate.	4/96
“Key Persons and Institutions in the Development of the Black SDA Church in America,” 1996, Delbert W. Baker.	4/98

SECTION 5: ABOUT ISSUES IN THE BLACK WORK

“Adventists and Race Relations,” <i>Adventist Review</i> (pp. 14-18), January 11, 1990, Warren S. Banfield.	5/2
“An Appeal to the Leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,” General Conference Archives, 1965, Charles E. Bradford.	5/7
“The Civil War Vision, The Veil--January 12, 1861,” <i>The Great Visions of Ellen G. White</i> (pp. 76-89), 1992, Robert W. Coon.	5/14
“The Appeal of SDA Teachings to the Freed Slave,” 1995, Delbert W. Baker.	5/21
“A Reason, An Excuse, and a Beginning,” <i>Lights and Shades in the Black Belt</i> , unpublished book manuscript, Ellen G. White Estate File: 376, Arthur W. Spalding	5/22
Spiritual: “My Army Cross Over.”	5/30
“Organization,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> , unpublished dissertation, 1942, Otis B. Edwards.	5/31
“A Progress Report Letter of the Southern Work” (written by Edward A. Sutherland to Ellen G. White), April 25, 1899, Ellen G White Estate File	5/32
“Financial Statement of the Southern Missionary Society,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> unpublished dissertation, 1942 (pp. 222-223), Otis B. Edwards	5/35
“The Evolution of the <i>Gospel Herald</i> to the <i>Message Magazine</i> (1898-1934),”—Chart, 1993, Delbert W. Baker	5/36
“Announcement of 1896-97 Oakwood Industrial School,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> unpublished dissertation, 1942 (pp. 265-267), Otis B. Edwards	5/37
Spiritual: “I Thank God I’m Free at Las.”	5/38
“Oakwood Junior College: Religious Life,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> unpublished dissertation, 1942 (pp. 181-184), Otis B. Edwards.	5/39
“Mrs. White Visits Oakwood in 1904,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference</i> unpublished dissertation, 1942 (pp. 169-172), Otis B. Edwards	5/41
“Early Health Institutions,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Health Message Among Negroes</i> , unpublished dissertation, 1945 (pp. 24-40), Jacob Justiss.	5/43

Telling the Story...

“Riverside Sanitarium: Early History,” <i>Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Health Message Among Negroes</i> , unpublished dissertation, 1945 (pp. 42-52), Jacob Justiss.	5/52
“A Better Way,” <i>Angels in Ebony</i> (pp. 136-144), 1975, Jacob Justiss	5/58
Spiritual: “Go Down, Moses.”	5/62
“The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists,” <i>Adventist Heritage</i> (Vol. 1, No.1), January, 1974, Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl.	5/63
“Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey,” General Conference of SDA, (circa. 1930-31), J.L. McElhany, Vice President of the General Conference for North America--authorized signing representative.	5/73
Spiritual: “Deep River.”	5/86
“A Better Way,” <i>Spectrum</i> (pp. 21-30), Spring, 1970, Calvin B. Rock	5/87
“Commitment vs. Capitulation,” <i>Spectrum</i> (pp. 31-40), Spring, 1970, Frank W. Hale, Jr.	5/92
“Regional Union Conferences,” <i>Spectrum</i> (pp. 41-46), Spring, 1970, E. Earl Cleveland	5/97
“A Christian Declaration on Race Relations,” <i>Spectrum</i> (pp. 53-55), Spring, 1970, Southern New England Conference of SDA session, March 1, 1970	5/100
Spiritual: “Ride In, Kind Saviour.”	5/101
“Black Power and Christianity,” <i>Spectrum</i> , Vol. 2. No. 2, Spring, 1970, Emory J. Tolbert.	5/102
“Twisted Roots: The Curse of Ham,” <i>Roots, Race and Religion</i> (pp. 11-16), Vol. 2, 1988, W.R. Robinson.	5/105
“Roots of Ham,” <i>Roots, Race and Religion</i> (pp. 17-21), Vol. 2, 1988, W.R. Robinson.	5/108
Spiritual: “Down in the Valley.”	5/110
“Insights on Blacks,” <i>Message Magazine</i> , Special Supplement, 1987, J. Paul Monk, Jr.	5/111
“A 1992 Regional Conference/World Division Tithe Comparison,” NAD Office of Human Relations, 1992, Harold Lee.	5/114
“Longevity: Ritual or Spiritual” (editorial), <i>Message Magazine</i> , Special Supplement, September/October, 1994, Stephen P. Ruff	5/116
“After 50 Years” (editorial), <i>Adventist Review</i> , November, 1995, William G. Johnsson	5/117
“The Morning Star: 100 Years of Miracles and Mission” (editorial), <i>Southern Tidings</i> , October, 1995, Malcolm D. Gordon.	5/118
“Resources for Diversity: Inspired Counsel,” <i>Make Us One</i> , 1995, Delbert W. Baker.	5/119
Spiritual: “We’ll Soon Be Free.”	5/129
“Triumph Over Trials,” <i>Message Magazine</i> , (Selected) Black history/Special souvenir issue, 1989.	5/130

SOURCES AND RESOURCES

Spirituals, History of.	SR/2
Bibliography.	SR/5

READER RESPONSE

Resource Recommendation Form

ORDER FORM

SECTION 1: *TELLING THE STORY . . .*

About the Black Work

“But let justice run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream.”

Amos 5:24 (NKJV)

The Black work¹ in the SDA Church is repeatedly punctuated by divine providence and miraculous interventions. From the beginning of the Millerite movement to the early days of the SDA movement, it has been clear that it was God’s intent that Black people² would play a significant role in the spreading of the Gospel. But the Church was slow in responding to the challenge of taking the Gospel to all the world—in particular, that is, evangelizing the five million freed slaves in the southern part of the United States. In spite of the hesitation and delay, as a result of the counsel of Ellen White and the efforts of other courageous men and women, the work moved forward! Remarkable progress occurred in spite of obstacles and incredible odds. The writings in this section emphasize a part of that progress.

CONTENT

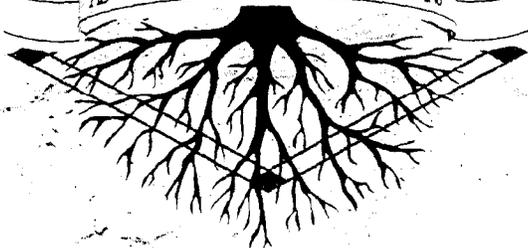
“In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans,” Delbert W. Baker:	
Part 1: “Exploring the History.”	1/2
Part 2: “The Crucial Year.”	1/5
Part 3: “A Providential Story”	1/8
Part 4: “Evangelism Nurtures Growth and Challenges.”	1/11
“Our Duty to the Colored People,” Ellen White.	1/14
“101 Facts About Blacks and the Regional Work in the SDA Movement,” Black Caucus.	1/20
“New Trails in the Old West,” Louis B. Reynolds	1/24
Spiritual: “I Got a Home in Dat Rock.”	1/33
“Major Developments in the Early Black SDA Work, Delbert W. Baker.	1/34
“Into the Southland,” Arthur W. Spalding.	1/35
“Entering a Neglected Field,” R.W. Schwarz	1/47
“The Southern Missionary Society and the Subsequent Merger, Delbert W. Baker.	1/56
“American Negro Evangelism,” Arthur W. Spalding.	1/57
Spiritual: “Who’ll Be a Witness for My Lord?”	1/63
“Blacks,” Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart.	1/64
“Adventism’s Rainbow Coalition,” Roy Branson.	1/71
Spiritual: “Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jerico.”	1/82
“Ministering to Minorities,” Arthur W. Spalding.	1/83
“Organizational Development Model of the Black SDA Work,” Delbert W. Baker.	1/94
“Ellen G. White’s Influence on SDA Approaches to Race Relations,” Roy E. Graham.	1/95
“A Short History of the Work of SDAs Among the Negroes,” Harold D. Singleton.	1/132
Reports: Southern Missionary Society and Southern Field, <i>The Gospel Herald</i> , J.E. White and F.R. Rogers.	1/154
Report: Southern Union Conference, <i>General Conference Bulletin</i> , George O. Butler.	1/162

¹ In this anthology, *African Americans*, *Blacks*, *Black people*, and *Black race* are used interchangeably and refer to people of African descent in the United States.

² In this anthology, *Black work* refers to the establishment of an SDA presence and polity among African Americans in the United States through the means of evangelism, education, and missionary outreach.

PART ONE
**IN SEARCH OF
 ROOTS**

ADVENTIST AFRICAN-AMERICANS



Exploring the History of Adventist African-Americans in the United States

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

This article begins our four-part series providing a perspective for understanding the development of the work among African-Americans in the early history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The next two articles provide a framework for understanding the progress of the Black work, including the pivotal role of Ellen White and other church leaders. The last article examines the unique challenges now facing more than 220,000 African-American Adventists in North America.

The story of African-Americans in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America is one of drama, confrontation, and danger. When slavery officially ended, there was major work to be done in the South. Yet evil powers conspired to stop the advance of any work that might have improved life for a people deprived of basic rights for so long. One of the most successful methods was the stirring up of racial antagonism.

But in spite of the obstacles, church work among Black people flourished. African-American Adventists now represent one of the fastest-growing segments in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Many Adventists have never had the

opportunity to become culturally literate about Black Adventist history. This series may help fill that need. The following vignettes provide a window of light on the significant developments in Black history. The themes that follow will help us put in proper perspective these vignettes.

Black History Vignettes

In 1891 Ellen White delivered a historic presentation entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People." This watershed message to the General Conference session in Battle Creek was the first major appeal to the SDA Church on behalf of developing a systematic work for Black people in the South. Her words were instrumental in influencing her son James Edson White to dedicate his efforts to the work among Black people in the South.

James Edson White and the *Morning Star* steamboat. This Mississippi River steamboat steamed up and down the Mississippi waterways for close to a decade. The boat was privately owned by Edson White and began operating in 1894. Initially the *Morning Star* served as the headquarters of the Southern Missionary Society (c. 1895), an organization established by Edson

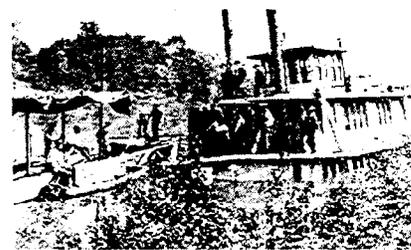
White for the development of church work among Blacks in the South. Leaders later accepted the society as a branch of the new Southern Union Conference. The *Morning Star* represents the first serious organized effort by Adventists for Black people.

The *Gospel Herald*, predecessor to *Message* magazine, was first printed aboard the *Morning Star*. Edited by Edson White, the *Gospel Herald* (1898-1923) chose as its objective the "reporting and promoting [of] the work among the Colored people in the South." This magazine now provides one of the most complete and reliable resources available on the early Adventist work among Blacks in the South.

Oakwood Industrial School (later Oakwood College, 1943) was established in 1896. This institution began in response to the appeals of Ellen White to develop a training center in the South for Black leaders. General Conference leadership purchased a 360-acre farm (the property later included 1,000 acres) about five miles north of Huntsville, Alabama. It was named Oakwood because of its 65 oaks.

Underground Railroad stations were run by early Adventist leaders. Church pioneers John Byington (later the first General Conference president) and John P. Kellogg (father of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg) are both believed to have operated stations for runaway slaves from their farms in New York and Michigan, respectively. They symbolize the strong antislavery activism of many early Adventists.

Sojourner Truth (Isabella Van Wagener), the famous abolitionist, was believed to be a Seventh-day Adventist—through the efforts of Uriah



The *Morning Star* riverboat was the center of church work for Blacks. Here it is (c. 1905) docked on the Yazoo River in Mississippi (from *Gospel Herald*, May 1905).



The Southern Missionary Society (logo shown) was the organizing body for the Black work until it merged with the Southern Union Conference in 1901.

Smith. Though her baptism by Smith is questioned by some historians, it is generally accepted that Sojourner Truth was acquainted with Advent teachings and accepted the Sabbath. She knew Ellen White, John Byington, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, and other prominent church leaders. She spoke at the Battle Creek Sanitarium and several other church gatherings. Her grave is in the Oak Hill Cemetery in Battle Creek, near the White family burial place.

William Ellis Foy, a Black minister, received visions prior to Hazen Foss and Ellen White. As a girl, Ellen White heard Foy speak in Portland, Maine, and later talked with him after receiving her first visions. She had a copy of Foy's four visions. She remarked, concerning his experience, "It was remarkable testimonies that he bore" (*Manuscript Releases*, vol. 17, p. 96).

Foy had a prophetic ministry of approximately two years (1842-1844), which was primarily targeted to early Adventist believers.

Black people in the Millerite movement played a significant part in the preaching of the soon coming of Christ. Prominent ministers such as William Still, Charles Bowles, William Foy, and John Lewis were coworkers with Millerite leaders William Miller, Joshua V. Himes, and others. Other prominent Black persons, including Frederick Douglass, were also acquainted with the Second Coming and other Advent teachings.

Charles Kinney, sometimes referred to as the father of Black Adventism, is believed to have been the first Black ordained Seventh-day Adventist minister. In Reno, Nevada, Kinney accepted the Adventist truth as a result of the preaching of John Loughborough and Ellen White. A colporteur, then preacher and evangelist, Kinney was ordained in 1889.

Kinney had a deep burden for his people. In an 1885 issue of the *Review and Herald*, he wrote: "I earnestly ask the prayers of all who wish to see the truth brought 'before many peoples . . .,' that I may have strength, physical, mental, and spiritual, to do what I can for the Colored people."

The concept of Black conferences was first suggested by Kinney when confronted by efforts to segregate him and his members at a camp meeting on the day of his ordination. He advocated Black conferences as a way to work more effectively among Blacks and to help ease the racial tensions in the church. By the time of his death he saw the Black membership in North America increase to more than 26,000.

Consistent growth of first Black churches. Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, became the location for the first Black Seventh-day Adventist church (1886), pastored by Harry Lowe, formerly a Baptist minister. The second Black Adventist congregation was established in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1890 with A. Barry as its first pastor. The third Black Adventist church was established in Bowling Green, Kentucky, in 1891. The fourth was established by C. M. Kinney in New Orleans in 1892. The fifth was organized in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1894. The first three and fifth churches were established in what is now the South Central Conference. The fourth church was established in what is now the Southwest Region Conference.

Ellen White stridently opposed slavery in all forms. Based on the principle of texts such as Deuteronomy 23:15, she advocated that Adventists violate the Fugitive Slave Law, which demanded the return of a runaway slave. In 1859 she wrote: "The law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating this law" (*Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 202). Later, in 1861, she received the his-

toric vision at Roosevelt, New York, that revealed the horrible curse and degradation of slavery. She declared that God was bringing judgment against America for "the high crime of slavery," and that God "will punish the South for the sin of slavery and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence" (*ibid.*, p. 264).

Leaders developed resources to direct the Black work. Primary among the resources were and are *The Southern Work* (a book first published in 1898 and 1901 aboard the *Morning Star*, and reissued in 1966), by Edson White, and *Testimonies for the Church*, volumes 7 (1902) and 9 (1909), by Ellen White. While by no means exhaustive (Ellen White literally has hundreds of pages of not-in-print materials concerning the Black work), these books contain messages that helped shape the Black work. Though these publications may contain statements that can be problematic when read out of context, they clearly indicate that Black church work was a priority with Ellen White.

Black History Themes

These vignettes provide some of the building blocks for understanding African roots in the Adventist Church. Equally important is the need to view Black Adventist history in the context of general church history. Five themes run throughout the Black history narrative. An understanding of these themes can help us better understand the inherent dynamics of Black Adventist history and to conceptually grasp how it meshes with Adventist history as a whole.

1. The development of the Black work was the providential outwork-



Workers in the Southeastern Union Conference in 1924.



William Foy's grave is located in the Birch Tree Cemetery in East Sullivan, Maine. On his gravestone is inscribed an epitaph: "I have fought a good fight . . ." (2 Tim. 4:7, 8).

ing of God's plan for Adventists to take the gospel to all the world. Never should the evolution of Black church work be viewed as the efforts of one race to paternalistically help another. As followers of Christ, Adventists were under a divine mandate to share the gospel with any and every person possible. It was an issue of spiritual duty and responsibility (Rev. 14:6). Ellen White repeatedly told church leaders that they were not fulfilling their mission if they didn't direct their efforts to the South. The profound needs of Blacks just out of slavery made the responsibility of sharing the gospel all the more urgent. In light of cultural selfishness and residual prejudices natural to the human heart, Adventists were challenged to see if the power of the gospel was able to stir up a love that would actively assist the oppressed and unfortunate.

2. From its beginning, God designed that the Seventh-day Adventist Church be multicultural and inclusive of all people.

This is evident from the very basis of the gospel commission and the three angels' messages, which are directed to all the world. God never considers one group of people to be superior to another. The message of Christ emphasizes unity and equality among all people. The Adventist Church was to model to the world not only the correct message but also the correct demonstration of that message.

3. Ellen White was the single most influential person in the Seventh-day Adventist Church to advocate the development of the Black work.

Ellen White can rightfully be called

the initiator of the Black work. No person had a greater impact on the inclusion and status of Black people in the Adventist Church; it is impossible to talk about Black Adventist history without constantly referring to her contributions. All significant workers in the early Black work, either directly or indirectly, pointed to either Ellen White or her writings as the source of their inspiration and guidance. There would have been little hope for the Black work had Ellen White not championed the cause.



Ellen G. White (1827-1915) became the foremost advocate of work among Blacks in the South.

Further, every member of the James and Ellen White family made some contribution to the development of the Black work. James White was the first General Conference president to issue a call for volunteers to work in the South. Ellen White advocated freedom for slaves and pushed for Adventist work among Black people, and she gave money and resources to build the Black work. Edson

White gave at least a decade of his life to building the Black work. William White, as his mother's assistant, supported her efforts on behalf of Blacks.

4. The Black work was instrumental in helping the Adventist Church mature in its outlook on multiculturalism.

Prior to the early 1870s Adventists confined their efforts primarily to the northern part of North America. However, when they did begin to consider a broader perspective for outreach effort, it was to Europe that their attention was turned. In 1874 John N. Andrews went to Switzerland as the first missionary. In 1895 Ellen White highlighted an important inconsistency: "We should take into consideration the fact that efforts are being made at great expense to send the gospel to the darkened regions of the world, . . . to bring instruction to the ignorant and idolatrous; yet here in the very midst of us



The first issue of the *Gospel Herald* was printed in 1898 aboard the *Morning Star*.

are millions of people . . . who have souls to save or to lose, and yet they are set aside and passed by as was the wounded man by the priest and the Levite" (*The Southern Work*, reprint ed., p. 20). Ellen White left the church little room to excuse its lack of effort in this area.

5. There is cause for celebration concerning the Black church work

because progress in this area was the result of the combined efforts of the entire church.

The White and Black Adventists who went South did so at great sacrifice. Slowly but surely the work among Blacks began to pick up momentum. Records indicate that in 1890 there were only 50 Black members. However, by 1910 there were more than 3,500 Black members! Similar increases were realized in tithe, mission schools, workers, and churches. In spite of the challenges faced by the Black work, God blessed with success!

The Seventh-day Adventist Church now has another opportunity to make good its mission in helping the suffering groups in society. The church is still challenged to demonstrate inclusive cultural diversity and concern for the oppressed and needy.

Next week: The Inactive Period—Setting the Stage for Growth

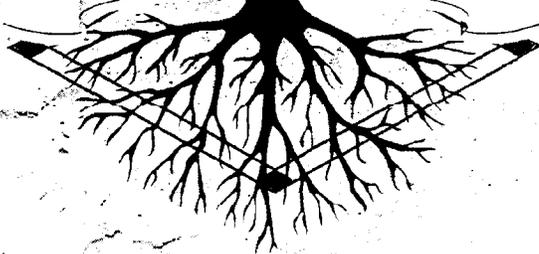


Delbert W. Baker, Ph.D., former editor of *Message*, is now special assistant to the president/director of diversity at Loma Linda University. He did his doctoral dissertation on the relationship of Ellen G. White's communications to the progress of African-Americans in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He is currently writing a book on Seventh-day Adventists and race relations.

PART TWO: THE TURNING POINT

IN SEARCH OF ROOTS

ADVENTIST AFRICAN-AMERICANS



*The year 1891 became a crucial year
in the church's work for African-Americans.*

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

At the end of the Civil War, the United States was faced with the proverbial winter of discontent. A melancholic air hung over the nation. In many quarters people seemed to be seized with an eerie feeling of malaise and hopelessness.

True enough, the Union had been preserved and the slaves freed, but at what cost? Optimists had predicted that the Civil War would be brief and limited. Instead, it proved to be the bloodiest conflict in the nation's history. More than 600,000 Americans died in the war—more than died in all the country's subsequent conflicts combined.

Large areas of the South were utterly ruined, physically and economically. The wounded and crippled would be commonplace in the North and South for years.

The Freedman Dilemma

On the other hand, though, it was a time for change and adjustment. Most pressing were the circumstances surrounding the Black race. Although Abraham Lincoln's original intent was not to free the slaves, on January 1, 1863, he issued the Emancipation

Proclamation, freeing all slaves in the Confederate states. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified by the states in late 1865, finally brought legalized slavery to an end. On April 9, 1865, Confederate general Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union commander in chief Ulysses S. Grant.

Eliminating slavery, however, was only the first step. Stunned by the assassination of their compassionate leader on April 14, 1865, the nation embarked on 12 rocky and controversial years known as Reconstruction (1865-1877). During this time the government sought to protect the rights of freed slaves and help them settle and start new lives.

Unfortunately, Reconstruction provided "too little for not long enough." Northerners made only a limited commitment to the objectives of Reconstruction. Before long, about the time of the Compromise of 1877, Northerners had returned most of the political power to Southern Whites. And they abandoned most of their efforts to assist emancipated slaves in achieving equality and self-sufficiency.

While the Civil War and Reconstruction provided Blacks with at least some level of liberty, it had not made

them fully free. The nation's racial problems continued with segregation, discrimination, lynching, sharecropping, and the draconian Black Codes, essentially a new form of slavery.

During this time the Seventh-day Adventist Church could have made a profound and historic impact on behalf of the Black race. Ellen White believed this period provided a unique window of opportunity to help a people who were at a nadir.

In 1895, writing from Australia, Ellen White observed in a letter addressed "My Brethren in Responsible Positions in America": "The Colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now tenfold harder than it would have been then. . . . After the war, if the Northern people had made the South a real missionary field, if they had not left the Negroes to ruin through poverty and ignorance, thousands of souls would have been brought to Christ. But it was an unpromising field, and the Catholics have been more active in it than any other class" (letter 5, 1895).

"If Our People Had . . ."

In the 1890s Edson White and the workers in the South were experiencing danger and vitriolic prejudice as they worked for Black people in the Mississippi delta. In this context Ellen White wrote a letter entitled "To Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office," in which she characterized God's estimation of the Adventist Church relative to the Black race: "The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers toward the ignorant and oppressed Colored people. *If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin*" (letter 37a, 1900; italics supplied).

The decisive turning point in the history of the church's Black work was the year 1891, when Ellen White presented a historic message: "Our Duty to the Colored People." It was delivered to the delegates of the twenty-ninth General Conference session, held in Battle

Creek, Michigan. Ellen White insisted that after years of neglect, the church could not go on ignoring its charge to the Black race without encouraging God's increasing displeasure. Fully aware of the confrontational content of her message, she conceded, "I know that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet, for the conflict has seemed to be continuous of late years; but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward, leaving my work undone. I must follow in my Master's footsteps."

With words of authority she spoke of how God had repeatedly shown her many things in regard to the Black race. She said that "sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made great effort for the salvation of souls among the Colored people" (*The Southern Work*, pp. 9-18).

In the 1891 message Ellen White enunciated many of her seminal positions on the issues of Black people, the Black work, equality, and race. In it she appealed to church leaders to begin the work and seek to make up for lost time. This presentation contained principles in embryonic form that she was to continue to develop and elaborate on for more than 20 years.

Early Black Adventist history, dating from the Great Disappointment to 1910, is divided by the year 1891. The period



When E. B. Lane preached at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, in 1871, segregation kept African-Americans and Caucasians from even sitting together in the same room (notice the far left section of the drawing).

before 1891 can be called the "Inactive Period," when little work was done among Black people. The period after 1891 can be called the "Active Period," when increasing efforts were made among Black people in the South. (The Active Period will be covered in part 3

of this series.)

From the beginnings of the Adventist Church in New England and New York, the general trend of the work was westward, not southward. Before the church existed as a group or an organization, however, there were Black people who embraced the Advent teaching of the Second Coming under the preaching of William Miller. After the Great Disappointment there were Black Adventists in Northern congregations. While there was some integration, Black people associated with churches in the North according to social patterns of the region (*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, p. 1192).

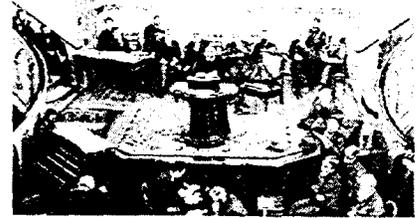
The Inactive Period

In spite of the fact that no other organization, religious or otherwise, was better prepared to deal with the needs of Black people than the Seventh-day Adventist Church, during this time the church established no Black work, nor did it begin any evangelistic initiatives in the South. Its message contained elements that held special attraction to Blacks—offering eternal life in the world to come, as well as a better temporal existence in the present world. And the Black race was in need of a system of truth that could improve the total person—mentally, spiritually, and physically.

The Seventh-day Adventist teachings, while challenging in their unorthodoxy, were simple and clear, suited to be understood by the masses and ideal for Black people searching for direction.

The belief concerning the soon appearing of Christ to rescue His people from pain, injustice, and oppression especially appealed to Black people, who were typically victims of oppression. The biblical teachings of a weekly Sabbath rest appealed to many who were often grossly overworked. Not to be overlooked were the then-evolving health and temperance teachings, which provided a dramatic key to help address the physical needs of the Black race. Black people brought with them a spiritual fervency and commitment. In turn, the Adventist Church offered a complete and reliable system of truth.

Unfortunately, Black people were not



Ellen White's speech at the General Conference Session of 1891 became the turning point in getting the Adventist Church to work for African-Americans.

to be introduced to Adventist teachings until almost a quarter century later. The period following 1865 was primarily characterized by sporadic and individual efforts of lay missionaries and ministers of primarily Southern origin. During this period Adventists made little, if any, effort to evangelize Black people. Rather, White ministers such as Elbert B. Lane (1840-1881), Sands H. Lane (1844-1906), Charles O. Taylor (1817-1905), Robert M. Kilgore (1839-1912), Dudley M. Canright (1840-1919), and John O. Corliss (1845-1923) conducted evangelistic meetings for Whites in various Southern cities.

Non-Adventist authors Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, in their controversial book on Adventism (1989), *Seeking a Sanctuary*, argue that Adventist pioneers, at least after they became Seventh-day Adventists, had very little personal contact with Black people and were hesitant to associate with them. They posit that even when Adventists first began evangelization in the South in the 1870s it was not on behalf of Blacks. According to Bull and Lockhart, "Blacks . . . found the church after turning up at Adventist meetings without being directly invited" (p. 194).

The Question of Segregation

Bull and Lockhart maintain that Adventists were generally passive and accommodating in regard to racial issues. They concede that while Adventists may not have endorsed segregation, they did accept it as a part of life in the South. They argue that racial segregation in the Adventist Church was initiated and perpetuated "first by expediency, and then by choice." There is

however, another perspective.

The Adventist Church *did address* the issue of segregation in this pre-1891 period. Adventist ministers in the South encountered a perplexing dilemma when Blacks attended their evangelistic meetings and churches. The burning question was "What should we do?" A. W. Spalding, in his unpublished manuscript "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt," avers that seeking to integrate churches would have hindered the work in the South. He goes on to say, "The matter [of segregation] did not come prominently to the attention of the denomination, because it was in only two or three places that the difficulties were acute, and the cause in the South was not extensive enough in those years to take over much of the time of the annual conferences" (p. 138).

The segregation issue did not appear in the records of the church until 1887. Entries in the *General Conference Bulletin* cite that the delegates had

engaged in animated discussion on a resolution that the church recognize no color line. The discussion resulted in an amended resolution that stressed that "no distinction whatever" should be "made between the two races in church relations." In addition, the session established a three-person committee to "consider the matter carefully, and recommend proper action to the conference." A week later the committee reported that they saw "no occasion for this conference to legislate upon the subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken." This left the question to the discretion of individual ministers and teachers.

After the 1887 segregation issue, items having to do with the South and the Black work receded into the background. It took Ellen White's 1891 message to cause the church to face its unavoidable responsibility relative to work among Black people.

There is a temptation for those who

look back in history to accuse, blame, or reside in the speculative realm of "what should have been" and "what could have been." *Perhaps the most important lesson is to learn from our past.* Today the church once again has windows of opportunity: in the United States, the former Soviet Union, Africa, South America, and numerous other places around the globe. The question is: How will we respond? 

Next week: Part 3—The Active Period.



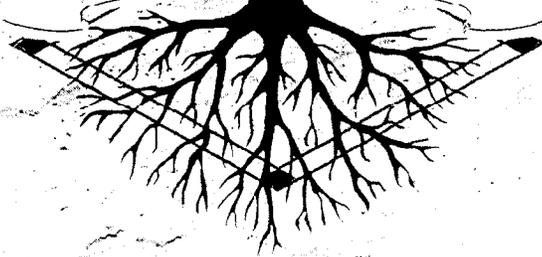
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doctoral dissertation on the relationship of Ellen G. White's communications to the progress of African-Americans in the Adventist Church.

PART THREE: THE MINISTRY BEGINS

IN SEARCH OF ROOTS

ADVENTIST AFRICAN-AMERICANS



A providential story showcases the power of people helping people.

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

This is the third in a four-part series examining the history of Adventist African-Americans in the United States.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church's outreach to African-Americans prospered because certain individuals—change agents—accepted the challenge of a moral cause.

The cause addressed the needs of a people just released from more than 200 years of bondage. The cause showcased the power of people helping people. The cause illustrated the dynamics of an organization struggling with how its mission related to questions of racial inclusiveness.

The triumph of this story is that God providentially brought the Adventist Church's Black work into being in spite of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. As a result, untold thousands have been blessed with the liberating truth of the three angels' messages.

In this series we have followed Black Adventist history in the United States from the beginning of the movement to the year 1910. These years provide the basis for all the growth that followed. The Inactive Period extends to 1890,

when the church had no active work for the Black people in the South (see part 2 of this series). The Active Period (1891 to 1910) extends to the time of the thirty-seventh General Conference session, when the church voted to create the North American Negro Department of the General Conference.

The Active Period—Ministry Expands

With the Black Adventist membership exceeding 1,000 within a decade, church leaders felt that a new form of organization was needed to coordinate the burgeoning work. The GC Committee's 1909 vote was implemented officially by establishing the Negro Department in 1910.

This development signaled a significant and symbolic phase in the progress of the Black work. Heretofore the Black work was not structurally recognized at the highest levels of the organization. But beginning with 1910, and in spite of reorganization and adjustment, the Black work became—and remains—an integral part of every level of the administrative structure of the church.

The Active Period commenced with Ellen White's 1891 address to the General Conference. Her message, "Our Duty to the Colored People," outlined God's love for the Black race and the church's responsibility to work in the South, and it provided principles and a strategy for that work. Ellen White penned hundreds of pages of counsel concerning the Black work. Her counsel provides penetrating insights that seemed ahead of her times. Her messages reveal at least seven principles upon which she based her advocacy of the church's responsibility to the Black work.

First, *the biblical principle*. God had given a commission to the Adventist Church to take the gospel to *all the world*, including the Black people of the South.

Second, *the moral principle*. Adventists were obliged to do what was morally right. It was not morally right to go to the foreign countries of the world and ignore the Black race "in the very midst of us."

Third, *the humanitarian principle*. All decent people, Ellen White reasoned, who saw the suffering and need of a people just out of slavery would be compelled as compassionate human beings to follow the example of Christ and provide help.

Fourth, *the empathetic principle*. While the White race was not in the same state of need as the Black race, they should try to understand what it must be like to be in bondage and to be deprived of education and domestic and civil freedoms, to be abused and ignored, to be treated as "things," instead of "persons," for scores of years.

Fifth, *the restitution principle*. Mrs.

Edson White (front row, far left) and Ellen G. White (next to Edson) attend meetings in the South.





An old photo from the *Gospel Herald* portrays the staff of the *Morning Star* steamboat and the Southern Missionary Society.

White felt that the entire country had benefited from the life, energy, and labor of Black people, and it was time to restore something to them as a race for decades of loss, damage, and injury.

Sixth, *the societal principle*. Mrs. White reasoned that if one part of society is weak or needy, then it weakens the whole society. If the Black race could be strengthened, then the entire society would be strengthened.

Seventh, *the eschatological principle*. If Adventists ignored the Black race and did nothing to ameliorate the deplorable conditions in which they existed, Ellen White said they would answer for it in the judgment.

Adventist Change Agents

Perhaps the Active Period was best characterized by the efforts of scores of dedicated people who gave themselves unreservedly to the building of the Black work, including Will Palmer (Edson White's associate), Elders R. M. Kilgore and H. S. Shaw, and Dr. J. E. Caldwell. Three people, however, were the major architects of the Black work and wielded primary influence on its initial development.

First and foremost was Ellen White (1827-1915). She can be called the *initiator* of the Black work (see part 2 of this series). Her influence was constantly in favor of the equality and inclusion of Black people in the church. Ellen White articulated the Adventist position toward the fugitive slaves, the freedom of Black people, and God's judgments toward the U.S. in relation to slavery as demonstrated in the Civil War.

Beyond these emphases, it was Ellen White's messages that motivated and

inspired those who later worked in the South. Her recollections affirming William Foy's experience, her diary entry about her and her husband staying with a Black family, the finances she personally gave the Black work, the ongoing guidance she provided Edson and Emma White during the time they worked in the South, the hundreds of pages of articles, letters, and manuscripts she wrote concerning the Black SDA work—all speak to

Ellen White's initiating influence and personal interest and support.

Second in influence was James Edson White (1849-1928). Because of his dedication and lasting work during more than a decade of service, Edson can be called the *pioneer* of the Black work.

As Ron Graybill's *Mission to Black America* portrays, Edson White and his *Morning Star* steamboat ministry initiative were main catalysts for assertive efforts on behalf of Black people. Sensing the need to coordinate all the efforts in the South on behalf of Blacks, Edson White established the Southern Missionary Society (SMS) in 1895.

Edson staffed the independent and self-supporting organization with a group of missionary-minded volunteers. For more than two decades its groundbreaking work promoted education, health, evangelism, and general self-betterment among Black people. Its program was elemental and included rudimentary education, community assistance, training in self-supporting work, industrial education, and basic principles in thrift, business, and health.

The reason for Edson White's success in the South was no secret.

In a December 1899 editorial in the *Gospel Herald*, Edson White emphatically emphasized Ellen White's molding influence on his work: "We have ever regarded instruction coming from this source as the very highest authority. These instructions have been plain and explicit, *and when followed, success has ever attended this work*" (italics supplied). With Ellen White's counsel and financial and moral support, Edson White

created a lasting model for the South.

The success of the Black work under Edson can be summarized in a simple four-step model: (1) Ellen White would *convey* a general principle or recommendation to Edson; (2) Edson, via the SMS, would *adapt and implement* the counsel; (3) the efforts were *examined and refined* in the context of the Adventist work in the South; and (4) Black and White Adventist workers would *participate* in the implementation of this counsel. The constant goal was to be efficient and self-supporting.

Finally, Charles M. Kinney (1855-1951) was the third major influence on the Black work. As the first Black person to be ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister, and the first Black church worker and spokesperson among Black people, Kinney can rightfully be called the *father* of the Black work. A slave from birth, Kinney was born in Richmond, Virginia. Moving West after the Civil War, Kinney ended up in Reno, Nevada, where he attended evangelistic meetings held by J. N. Loughborough. Won to the truth through the preaching of Loughborough and Ellen White, Kinney ever held dear his acquaintance with them and the fact that he learned the Adventist truth from them.



Charles M. Kinney (front row, fourth from left) poses with others attending a Black ministerial conference in the South.

Independent in thought, Kinney became the first to articulate the concerns of Black Adventists in the areas of race, church polity, and organizational equity. For two decades Kinney labored throughout the South on behalf of Blacks, preaching to any person who would listen to his message. He believed that Black people needed to grow in three areas to reach their potential: education, experience, and eco-

Major Developments in the Black Work

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

1. Production and sale by Edson White of the *Gospel Primer*, the first educational text for Black mission schools (1893).
2. Building and launching of the *Morning Star* steamboat (1894).
3. Organization of the Southern Missionary Society (1895).
4. Mission schools and mentoring programs started across the South (1895).
5. Oakwood College founded (1896).
6. *Gospel Herald* journal begins publication (1898).
7. Business enterprises started in connection with the Black work (1898), such as the Dixie Health Food Company and Missionary Enterprises, an independent Adventist organization that provided creative ways to raise money for the Black work.
8. Medical missionary work in the South begins to receive special emphasis (1899).
9. Nashville becomes the center of the Southern work (1900).
10. Ellen White visited the Adventist work in the South in 1901 (she again visited the South and also Oakwood College in 1904). Visits provided encouragement and impetus to the Black work and provided Ellen White with firsthand knowledge.
11. Herald Publishing Company (1900), later Southern Publishing Association (1901), begins.
12. Southern Missionary Society merges into the Southern Union Conference (1901).
13. Nashville Colored Sanitarium founded (1901).
14. Black leaders and laypersons begin to migrate to all parts of the U.S. (circa 1902).
15. North American Negro Department of the General Conference created (1910).

nomic development.

An avid belief of his was that Seventh-day Adventist doctrine could provide for the spiritual needs of Black people or any disadvantaged people. Therefore, he did everything in his power to see that his people received a knowledge of the truth and that the Adventist Church did all it could to advance the Black work.

Throughout his long and fruitful ministry, Kinney continued to establish congregations and build churches until his retirement in 1911. Before his death he was blessed to see the Black work expand beyond his highest expectation. Charles Kinney's story is one of struggle, faith, persistence, and eventual triumph. It is another biography that deserves to be told.

Implications for Today

The story of African-American roots in the Adventist Church in the United States contains all the drama and pathos of the best narratives. And though this chapter of early Adventist history closes with 1910, the effects of its groundbreaking ministry are felt today. The

people and events of these early years give perspective to the succeeding chapters of Black work today—work that has grown throughout North America and around the world. And in light of the diversity and cultural dilemmas of our day, this period could be among the

most instructive in Adventist Church history. It highlights areas that provide helpful insights and lessons for today.

Areas that could yield profitable study include: (1) Ellen White's influence as a change agent in the Adventist organization; (2) ways the church addressed itself to the sensitive issues of race and inclusiveness in its early years; (3) organizational lessons the church today can learn from the Southern work; (4) how the church started and supported work in a new and developing field. The list could go on.

There is more that we can learn from how God directed affairs in the past. We thank God for what He has done. "We have nothing to fear . . . except as we shall forget . . ." 

Next week: Current Challenges Facing African-Americans.



Delbert W. Baker, Ph.D., former editor of Message magazine, is now special assistant to the president and director of diversity at Loma Linda University. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the relationship of Ellen G. White's communications to the progress of Adventist African-Americans.

PART FOUR: THE TURNING POINT



Evangelism nurtures growth and challenges

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

This is the last in a four-part series on the growth and progress of Adventist African Americans in the United States.

From the beginnings of Adventist African-American history, the Black work has continued to progress through the twentieth century—sometimes slowly, sometimes hesitantly, but always steadily. The history of Adventist African-Americans reminds us that God wants His message to go to every nation, tongue, and people.

We now turn our attention to an overview of the development stages of the Black work in the United States. This gives us a perspective to understand some of the challenges that face Adventist African-Americans today.

From Then to Now

The **Denominational Inactivity** stage (1860s-1890) began when the Seventh-day Adventist Church was in its organizational phase. During this time the church had no organized plan for, nor were significant resources directed toward, work among Black

people in the South.

The **Denominational Activity** stage (1891-1910) witnessed increased synergy in the church toward the Black work. The acute need and neglect of Black people in the South led Ellen G. White to present a series of appeals and strategies for the Black work.

The **Independent Initiatives** stage (1894-1900) began when Edson White responded to Ellen White's 1891 appeal for the Black work and entered the South with the *Morning Star* steamboat and started the Southern Missionary Society (SMS). In response, the General Conference began to act to help the Black work and provided some coordination. The General Conference soon sensed the increasing difficulties of leaving this growing sector of the work under the jurisdiction of the SMS, an independent organization.

The **Progressive Maturation** stage (1901-1907) saw the SMS, in spite of obstacles and

problems, mature and make extraordinary progress in the South. The Black work increasingly was recognized as a viable and significant part of the Adventist organization. In 1901 the organized work among Blacks in the South was finally legitimized by its merger into the newly formed Southern Union Conference of the church.

The **National Expansion** stage (1902-1930s) was unlike any period before. The Black work grew and expanded to all parts of the United States and even overseas. Black workers, laypersons, and ministers, trained in the mission schools of the South, along with those who received further education at Oakwood College, migrated throughout the United States doing evangelism and providing leadership.

At the beginning of the Seventh-day Adventist movement, the church had moved primarily westward; now it was moving in every direction. Black people brought to the Adventist Church an invigorating sense of fervency and vitality. In a unique way the church began to reap some of the benefits of multiculturalism.

The **Organizational Inclusion** stage (1909-1940s) saw the Black work experience progress, but with the insistent undertone that much more needed to be done. At the beginning of this period, Ellen White still intoned that the church had not done, and was not doing, what it could for the Black work.

The rapid growth of the Black work from 50 members in 1890 to more than 1,000 in 1909 necessitated that Adventist leaders officially include Black leadership and presence at the



One of the mission schools started by Edson White in Mississippi in the 1890s

highest levels of the church. During this period several Black institutions were started (including Harlem [later Northeastern] Academy, 1920; Riverside Hospital, 1927; *Message Magazine*, 1934; Pine Forge Academy, 1946).

In the midst of the Black nationalism of the 1920s, several racial incidents



Ellen White (center, front) during the time when she advocated the development of the Black work

shook the church. They became a catalyst for changes that were to follow. James K. Humphrey, a gifted Black minister and founder of the First Harlem SDA Church, was defrocked by conference officials in 1929, principally on the grounds of insubordination. Humphrey, on the other hand, felt the local conference, and church leadership in general, ignored the concerns of its Black constituency and practiced discriminatory actions. The issue came to a head when the First Harlem congregation sided with Humphrey and the conference dis-fellowshipped the entire church.

Perhaps the most well-known racial incident in the church happened in the Washington, D.C. area. Lucy Byard, a gravely ill Black Adventist woman and longtime member from Brooklyn, was admitted to the Washington Sanitarium (1943). When it was discovered that she was Black, the hospital discharged her. During her transfer to the Freedmen's Hospital she became increasingly ill and died shortly thereafter of pneumonia. Such incidents caused Black leadership to press the General Conference to address discrimination and prejudice in the church.

After facing perplexing racial problems at different levels of the church organization, and not finding satisfactory resolution of them, the General

Ten Challenges for Adventist African-Americans

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

These challenges come from interviewing various Adventist African-Americans across the nation. While they are not exhaustive, they are representative.

1. **Remember that God does not ask for blind assimilation** that disregards one's culture and ethnic background while preferring another. Adventism can coexist with culture. Reaffirm that the Adventist movement is a legacy of a beneficent God to all people. No one group owns it. It is the work of many peoples and cultures. No group is to think or to be treated like a second-class citizen.
2. **Pursue education, personal excellence, and above all, a personal relationship with God.** In the process, preserve your moral sensitivity at all cost. These are the stepping-stones to increased responsibility and higher trust.
3. **Prioritize evangelism** over church politics and the business of organized religion.
4. **Recognize the strengths of your culture** and the strengths of other cultures as well. Affirm, build, and demonstrate true love and appreciation for each other. Build, don't tear down.
5. **Manage racial attitudes.** Don't assume racism until you know it to be so. When confronted with racism, be committed to following the principles in Matthew 18. Be angry, but don't sin—do something about it. Remember that the secret of Black survival as a people has always rested on spiritual, not secular, weapons.
6. **Build bridges of communication** between your own culture and other cultures. Practice the best possible communication and conflict-resolution skills.
7. **Develop better methods to manage the resources** that have been entrusted to Blacks as a people—physically, economically, organizationally. Seek solutions!
8. **Utilize the resources of all age groups** in the church. And in all the resourcing, do everything to build, not criticize.
9. **Develop, invest in, and train leaders for the future.** Prepare for tomorrow.
10. **Act and pro-act.** Consult together, plan wisely, and then execute the plan. Find fresh ways to solve old and new problems. Pray.

Conference leadership, in coordination with the Black leadership, voted "that in unions where the Colored constituency is considered by the union conference committee to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant, Colored conferences be organized." Regional (Black) conferences were formed in 1944, affecting both the Black work and the entire Adventist Church in the United States.

During the **Participative Governance** stage (1944-1951), regional conferences, along with Black leadership at the General Conference, division, and union conference levels, became central in the coordination of the Black work from this point on. This new organizational configuration facilitated a period of unprecedented evangelism, leadership experience, and promotion of initiatives. It allowed for new types of intraconference and interconference mobility in the Black work. Black membership increased from 20,000 in the early 1940s to more than 70,000 in the 1950s. Membership in regional conferences increased to more than 130,000 in the 1980s, and to more than 220,000 today.

The **Cultural Activism** period (1952-1969) and the former stage were the most stormy racial periods in the church in the United States. This was the period of backlash to Jim Crow laws, the Ku Klux Klan, and lynching. Additionally, it was the time of the civil rights and Black power movements. Black and White Adventists were confronted with the influence of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and others.

The country experienced a reordering of its laws and attitudes toward its African-American citizenry with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These laws prohibited discrimination because of color, race, religion, or national origin in accommodations, employment, and public schools. Adventists also reassessed their own practices and attitudes toward the Black constituency of the church. The church commenced a period of racial redress. Those who lived through this period remember it as a time of profound racial sensitivity and intense organizational introspection. The

effects are still being felt.

The **Affirmative Resolution** stage (1970-1977) saw the church struggling with its practical relationship to issues of discrimination, equal opportunity, and affirmative action. During this stage the church still had some segregation in its churches, schools, other institutions, and administrative levels. In an effort to cause the church to address the issue of race and equality, Black membership demonstrated, even boycotted.

During the 1970 spring session of the General Conference Executive Committee, measures were taken to rectify conditions relative to Black leadership



E. Earl Cleveland, premier evangelist and spokesman for SDA African-American causes, in his earlier years

inclusion in the administrative structure of the church. A set of 16 points was developed to help guide the church in affirmative action. As a result of the 16 points, Black representation was included in administrative and departmental positions on the union level and higher. These points, though adjusted, are still valid today.

Coming to the 1990s, we have the **Spiritual Empowerment** stage (1978-present). During the latter part of the 1970s the church's Black leadership recognized the need for periodic consultation and planning. As a result, the regional presidents formed the Caucus of Black SDA Administrators. The caucus includes the leadership of regional conferences and Black institutions, and other representatives. It was recognized that the caucus provided Black leadership a unique opportunity to fulfill the objectives of the Black work through evangelizing, ministering, nurturing,

strategizing, networking, facilitating, and promulgating.

Charles E. Dudley, president of South Central Conference and founding chairman of the caucus, says the caucus "is an avenue for the spiritual empowerment of the Black work. It regularly allows Black leadership an opportunity to address issues, promote needs, and seek to resolve the problems indigenous to the Black work."

Black leaders in the various levels of the church have a deep desire to keep the spiritual focus central. Yet they must wrestle with the challenge of addressing the issues of residual prejudice that too often subtly and imperceptibly appears in the church. E. E. Cleveland, a member of the caucus, maintains that "the laws and policies checking discrimination and racism and guaranteeing civil rights are in place. But the implementation of these rights is slow in coming."

And Now

Since this last stage is not yet over, no one knows when the next one will begin. Or, for that matter, if there will be a next one. Jesus may come before then. But one thing is sure. Now is the time to test the power of the spirit of love and brotherhood in the multicultural environment of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Will the church be able to come together in unity and equality to solve the problems of race and culture? Will there be genuine sharing of leadership, responsibility, and decision-making?

The world is waiting to see an organizational model of the kind of love and unity Christ spoke about in John 17:22: "That they may be one, even as we are one."



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The *Southern Work*, Chapter 1, pp. 9-18
Ellen White's Appeal To The Church

NOTE: This basic appeal was read by Ellen G. White to the thirty leaders of the Church on March 21, 1891, in connection with the General Conference session at Battle Creek, Michigan. Copies were soon furnished to key men and especially the leading ministers in the South. Later this important message was published in a 16-page leaflet. This is the opening article in the Southern Work.--White Trustees.

Our Duty to the Colored People

There has been much perplexity as to how our laborers in the South shall deal with the "color line." It has been a question to some how far to concede to the prevailing prejudice against the colored people. The Lord has given us light concerning all such matters. There are principles laid down in His Word that should guide us in dealing with these perplexing questions. The Lord Jesus came to our world to save men and women of all nationalities. He died just as much for the colored people as for the white race. Jesus came to shed light over the whole world. At the beginning of His ministry He declared His mission: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

The Redeemer of the world was of humble parentage. He, the Majesty of heaven, the King of glory, humbled Himself to accept humanity, and then He chose a life of poverty and toil. "For your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." When one came saying, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest," Jesus answered him, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." He, the Majesty of heaven, depended upon the generosity of His followers. [SW p. 10]

Jesus did not seek the admiration or applause of the world. He commanded no army, He ruled no earthly kingdom. He passed by the wealthy and honored of the world. He did not associate with the leaders of the nation. He dwelt among the lowly of the earth. To all appearances he was merely a humble man, with few friends. Thus He sought to correct the world's false standard of judging the value of men. He showed that they are not to be estimated by their outward appearance. Their moral worth is not determined by their worldly possessions, their real estate or bank stock. It is the humble, contrite heart that God values. With Him there is no respect of persons. The attributes that He prizes most are purity and love, and these are possessed only by the Christian.

Jesus did not choose His disciples from the learned lawyers, the rulers, the scribes, and Pharisees. He passed them by because they felt whole, as many feel in this age, and prided themselves on their learning and position. They were fixed in their traditions and superstitions, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. He who could read all hearts chose poor fishermen who were willing to be taught. He gave them no promise of large salary or worldly honor, but told them they should be partakers with Him in His sufferings. Jesus while in this world ate with publicans and sinners, and mingled with the common people, not to become low and earthly with them, but in order by precept and example to present to them right principles, to lift them up from their low habits and manners. In all this He set us an example, that we should follow in His steps.

Those who have a religious experience that opens their hearts to Jesus, will not cherish pride, but will feel that they are under obligation to God to be missionaries as was Jesus. They will seek to save that which was lost. They will not, in Pharisaical pride and haughtiness, withdraw themselves from any class of humanity, but will feel with the apostle Paul, "I am debtor both to the Greek, and to the barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise."

After my severe illness one year ago, many things which the Lord had presented to me seemed lost to my mind, but they have since been repeated. I know that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet, for the conflict has seemed to be continuous of late years; but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward, leaving my work undone. I must follow in my Master's footsteps. It has become fashionable to look down upon the poor, and upon the colored race in particular. But Jesus, the Master, [SW p. 11] was poor, and He sympathizes with the poor, the discarded, the oppressed, and declares that every insult shown to them is as if shown to Himself. I am more and more surprised as I see those who claim to be children of God possessing so little of the sympathy, tenderness, and love which actuated Christ. Would that every church, North and South, were imbued with the spirit of our Lord's teaching.

While at St. Louis a year ago, as I knelt in prayer, these words were presented to me as if written with a pen of fire: "All ye are brethren." The Spirit of God rested upon me in a wonderful manner, and matters were opened to me in regard to the church at St. Louis and in other places. The spirit and words of some in regard to members of the church were an offense to God. They were closing the door of their hearts to Jesus. Among those in St. Louis who believe the truth there are colored people who are true and faithful, precious in the sight of the God of heaven, and they should have just as much respect as any of God's children. Those who have spoken harshly to them or have despised them have despised the purchase of the blood of Christ, and they need the transforming grace of Christ in their own hearts, that they may have the pitying tenderness of Jesus toward those who love God with all the fervor of which they themselves are capable. The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts.

"If ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear: forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.... Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently." "Ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: wherefore there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all. Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering."

"Who," says Paul, "maketh thee to differ?" The God of the white man is the God of the black man, and the Lord declares that His love for the least of His children exceeds that of a mother for [SW p. 12] her beloved child. Look at that mother: the sick child, the one afflicted, the one born a cripple, or with some other physical infirmity--how the mother labors to give him every advantage! The best food, the softest pillow, and the tenderest nursing are for him. The love bestowed upon him is strong and deep--a love such as is not given to beauty, talent, or any other natural gift. As soon as a mother sees reason for others to regard her child with aversion or contempt, does she not increase her tenderness as if to shield him from the world's rude touch? "Can a mother forget her sucking child ...? yea, they may forget, yet I will not forget thee." O what impartial love the Lord Jesus gives to those who love Him! The Lord's eye is upon all His creatures; He loves them all, and makes no difference between white and black, except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others. Those who love God and believe on Christ as their Redeemer,

while they must meet the trials and the difficulties that lie in their path, should yet with a cheerful spirit accept their life as it is, considering that God above regards these things, and for all that the world neglects to bestow, He will Himself make up to them in the best of favors.

The parable of Dives, the rich man, and Lazarus, the poor beggar who feared God, is presented before the world as a lesson to all, both rich and poor, as long as time shall last. Dives is represented as lifting up his eyes in hell, being in torments, and seeing Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom,--"he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."

When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host. He is made a joint heir with Christ. Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ, whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family. The ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the heathen and the slave, white or black--Jesus paid the purchase money for their souls. If they believe on Him, His cleansing blood is applied to them. The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. [SW p. 13] If a red man, a China man, or an African gives his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for his color. He calls him his well-beloved brother. The day is coming when the kings and the lordly men of the earth would be glad to exchange places with the humblest African who has laid hold on the hope of the gospel. To all who are overcomers through the blood of the Lamb, the invitation will be given, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Arranged on the right and left of the throne of God are the long columns of the heavenly host, who touch the golden harps, and the songs of welcome and of praise to God and the Lamb ring through the heavenly courts. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."

Among what are called the higher classes, there is a demand for a form of Christianity suited to their fine tastes; but this class will not grow up to the full stature of men and women in Christ until they know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. The heavenly intelligences rejoice to do the will of God in preaching the gospel to the poor. In the announcement which the Saviour made in the synagogue at Nazareth, He put a stern rebuke upon those who attach so much importance to color or caste, and refuse to be satisfied with such a type of Christianity as Christ accepts. The same price was paid for the salvation of the colored man as for that of the white man, and the slights put upon the colored people by many who claim to be redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, and who therefore acknowledge themselves debtors to Christ, misrepresent Jesus, and reveal that selfishness, tradition, and prejudice pollute the soul. They are not sanctified through the truth. Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Christ.

I call upon every church in our land to look well to your own souls. "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" God makes no distinction between the North and the South. Whatever may be your prejudices, your wonderful prudence, do not lose sight of this fact, that unless you put on Christ, and His Spirit dwells in you, you are slaves of sin and of Satan. Many who claim to be children of God are children of the wicked one, and have all his passions, his prejudices, his evil spirit, his unlovely traits of character. But the [SW p. 14] soul that is indeed transformed will not despise any one whom Christ has purchased with His own blood.

Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He had. If a colored

brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God. If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the colored man who has the same Saviour abiding in his heart. When these unchristian prejudices are broken down, more earnest effort will be put forth to do missionary work among the colored race.

When the Hebrew people were suffering cruel oppression under the hand of their taskmasters, the Lord looked upon them, and He called Israel His son. He bade Moses go to Pharaoh with the message, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn. And I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me." The Lord did not wait until His people went forth and stood in triumph on the shores of the Red Sea before He called Israel His son, but while they were under oppression, degraded, downtrodden, suffering all that the power and the invention of the Egyptians could impose to make their lives bitter and to destroy them, then God undertakes their cause and declares to Pharaoh, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn."

What thoughts and feelings did the message arouse in Pharaoh? "This people, my slaves, those whom the lowest of my people despise, the God of such a people I care not for, neither will I let Israel go." But the word of the Lord will not return unto Him void; it will accomplish the thing whereunto it is sent. The Lord speaks in no uncertain manner. He says, "Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn."

God cares no less for the souls of the African race that might be won to serve Him than He cared for Israel. He requires far more of His people than they have given Him in missionary work among the people of the South of all classes, and especially among the colored race. Are we not under even greater obligation to labor for the colored people than for those who have been more highly favored? Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them, forcing them to disregard the law of marriage, breaking up the family relation, tearing wife from husband, and husband from [SW p. 15] wife? If the race is degraded, if they are repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? The truth must be carried to them. They have souls to save as well as we.

At the General Conference of 1889, resolutions were presented in regard to the color line. Such action is not called for. Let not men take the place of God, but stand aside in awe, and let God work upon human hearts, both white and black, in His own way. He will adjust all these perplexing questions. We need not prescribe a definite plan of working. Leave an opportunity for God to do something. We should be careful not to strengthen prejudices that ought to have died just as soon as Christ redeemed the soul from the bondage of sin.

Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people. It will always be a difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the white people in the South and do missionary work for the colored race. But the way this matter has been treated by some is an offense to God. We need not expect that all will be accomplished in the South that God would do until in our missionary efforts we place this question on the ground of principle, and let those who accept the truth be educated to be Bible Christians, working according to Christ's order. You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them. At the same time we must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question. Some would think it right to throw down every partition wall and intermarry with the colored people, but this is not the right thing to teach or to practice.

Let us do what we can to send to this class laborers who will work in Christ's name, who will not fail nor be discouraged. We should educate colored men to be missionaries among their own people. We should recognize talent where it exists among the people, and those who have ability should be placed where they may receive an education.

There are able colored ministers who have embraced the truth. Some of these feel unwilling to devote themselves to work for their own race; they wish to preach to the white people. These men [SW p. 16] are making a great mistake. They should seek most earnestly to save their own race, and they will not by any means be excluded from the gatherings of the white people.

White men and white women should be qualifying themselves to work among the colored people. There is a large work to be done in educating this ignorant and downtrodden class. We must do more unselfish missionary work than we have done in the Southern States, not picking out merely the most favorable fields. God has children among the colored people all over the land. They need to be enlightened. There are unpromising ones, it is true, but you will find similar degradation among the white people, but even among the lower classes there are souls who will embrace the truth. Some will not be steadfast. Feelings and habits that have been confirmed by lifelong practices will be hard to correct; it will not be easy to implant ideas of purity and holiness, refinement and elevation. But God regards the capacity of every man, He marks the surroundings, and sees how these have formed the character, and He pities these souls.

Is it not time for us to live so fully in the light of God's countenance that we who receive so many favors and blessings from Him may know how to treat those less favored, not working from the world's standpoint, but from the Bible standpoint? Is it not right in this line that Christian effort is most needed? Is it not here that our influence should be brought to bear against the customs and practices of the world? Should it not be the work of the white people to elevate the standard of character among the colored race, to teach them how Christians should live, by exemplifying the Spirit of Christ, showing that we are one brotherhood?

Those who have been favored with opportunities of education and culture, who have had every advantage of religious influence, will be expected of God to possess pure and holy characters in accordance with the gifts bestowed. But have they rightly improved their advantages? We know they have not. Let these privileged ones make the most of their blessings, and realize that they are thus placed under greater obligation to labor for the good of others.

God will accept many more workers from the humble walks of life if they will fully consecrate themselves to His service. Men and women should be coming up to carry the truth into all the highways and byways of life. Not all can go through a long course of education, but if they are consecrated to God and learn of Him, many can without this do much to bless others. Thousands would be [SW p. 17] accepted if they would give themselves to God. Not all who labor in this line should depend upon the conferences for support. Let those who can do so give their time and what ability they have, let them be messengers of God's grace, their hearts throbbing in unison with Christ's great heart of love, their ears open to hear the Macedonian cry.

The whole church needs to be imbued with the missionary spirit, then there will be many to work unselfishly in various ways as they can, without being salaried. There is altogether too much dependence on machinery, on mechanical working. Machinery is good in its place, but do not allow it to become too complicated. I tell you that in many cases it has retarded the work, and kept out laborers who in their line could have accomplished far more than has been done by the minister who depends on sermonizing more than on ministry. Young men need to catch the missionary spirit, to be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the message. "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." Work in any capacity, work where God leads you, in the line best suited to your talents and best adapted to reach classes that have hitherto been sadly neglected. This kind of labor will develop intellectual and moral power and adaptability to the work.

You must have the grace and love of God in order to succeed. The strength and spirituality of the people of God are manifest by the distinctness of the line of demarcation which separates them from the world. The people of the world are characterized by love for earthly things; they act selfishly, regardless of the principles which Christ has set forth in His life. Christians will manifest the self-sacrificing spirit of Christ in their work, in connection with every branch of the cause. They will do this heartily, not by halves. They will not study their own aggrandizement nor manifest respect of persons. They will not, cannot, live in luxury and self-indulgence while there are suffering ones around them. They cannot by their practice sanction any phase of oppression or injustice to the least child of humanity. There are to be like Christ, to relinquish all selfish delights, all unholy passions, all that love of applause which is the food of the world. They will be willing to be humble and unknown, and to sacrifice even life itself for Christ's sake. By a well-ordered life and godly conversation they will condemn the folly, the impenitence, the idolatry, the iniquitous practices of the world.

The converting power of God must work a transformation of [SW p. 18] character in many who claim to believe the present truth, or they cannot fulfill the purpose of God. They are hearers but not doers of the word. Pure, unworldly benevolence will be developed in all who make Christ their personal Saviour. There needs to be far less of self and more of Jesus. The church of Christ is ordained of God that its members shall be representatives of Christ's character. He says, "You have given yourselves to Me, and I give you to the world. I am the light of the world; I present you to the world as My representatives." As Christ in the fullest sense represents the Father, so we are to represent Christ. Let none of those who name the name of Christ be cowards in His cause. For Christ's sake stand as if looking within the open portals of the city of God.

THIS ISSUE

Facts About
Blacks in the
SDA Movement

SERVING WITH

EXCELLENCE

COMPLIMENTARY

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101 Facts About Blacks and the Regional Work in the Seventh-day Adventist Movement

1830s

Joseph Bates participates in the antislavery society.

John Byington, the first General Conference president, and John P. Kellogg, the father of John Harvey, offer their homes as stations on the Underground Railroad, which was set up to help fleeing slaves.

Millerite movement begins; Blacks exposed to Advent message.

1833

Frederick Douglass and other Blacks witness the falling of the stars. Douglass writes his account in his book *My Bondage and My Freedom*; his daughter, Rosetta Douglass Sprague, later becomes a Seventh-day Adventist.

1841

William Still, a Black preacher who spent his life working with the Anti-Slavery Society and the Underground Railroad, accepts the Millerite teachings, later experiences the Great Disappointment.

1842

William Ellis Foy, a Black Millerite minister, receives the first of four visions relating to the early Advent movement. Foy faithfully carries out his commission. In 1844 he meets with Ellen White and recognizes her prophetic gift and ministry. Though he receives no more visions after 1844, he continues to pastor until his death in 1893. His grave is in the Birch Tree Cemetery in Ellsworth, Maine.

1843

Charles Bowles, another well-known Black Millerite minister, becomes instrumental in setting up quarterly Millerite meetings.

Sojourner Truth (formerly Isabella Van Wagener) visits at least two Millerite camp meetings. She accepts the Advent teachings. It is believed she was baptized by Uriah Smith in Battle Creek. She dies around 100 years of age and is buried in the Oak Hill Cemetery, close to the grave of Ellen G. White and other pioneers.

1844

Black Advent believers affected by the Great Disappointment, which effectively ends Millerite movement.

John Lewis, a Black Millerite minister, writes biography of Charles Bowles entitled *The Life, Labor, and Trials of Charles Bowles*.

1859

Ellen G. White instructs church members to disobey the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act that requires American citizens to deliver fleeing slaves to their masters.

1861

Ellen White receives the historic vision at Roosevelt, New York, revealing the horrible curse and degradation of slavery. She declares God is bringing judgment against America for "the high crime of slavery," and that God "will punish the South for the sin of slavery and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence."

1862

Abraham Lincoln signs the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, effective January 1, 1863. The move opens the door for the Adventist message to move into the South.

1863

The Seventh day Adventist Church is officially organized in Battle Creek.

1871

Elbert B. Lane, the first Adventist minister in the South, reports holding meetings in a Tennessee depot building with "White people occupying one room, and the Colored the other."

1877

First Black SDA school begins in Missouri.

1886

The first Black congregation is formed in Edgefield Junction, Tennessee.

1889

Charles Kinney becomes first Black ordained SDA minister; was won to the Adventist faith through the preaching of J. N. Loughborough and E. G. White. He goes on to become one of the major pioneers in the Black work.

The concept of Black conferences is first suggested by Charles Kinney when confronted by efforts to segregate him and his members at camp meeting on the day of his ordination. He suggests this as a way to work more effectively among Blacks and to help deal with racial tensions and problems in the church.

1890

Marshall Enoch begins SDA work in Bermuda. (Bermuda Mission is organized by J. A. Morrow in 1959 with 35 members.)

1891

The famous testimony by Ellen White entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People" is published.

1892

James Patterson leaves for Jamaica; becomes first Black missionary.

Harry S. Shaw is appointed as a special agent by the General Conference to evangelize Blacks in the South.

1894

Edson White and Will Palmer begin to evangelize Southern Blacks via the steamship the *Morning Star*; they land in Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1895.

1895

Southern Missionary Society, devoted to working for Blacks in the South, is begun, headed by Edson White. It is incorporated in 1898 and becomes part of the Southern Union Conference in 1909.

1896

Oakwood Industrial School begins operation; becomes junior college in 1927. J. L. Moran becomes first Black president in 1932; school becomes senior college in 1943; receives accreditation in 1958. (Presidents: J. L. Beardsley, 1917-1923; J. A. Tucker, 1923-1932; J. L. Moran, 1932-1945; F. L. Peterson, 1945-1954; G. J. Millet, 1954-1963; A. V. Pinkney, 1963-

101 Facts About the Regional Work

1966; F. W. Hale, 1966-1971; C. B. Rock, 1971-1985; E. A. Cooper, interim, 1985; B. F. Reaves, 1985-present.)

1898

Gospel Herald is published by Edson White at Yazoo City, Mississippi. Designed to be an evangelistic journal for Black people; *Message*, its successor, begins in 1934.

1900s

Booker T. Washington is among notable persons to visit Battle Creek Sanitarium; becomes acquainted with Adventist health message.

1901

First Black SDA camp meeting, Edgefield Junction, Tennessee.

Anna Knight arrives in India; becomes first Black woman of any denomination to serve as a missionary there.

First Black SDA medical facility is founded in Nashville, Tennessee; it is later expanded to Riverside Hospital in 1927 under the direction of Mrs. Nellie Druillard. Turned over to the General Conference in 1935; further expanded with the purchase of 46 acres adjacent to property. Modern hospital building constructed in 1947; sold in 1983.

1906

In Los Angeles, Furlong Track church, the first Black SDA congregation on the West Coast still in existence, is organized. (Later becomes Wadsworth church and then University church.)

1907

John Ragland, a product of Adventist education and church worker, leaves the Adventist Church because of discrimination and segregation. He later rejoins in the 1960s.

1909

Testimonies, vol. 9 is published; section entitled "Among the Colored People," dealing with work among Blacks, is included.

Negro Department of the General Conference is formed; name changed to North American Colored Department in 1941; changed to North American Regional Department in 1954; discontinued in 1978. The department is created in the General Conference to deal with the growing issues of the Black work. W. H. Green becomes first Black head of the department. His successors are G. E. Peters, F. L. Peterson, C. E. Moseley, H. D. Singleton, and W. W. Fordham.

1910

Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is 1,000.

1912

Lottie Blake becomes first Black physician in the Adventist Church.

1914

Hadley Memorial Hospital opens.

1920

Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is 4,000.

Harlem (later Northeastern) Academy opens.

1921

Eva B. Dykes becomes first Black woman in the United States to complete requirements for the Ph.D. degree.

1929

James K. Humphrey, a Black Baptist minister who became an Adventist in 1902, a gifted leader, founds the First Harlem Seventh-day Adventist Church. Plans to create Utopia Park, consisting of an orphanage, a nursing home, a training school, an industrial area, and health-care facilities. Conference administration feels that Humphrey is not cooperating and moves to defrock him. Harlem congregation stands with Humphrey, and the Greater New York Conference votes to defrock him and disfellowship the entire congregation. It adopts the name United Sabbath-day Adventist Church.

1930

Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is 8,000.

1932

Black Adventist evangelistic journal *Message* magazine, successor to the *Gospel Herald*, receives its name after the decision of a national conference of Black leaders at the Ephesus church in New Orleans; begins publication in 1934. (Editors: R. B. Thurber, 1935; J. E. Shultz, 1936-1942; H. K. Christman, 1942-1943; R. L. Odom, 1943-1945; L. B. Reynolds, 1945-1959; J. E. Dykes, 1960-1967; G. J. Millet, 1968-1970; W. R. Robinson, 1971-1978; L. B. Reynolds, 1978-1980; J. P. Monk, Jr., 1980-1985; D. W. Baker, 1985-present.)

The historic student strike takes place at Oakwood Junior College.

1934

The Hope of the Race, a doctrinal work focusing on the progress of Blacks, is published. (F. L. Peterson, author.)

1939

Sweet Chariot Hour radiobroadcast begins in Pasadena, California.

1941

North American Informant published; ceases in 1978. *North American Regional Voice*, its successor, begins publication in 1978. (Editor: L. A. Paschal, 1978-present.)

1942

Office of Regional Affairs in Pacific Union Conference created with F. L. Peterson as its first secretary; 1,350 Black members in union at this time. (Current membership: 20,396.)

E. E. Cleveland starts his evangelistic ministry--baptizes more than 13,000 persons into the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

101 Facts About the Regional Work, a special issue of the SERVING WITH EXCELLENCE (SWE) newsletter, results from a joint effort between MESSAGE magazine and the Black Caucus of SDA Administrators. Naturally, this list could not be all-inclusive. However, it documents some of the major events that have impacted on the Black Adventist work. These facts have been derived mostly from published sources, but some facts may vary. As the list will be adjusted and updated, readers are encouraged to submit additional facts for consideration in future editions. Contact the MESSAGE editorial office (55 West Oak Ridge Drive, Hagerstown, MD 21740) or the Black Caucus of SDA Administrators (715 Youngs Lane, Nashville, TN 37207). The following persons formed the working committee that compiled these facts: Delbert W. Baker, Richard C. Brown, Earl Canson, William J. Cleveland, Jr., Tracy Cook, Charles E. Dudley, Frank W. Hale, Jr., and J. Paul Monk. This complimentary copy of the SERVING WITH EXCELLENCE newsletter is provided by the Black Caucus.

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Editor: Delbert W. Baker; Coordinator: Pat Humphrey; Typist: Carol Barron Thomas; Designer: Lee Cherry; Consultants: NAD Leaders

101 Facts About the Regional Work

1943

Lucy Byard, a gravely ill Black woman and longtime Adventist from Brooklyn, is admitted to Washington Adventist Sanitarium and Hospital, but is discharged when it is discovered that she is Black. She is transferred to Freedman's Hospital. She later dies of pneumonia. This incident, along with others, stirs the Black leadership to press the General Conference to act to ensure that such discrimination and inhumane treatment does not occur again in church institutions.

1944

Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is 20,000.

At Spring Meeting, held in Chicago's Stevens Hotel, the General Conference Committee approves Black (Regional) self-governing conferences.

1945

Lake Region Conference becomes the first Regional conference organized, with 2,320 members; J. G. Dasent elected first president. (Current membership: 19,897.)

Northeastern Conference is organized with 2,400 members; L. H. Bland elected first president. (Current membership: 32,765.)

Allegheny Conference is organized with 4,000 members; J. H. Wagner elected first president. (Divided in 1967.)

South Atlantic Conference is organized with 3,523 members; H. D. Singleton is elected first president. (Current membership: 21,344.)

South Central Conference is organized with 2,235 members; H. R. Murphy is elected first president. (Current membership: 19,738.)

1946

Pine Forge Academy opens. (Principals: J. L. Moran, 1946-1948; R. L. Reynolds, 1948-1950; E. I. Watson, 1950-1959; C. L. Brooks, 1959-1963; L. R. Palmer, 1963-1966; C. B. Tivy, 1966-1969; A. T. Westney, 1969-1976; A. Humphrey, 1976-1979; P. R. Jones, 1979-1981; R. Smith, 1981-1982; W. A. Cheatham, 1982-1985; C. Gill, 1985-1989; R. Mills, 1989-present.)

1947

Southwest Region Conference is organized with 1,939 members; W. W. Fordham elected first president. (Current membership: 12,619.)

Central States Mission is organized with 798 members; T. M. Rowe elected first president; becomes conference in 1952. (Current membership: 7,648.)

1960s

During the civil rights period White Adventists in many churches and schools refuse to admit or associate with Blacks.

1960

During this period a number of talented Black entertainers attend Oakwood College and/or join the church.

1962

At the General Conference session in San Francisco, more than 1,000 Black Adventists demonstrate against the church's racial policies.

Frank L. Peterson becomes the first of several Blacks to hold the position of general vice president of the General Conference.

1965

The *Review* carries actions of the General Conference that call for the ending of racial discrimination in the denomination's schools, hospitals, churches, and institutions.

1966

The Southern Work, a reprint of Ellen White's testimonies relating to the work for Blacks during the years 1891 to 1899, is published.

1967

Allegheny East Conference is organized with 7,264 members; W. A. Thompson is elected first president. (Current membership: 19,743.)

Allegheny West Conference is organized with 4,777 members; W. Starks is elected first president. (Current membership: 9,655.)

1968

Southern College in Tennessee admits its first Black student five years after the last state university, Alabama, had integrated its campus.

1970

Free at Last, a popular evangelistic work, is published. (E. E. Cleveland, author.)

Ron Graybill's *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* is one of the more significant books in the church's effort to educate the membership on racial matters.

The historic *16 Points* resolution outlining the General Conference's renewed commitment to equality and its position on Regional conferences and human relations is voted. This resolution remains a binding document today.

1971

Mission to Black America, an account of Edson White's missionary journeys in the South, is published. (Ron Graybill, author.)

1973

Breath of Life begins its first series of telecasts. C. D. Brooks is speaker and director; W. Artes is executive producer.

1975

G. Ralph Thompson becomes first Black to hold the office of General Conference secretary.

Angels in Ebony, an overview of Black Adventist history, is published. (Jacob Justiss, author.)

1977

Oakwood College church and Moseley Complex are constructed.

Robert Carter becomes first Black president of Bermuda Mission.

1978

Black Caucus of Seventh-day Adventist Administrators is organized in Huntsville, Alabama.

1979

The first Pastoral Evangelism Council held at Oakwood College.

Charles E. Bradford becomes first Black president of the North American Division.

1980

Robert Carter is elected president of the Lake Union Conference, becoming the first Black union conference president.

1981

Southeastern Conference organized with 7,774 members; James Edgcombe is elected first president. (Current membership, 14,484.)

1983

Monogram on E. G. White and race wars/future slavery question released by E. G. White estate.

1984

We Have Tomorrow, a history of the Black Seventh-day Adventist

101 Facts About the Regional Work

Church, is published. (L. B. Reynolds, author.)
 Albert Dudley becomes first Black administrator of Hadley Memorial Hospital.

1986
 Bermuda Conference organized with 2, 235 members; E. Richardson is elected first president. (Current membership: 3,650.)

Dr. Samson Kisekka is appointed prime minister of Uganda, highest ranking public official in the Adventist Church. (In 1988 a biography on his life was written by D. W. Baker.)

1987
 A biography on the life of William Ellis Foy, *The Unknown Prophet*, is published, providing research showing that Foy fulfilled his prophetic mission and that he did not reject God's command to share his vision with others, as did Hazen Foss. (D. W. Baker, author.)

1988
 The first GC Annual Council to be held in Africa convenes in Nairobi, Kenya.

Adventists in Africa is produced by *Message* magazine for the General Conference and the Eastern Africa and Africa-Indian Ocean divisions. This magazine and other witnessing literature are sent to every African embassy in Washington, D.C., sharing the Adventist message and life-style.

1989
Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America reaches 187,000.

A Star Gives Light, a Black SDA history text for elementary church schools, is published. (Norwida Marshall, editor.)

Barbara Jackson-Hall becomes first Black editor of NAD church magazine other than *Message*.

Rosa Banks becomes the first woman to hold the position of General Conference field secretary/NAD Human Relations Director.

1990
The more than 187,000 Black Seventh-day Adventists give more than \$66 million in tithe. These figures approximate 26 percent of the North American Division and 11 percent of the world church total. The tithe income of Black Adventists is larger than any division outside of the North American Division.

Church Leadership: A Call to Virtue, a work dealing with various aspects of administration, is published. (C. B. Rock, author.)

Gifted Hands: The Ben Carson Story is published. (Ben Carson and Cecil Murphy, authors.)

The Wit and Wisdom of Charles Bradford, a series of stories and experiences of C. E. Bradford, is published. (William and Noelene Johnsson, compilers.)

Profiles of Service, 150 Black Seventh-day Adventists who are making a unique contribution to their church and community, is published. (Sponsored by the Black Caucus.)

The Caucus of Black SDA Administrators is committed to:

1. **Evangelizing:** Spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ in the context of the three angels' messages in order to prepare people for the Second Coming
2. **Ministering:** Promoting the mission work and departmental ministries of the world church
3. **Nurturing:** Building and strengthening the church in those areas that minister to Black people
4. **Strategizing:** Planning and implementing strategies for the nurture and development of the Black constituency (including young people, families, the elderly, and the disadvantaged)
5. **Networking:** Supporting the work of Black institutions of the church and allowing for sharing and counseling together among Regional leaders
6. **Facilitating:** Encouraging the integration and involvement of the Black constituency in the inner workings of the church
7. **Promulgating:** Promoting principles of equity, justice, and fairness both inside and outside the church

Caucus Membership Roster

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R. Brown, Secretary

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- A. Kibble, President
- C. Cheatham, Secretary
- B. Mann, Treasurer

Allegheny West Conference

- W. Lewis, President
- C. Rogers, Secretary
- J. Lewis, Treasurer

Bermuda Conference

- E. Richardson, President
- C. Simmons, Secretary
- D. Pearman, Treasurer

Breath of Life

- C. Brooks, Director/Speaker
- W. Arties, Executive Producer

Central States Conference

- P. Monk, President
- P. Ware, Secretary/Treasurer

Emeritus

- E. Cleveland
- G. Earle

Hadley Hospital

- A. Dudley, President

Lake Region Conference

- L. Palmer, President
- R. Brown, Secretary
- L. Stone, Treasurer

Message Magazine

- D. Baker, Editor

Northeastern Conference

- S. Brooks, President
- H. Baptiste, Secretary
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North Pacific Union Conference

- E. Shepperd, Regional Affairs Dir.

Pacific Union Conference

- E. Canson, Regional Affairs Dir.

Regional Voice

- L. Paschal, Editor

Oakwood College

- B. Reaves, President

Pine Forge Academy

- R. Mills, Principal

South Atlantic Conference

- R. Feay, President
- V. Mendinghall, Secretary

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- F. Crowe, Treasurer

Southeastern Conference

- J. Doggette, President
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- R. Patterson, Treasurer

Southwest Region Conference

- R. Barron, President
- S. Green, Secretary
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New Trails in the Old West

The Underground Railroad was a humane enterprise operated by people who were opposed to slavery and who helped runaways reach free territory. Sometimes it involved feeding and housing the refugee between points in his journey. Sometimes it meant driving him in a wagon or buggy to a given destination. Again, it might mean listening for knocks at the door at night and going to the window to whisper a few directions to those who could give the password. The route was forever changing, to throw slave catchers off the trail.

The Underground had numerous branches in the North and a few in the South, but not much has been recorded of its activity in the West. Yet, as early as 1855 Seventh-day Adventists in the West were involved.

In Kearney, Nebraska, one Adventist, a vendor of fruits and vegetables and a member of the Underground, had a false bottom in his spring wagon with enough room for a man to hide underneath. With boxes of produce on top, filled with tomatoes, green peppers, oranges, artichokes, and the like, the presence of an escaped slave below was not suspected. Many such devices helped western

abolitionists conceal their activities. A tomato cut in a wedge and placed on the dining table announced to sympathetic visitors that a slave was harbored in the house and they were to be on the lookout for strangers or suspicious people in the community who might attempt to capture him. The Anti-Slavery Society often arranged to secret a fugitive across the Mason-Dixon line, out of the South, but this was only a half freedom. He could still be pursued and overtaken—even from the far West—and returned to Southern bondage. Only in Canada was he beyond the reach of the slave system, for while Canadians gave the slave refuge, they refused slave catchers permission to invade their land.

Hannah Ford was an escaped slave who had been helped by Adventists in the Underground system in the West. She was a sister of Barney Ford, who later became the first black millionaire in the old West. At one time he owned a chain of hotels—in Nicaragua, Wyoming, and Colorado. In Chicago on business, Barney Ford met Edward Goins, a runaway slave from southern Virginia who had fled the South after beating his white half brother, son of the slavemaster, unmercifully. Ford helped Goins get to Nebraska; there he met Adventists and became involved in a Bible study group, which met in different homes on set days of the week. Among the people who conducted the studies were those who, a few years earlier, had assisted Hannah Ford in her escape from bondage. Goins was later married to Hannah's daughter, whose name was also Hannah. Though Goins himself did not join the Adventists, his descendants became members. A granddaughter, Ruth Goins, was a graduate of Adventist schools and was married to Dr. John Bookhart, an Adventist physician who graduated from the University of Nebraska and practiced in Denver, Colorado. Her sister, Donna Goins, was married to Harvey Kibble, a minister. Stories of the secret Bible studies and descriptions of weird prophetic beasts painted on window shades have been passed down in the Goins family through five generations.

Most historians of the nineteenth century were too engrossed with elections, debates, and diplomatic schemes to heed what was happening on the western frontier. They realized, of course, that migrants, prospectors, and blue-coated soldiers were adding great blocks of territory to the nation. But in general it did not occur to them that the pioneers' recurrent wrestlings with the frontier might also create a distinctive way of life and that a denomination was gathering momentum that would spread across the entire nation and the world.

Around 1890, when the Census Bureau declared that a frontier line no longer existed, and Hamlin Garland was writing about the arduous aspects of Plains living, historian Frederick Jackson Turner announced his now-famous hypothesis: to understand America, one must understand the West. By the same token, if one is to understand the Seventh-day Adventist Church, he must understand something of the denomination's roots in the West.

Charles M. Kinny (or "Kinney," according to the S.D.A. Encyclopedia), born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, in 1855, had joined a party moving to the West when he was 10 or 11 years old. The Civil War had just ended, and many emancipated bondmen traveled in groups, seeking their future in a new territory of the nation. Kinny's party divided at points such as St. Louis and Kansas City; most of them found temporary jobs to tide them over until the next stop. Eventually he reached Reno, Nevada, a market of the cattle-raising area and a distribution point for mines of Nevada. Here Kinny found small jobs with attractive pay and sought a kind of permanence he had never known before. Lonely and far from home, he lay awake evenings listening for the whistle of the night train.

In 1878, Kinny attended meetings held under a tent in Reno conducted by John N. Loughborough, pioneer evangelist and administrator. Loughborough and Daniel T. Bourdeau helped to establish five churches in Sonoma County, California, one of them in Santa Rosa, where the first Seventh-day Adventist church building

west of the Rocky Mountains was erected in 1869. Loughborough baptized the first three Seventh-day Adventist members in Nevada in 1878, and Kinny, if not among the three, was certainly in the list of seven charter members of the Reno church.

While Loughborough's effort was still in progress Mrs. Ellen G. White visited Reno, and on Tuesday evening, July 30, she preached to a crowd of four hundred, using the words of John: "Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." Kinny, a deadly serious young man who knew few pleasures in life, found courage and assurance in that sermon. His life as a slave had been uncertain, his family associations at best distant and unpredictable, but in God he had joined a new family, and through His leading Kinny discovered new friends and a new life. He kept his first Sabbath on the last Saturday of September, 1878, and treasured snippets of time spent in church as though they were gold from the Medes.

Reno members, sensing his earnestness, elected him their church clerk. Kinny's ability seems to have been readily perceived by conference officials, who offered him the position of secretary to the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society, established to foster the missionary spirit among local churches.

"Come now, and let us reason together," Kinny was fond of saying, after Isaiah. He could debate as well as keep voluminous records and statistics. The Tract Society was certainly a stimulating adventure for him, for he enjoyed reading. In the books he purchased he underlined choice passages and made profuse notes throughout the margins.

During the period of his work with the Tract Society, Kinny arranged for a complete collection of Adventist books and periodicals to be placed in the public library of Reno and in the Reno Temperance Reform Club. In his zeal he did not forget to share his newly found faith with Baptist friends he had known in Richmond; he placed their names on a list to receive copies of the *Signs of the Times* and other

literature. It is not unlikely that these contacts resulted in some of the earliest converts to Adventism from the black community of Richmond. It was also Kinny's duty to prepare quarterly reports for the *Review and Herald* and to formulate a progress summary for the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society.

As his work came increasingly to the attention of Adventist leaders the California Conference entered into an agreement to help Reno church members send him to Healdsburg College for further education. Kinny enrolled at Healdsburg in 1883, when the institution was only a year old and classes met in the two-story building of the recently acquired Healdsburg Institute. At the opening of this new Adventist college in 1882 it had only two teachers, Sidney Brownsberger (former president of Battle Creek College) and his wife, and twenty-six students. Most students had come for special short-term school programs so they could go immediately into denominational work. Kinny remained for two years.¹

Ellen G. White was living in Healdsburg at the time; the chances are that Kinny had several opportunities to hear her speak during his college years. In 1885, at the end of his Healdsburg studies, the California Conference called upon Kinny's services and sent him to Topeka, Kansas, to commence work among the growing black population of that city. Thus began the long career of the one who was to be the first ordained minister of African descent in the Adventist Church.²

In 1896 Jennie L. Ireland, sister of John Ireland, at one time with the General Conference Treasury Department, began a self-supporting ministry among black Americans of Los Angeles. A graduate nurse from Battle Creek Sanitarium, she did medical work, held Bible studies, and eventually helped to organize the Furlong Seventh-day Adventist church, the first congregation of black believers west of Kansas City, Missouri.

It all began in a prayer meeting held in the Los Angeles Central

church when Jennie Ireland presented her burden to see something done to reach the greatly neglected black population. Shortly after this, Sarah Cain, a Central church member, asked her postman if he would be willing to have someone come to his home to give Bible studies. His immediate response was, "Yes, my wife will be glad to have them." The postman was Theodore Troy, father of Owen A. Troy.

Jennie Ireland herself conducted Bible classes in the postman's home. With the discussions she combined home nursing demonstrations, classes in healthful cooking, and the like. In fact, she taught the Troys and their friends everything she knew about the Adventist message. The Troy family, Mrs. C. E. Hendricks, and the Temple family all joined as a result of these Bible studies, and all made worthwhile contributions to the church over a period of many decades and in many localities. Shortly after the Troys' baptism, a colporteur studied with the Bontemps family and they joined the church. Later many other members of their family also became Adventists.

Owen Troy attended Pacific Union College, and upon his graduation in 1922 entered the ministry in southern California. He followed in his evangelism the same procedures used by Jennie Ireland in presenting the gospel. Wherever he had a church, he set up a clinic, held home nursing classes, cooking classes, and demonstrations of first-aid procedures. During the depression he set up an employment office in the church to assist members who found it difficult to obtain jobs. He taught people how to organize and operate churches. Troy observed how Jennie Ireland drilled and reviewed Bible study subjects until her students could explain the topics themselves, and in his ministry Troy did the same. No one was baptized into his congregation until that person thoroughly understood the Adventist teachings. Troy always taught principles of healthful living as a doctrine. In some churches he established clinics and always emphasized the vegetarian diet, which Jennie Ireland

had also taught in that first Bible class. In 1924 Troy married Ruby Bontemps, a daughter of one of the original Furlong families, a young woman with a charming personality who had a great gift as a public speaker and an extraordinary competence in music.

Troy was a creative, constructive genius, a man of explicit detail who used his great talents to the honor and glory of God. He conducted several tent meetings, baptized many converts, and his church administration was a model of order and detail. He was a violinist of consummate skill and with great success conducted choirs and choral groups, including the Sweet Chariot Hour radio group. On one occasion he rendered violin numbers in connection with a program featuring the celebrated Roland Hayes. He also played for the wedding of Ralph Bunche. He had the reputation of being the best violinist west of the Mississippi. Troy was totally honest, hardworking, unyielding on points of principle, and had a personal reputation that was pure gold.

In 1923 P. G. Rodgers came to Los Angeles from Baltimore to take over the work begun by Jennie Ireland. A native of Philadelphia, he had been the only convert from a tent meeting held some years earlier by Fred H. Seeney in Wilmington, Delaware. Rodgers was a tall man, more than six feet, and since both he and his wife were of a very fair complexion, the congregation thought the conference had sent a white man to be their pastor. Mrs. Rodgers was a Moor; that is, one of a group of people of mixed Indian, white, and Negro ancestry, found in central Delaware. Like the Spanish Moors, they had a racial flow back and forth that defied classification. But whatever the Rodgerses' origins, their warm and friendly manner, and their aggressive church program soon won the hearts of the Furlong group.

Rodgers began one of the most progressive city ministries that had ever been undertaken in southern California. Each year he pitched a big tent on Central Avenue in the heart of the black community and usually ran a three-month summer crusade. He used the best talent available to make the tent services attractive to Central

Avenue crowds and other visitors brought by members from nearby Pasadena, Long Beach, and Santa Monica. Eventually membership outgrew the Furlong building and the congregation moved to the Thirty-sixth Street location. From there they moved to the Wadsworth Avenue church building. Out of the Central Avenue meetings came, in addition to Los Angeles converts, people who made up new congregations in Pasadena, Santa Monica, and West Los Angeles. The Watts church was organized around 1914.

Rodgers was a chiropractor as well as a minister of the gospel. He treated scores of people without cost; many felt that his competence in health matters greatly enhanced his ministry, that his pastorate was more successful with the practice than it would have been without it. Conference administrators, however, took a dim view of the chiropractic interest and advised him not to continue it as long as he was a pastor, since they felt either would require his full time. But a task that would have overwhelmed ordinary men seemed to be no problem for Rodgers. Contrary to official fears, the Wadsworth congregation continued to grow, and Rodgers was said to have done more to build up the work in the Los Angeles area than any man of his time.

Rodgers also had considerable musical ability. He developed choirs involving many young people, and on numerous occasions he arranged appearances for them in nearby communities. H. M. S. Richards invited them to sing for his big evangelistic meetings, and other Adventist pastors in the area invited them to present music for Sabbath services.

After studying the prophecies with Jennie Ireland, Paul B. Bontemps, who came to California from Louisiana, had aspirations to enter the ministry. Sensing this, Rodgers sent him out on Sabbath assignments to preach to congregations that had sprung up around Los Angeles. Eventually Bontemps was ordained and given a permanent charge. He had been a bricklayer in the South, and he brought this special skill to his ministry. In the difficult depression

years he built the Pasadena and Watts churches at a substantial saving in hard-to-get cash.

His son, Arna Bontemps, was graduated from Pacific Union College and entered upon a career of teaching in denominational schools. His first assignment was Harlem Academy, where he was eventually made principal. His second appointment was to Oakwood as English teacher. His last service to the denomination was as principal of Shiloh Academy, in Chicago. He devoted many years to writing, first in the Pacific Union College paper and then in *Signs of the Times*. Later he submitted manuscripts to major New York publishers and became famous in his lifetime as a prolific and sensitive interpreter of the black experience. For many years he was librarian and writer-in-residence at Fisk University. For about six years he was a visiting professor at the University of Chicago and at Yale.

Mrs. Estelle Hendricks, another Furlong charter member, volunteered her services to the church as a Bible instructor. She was a woman of great personal charm, exploding vitality, and she gave genuine substance to the spirit of Adventism. Her home was perpetually open to young people, and she helped several aspiring students receive a college education. Some of these eventually became leaders in the Adventist work.

Dr. Ruth J. Temple, another original Furlong member and daughter of a Baptist preacher, was an idealist who found in the Adventist Church the embodiment of all the good things she had sought or known, a beginning of the eternal journey toward the city of God. Born in Natchez, Mississippi, where her parents had gone as "missionaries" from Granville, Ohio, Dr. Temple has described the protective environment of their residence near Natchez:

"Our home was our world—our world of preparation for a larger service. Located on the outskirts of Natchez, we had a 13-acre homesite called 'Templedale.' It was covered with tall trees, green ferns, and flowering shrubs. We loved it. Though we did not go out into the community, our lives were full. We loved each other's

society, and we learned to know and appreciate other people. My father had a wonderful library and was an excellent Greek and Hebrew scholar. As he was delightfully interesting, students often consulted him on matters of educational interest. Our parents brought people with whom they worked into our home, and welcomed all who wanted to visit and enjoy our simple home life."

The family moved to Port Gibson, Mississippi; while her father served there as pastor, he became ill and died. Afterward her mother took the children to Los Angeles, where they came in touch with Jennie Ireland's Bible class and became Adventists. Ruth Temple attended the old San Fernando Academy and later enrolled in the medical course at the College of Medical Evangelists, now Loma Linda University.

She finished medical school in 1918 and began practice the same year. In 1923 she began work in the Los Angeles County Maternity Service, and for many subsequent years, while in private practice, maintained connections with the city health department as a maternity service staff member. She was also one of the chief attending physicians in the children's clinic at the College of Medical Evangelists. Throughout her long career she held several positions on the faculty of her alma mater. In 1941, after taking a degree in public health at Yale University, she was appointed assistant health officer and director of special health services for the city of Los Angeles. Many times she has related one incident, which seemed especially to probe her heart and channel her life into an ever-unfolding performance for God and humanity:

"I remember receiving a call quite early one morning while I was in private practice. The telephone rang, and when I answered sleepily, my senses became instantly aware of the distress evidenced by the caller. A voice fraught with terror cried in broken accents, 'My baby's breathing hurts him to breathe!' I threw on some clothes and hurried to the address given near San Pedro Street. I found in a miserable room greatly lacking in ventilation a distraught mother

clutching her baby. Willingly she allowed me to make a hurried examination, which confirmed by fears. I dashed out to call the hospital. When I returned and explained quickly to the mother that the baby had pneumonia in an advanced state and must be taken immediately to the hospital, her expression changed. Her eyes, now full of hate and fear, rejected me. 'No!' she cried. 'I love my baby; and when he is sick, you can't take him away and put him among strangers.'

"Desperately I explained that doctors and nurses were kind, and that the baby would have a chance to get well in the hospital. She only clutched the child closer and refused to allow me to take it. This was, of course, before the day of penicillin. . . . The mother feared hydrotherapy. Without a chance for help this baby died! But that little one's death was not in vain.

"I knew then that through ignorance many people perished. Health-education programs would have to be developed that would teach people how to accept medical aid and how to help themselves to health. I also knew that young people who had lost their way, who had illegitimate pregnancies and venereal diseases, must be taught a better way. . . . I wanted to teach hopeless people that their God-given talents were being wasted and that they could, with God's help, start anew and work for themselves toward wholeness in an atmosphere of new opportunity."

Dr. Temple began her initial health study club in a YMCA building, not far from the home where the baby had died of pneumonia. The program was instituted with the purpose of helping people help themselves, teaching them how to prevent disease and tragedy. Another important objective was to inform them of available medical services—either through a private physician or some public health service. She also taught them that many health-connected problems had some spiritual or mental origin, that guilt feelings were often registered not only in depression and anguish but in pain.

In 1944 Dr. Temple and her sister conceived the idea of a general

countywide community Health Week that would embrace the entire population. The idea was accepted and implemented by the Los Angeles County Health Department. Since 1945 the program (the only program of its kind, so far as is known, in the world) has been followed every year with astounding success. Health Week was proclaimed annually by the mayor of Los Angeles and the county board of supervisors. All metropolitan dailies carried articles and pictures about Health Week; streetcars and buses displayed posters; radio and television stations promoted the event; city and county schools, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, men's organizations, chambers of commerce, labor groups, business leaders, churches, and other major community bodies put on extensive Health Week programs.

A luncheon at the Biltmore Hotel featured well-known speakers who urged citizens to take advantage of opportunities made available by medical science to improve their health and thus contribute to more abundant living. Dr. Temple continually emphasized spiritual needs and took advantage of every opportunity to introduce people to the Lord Jesus as the Source of healing and health. She succeeded in getting Health Week recognized throughout California, and in 1976 U.S. Representative Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, of California, introduced a bill in Congress recommending that her program be promoted and implemented throughout the nation.

Evangelism in California has flourished through the years since the ministry of Rodgers at Wadsworth. Frank L. Peterson, who left the General Conference to take over the Wadsworth pulpit when Rodgers retired, continued the soul-winning ministry, baptizing more converts who joined the already overcrowded sanctuary. It was necessary then to organize new congregations and expand old ones. R. Hope Robertson, who moved from the West Indies to California in the early forties, also began a campaign that resulted in scores of baptisms. His unusual, sometimes controversial, presentation of doctrine, which raised eyebrows even among Washington leaders,

all minority groups and was still functioning in the late seventies. The result has been an increase in cordiality among the races and a better understanding of the needs and aspirations of the various ethnic groups.

Some developments were considered worthy of a place in the record. In 1971 Major White was elected associate secretary of Pacific Union Conference, the first to serve in that capacity. Ron Lindsey became an auditor for the union's trust department in 1976. John Collins was appointed associate director of the union's lay activities department in 1977. The Pacific Union has had a director of the office of regional affairs since 1942. Frank L. Peterson was the first; those succeeding him were Owen A. Troy, Willie S. Lee, G. Nathaniel Banks, and Earl A. Canson.

In the Southern California Conference Lorenzo Paytee is the executive secretary. William DeShay is coordinator of black affairs. Byron Dulan is an associate director of the youth department. Phyllis Paytee is supervisor of all the elementary teachers in the conference, and R. Z. Boyce is an assistant in the publishing department. The Southern California Conference has for some years endeavored to meet the needs of its largest minority by providing a sufficient number of pastors, Bible instructors, and evangelists to do the work. Those who served in Southern California in the seventies included Joe Hutchinson, an assistant in the publishing department; Glen Howell and James Kyle, both associate youth directors. Richard Simons and Ronald Lindsey had positions in the treasury department, and Eric C. Ward, R. Wendell Nelson, and Earl A. Canson served as executive officers for the conference.

The Northern California Conference elected Richard Simons in 1974 to the post of executive secretary. Ned Lindsay had directed the inner-city work in that conference. David Taylor was associate youth director and Kenneth Smith was conference evangelist and the coordinator of regional affairs. Irwin Dulan, who since has taken up mission work in Ethiopia, once was associate youth director of

Northern California Conference.

In the Southeastern California Conference Horace Barker is the director of the inner-city work and coordinator of regional affairs. Maurice Woods is presently serving as associate director of the youth department. Others who have been on the Southeastern California Conference staff in recent years have been Richard Hamilton, David Taylor, Henry T. Saulter, and Edward A. White.

The Central California Conference has as its director of communication and director of its community services department William C. Webb. Richard Hamilton is associate youth director. Others who have served in recent years on the staff are Ted T. Jones, David Taylor, and Major C. White.

All California conferences employ office secretaries from the black constituency, and most of the hospitals operated by the denomination in the Pacific Union have Afro-American members working in key positions. Two of the twenty-three senior academies in the Pacific Union have had principals who are black: Roland McKenzie, principal of Lynwood Academy; and William Wright, principal of Golden Gate Academy. Approximately fifty qualified black instructors teach in the Pacific Union school system from kindergarten to twelfth grade.

Pacific Union College and La Sierra Campus of Loma Linda University have made significant progress in employing minority group educators and administrative personnel. Pacific Union College has three black faculty members, and La Sierra Campus has six. Two black staff members serve as resident deans.

In the seventies five black ministers were assigned to nonblack churches, either as pastor or assistant pastor.

The development of the West and of Adventism was simultaneous. Their time had come at the time of the end. Yet the two were not identical. Converts who had become members in the East and Middle West moved beyond the Rockies like water released, eagerly or under social or financial compulsion. The preachers moved under a system.

lucrative practice; hence, he soon became well-known in the State. In 1962 he was appointed to the California Board of Education, and in 1973 was made chairman of the board. He insisted that the story of Creation be included in elementary and high school texts, and the board voted to do this. The result was a massive revision of texts, not only for California but for other schools served by publishers of their textbooks. The decision was widely discussed on radio and television, and in newspapers and weekly newsmagazines.

Willie S. Lee, an Oakwood graduate, was elected regional department secretary after Troy's term in the union. He surveyed the vast field and sought ways to get more people involved in conference evangelism. Under his leadership black congregations grew considerably; offerings also registered a dramatic increase.

G. Nathaniel Banks, whose family came to California from Oklahoma in 1923 and who were among the charter members of Pasadena church, pastored briefly in California before he was called to West Africa to become the first black American president of an overseas mission. He went out in 1945, remained until 1954, and upon completion of four terms of overseas service located once again in California. In a few years he became secretary in the Office of Regional Affairs and remained in that position until his retirement in 1976.

Earl Canson, who followed Banks in the Office of Regional Affairs, had come up through the ranks as a pastor in California and had served briefly as associate secretary of the Southern California Conference. His election coincided with the move of Pacific Union Conference offices from Glendale to Thousand Oaks in 1976.

Other changes had taken place in California affecting the regional membership, which in the late seventies numbered more than thirteen thousand. Major C. White was elected an associate secretary of the union, and both Earl Canson and G. Nathaniel Banks were members of the union committee. Also serving in a lay capacity at different times on the union committee were Anita J. Mackey, social

worker with the Veterans Administration in Santa Barbara; and Gloria Mackson Hemphill, treasurer of the Rapid Radial Transport in Sunnyvale, who also had served as a missionary in Tanzania.

Another of California's sons who has had a distinguished career in evangelism is Eric C. Ward. While he was pastor in San Diego he instituted what he termed the "Go-Tell" program, an imaginative lay witnessing plan that caught on quickly in the Southeastern California Conference and around the nation. His special Bible study tracts have been distributed by the thousands and have been used in white and black congregations alike to win numerous converts to the church.

The Pacific Union Conference and the local conferences that it comprises have exhibited a certain awareness of social change in the sixties and seventies and put forth some effort to keep pace. In 1945 and beyond, when regional conferences became a reality in the East and Midwest, the approximately 1,500 blacks and the sixteen conference workers who made up the regional department's constituency of the Pacific Union Conference felt that the two major groups could work well together and that a certain posture of integration would take hold in the West.

When black pastors were called together in 1955 they voiced what they felt to be the sentiments of their constituents: that in the existing conference structure they believed that departmental and administrative positions would be opened to black leaders in the conferences. They felt that by this means some of the accomplishments of regional conferences would be duplicated in the Pacific Union territory if the membership could demonstrate patience and set up some type of forum where black and white leaders could meet and iron out problems. They could also plan ways to develop an integrated system of operation throughout the union and its related fields. In 1958 a race-relations committee was set up within the union, composed of conference presidents, union administration, some union departmental personnel, and representatives of the black constituency from the local conferences. This committee was later expanded to include

nonetheless contributed to a stable and responsible membership.

One of California's native sons, Owen A. Troy, served as pastor of the Shiloh congregation in Chicago for several years. For a time he was business manager at Oakwood College. He returned to California in 1939 and began a radio program called *The Sweet Chariot Hour*, which he fostered in connection with his evangelism at Pasadena's Sunset Avenue church. In San Diego Jarrod E. Johnson, another fervent soul winner, carried on an effective laymen's movement that added a considerable membership. Meanwhile Harold A. Lindsey followed Troy in Pasadena and later moved on to be pastor of Compton Avenue church. Troy moved to the union as secretary in the Office of Regional Affairs. R. Wendell Nelson kept up a steady program at Market Street church in Oakland, and Jeter E. Cox built up the small group of believers in San Francisco. Many new churches were added, and young men, most of whom were graduates of Pacific Union College, were installed as pastors: Earl Canson, Major White, G. Nathaniel Banks, Garland J. Millet, and Eric C. Ward.

An evangelistic crusade in west Los Angeles by E. Earl Cleveland in 1964 resulted in the baptism of more than four hundred converts and served as a field school for numerous ministers of North America and even South America. R. Wendell Nelson, transferred to southern California, continued the soul-winning emphasis and baptized scores of new members who joined the Sunset Avenue church or, later, the Miramonte church in Los Angeles. Jonathan W. Allison, who joined the early Adventist congregation at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, also was a pastor in southern California, as was his son, Jonathan, Jr.

Byron R. Spears came to California from Kansas in the early sixties to add his evangelistic talent to the growing work in the West. In time he was invited to join the Voice of Prophecy staff and thus widened his ministry to cover the entire nation, reaching out occasionally to hold meetings in Hawaii and Bermuda. Spears had the unusual

ability to memorize long Scripture passages; he quoted them faultlessly, without a mistake in a word or sentence. He was able to attract large crowds and baptized scores of converts from both white and black districts. An altar boy in the Catholic church during his boyhood, Spears could speak convincingly to people of Catholic, Episcopal, and Anglican backgrounds about his yearning for a more substantial and plausible faith.

Dennis T. Black, a minister with considerable experience in building and decorating, supervised the construction of a new church in San Diego while he was a pastor in the Southeastern California Conference. When he was assigned to the Berean church in Los Angeles he led the work of building a new church for that congregation, which greatly enhanced the Adventist cause in the city's westside community.

A new Los Angeles Academy was built in 1946, and Joseph F. Dent, who had been administrator of a junior academy in the city, was installed as principal. Christian education thus received a new vote of confidence, and teachers came from many parts of the nation to join the faculty. This consciousness of the place of church school swept across the Pacific Union, and black children took their places in the numerous other academies and grade schools provided by local conferences in the West. Pacific Union College, La Sierra College, and later Loma Linda University, all showed increased enrollments of black students after World War II. Moreover, the colleges added black scholars to their faculties, making these campuses even more attractive to students representing minority groups. Gaines Partridge, formerly on the faculty of Oakwood College, was made associate dean of admissions at Loma Linda, with a special responsibility to recruit black students for the several medical and paramedical programs.

John R. Ford, a physician who located in San Diego, was soon on the staff of nearby Paradise Valley Sanitarium and other hospitals. A specialist in thoracic surgery, Ford had both a wide clientele and

INTO THE SOUTHLAND

ANOTHER field beckoned, tardily and hesitantly. That was the South. The United States from the beginning had sections, each with its own particular people, social mores, economic conditions, and deepening sense of solidarity. East and West—a West ever being populated from the East, ever rolling its horizons on—were always mildly antagonistic, the frontier broadening men's minds, the cramped quarters of the older settlement fostering conservatism. But the rivalry between North and South, having its roots in colonial interests and conditions, was greater, and grew with the years and the century. Agriculture in the two sections chose its separate systems, one free soil and individualistic, the other slave and oligarchic. Commerce, affected in part by the geography of the two sections but in greater part by the mental bent and education of their peoples, grew to a dominant position in the North, but in the South remained the submissive servant of the soil. Finally the populations became differentiated; the South remained almost wholly English, or at least British in character, while the North received great numbers of other nationalities, particularly German and Scandinavian. Cultural agencies—church, school, home, society—cast the character of the South in the aristocratic mold, that of the North into a melting pot of democracy. And the moral issue at last raised over slavery, inevitably mixed with economic interests and sectional or national pride, brought on the dreadful cleavage that was the Civil War.

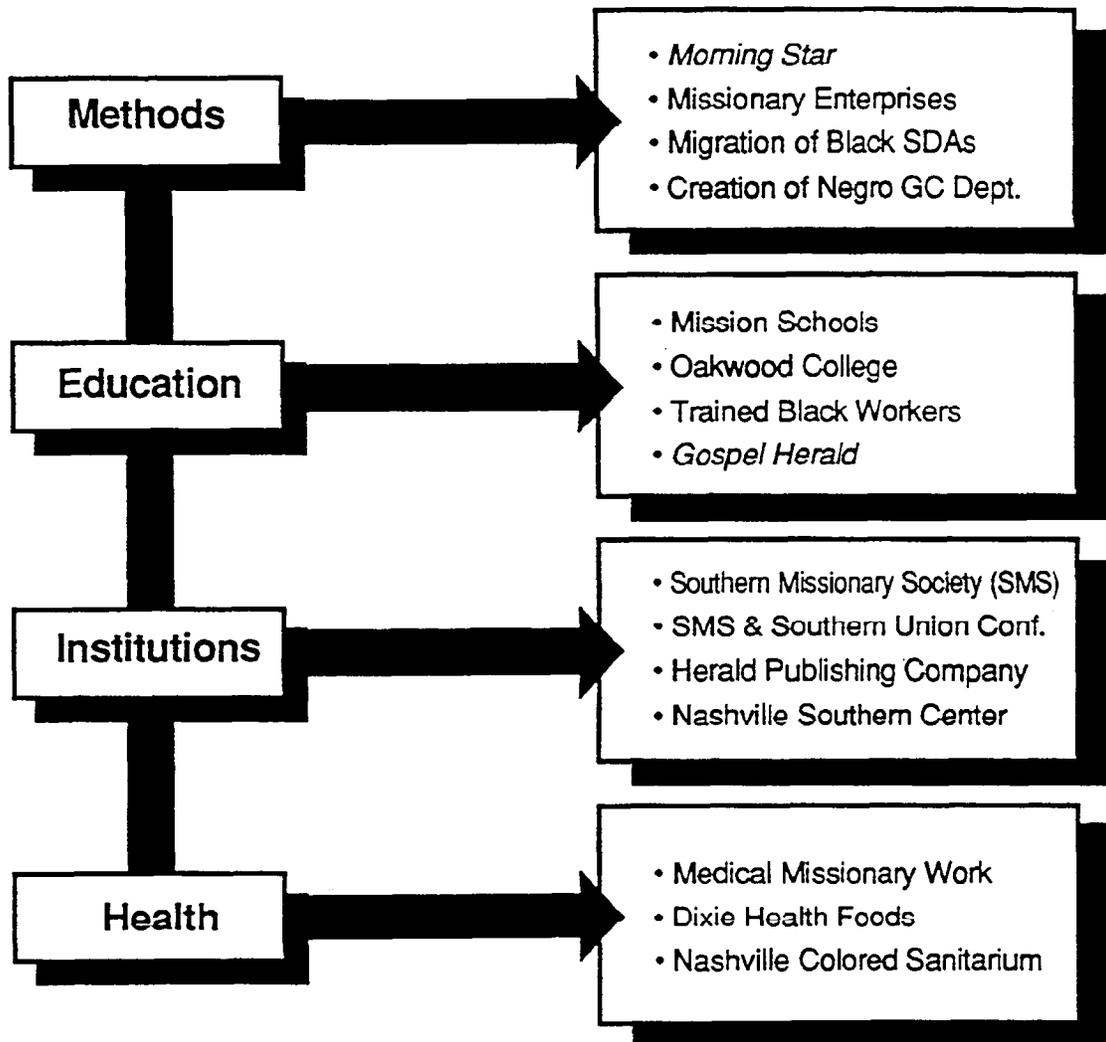
It has been said that war between brothers is the most deadly of wars. There is no denying that the war between the North and the South, brethren, engendered blind and deep-seated hatreds, which were exaggerated by the policies and deeds of reconstruction. Yet there is scarcely a parallel in

history to the rapid recovery of amity and brotherhood exhibited in the relations of North and South within a few years after the carnage of the wilderness and the slaughter at Gettysburg. The North, it is true, was hampered in this renaissance by its pharasaic sense of moral right, and the South by its pride and sense of injury; yet the generation that fought in the blue and the gray clasped hands before a decade was gone, and their sons and their sons' sons have buried the issues in the musty books of history.

Seventh-day Adventists made no progress in the South before the Civil War. A stray member or two in Maryland and Virginia and a scattered company in Missouri marked the limits of their advance. They were a small people then, and deeply impregnated with the ideals of liberty which made them abhor slavery. Their origin was in the North, and their progress was westward rather than southward. They looked upon the South as a closed field, where violent men defended their prejudices with guns and whips. But after the war they discovered, to their surprise, that the Southern mind was open to their message of God's law and Christ's coming. The South retained what the circuit riders had given it—a reverence for the Bible and the cardinal principles of Christianity. Moreover, when Adventists responded to the calls, they found, no less to their surprise, that there was in the South a noticeable, even dominant, attitude of open-mindedness and open-heartedness to Northerners who came bent, not on mastership and gain, but on friendship.

The first Seventh-day Adventist minister to enter the South, Elbert B. Lane, wrote for the church paper a summation of his impressions and investigations, which for clarity, keen observation, just weighing of issues, and perception of the true mission of a Christian people, is not to be excelled. It was but six years after the close of the war; reconstruction, with all its inequities, insult, and robbery was in full swing in the Deep South; and the Ku Klux Klan was answering with its whips and ghostly attire. The industry and economy of the

**Major Developments in the Early Black SDA Work (1890-1910)
Resulting From Ellen White's Direct or Indirect Influence**



Unique to Adventists, the system was called "the movement," and what they proclaimed endlessly was "the message." Preachers did not go on their own initiative or wander about like friars. They went when and where the conference committee directed.

To the fringe of civilization in the West, where "church bells were seldom heard and religious observances were so rare as to be holidays," the zeal of the Adventist Church brought fervency, regularity of devotions, and a certain hope. Books and tracts and magazines were distributed everywhere, and the witness of Adventist members carried the gospel throughout the vastness of the West. Others might have seemed as fiery in their faith as the Adventists, but they lacked the judgment-hour evangel, the authority of the Word, the gift of prophecy to spur them on to a finished work. The assurance that divine guidance was with them, and the experience of learning as they went, sharing what they had learned, made these servants of God invincible.

To join the young and growing churches in the West with believers in the East would require more than organization. There would have to be another level to give Adventists of African descent some feeling of common purpose. Thus increasingly a nationwide identification with Oakwood College came into being. Further, weekend sessions at Wawona Camp and the annual gathering of the black membership at Lynwood Academy, both in California, have always been attended by speakers from the East. Geographical, racial, and language affinities, and natural related interests had their meeting point in the Advent hope, the hope of the coming of the Lord.

NOTES

¹ Louis B. Reynolds, story about Charles M. Kinny, in third-grade reader, *Forward March*. (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press, 1963), pp. 280-285.

² *SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 741.

I Got a Home in Dat Rock

I got a home in dat Rock,
Don't you see?
I got a home in dat Rock,
Don't you see?
Between de earth an' sky,
Thought I heard my Saviour cry,
You got a home in dat Rock,
Don't you see?

Poor man Laz'rus, poor as I,
Don't you see?
Poor man Laz'rus, poor as I,
Don't you see?
Poor man Laz'rus, poor as I,
When he died he found a home on high,
He had a home in dat Rock,
Don't you see?

Rich man Dives, he lived so well,
Don't you see?
Rich man Dives, he lived so well,
Don't you see?
Rich man Dives, he lived so well,
When he died he found a home in Hell,
He had no home in dat Rock,
Don't you see?

God gave Noah de Rainbow sign,
Don't you see?
God gave Noah de Rainbow sign,
Don't you see?
God gave Noah de Rainbow sign,
No more water but fire next time,
Better get a home in dat Rock,
Don't you see?

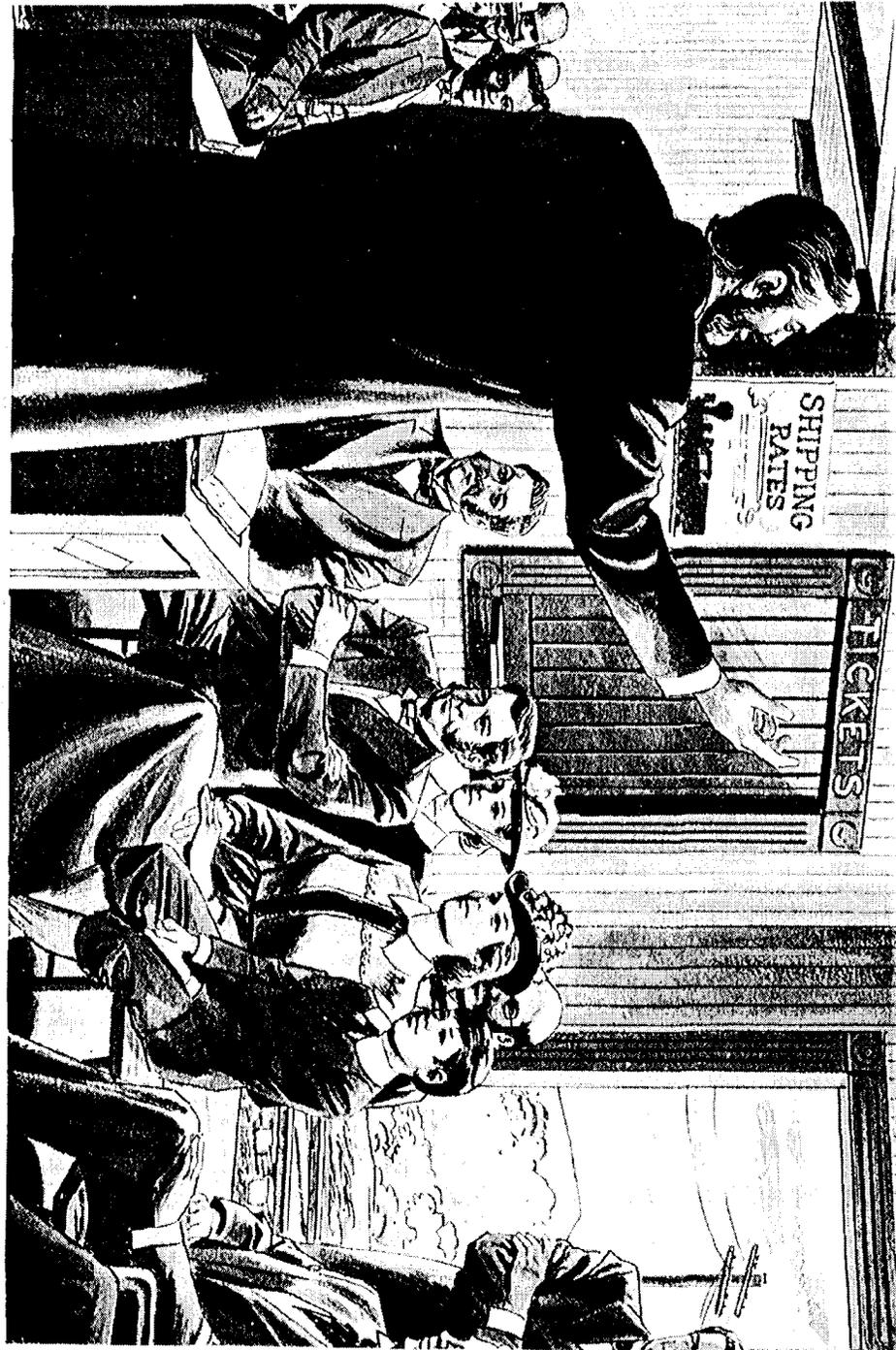
South were in chaos, and men were struggling barehanded to restore a measure of prosperity. Yet Lane found fairness and even cordiality. It is true that he went no farther South than Tennessee (but there, with Gen. Nathan Forrest, the Ku Klux began); and Tennessee, under Andrew Johnson as war governor, had re-entered the Union before the war was finished, and never suffered from carpetbag government. Yet at least its middle and western sections felt a solidarity with the more Southern States which were under the load of reconstruction.

Lane noted that the economic and moral conditions of the freedmen were generally worse than before emancipation; yet he recognized that this was but a transition period, and looked for fair if not early adjustment. He found the Southern white man a friend of the Negro, if he will "keep his place," but deeply resentful and hostile toward the meddling Northerner who sought through the Negro political and pecuniary advantage. Yet he discovered the Southerner to be freehearted, not vindictive toward inoffensive Northerners, but hospitable and as open to reason as people of the North. There was, it is true, strong and sometimes violent opposition to the new faith on the part of the established churches, but no more so than in other sections. He believed the gates were fairly open for evangelistic advance.¹

His report was admittedly optimistic, yet wisely so; for the brethren in the North were dubious about the potential brethren in the South, and needed reassurance. No doubt Lane could have found and reported much evidence to support their fears; there were times later when he, as well as his fellow workers, incidentally reported much prejudice, opposition to "Yankee doctrines," and persecution.

The work went slowly for many years. This was in part due, doubtless, to the conservatism, suspicion, and prejudice of the Southern mind; it was also due in part to the prejudice, misunderstanding, and resistance-breeding drive of the Northern emissaries. A further factor was the policy or lack of policy in the conduct of the Advent mission. Northern men, who little

In opening work in the South, the only meeting place available at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, was the railroad station. Here E. B. Lane conducted an evangelistic effort that utilized the waiting rooms, freight room, and even the loading platform.



understood the psychology of the South, ran in for a few weeks or possibly a year, and then pulled out for more familiar scenes. The men who found the way to the Southern mind and heart were the men who stayed by, year after year, and molded their understanding to the Southern temperament and background. Southern converts also played a great part in the gradual uplifting of the work. The Southern field was a hard field, but it was highly educative to the Adventist mind, accustomed thus far to work in the groove of one segment of national society. It was a training school for the world-wide mission of this people.

The principal Adventist pioneers in the South were these six men: Lane, Osborne, Soule, Corliss, Taylor, and Kilgore. E. B. Lane was the pioneer both west and east of the mountains. S. Osborne was scarcely behind him, but his work was more localized in Kentucky and Tennessee. O. Soule wrought mightily on the Cumberland plateau and in middle Tennessee and Kentucky. J. O. Corliss accompanied Lane to Virginia, and afterward labored there alone and in other Southern States. C. O. Taylor first penetrated into the Deep South, in Georgia; and in the course of his Southern career visited also North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. R. M. Kilgore was the first permanent minister in Texas; and afterward, as head of the work east of the Mississippi, did more than all others to build and bind together the cause. Besides these, in the early years D. T. Bourdeau labored for a few weeks in Kentucky, G. K. Owen assisted in middle Tennessee, and R. F. Cottrell labored in Maryland.

The first call from the South, and the first church to be established, was at Edgfield Junction, Tennessee, eight miles north of Nashville. R. K. McCune and a few others of that place received literature through some member of the Tract Society, and accepting the truth they found therein, sent in a request to Battle Creek for a minister to visit them.² E. B. Lane responded in March, 1871. He was greeted by McCune and the little company; and his spirits soared with the warmth

of the welcome, typified by the balmy evidence of spring, so far ahead of his frozen North.

Looking around for a place to hold meetings, he discovered but one church in the community, and that, surprisingly enough in the South, was Roman Catholic, for which he did not even venture to ask. The schoolhouse was too small. Finally the railway ticket agent offered the station building, a procedure unprecedented and indicative of the free-handed and rather loose business practices of the time and place.

Lane says they were given the use of "the station and telegraph rooms, . . . the white people occupying one room, and the colored the other." If in that small place there were not two waiting rooms, as usual in the South, then the agent's office served as one division of the meeting. These rooms, however, proved too limited in capacity, and the freight room was prepared, and then the platform outside was filled with seats. In a later communication Lane says that his "first congregations there were very small, perhaps ten or twelve, while my last were between two and three hundred."³

He could not remain long, perhaps a month, being then recalled to Indiana, in which State he soon formed a conference. Before he left Tennessee he baptized five, and left others preparing for baptism. But it was two years before he was able to return. The little beacon left burning there in the South flickered and beckoned for help, but it never went out. "The Review," wrote McCune, "is the only preacher we have. It is, however, a good one, and comes about the beginning of the Sabbath filled with precious truth and valuable instruction. We should be very lonesome without our weekly visitor. And that is not all: it passes round from hand to hand, and neighbor to neighbor, with a happy greeting for all, until it is about worn out."⁴ He reports four families of ten adults and eight or ten children keeping the Sabbath.

When Lane came back in May of 1873 he stayed only two weeks, lecturing again in the station house; but he strengthened the company by conversions and baptisms, and "left a church

of thirteen." On this visit he reports hearing from a brother in Alabama, G. M. Elliott, a Southern Unionist who had fought in the Federal Army, where he lost his eyesight and was discharged. By some means unstated, while in the North he received knowledge of Seventh-day Adventists, embraced the faith, and after the war returned to his home in Alabama. Without literature and without sight he went about talking the truths of his new faith, and now reported a great interest among the people, who offered to defray the expenses of a Seventh-day Adventist minister if he would come. Apparently this call went unanswered, for lack of a laborer, until Taylor appeared four or five years later.

Kentucky came fast on the heels of Tennessee. Sometime in 1871 Squier Osborne, a Kentuckian who in 1851 had gone West, and received the Seventh-day Adventist faith in Iowa, came back to visit his brother in the middle part of the State. He had been sending literature to that brother, who distributed it in the neighborhood, and many people were anxious to hear S. Osborne preach. He protested that he was not a preacher (he was not ordained till 1872); nevertheless, they prevailed upon him, and hanging up his charts, he gave a series of talks on the Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. How much fruit of his labors at that time he saw is nowhere definitely stated; but other workers refer to various communities with interested persons where now and later he labored. One of his early converts, who became the first Southern-born Adventist preacher (aside from Osborne himself), was R. G. Garrett.

Osborne returned to Iowa, but, with Jacob Hare, was soon commissioned to go into Kentucky; and this action was approved by the General Conference.⁶ Hare did not remain long, but Osborne stayed to the end of his life.

One interesting family that embraced the faith was that of Dr. Coombs, in Nolin, Kentucky. The Coombs had an only child, Bettie, who was a gay girl and a popular belle; and on her they lavished all the attention and advantages that the doctor's rather favorable economic state provided. Relatives

in California who had become Seventh-day Adventists sent them literature, which at first they scarcely noticed; but when their relatives came to visit them in the latter part of 1871, they listened more attentively, and Mrs. Coombs decided to keep the Sabbath. This influenced Bettie a good deal, for she and her mother were close companions; but her youthful pleasures got the better of her, and she backslid. However, when Elder and Mrs. Bourdeau visited them in the spring, she associated with them for some weeks, and their lives won her again to her Saviour.⁶

Elder Bourdeau reports that "Dr. Coombs is deeply interested in our views, and is earnestly seeking for the truth." It appears, however, that the doctor, who was something of a health reformer, though wedded to the use of drugs in his practice, took his time to make up his mind. When Bettie, early in 1874, fell ill, and all he could do for her availed nothing, until she "was nothing but an emaciated invalid, and could neither eat nor take drugs," and when he finally thought there was no possible chance for her recovery, he reluctantly consented to her going to the Battle Creek Health Institute. A six-months stay there restored her; and when she returned she was a marvel to her friends and, it appears, the final argument to her father, who joined her and her mother in the faith.

Bettie Coombs went on in the good way, growing in grace, active in service. At the Tennessee-Kentucky Conference in 1876 (it seems to have been organized the previous year) she was elected secretary, with S. Osborne president.⁷ In 1881 she married Elder Willard H. Saxby, a son of that William Saxby who brought S. N. Haskell into the faith. In 1877 Elder Haskell visited the little conference, consisting then of six churches and less than a hundred members; and he wrought them up to take, instead of "twenty-five or fifty dollars' worth" of literature, something nearer to his goal of "five hundred or a thousand dollars' worth." His words of cheer concerning the South were very heartening.⁸ James White also wrote encouragingly, and promised, "If it please God," he and Mrs. White would attend

Brethren church, at Grove Hill; the house was crowded, and only about half were able to get in.”¹⁶

Lane remained here much longer than he did in Tennessee, twenty months; then he went to Michigan, where four years later he closed his work in an untimely death.

Corliss went back north with him, but returned to Virginia six years later, when he organized the Virginia Conference, March 4, 1883. Some of the Virginia men had by this time developed in the ministry, and A. C. Neff and R. D. Hottel, the first and second presidents, left their marks on the work, through long years of service and in the lives of sons and grandsons who followed in their steps.

Next we trace briefly the beginnings of the work in the Deep South. The chief agent in this work was C. O. Taylor. To follow his journeyings and missions is like watching from the air a man threading the forest; now he is in clear view in openings, now hidden under the covering trees. He did not report regularly in the *Review and Herald*, and indeed, his most connected and comprehensive reports are during his stay in Georgia, in the years 1877-78.

Elder Taylor was a prominent worker in the State of New York. He was in the 1844 movement, and shortly after the disappointment accepted the Seventh-day Adventist faith, beginning to preach in 1854. His three young children had died in the 1860's, and they were laid to rest in Adams Center, New York, his home. About 1876 his mind was turned toward the South; and, disposing of his small property, he hitched up his team, and with his wife drove Dixie ward. Active members of the Tract Society had sent literature into the South, including the mountain district of western North Carolina, and calls from this section first guided Taylor's course.¹⁷ One of the earliest converts was Samuel H. Kime, who became a Seventh-day Adventist minister and the progenitor of ministers and missionaries.

In the high altitude of historic Watauga County, under the benign brow of Grandfather Mountain, in the Blue Ridge

Top—S. H. Lane, Southern pioneer; C. O. Taylor, New York evangelist. Center—R. M. Kilgore, “springs in his Bible” preacher of Texas. Bottom—James Edson White, “skipper” of *The Morning Star*; J. O. Corliss, beloved leader in the South.



Maryland appears. A group of five Seventh-day Adventist families from New York moved to Maryland in 1876, where a church, apparently Baltimore, was organized that summer, with W. W. Stebbins as elder. The next winter R. F. Cottrell, veteran worker, visiting them, reported the church active. He stayed in Maryland for some time, working in the peninsula as well as in the vicinity of Baltimore.

Virginia now comes upon the scene. In the latter part of 1875 interested persons in the valley of Virginia wrote to S. H. Lane, asking for ministerial help. Isaac Zirkle, a native of Virginia, had removed to Indiana in 1860, where about ten years later he accepted the Seventh-day Adventist faith under the labors of the brothers E. B. and S. H. Lane. He sent literature to his relatives in Virginia, and they appealed, naturally, to one of the men who brought him the truth.

In response, E. B. Lane and his wife Ellen and J. O. Corliss went to the valley of Virginia in July, 1876; and in New Market and vicinity they gave a series of lectures. Further labor here developed the New Market church, which has been a continuous and strong element in the work in Virginia ever since.¹³ Their first meetings were in schoolhouses, a hall, and a Methodist church, but these being closed against them, they held meetings at times in the open air. The interest spread, and it became a popular practice for a community to stage an open-air meeting and invite the preachers to come.

They wrote: "From a thriving farm region, about thirteen miles north-west of New Market, we received an invitation to come and hold a grove meeting. We went, in company with Bro. Geo. Woods, and held our first meeting Sabbath evening. On reaching the ground our minds were impressed with the feelings and solemnities of a camp-meeting. In a beautiful grove, in front of a nicely built, commodious preacher's stand, extended long rows of seats, while back of these seats, and on the right and left of them, were three altars for lighting the ground, and at their base an ample supply of choice pine knots for that purpose. As night set in, the grounds were so

well lighted that the faces of the large audience were plainly visible.

"Our first discourse was on the soon return of our dear Lord, the people listening with marked attention. The next morning, which was Sunday, at an early hour about one hundred assembled for a prayer and conference meeting. This was followed by a discourse from Mrs. Lane, before several hundred people. We also had discourses in the afternoon and evening with a proportionate attendance.

"We were earnestly solicited to continue the meetings during the week. People came for miles and heard the truth for the first time. One man of wealth and influence, in another locality, urged us to have a similar meeting on his farm, offering to seat and prepare a grove, and to make his house a home for all who would come to labor, and to continue the meeting as long as we might think proper. He also assured us there would be a large audience. We had never visited these parts before, and little expected to find what we saw; for the grove had been prepared for that meeting. It seemed to us that we had attended a camp-meeting; and we felt that a camp-meeting in this State would prove a success."¹⁴

In the spring they obtained a tent from Philadelphia, and pitched in various places, holding forth to large crowds, and gained many adherents in the midst of the usual churchly opposition. The men bore the chief burden of preaching, but Mrs. Lane, who spoke especially on health and temperance topics, drew the largest crowds. She not only preached but, like her fellow worker Angeline Cornell, she labored from house to house. "Mrs. Lane is holding prayer-meetings from house to house, to get the young and others into the work of praying and speaking in meeting." No doubt this personal touch was a great factor in drawing out the crowds, besides the novelty of hearing a woman preach and her undeniable power of public address. In a hard rain "five hundred were gathered to hear Mrs. Lane on the subject of health reform and temperance." "Sunday . . . Mrs. Lane, by urgent request, spoke in a United

camp meetings in the South in the fall.⁹ George I. Butler had made a much earlier trip into the South, in 1875, and wrote an appeal for labor to be done there.¹⁰

A frequent co-worker with Elder Osborne was Orlando Soule, who came down in the early part of 1876 to visit a Seventh-day Adventist friend named Wetherby, who had moved from Michigan to settle at Sparta, on the Cumberland plateau in Tennessee.¹¹ Young Soule was solicited to lecture there, and thus began his many years of service in the South.

He first raised up the Mount Gilcad church, seven miles from Sparta, his first convert Patrick D. Moyers, one of the earliest Southern-born Adventist preachers, and a strong pillar at Mount Gilcad and later at Graysville. Soule pioneered on the plateau and in its valleys, followed in the footsteps of Lane in middle Tennessee, and joined Osborne in labor there and in Kentucky, where he chose his bride from among the converts, and they were married by Elder Osborne in the tent where they had held their meetings.

In western Tennessee the earliest church was at Springville. In 1878 two brothers named Dortch went from this place to Texas. There they heard Elder R. M. Kilgore, and the older, George, accepted the Sabbath. But John, the younger, desiring to forget what he had heard, flung himself back home to Tennessee. On opening his trunk, however, he found a Sabbath tract which George had put in. Thus the subject clung to him; and feeling that he would be lost if he refused to obey, he kept the next Sabbath. His mother was scandalized, and told him she would rather he were dead. But within two months his brother Billy joined him, then his father, then all the other four children at home, and at last the mother. Hearing of an Adventist preacher in the State, G. K. Owen, they sent for him, and he came and raised up a church at Springville, John H. Dortch becoming the first elder.¹² Through trials and persecutions this western outpost held firm, the Dortch clan making great contributions to the cause, in men, money, and morale, in this and other fields.

Top—This movable chapel in Mississippi was one means used in evangelizing the people of the South. Middle—Hillcrest School Farm near Nashville, Tennessee. Bottom—Dr. and Mrs. D. E. Blake and staff of the Rock City Sanitarium in Nashville.



near the western border of the State, Taylor found a greatly interested group of people. He organized a church at Sands, with L. P. Hodges as elder. Hodges was ordained as a minister in 1880 by J. O. Corliss, and at the same time license to preach was granted S. H. Kime and C. P. Fox. The Sands church contained members from the territory of two churches now existing, Banner Elk and Valle Crucis, at either side of Grandfather Mountain. The Valle Crucis church was organized in 1880, under the name of Clark's Creek church; and there the first Seventh-day Adventist meetinghouse in the South was erected, on Dutch Creek.¹⁷ This church building served the members living both in Valle Crucis and Banner Elk, the latter climbing over the shoulder of Grandfather Mountain to reach it. In 1910 Banner Elk, home of Samuel Kime, was organized into a separate church. Like Daniel's ram with two horns, the higher of which came up last, this mountain community has proved a sturdy body, but Banner Elk is higher both in altitude and in strength, a strong school being established there.

Proceeding on his journey, Taylor passed through South Carolina into southern Georgia, with whose people his mild and sociable nature found peace and brotherhood. He writes glowingly from Quitman: "I find the climate of this country all that I expected. . . . I find the people very friendly and kind. They are glad to have northerners come among them. . . . I improve every opportunity to speak to the people and give them reading. . . . They receive it kindly, and wish to hear more. . . . I do not know of one in all this State that is keeping the Bible Sabbath. . . . The colored people have places of worship by themselves, occupying the same house with the whites, only sitting by themselves. Last Sunday one-third of the congregation were colored persons. They gave good attention, as did all present."¹⁸

It was not long, however, before he discovered a Southerner who had embraced the faith. The *Review and Herald* was the link between them, for Taylor's report to that paper reached

the lone scout, J. A. Killingworth, who with his family had accepted the faith through reading in 1872. Taylor also heard from a brother in Saint Augustine, Florida, where later he visited.

In September, after laboring much in the vicinity of his new home, Taylor drove north 240 miles to Griffin, to find the Killingworth family. En route he held some meetings in Houston County, where one of his hearers was a planter and lawyer, J. S. Killen, who soon accepted the faith and brought with him certain friends and some of his servants, his former slaves.¹⁹ The Killen family later furnished a number of workers, four of the boys and two or three of the girls entering the colporteur work, two of them becoming ministers and passing on their faith and work to the third generation.

At the home of a family named Gunn, who had been receiving literature and who were interested, Taylor met a physician eminent in his profession, Dr. J. F. Wright, whose mind had been much exercised over the state of the churches, the state of the dead, the end of the wicked, and the Sabbath. "He was ready to receive the truth, and embraced it gladly."²⁰

Thus the work started in Georgia. From his home in Brooks County, Taylor seems to have made a number of missionary journeys into Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. He gave the first Seventh-day Adventist address ever heard in New Orleans.²¹ "This field is large," he cried. "I am but a drop in the bucket. Come to our help, you that want a place to labor, come and do good while you can." "Many in this Southern field are waiting for the truth."²² In 1879 Taylor left the South to take his wife to the Battle Creek Sanitarium, where she died; but he was back in the field the next year, and labored widely for two or three years.

Elders J. O. Corliss and J. M. Rees spent some years in the South, the former in general supervision of the unorganized areas, and the latter chiefly in Tennessee, but with a commission also to give as much attention to North Carolina as possible.

West of the Mississippi the message of Seventh-day Adventists came first in the persons of lay workers. The first missionaries went to the freedmen. This was voluntary service, no organization being behind them, though the General Conference of 1865 had called attention to the needs and invited volunteers.²³ But the church was as yet too weak, too lacking in organization and in resources, to sponsor such a work. The layman took it up, going at his own charges.

Early in 1877 Mrs. H. M. Van Slyke reports from Missouri that "as the way has opened with many tokens of the Lord's approval, I am engaged in teaching a colored school in Ray Co."; and "ten colored persons now read the Bible with so much readiness that we are able to finish a chapter at our morning exercises, and all usually engage in singing." "Remember us in your prayers. 'For the poor always ye have with you.'"²⁴

In the same year Joseph Clarke and his wife, of Ohio, went to Texas, where (in their own small tent) they found a home on the farm of A. B. Rust, twelve miles west of Dallas, and engaged in schoolwork for the freedmen. Clarke writes: "Last evening, Parsons G. M. and F. Jordan, both freedmen, spent the evening here arranging for building a school-house for the freedmen, toward which, the citizens will assist. Until this is done, Mrs. Clarke will teach freedmen's school in a tent. I am hoping to teach school in this vicinity."²⁵

Three brothers, John E., Elbridge G., and A. B. Rust, had removed from Battle Creek to Texas in the spring of 1875. In that same year, considerable interest having been aroused by the brothers, M. E. Cornell came and delivered a short series of lectures in Dallas. The following year D. M. Canright repeated, and organized a church of eighteen members, the first in Texas.

Clarke later reported that both he and his wife were teaching the freedmen. "We intend to do all we can, but our brethren must not expect too much. . . . Possibly it may yet satisfy the most enthusiastic; but if not, it is better to do a little than

rust in selfish repose." On one occasion "I addressed the freedmen. . . . I do not know who were most interested, the speaker or the audience. By a vote they requested us to address them again next Sunday. . . . Fayette Jordan observed that we deserved a beating for not addressing them till this late day (for we have been here since February); and old Aunt Patsy, a devoted and noble freedwoman, who is 'grandma' to most of the children in the school, raised her hands to heaven, and praised the Lord. We felt very happy to say, *Amen and Amen.*"²⁶

The Rust brothers and Clarke, though none of them was ordained, did considerable speaking in the country between Dallas and Cleburne, and loudly called for ministerial help.

The General Conference then took action, apparently the first official move to meet the needs of the South. James White wrote: "The General Conference advised that Elder R. M. Kilgore, of Iowa, take Texas as a field of labor. To this suggestion Elder Kilgore has responded favorably. His choice is Iowa; but now, as well as when an officer in the Northern army, [he] will go wherever ordered. This may be well on his part; but we are brethren. We simply advise that if, after much prayer, it seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to our beloved Bro. Kilgore to take his good family to the new State of Texas, and there labor to build up a Conference, he will have the cheerful co-operation of the General Conference, so far as that body can advise and help."²⁷

On May 18 comes the report of the April arrival of the Kilgores in Texas, the beginning of a long service, mostly in the South. "We were safely landed last night at midnight at Bro. A. B. Rust's. . . . The brethren in Texas cordially greet us. . . . We are glad to meet with Bro. and Sr. Clark."²⁸

"Bro. Kilgore is now here," writes E. G. Rust, "and has commenced in earnest in his work and labor of love. . . . All feel that they never heard more deep, heart-searching preaching. We all feel grateful to God and our brethren of the General Conference that Bro. Kilgore is with us."²⁹

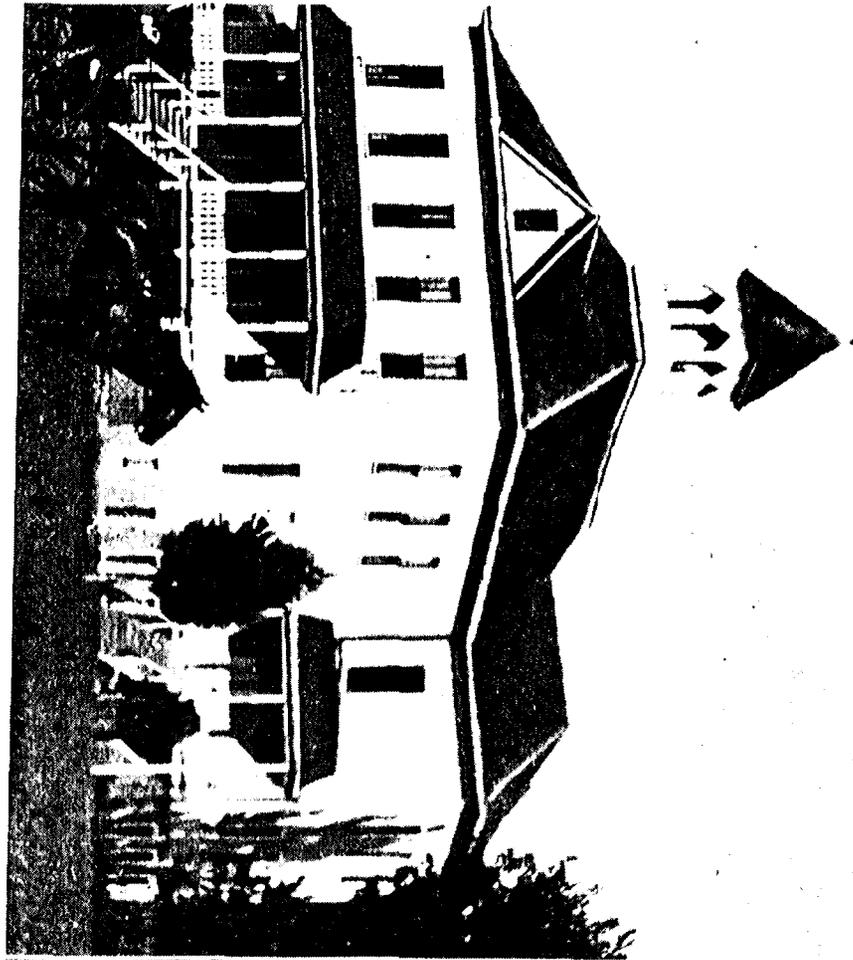
For eight years Elder Kilgore labored mightily in Texas, enduring much opposition from free-swinging Texan ministers and their boisterous following, and receiving much support from independent-minded citizens and officials, who jokingly charged, because of his easy reference to supporting texts, that he had "springs in his Bible." He endured floods, tent burnings, threats of lynch law. In Peoria he was given notice to leave the State within twenty-four hours, or suffer the consequences; but the audience, led by a lawyer, stood solidly in his defense, and the sheriff sent him word to stick by and he would be protected.²⁰ At Cleburne, after gales, a destructive flood, and vociferous, tumultuous opposition, he brought out a large church, and made it one of the strongholds of the cause in the State.²¹ In the end he left a strong conference of eight hundred members, imbued with missionary zeal, which gave it a steady growth.

Elder Kilgore was removed to the North in 1885, to be president of the Illinois Conference; but in 1888 he was selected to head the work in District No. 2. By that time the United States had been divided by the General Conference into sections, numbered as districts. District No. 1 took the Atlantic seaboard down to and including Virginia; District No. 2 comprised all the rest of the Southern States east of the Mississippi.²² This was his field.

He entered the work barehanded, as it were. There was not a Seventh-day Adventist institution of any kind in the South—no sanitarium, no school, no publishing house. The constituency was not more than five hundred white members and about fifty colored. There were five ordained white ministers, and none colored. One weak conference had been formed of the States of Tennessee and Kentucky; the rest of the territory was a "mission field."

Elder Kilgore lamented the lack of attention to the spiritual needs and conversion of the Negro people. There had been some accessions in the early years, not too stable, when freedmen who still loved their former masters, as in the case of Kil-

Graysville Academy in Tennessee, the first school unit in the South, flourished for twenty-five years, with G. W. Colcord (side panel) one of its prime moving spirits. In 1916 it was moved to Ooltewah to become Southern Missionary College.



Entering a Neglected Field

It was not until the 1890s that substantial Seventh-day Adventist penetration of the southern United States began. Early Seventh-day Adventists followed the general American trend of migrating westward from their first bases in New England and New York. Even if they had wanted to move south, their abolitionist beliefs would have made them unwelcome in an area wedded to a slave economy.

With the end of slavery Adventists might have joined other evangelical churches during the late 1860s and 70s in sending teachers south to open schools for the freedmen. The 1865 General Conference did recognize that "a field is now opened in the South for labor among the colored people and should be entered upon according to our ability." Unfortunately during these years that ability was not very great. Both ministers and funds were in short supply.¹

Early Efforts in the South

During the 1870s several individual Seventh-day Adventists made transitory efforts to help former slaves obtain a basic education. In Texas Eddie Capman began a night school which met three times a week in a small twelve-by-fourteen-foot cabin. Twelve blacks, ranging in age from eight to forty, attended. Some months later two experienced teachers from Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Clarke, went to Texas with General Conference blessing, but at their own expense, to expand Capman's work. Soon Clarke was calling for a licensed preacher to come and organize churches.²

In 1877 Elder R. M. Kilgore responded to this plea. Kilgore's eight years of labor in Texas were not without difficulties; several times he was

threatened with lynching, and on one occasion his tent was burned down. Public opposition may have led to the curtailing of the church's unofficial educational work for blacks. As an ex-Union officer, Kilgore was sensitive to the charge that Adventists were "Yankees" come "to preach nigger equality"; a charge he denied. Opposition from prejudiced whites may also have contributed to the early demise of a school for freedmen begun in 1877 by Mrs. H. M. Van Slyke in Ray County, Missouri.³

From the start Seventh-day Adventist preachers were puzzled over how to relate to Southern attitudes toward race. It was E. B. Lane who in 1871 answered the first call from the South for an Adventist minister. During his initial evangelistic series, held in a railroad station, Lane acceded to local custom by preaching from the doorway between adjoining waiting rooms in which black and white listeners were seated separately. Only one church was organized at the close of this series, in Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, however, and it included about a dozen black believers. Similar procedures were followed during later evangelistic efforts in Kentucky and Virginia.

During the General Conferences of 1877 and 1885, the question of whether or not to bow to Southern prejudices by establishing separate work and separate churches for blacks was debated. Most speakers believed that to do so would be a denial of true Christianity since God was no respecter of persons. In 1890, however, R. M. Kilgore, the Adventist leader with the most experience relative to the South, argued for separate churches. D. M. Canright had urged this policy as early as 1876 during a brief period of labor in Texas. Eventually their recommendations prevailed, but the policy was never defended on grounds other than those of expediency.⁴

Charles M. Kinney

Charles M. Kinney, the first Afro-American ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister, had rather definite convictions on the relationships that should prevail between black and white Adventists. Although Kinney looked upon separate religious services for the two groups as "a great sacrifice" on the part of blacks, he believed this preferable to segregating Afro-Americans in back pews of churches. If there were only a few black believers in an area, Kinney favored their integration into a church with whites. But as soon as numbers warranted, he believed blacks might well be organized into a separate church. Eventually all black churches should join in a conference that would "bear the same relation to the General Conference that white conferences do."⁵

Kinney was an interesting person. Born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, he worked his way west after the Civil War. In 1878, at the age of twenty-three, he attended an evangelistic effort conducted by J. N. Loughborough in Reno, Nevada, and became a charter member of the small church organized there. Kinney's service as secretary of the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society convinced conference leaders he had the potential to

cord, who had founded Milton Academy in Oregon, to come South and start a private school of academic grade. It was a semi-official enterprise, and the brethren and sisters in their general meetings were called upon to locate it. After much discussion it was finally decided to locate at the little village of Graysville, in the mountains thirty miles north of Chattanooga, where a church had been built by E. R. Gillett, a Wisconsin man who had moved there in 1885, and who was greatly helped by P. D. Moyers and J. W. Scoles. Graysville thereupon became the headquarters of the Southern work for the next twelve years, and of the schoolwork for twenty-five years.

Elder Colcord, with his wife, came there in 1892, and his nephew Celian joined them as a teacher the next year. From the humble beginnings of the school, over Clouse's general store, it took on greater proportions, with its own buildings and grounds. It was officially taken over by the conference in 1893, and acted as the training school for the South, the parent of the present Southern Missionary College at Ooltewah (Collegedale), Tennessee, where it was removed in 1916.

A sanitarium was built at the foot of Lone Mountain in Graysville in the year 1903, headed by Dr. O. M. Hayward, the first medical secretary of the South; and later by the Drs. M. M. and Stella Martinson. Though this sanitarium no longer exists, the medical work has blossomed into a number of health institutions much greater, and in the private practice of many missionary physicians throughout the South.

Laymen's work, of which Kilgore had seen so much that was favorable in his early experience in Texas, was dear to his heart. In North Carolina he strongly supported the self-supporting work of D. T. Shireman and his wife, Iowa people who had come at their own expense to labor in the mountains. Shireman was a brick mason, carpenter, and general mechanic; but he was more—he was a consecrated agent of Jesus Christ. Without much education himself, he undertook, after initial literature and evangelistic work in North Carolina, to erect a school and orphanage for the children, at Hildebran. It was

his work and the like which Mrs. White so strongly supported in her testimony: "Workers from the Ranks"—"no taunting word is to be spoken of them as in the rough places of the earth they sow the gospel seed."³¹ This was a foretaste of the vigorous layman's movement—educational, medical, industrial, evangelistic—which was later to receive a strong demonstration in the South.

¹ *Review and Herald*, Sept. 26, 1871, pp. 118, 119.

² *Ibid.*, May 2, 1871, p. 158; Dec. 5, 1871, p. 198.

³ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1871, p. 158; Sept. 26, 1871, p. 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1871, p. 198.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1872, p. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1872, p. 166.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1872, p. 175.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1873, p. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1872, p. 172.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1875, p. 101.

¹¹ Interview with Mrs. Patrick D. Moyers, October, 1912.

¹² Letters of October 27 and November 17, 1946, from Mrs. John H. Dortch, of Keene, Texas.

¹³ On the outskirts of New Market at present is located the Shenandoah Academy, a strong school which serves that conference and adjoining territory for youth on the secondary school level.

¹⁴ *Review and Herald*, Aug. 3, 1876, p. 47.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1876, p. 54; Aug. 24, 1876, p. 70; Aug. 31, 1876, p. 78; Sept. 7, 1876, p. 86.

¹⁶ See Appendix.

¹⁷ See Appendix.

¹⁸ *Review and Herald*, Jan. 4, 1877, p. 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1877, p. 135.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1877, p. 126.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1905, pp. 19, 20.

²² *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, p. 101; Oct. 18, 1877, p. 126.

²³ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1865, p. 197.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1877, p. 59.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1877, p. 78.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, May 24, 1877, p. 166.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1877, p. 101.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1877, p. 158.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 24, p. 166.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1877, p. 134.

³¹ Near Cleburne, at Keene, is now located the Southwestern Junior College, the training school for this union conference.

³² See Appendix.

³³ *General Conference Bulletin*, 1889, pp. 25-27.

³⁴ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 7, p. 27.

len, followed them; or when, with the holdover of antebellum days, Negro attendance at white gatherings was customary, and thus some of the colored people heard the message preached. But with the years a great separation between the two races was developing; and to make the gospel effective to the colored people, special evangelists of their own race or of devoted whites became necessary. This changed status the Adventists, inexperienced in racial affairs, were slow to perceive, and moreover there was a lack of material out of which to make Negro workers. C. M. Kinney was given ordination at the first meeting Elder Kilgore held; he was the only ordained colored minister in the denomination, and there was one licentiate. In an early report to the General Conference, Elder Kilgore set forth the conditions and the needs, and he was able to put in motion a greater effort for the colored people, which was soon to take on the proportions of a movement.³³

The vexed question of policy in regard to the color line was settled in his administration. Most of the early Northern workers in the South determined to ignore the social distinctions between white and black, and formed their churches of members of both races. That in a measure had been the practice of the antebellum churches of the South, but in such cases there was a clear social and ecclesiastical distinction between master and servant. After emancipation the Northerner was inclined to erase all distinctions except the very evident difference in education. On the other hand, the sensitiveness of the Southern white mind tended to suspect such church relations as had previously been accepted, and certainly such as the Northerner preached and practiced, as being a factor in the abolition of social barriers between the races. Hence, the Adventist cause sometimes suffered from the charge that they were intent upon subverting social customs and laws. The church had the problem, while maintaining the spirit of universal fraternity in its members, of having to meet externally the ingrained convictions of the races that had been inbred for a long generation.

The matter was debated in General Conference in the sessions from 1877 to 1885, most speakers maintaining that as God is no respecter of persons, Christians should not allow social questions to affect their church polity. The practice of making mixed churches continued, though with little effect upon the Negro, for the colored people in the South were quite as reluctant to break the social rule as were the white people, and there was but a handful of their race in the churches. One wholly colored church in Louisville, which Kinney and the licentiate Barry had raised up, made almost the entire colored constituency.

Kilgore, though brought up with the Northern conception of the race problem, took a statesmanlike view of the situation in its practical aspects; and at the conference of 1890 made a vigorous statement of the case. In view of the obloquy which was being cast upon the Adventist cause in the South, he advocated the separation of white and colored churches. In the end this view prevailed. From the very small, weak work among the colored people at that time, there has grown to the present great proportions a Negro constituency of power and ability, the result in part of the policy then established.

The white work also needed reorganization, or rather organization. After a careful survey he advised the strong development of the colporteur work, for he found this means best suited to open doors. Accordingly a branch office, or "depository," of the Review and Herald was established in Atlanta, Georgia, in charge of Charles F. Curtis, and a "district canvassing agent" of humble pretensions but mighty zeal and competency was found in A. F. Harrison. The colporteur work flourished and helped to pave the way for later evangelism.

Next he turned his attention to education. He believed that the Adventist youth of the South must have a school within their own borders, for they were needed to bolster the Southern work. If they were educated outside, they would likely be lost to the South. There were no funds to start a school officially, but Elder Kilgore induced the missionary-minded G. W. Col-

become a valuable church worker. They sponsored him for two years of study at Healdsburg College. From Healdsburg Kinney went at General Conference request to labor among the blacks who had begun migrating to Kansas in substantial numbers in 1879. Later Kinney worked in St. Louis, Missouri, where he apparently encountered his first taste of racial prejudice among fellow Adventists. For more than two decades he labored across the upper South, organizing black churches and becoming the first major Adventist spokesman of Afro-American aspirations.⁶

It was nearly two decades after Lane's initial series of meetings at Edgefield Junction that Kinney became pastor of the first separately organized black Seventh-day Adventist church in this same village. During the intervening years Adventist work in the South had largely been confined to Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and Texas. In 1873 a feeble flicker of interest appeared in Alabama as the result of the work of J. M. Elliot, a Southern white who had been blinded while fighting in the Union Army. Elliot had accepted Adventism during a stay in the North, but returned to Alabama at war's end. His sharing of his new faith with old friends led them to call for the services of an Adventist minister, but there seemed to be no one to send.

C. O. Taylor

The call to Alabama was finally answered four or five years later when Elder C. O. Taylor, an old Millerite preacher, spent the years from 1876 to 1879 roving through the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Taylor went primarily to areas where interest in Adventism had been aroused by literature sent by friends. Although he kept on the move too much to build up any major congregations, several of the families he converted played important roles in later Adventist evangelism.⁷

During the 1880s interest in Adventism throughout the Southern States was promoted largely by laymen, some newly arrived from the North, and by itinerant colporteurs. Regular preachers appeared only spasmodically. The New Orleans Exposition of 1884-85 seemed an opportunity to gain publicity for Seventh-day Adventist views; so R. M. Kilgore and H. W. Cottrell spent some weeks in the city preparing a display of literature. A city mission followed. Similar city missions were opened in Atlanta, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama. In each, colporteurs played a key role. Their income came entirely from sales commissions, although when the General Conference approved of C. W. Olds's moving his family to join him in Birmingham, they did promise that if he "got into a tight place, we will try to help him some."⁸

Ellen White Counsel

It took an earnest admonition from Ellen White to jolt Adventists into realizing their duty to share their faith with Afro-Americans. Even then

the jolt was a delayed-action one. On March 21, 1891, Mrs. White read a "testimony" before a group of thirty top Seventh-day Adventist leaders assembled for the biennial General Conference session. Although recognizing that her message would cause controversy, Ellen White felt impelled to speak frankly on the subject of church race relations. She implied that the preceding General Conference had erred by capitulating to white prejudices against integrated churches and church services.

"The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts," Mrs. White affirmed. Blacks were to have "just as much respect as any of God's children." She went on to say that Jesus made no difference between whites and blacks "except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others." To slight a brother because of color was the same as to slight Christ. Calling for more missionary work among all classes in the South, Ellen White indicated that this applied particularly to blacks. "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people," she declared. Both white and black Adventists were to be trained to educate the millions of Afro-Americans who had been so long oppressed and "downtrodden."⁹

James Edson White

Although Mrs. White's appeal was soon printed in tract form, it took nearly three years for anyone to pay much attention to it. Then suddenly its message found a very receptive audience in Ellen's oldest living son, James Edson White. Edson, as he was customarily called, had many of his father's characteristics although he lacked his acumen. "Creative, resourceful, and energetic" in the various enterprises that enlisted his interest, he was also somewhat undiplomatic, unpredictable and, at times, "a bit eccentric." Trained as a printer in his youth, Edson had worked at both the Review and Herald and the Pacific Press before launching his own printing business, devoted chiefly to the publication of hymnbooks and Sabbath School materials.

During the late 1880s, Edson transferred his printing business to Chicago. Success in business eluded him; his debts increased, and at the same time his spiritual condition deteriorated. Then in the late summer of 1893 he went through a spiritual crisis during which he determined to reenter denominational service. At this opportune time he chanced to hear a talk by Professor C. C. Lewis on the needs of black Americans in the Southern States. Edson thought of offering himself for evangelistic service in Tennessee. Before he could act on this tentative plan, however, he met Will Palmer, an old friend and associate who had also recently experienced a spiritual rebirth and was back in Battle Creek attending a Bible Institute at the college. At Palmer's urging Edson and his wife, Emma, decided to return to Battle Creek and enter the Bible Institute.¹²

A contact during the Institute with Dr. J. E. Caldwell, who had been

laboring among blacks in Knoxville, Tennessee, increased Edson's interest in such work. Caldwell told Edson about his mother's 1891 appeal, but later inquiries concerning it among General Conference officials failed to uncover anyone who seemed aware of its existence. Then a casual discussion with a painter in the Review and Herald plant revealed that this man had observed some of the forgotten tracts in an unused office. Reading his mother's appeal thoroughly confirmed Edson's determination to begin educational and evangelistic work among Southern blacks.

Steamship Evangelism

After Edson persuaded Will Palmer to join in his plans, Edson's entrepreneurial instincts blossomed. The two men speedily put together a simple religious reader, entitled *The Gospel Primer*, to fulfill a threefold purpose: (1) its sales would finance their mission project, (2) it would be simple enough for use in teaching illiterates to read, and (3) it would convey Bible truths in clear, simple language. Such a book had been envisioned by the General Conference officers for use among blacks nearly five years earlier but had never been produced. *The Gospel Primer* was an instant success, and White and Palmer immediately commissioned the building of a river steamer to use as headquarters for their projected work in the South.

By this time the two men had learned enough about Southern society to know that teaching blacks what were regarded as "strange" religious ideas might well make it difficult for them to secure accommodations among whites. Yet lodging with blacks would be considered a major breach of social mores and probably would lead to their being forced out of the area. Having their own living accommodations on a boat seemed an ideal answer. Since Edson had worked for a time on riverboats on the upper Mississippi River, he was doubly drawn to such a solution for their needs.¹¹

Ironically, it almost proved easier to build the boat, soon christened *Morning Star*, than to get the blessings of the General Conference on their plans. Both White and Palmer possessed mechanical skill. Now they built their own boiler while a local church member donated his labor in putting together the ship's engine. Within five months the steamer was completed. After considerable misgivings the General Conference Committee agreed to send the two men with missionary credentials and the promise of eight dollars per week salary for each, but with no money for the expenses of the *Morning Star*. The Committee also appointed another worker, H. S. Shaw, to have general supervision of the work for blacks throughout the South. White and Palmer were to work in an assigned area and engage in "no new schemes . . . without their plans being first submitted to the General Conference Committee."¹²

It took another six months to get the *Morning Star* down the Kalamazoo River, across Lake Michigan in a storm, and down the Illinois and Missis-

issippi Rivers to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where the party was to begin labor in an area where blacks outnumbered whites by a substantial margin. In the process White recruited several additional crew members, secured government approval of the ship's construction, and providentially managed to have dismissed a \$500 fine for navigating the Mississippi with an unlicensed black pilot.¹³

About a year before the January 1895 day when the *Morning Star* steamed into Vicksburg, an independent black preacher who had learned some Adventist truths from reading *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* had come to the city from Arkansas. He proved a powerful preacher, but his fearless denunciation of sin led community leaders to turn the people against him. Before falling martyr to an angry mob Alonzo Parker warned that God would give them "just one more chance" by sending messengers with a "stricter message." His prophecy made a deep impression on Vicksburg's black community, many of whom saw its fulfillment in the arrival of Edson White and his party.

The *Morning Star* group received a cordial welcome from the black Mt. Zion Baptist congregation. Katie Holston, one of the members, invited the newcomers to attend a prayer group in her home; soon they were visiting Sunday Schools in a variety of churches. Sensing the eagerness of black adults to learn, Edson and his helpers began an evening school two nights per week. More than fifty attended the first night; soon this number had doubled. Fearful of arousing prejudice, Edson held back from introducing the Sabbath, but the little band of missionaries met each Saturday for services on the *Morning Star*. Before long there were questions concerning this practice. Some of the black leaders, finding White's explanations satisfactory, changed days of worship. This aroused the hostility of local pastors, and before long the *Morning Star* group were not welcome in any of the area churches.

Edson's troubles multiplied. The closing of the churches meant that he would have to hire a hall to continue the night school. At the same time the Review and Herald manager decided to discontinue publishing *The Gospel Primer* in favor of a similar work upon which they could gain larger profits. This was catastrophic, as royalties from the *Primer* paid the operational expenses of the *Morning Star*. Palmer was dispatched to Battle Creek to reason with General Conference leaders. Rather grudgingly, the General Conference, which published some materials independently, agreed to back one edition of 20,000 of the *Primer*.¹⁴

A Chapel in Vicksburg

A church of their own in Vicksburg seemed vital to the small band of missionaries and their recent converts. With much sacrifice and the help of friends in the North, their dreams became a reality. For \$160 they constructed a small unpretentious chapel, twenty by forty feet in size. At first local authorities seemed determined to prevent the building of this

church; but persistence and prayer paid off, and on August 10, 1895, General Conference president O. A. Olsen was on hand to preach the dedicatory sermon.

Olsen's interest in work for blacks seemed to be increasing, perhaps because of Ellen White's extensive series of articles in the *Review* during late 1895 and early 1896. In this series she repeatedly called for greater efforts in evangelizing the South, particularly its black population. Forced by the difficult climate of Vicksburg to spend at least some of the summer months in Battle Creek, Edson likewise actively promoted work among the Southern blacks. He also completed arrangements for some of his mother's writings on the life of Jesus to be published in simplified book form as *Christ Our Saviour*. Mrs. White assigned the royalties from this book to help support Edson's work. Such financial aid was vital to the expanded plans Edson envisioned.¹⁵

When Edson and Emma White returned to Vicksburg, it was without the help of the Palmers; Will had been asked to promote the publishing interests of the General Conference Association. Before expanding his operations geographically Edson determined to strengthen his Vicksburg base. The night school was reactivated in the new church; an evangelistic series, advertised by colorful handbills printed on the little press the Whites had brought from Battle Creek, was begun. Yet the people seemed reticent to attend until prejudice was dispelled through the kindly ministrations of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Kynett and nurse Ida Wekel, who arrived to support Edson's program through medical missionary work. Again the night school was crowded as 150 students jammed the little church built to hold 100.

As an aid in organizing and promoting their expanding operations, Edson and his associates organized the Southern Missionary Society. Sale of stock in this new organization would help to provide funds for its work. It could also receive and disburse gifts and hold title to any properties acquired. Acutely aware of the economic difficulties facing Afro-Americans, Dr. Kynett, the society's first vice-president, planned to begin a laundry, a bakery, and a weaving business. Meanwhile Edson White, as president, was appealing to Northern Adventists to share serviceable used clothing with his needy black friends. As the night school continued to grow, an addition to the church building became necessary. This also housed a thousand-volume library Edson collected for use by his students and church members.¹⁶

Up the Yazoo River

With the work in Vicksburg progressing nicely Edson prepared to move up the Yazoo River, which joined the Mississippi a few miles north of Vicksburg. The Yazoo wound through a heavily populated black area. First it was necessary to refit and expand the *Morning Star*. In addition to enlarged living quarters, a chapel, reading room, and printing office were

added. Edson was also busy writing another simplified doctrinal book, *The Coming King*, whose sales would help finance his work.

Deterred by fever and shortage of funds, it was not until December 1897 that Edson was able to head the *Morning Star* up the Yazoo. He was accompanied by Elder G. A. Irwin, the newly elected General Conference president. At Yazoo City they held services with a woman who had accepted the Advent message in Alabama. On the next trip up the Yazoo the *Morning Star* was detained for a week near an isolated plantation by mechanical difficulties. Both whites and blacks attended services on the boat, but they sat separately. At first the blacks were assigned back seats, but later Edson ran a curtain down the center of the chapel and preached simultaneously to both races from the front.

Edson disliked segregated services but felt that something was being accomplished in getting whites even to attend services with blacks. Soon, however, even though he had unwillingly switched to entirely separate services, he was threatened with ostracism and possible lynching if he continued educational work for the blacks living on the big river plantations. Such racial prejudice continued to be difficult for Adventist leaders to understand. In a letter to W. C. White in 1895, O. A. Olsen had indicated disapproval of separate work for the two races in the South. He believed the gospel should overcome prejudice and pointed to the seeming success Catholics experienced while ignoring the color line.¹⁷

During Edson's trips along the Yazoo he discovered 240 acres of timberland for sale. Convinced that here was another chance to earn money to finance his work, he ignored his mother's counsel against becoming involved in business ventures and made a deposit on the land. Logging operations were begun and an extensive strawberry bed set out; then came a disastrous spring flood. Although the *Morning Star* crew won praise for helping to evacuate threatened residents and their livestock, Edson's real estate venture was dealt a death blow. Chastened, he decided to stay, in the future, with evangelistic and educational work.

Malaria, yellow fever, and preoccupation with financing his projects took Edson White away from Mississippi for months at a time. Yet capable assistants remained behind, and the work prospered. New schools were begun; a portable chapel was built in Battle Creek and shipped south for use along the Yazoo. Since the financial distress of the General Conference (along with a latent distrust of some of Edson's ventures) limited the official support given Edson's work, he determined to appeal directly to rank-and-file church members. Soon two small power presses on the *Morning Star* were turning out the first issues of the *Gospel Herald*. It advertised the work in the South and carried liberal selections from Ellen White's testimonies favoring work among blacks. Ten thousand copies of the first issue were sent out along with a call for regular subscriptions. Gradually the *Herald* changed into a regular evangelistic journal for the South and was finally absorbed into *These Times*.¹⁸

Washington's Tuskegee Institute helped confirm the founders' views that Oakwood should place heavy emphasis on vocational training.

The top Adventist leadership was eager to get the Oakwood property in shape for school to open in the fall of 1896. Elders Olsen and Irwin spent several weeks helping repair the manor house; Olsen plastered, while Irwin acted as "tender, mixing mortar and carrying it upstairs." Later, Olsen spent some time in plowing the fields, while Irwin wielded a paintbrush. Several would-be students had already arrived and were quickly put to work. From the start Olsen had decided that Oakwood would run a year-round, rather than just a nine-month, school program; only in this way could the school make proper use of the farmland and give the practical instruction in agriculture which he felt was vital.²⁴

During the first summer there was considerable prejudice among surrounding farmers, not just against the idea of having a black school in the area, but because Mr. Jacobs was regarded as another know-it-all Yankee who had come down to teach them how to farm. When Jacobs marshaled his small farm crew to help several neighbors through periods of difficulty, a more favorable image was created—one that was to last.

Even before school opened officially in November 1896, Mr. Jacobs's son and daughter held evening classes for the eager students. The sixteen boarders who were present on opening day increased to twenty-three in two months' time; another fifteen attended as day students. By the start of 1898 there were facilities to accommodate fifty boarding students at Oakwood. These young people studied half of each day and worked the other half to pay for board and tuition. In addition to agriculture the boys at Oakwood learned masonry and carpentry, while the girls received instruction in cooking, sewing, laundering, and gardening.

Over the next two decades a wide variety of buildings were added to the campus, with most of the building being done by the students themselves. Even so, facilities could not be enlarged rapidly enough to meet the demand. When the century closed, fifty-five students jammed the dormitories, while half that many were turned away for lack of room. Because the first students had had so little opportunity for education, instruction at Oakwood during the initial decade was given at the secondary level. In 1917 the school was elevated to junior-college status.²⁵

Madison College

Less than a decade after the founding of Oakwood for blacks, another school for whites was established as the result of Ellen White's continued calls for Seventh-day Adventists to devote more attention to the neglected Southern States. The key personalities were Edward A. Sutherland and Percy T. Magan, who in 1901 had led in the relocating of Battle Creek College at Berrien Springs, Michigan. Both men were educational reformers and firm believers in the guiding messages continually issuing from Ellen White's pen. They determined to resign their posts in Berrien

Springs and establish a school in the South where students could be trained to serve as self-supporting missionary teachers. They would prepare their students to combine evangelism with better farming methods and correct health principles. Thus they could minister to all the needs of the deprived hill people of the South.

Sutherland and Magan intended to locate their school in the mountains of eastern Tennessee or in the western sector of the Carolinas, but at Mrs. White's urging they agreed to explore the area around Nashville. After unsuccessful weeks of hunting for a site the two men accepted an invitation from Edson White to cruise up the Cumberland River on the *Morning Star* with his mother and some others. About ten miles north of Nashville the *Morning Star* broke down. While waiting for repairs, Ellen White and Will Palmer went ashore. As they began walking over a run-down farm, Ellen suddenly became excited; the place resembled an area she had seen in vision. She urged Sutherland and Magan to buy the property.

Dismay filled the hearts of the would-be school developers. They pointed to the run-down buildings, the eroded land, and the asking price for the farm, which they were sure was much too high. Mrs. White was unperturbed. Whom were they expecting to help? she asked. The answer was "the poor farmers in the hill regions." Then, Mrs. White replied, would it be well for your demonstration farm to be on good-quality land so much different from that of the people you propose to help? As far as funds were concerned, they should trust the Lord to meet their needs. She would call upon the people to help them. She urged Mrs. Nell Druillard, Sutherland's aunt and a woman who had shown pronounced financial abilities through the years, to join these "boys" in their new enterprise.

Still Sutherland and Magan hesitated, but finally they decided Ellen White's urging was a clear test of their belief in her divine inspiration. Sensing a chance to make more money from these "Yankees," the farm's owners suddenly raised their price by \$1000. All but Mrs. White interpreted this development as a way out of a situation they had been hesitant about from the first. She insisted they still should buy the place, and buy it they did. By the time they obtained possession, October 1, 1904, the founders had incorporated the new enterprise as the Nashville Agricultural and Normal Institute; its proximity to Madison, Tennessee, soon led it to be known as the "Madison School." Ellen White further demonstrated her support by accepting a position on the institute's board of directors, the only time she served in such a capacity.²⁵

There were only eleven students on hand when the first term of the Madison School began in the fall of 1904—idealistic young people who had followed Magan, Sutherland, Mrs. Druillard, and M. Bessie De Graw down from Berrien Springs. The school was operated as a big family, with students and teachers joining together in morning and evening worship. Throughout the day all participated in the work necessary to make the farm pay. It was not unusual for the dean [Magan] to drive the mule team

education and depended almost entirely upon black teachers to staff the growing number of schools. By the early years of the twentieth century the society had nearly fifty schools in operation. But for Edson White the front-line days in Mississippi were virtually over. The Yazoo City newspapers kept inciting opposition to his projects. And then N. W. Olvin was imprisoned on a trumped-up murder charge. As he considered these facts and also the adverse effect of the malaria-infested lowlands on his health, Edson decided to move the headquarters of the Southern Missionary Society to Nashville. In this city there were a number of educational institutions for blacks, and racial prejudices were not so virulent as they were farther south.²¹

In 1901, not long after Edson transferred the Southern Missionary Society headquarters to Nashville, Adventist leaders in the Southern States organized the Southern Union Conference. The society became the branch of the union conference specifically charged with educational, evangelistic, and medical work among blacks. In 1909 its activities were transferred to the newly created General Conference Negro Department. By that time it was sponsoring fifty-five primary schools with more than 1800 pupils in ten of the Southern States. It had also opened medical facilities for blacks in the Nashville and Atlanta areas and had succeeded in increasing the number of black Adventists in the South to more than 900. There had probably been less than fifty when Edson White had conceived his "mission to Black America" some fifteen years earlier.²²

Oakwood College

A few months after the *Morning Star* first arrived in Vicksburg, the leading officers of the General Conference decided to develop an industrial school for blacks that would draw in the best students from primary schools like those Edson White was inaugurating. Following counsel from Ellen White, they began a search for land in the area of Nashville, Tennessee, or northern Alabama. The locating committee, composed of General Conference president O. A. Olsen, treasurer Harmon Lindsay, and George Irwin, superintendent of the Southern district, paused in their search at Chattanooga. There in a special prayer session they pled with tears for divine direction. Proceeding to Huntsville, Alabama, they learned of an old 360-acre plantation for sale. The mother of the agent handling the property had been a patient at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Through this favorable contact the committee secured the estate for only \$6700, a thousand dollars less than the original asking price.²³

Impressed by the large number of huge oak trees on the estate, Olsen and Irwin decided to name the new school "Oakwood." The early months of 1896 were spent in clearing brush from the run-down land and in attempting to get the dilapidated manor house, barn, and nine old "slave" cabins in usable shape. S. M. Jacobs, a successful Iowa farmer, came down to manage the property. A visit by Irwin and others to Booker T.



Partial View of the Campus of Oakwood College

Financial pressures continued to plague the work in Mississippi. As a result of Ellen White's articles in the *Review*, the Sabbath Schools collected nearly \$11,000 in the first half of 1896 to forward the work in the South. Yet Edson's group failed to receive any of this amount. Again the entrepreneurial side of his father's character appeared in the son. The *Herald* advertised a variety of goods for sale, from sewing machines to rubber stamps. Profits were used to build churches and schools and to provide the expenses of Edson's associates and of operating the *Morning Star*. Interested Adventists who could not buy, or donate cash, were encouraged to send grains, dried fruits, or canned vegetables and fruit to Vicksburg and Yazoo City.

Edson's solicitation of food and used clothing was not for himself and his helpers alone; he was constantly aware of the pitiful conditions under which thousands of black sharecroppers existed. With a near failure in the cotton crop during 1898 a bad situation became worse. The crew of the *Morning Star* distributed over seventy-five barrels of clothing as well as free commel, flour, and molasses. All the while Edson was urging the farmers in the area to diversify their crops: to plant peanuts, potatoes, and garden vegetables. Unfortunately this had no appeal to white landlords interested only in a cash crop they had known for years: cotton.¹⁹

Late in 1898 the arrival in Yazoo City of F. R. Rogers and his family from Walla Walla, Washington, provided Edson with the strong and imaginative support he had missed since Will Palmer returned to Battle Creek. Rogers gave the next fourteen years of his life to teaching and preaching among Southern blacks. His disregard for personal comforts and health eventually made him a martyr to this work.

Rogers arrived none too soon. Both Edson and Emma White were seriously ill that winter. Edson lost twenty-five pounds in a few weeks. Funds continued to be in short supply. As if this were not enough, white vigilantes threatened to blow up the *Morning Star* and close the schools the Southern Missionary Society had begun throughout the Yazoo delta.

A leave of absence in Battle Creek improved the Whites' health, but scarcely had they returned to Mississippi before violence erupted. Dan Stephenson, a native white Mississippian teaching in one of the Adventist schools for blacks, was escorted out of town by determined men. One of the black Adventist leaders, N. W. Olvin, was viciously whipped; his wife shot in the leg. The books, maps, and supplies of the Calmar school were burned and a threatening notice affixed to the schoolroom door. As Edson wrote his mother, it was "Ku Klux days all over again." Small wonder that Ellen began to suggest more caution in avoiding antagonizing the racial prejudices of the Southern power structure. It would scarcely be wise to jeopardize the lives of workers and face the possibility of being entirely shut out of the area.²⁰

In an effort to diffuse antagonism toward the Southern Missionary Society's education work Edson made F. R. Rogers superintendent of

education and depended almost entirely upon black teachers to staff the growing number of schools. By the early years of the twentieth century the society had nearly fifty schools in operation. But for Edson White the front-line days in Mississippi were virtually over. The Yazoo City newspapers kept inciting opposition to his projects. And then N. W. Olvin was imprisoned on a trumped-up murder charge. As he considered these facts and also the adverse effect of the malaria-infested lowlands on his health, Edson decided to move the headquarters of the Southern Missionary Society to Nashville. In this city there were a number of educational institutions for blacks, and racial prejudices were not so virulent as they were farther south.²¹

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for plowing while one of the lady teachers set off to town in a cart to market “the butter made by the president [Sutherland] in the lean-to creamery.” In the evening, around the big fireplace, there were “mingled discussions of folklore and pedagogy and balanced rations with needlework and knitting and administration of bran poultices to chapped hands.”²⁷

Only the simplest furnishings were provided at Madison; plank tables and dry-goods-box dressers were the rule. Food was largely restricted to what could be produced on the farm. The philosophy of the founders was that the more closely conditions in the school approximated the conditions students would face when they went out to teach, the more easily would they adjust to their vocations. There was no steam heat, no electricity, no expensive farm machinery of the kind not used by the Southern farmers the school hoped to serve. As the numbers of students increased, they were put to work constructing simple residence halls; thus the art of building was added to the science of farming.

There were many unconventional features in the educational system inaugurated at Madison. Student labor, rather than cash, was accepted for tuition. This meant that cash necessary for operating expenses must come from the sale of school products or from patrons, like Mrs. Josephine Gotzian, who believed in the purposes for which Madison had been founded. Ellen White made numerous appeals to those with means to “help the work at Madison.”

The governing body at Madison was not the faculty or a president’s council, but the entire school family sitting in session, called the “Union Body.” Working together in this group, students and teachers jointly made rules, enforced discipline, planned for needed improvements, and directed the various departments of the school. Only matters requiring cash expenditures were referred to the board of directors. One night each week was set aside for a meeting of the Union Body.

Each student at Madison studied only one major subject per nine-week term; he received three hours of class instruction per day and was allowed an equal time for preparation. Part of the students studied in the morning, the rest in the afternoon. The average student needed to put in six hours of labor daily in one of the school industries to meet school expenses. Working side by side with teachers in the garden and dairy or in the field or poultry house brought a close spirit of fellowship. All knew that these departments were vital to produce cash for the institution’s needs. Frequent changes in work assignments allowed all to acquire proficiency in a variety of areas.

The Madison School made no provision for organized athletics or for clubs, classes, or other groups which might encourage rivalry and competition. Students were expected to be adult enough to find recreation in intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Sutherland and Magan recognized that the kind of school they were operating was not for everyone, but only for those motivated by a consuming love for Christ and a desire to see His

love revealed to others. Theirs was designed to be truly a “missionary school.”²⁸

The vast majority of students coming to Madison expected to be teachers or health workers in rural communities. They studied Bible, history, science, or grammar during the regular nine-week terms. Short, three-week sessions devoted to practical skills like carpentry, cobbling, or blacksmithing were offered between regular terms. The first year Mrs. Druillard offered a one-year course in practical nursing and hydrotherapy. Later, when a sanitarium was added to the school in 1907, this course was lengthened to two years. In all subjects the emphasis was on teaching the student to be proficient enough to teach the same subject matter when he went out on his own.

Expansion in the South

It was about a year and a half after Madison opened that the first members of the school family left to start “out-schools.” Fifteen miles from Madison three members of the original group purchased 250 acres of land and developed the Oak Grove Garden School. They came as settlers, but at the community’s request were soon operating a three-teacher school for seventy-five to eighty children. With the Oak Grove Garden School firmly established, two of the founders moved twenty miles east, where in the hills above Gallatin they began the Fountain Head School, which later developed into Highland Academy.

By 1915 there were thirty-nine of these self-supporting groups spread across Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina. More than three quarters of them had already begun free primary schools. Back at Madison, Magan, already forty-four years of age, and Sutherland, forty-six, decided to take the medical course to strengthen the school and sanitarium complex they were operating. Commuting to Nashville by motorcycle, they studied at the University of Tennessee and received their medical degrees in 1914. Although the following year Dr. Magan left to become dean of the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University Medical School), Dr. Sutherland directed the Madison complex for another thirty years.²⁹

Even before the Madison School was begun, Ellen White had in 1903 urged the founding of a similar school for blacks in the Nashville area. During the next few years she repeated this recommendation several times. In studying these statements O. R. Staines, Oakwood’s business manager, became impressed that he should resign and start such a school. After consulting with Magan and Sutherland and securing Mrs. White’s approval, he began the search for a suitable location.

At last a run-down, but promising, farm was located six miles from the center of Nashville. Staines and his mother used their available cash for a down payment, and Staines immediately left for Michigan to canvass friends and relatives for help in paying the balance and in securing livestock and equipment to begin the new institution, which he had

named the Hillcrest School. Michigan Adventists gave cows, horses, buggies, and an assortment of farm machinery—enough to fill a railroad car. For nearly a year Staines traveled through Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan, raising funds to complete paying for the land.

It was late in 1908 when the first three students from Mississippi arrived at the Hillcrest School, but classes did not actually begin until January 1909. By the fourth year there were twenty students, all determined to go out as teachers of their own people. These students were housed in five small cottage-type units rather than in regular dormitories. Hillcrest was close enough to Madison so that several of the teachers of practical arts there could assist in instruction at Hillcrest.

Sadly, the Hillcrest School did not survive long enough to do the extensive work that its founders envisioned. During its few years of operation, however, it helped prepare several dozen young people for effective service under the most difficult of circumstances. One example will illustrate this fact. The mission school started for black children at Ellisville, Mississippi, was about to close when Watt Bryant, a Hillcrest student, decided to keep it going. Moving his family to a nearby forty-acre farm, he fought drought that burned up most of his corn and sorghum. Yet he stayed on and provided a home for a mission-minded black teacher, Lily May Woodward. Without conference support, Lily May had to charge her students ten cents per week tuition. This gave her enough to pay the Bryants \$1.25 a week for board and room, and \$1.50 to support an orphaned brother and sister in Atlanta, pay her tithe, and have forty cents left each week for personal expenses. Yet the school was saved, and this demonstrated that the money invested in Hillcrest would bear fruit abundantly.³⁰

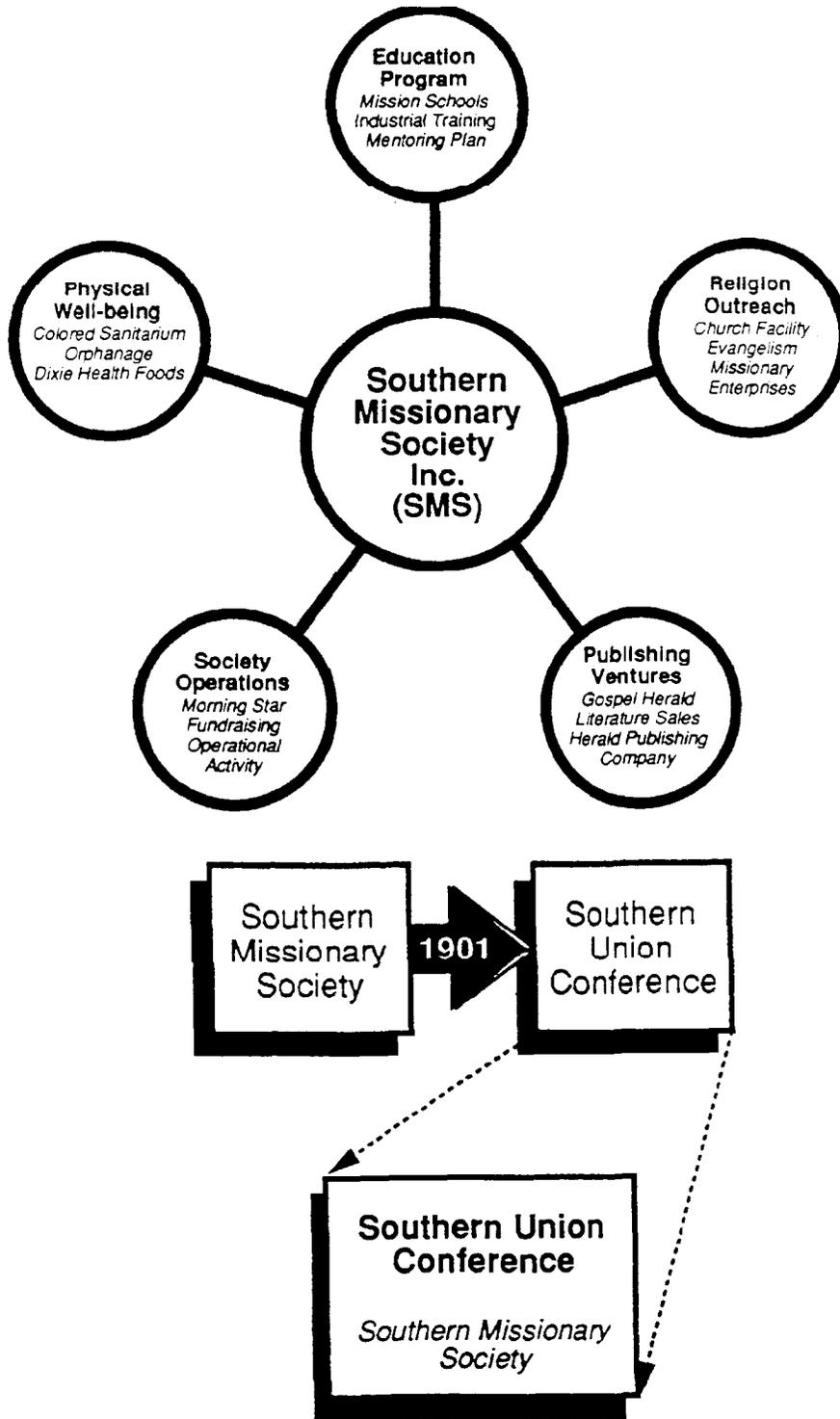
Suggested Reading:

By starting with E. G. White's *The Southern Work* (1966), the student can get a feel for the stirring messages that propelled Edson White into opening the first extensive S.D.A. work for Afro-Americans. Edson's work is well told in R. Graybill's *Mission to Black America* (1971). For a full understanding of Ellen White's later statements on black-white relationships see the same author's *E. G. White and Race Relations* (1970). Valuable background material and insights, which are even more helpful for a later period, may be gleaned from J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975). The unpublished manuscript "Light and Shades in the Black Belt" (1913) prepared by A. Spalding for Ellen White's office contains much valuable material, but is marred by the racial stereotypes of the period. A good, fairly contemporary, picture of the Madison School, which captures the excitement of the founders, is Spalding's *The Men of the Mountains* (1915). The small collection of E. G. White materials originally published as *Special Testimonies, Series B., No. 11* and republished (1946, 1958,

1971) as *The Madison School*, provides a good view of Mrs. White's enthusiasm for the Madison experiment. In A. Spalding's *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), see II: chapter 18 and III: chapter 10.

1. *Review and Herald*, May 23, 1865, p. 197.
2. *Review*, May 25, 1876, p. 166; December 14, 1876, p. 192; April 5, 1877, p. 111.
3. *Review*, February 22, 1877, p. 59; September 6, 1877, p. 86; A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: 184, 185.
4. J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975), p. 18; Spalding, II: 171, 172, 187, 188; *Review*, December 5, 1871, p. 198; April 1, 1875, p. 110; March 9, 1876, p. 78; December 14, 1876, p. 192.
5. Report of an interview between Elder R. M. Kilgore and C. M. Kinney, October 2, 1889, in Reports, Narratives, ca. 1890-1901 folder, presidential document file, Record Group 11, General Conference archives.
6. R. Graybill, lecture at Andrews University, February 11, 1975; S.D.A. General Conference Committee minutes, March 22 and April 16, 1888.
7. Spalding, II: 172, 173, 179-182.
8. General Conference minutes, April 4, 1888; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 22, 74, 75, 235, 236, 466, 467, 504, 505, 727-729.
9. E. White, "Our Duty to the Colored People," in *The Southern Work* (1966), pp. 9-18.
10. R. Graybill, *Mission to Black America* (1971), pp. 13-15.
11. Graybill, pp. 16-22; General Conference Committee minutes, November 9, 10, 1889.
12. Graybill, pp. 23-26; General Conference Committee minutes, April 20, 1894; J. E. White to A. G. Daniells, April 21, 1921, Daniells's incoming correspondence, General Conference archives.
13. Graybill, pp. 7-9, 27-39.
14. Graybill, pp. 41-55; O. A. Olsen to A. O. Tait, January 8, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
15. Graybill, pp. 56-65; E. White, *The Southern Work*, pp. 25-65; General Conference Association minutes, October 31, 1895, presidential file, General Conference archives.
16. Graybill, pp. 66-76; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1396, 1397.
17. Graybill, pp. 76-86; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, April 18, 1895, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
18. Graybill, pp. 87-103; General Conference Committee minutes, October 21, 1896, May 3, 1898; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, p. 525.
19. Graybill, pp. 106-119.
20. Graybill, pp. 116, 117; 120-132. See also R. Graybill, *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (1970), especially pp. 53-69.
21. Graybill, *Mission to Black America*, pp. 133-144.
22. S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1394, 1395; [A. Spalding] "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt" (1913), pp. 301-304; O. Edwards, "Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference," unpublished M.A. thesis, S.D.A. Theological Seminary (1942), pp. 65-71.
23. General Conference Association minutes, October 31, 1895, in presidential file, Record Group 3, C. C. A. Folder, General Conference archives; C. A. Irwin to O. A. Olsen, November 26, 1895 (copy); O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, January 28, 1896, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; A. Knight, *Mississippi Girl* (1952), pp. 208, 209.
24. C. A. Irwin to L. T. Nicola, April 15, 1896 (copy), E. G. White Estate, incoming files; O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, November 28, 1895, Olsen letterbook, General Conference archives; Justiss, p. 72.
25. [Spalding], pp. 255-258, 262-264; Justiss, pp. 72-74; C. A. Irwin to O. A. Olsen, January 21, 1897 (copy); Irwin to E. G. White, January 30, 1898, and October 27, 1899, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1017, 1018.
26. W. Sanborn, "History of Madison College," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers (1953), pp. 6-15; A. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains* (1915), pp. 149-151; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 827, 828.
27. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains*, pp. 152, 153.
28. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains*, pp. 153-159.
29. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains*, pp. 166-174; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 828, 1442.
30. [Spalding], "Light and Shades," pp. 329-359.

The Southern Missionary Society and the Subsequent Merger into the Southern Union (1898-1901)

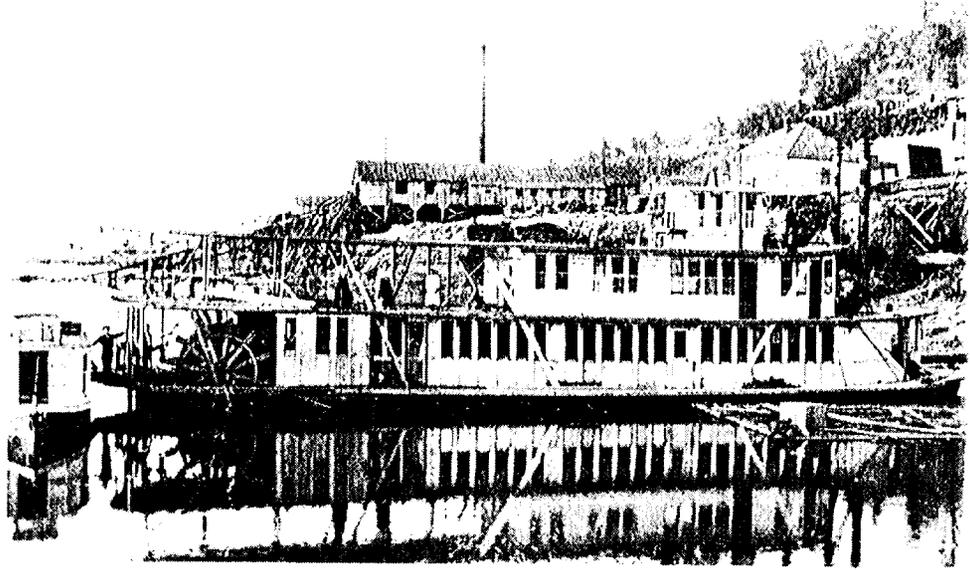


receive the benefits of the last gospel message, in health, in social betterment, in education, in the hope and joy of the Advent message. Her manuscript testimonies, however, at first received scant notice. They were brought to the fore, and published in a booklet named *The Southern Work*, by the awakened attention and energies of her older son, James Edson White.

The two surviving sons of James and Ellen White, Edson and William, exhibited diverse traits of character plainly derived from father and mother. William, the younger, was like his mother, constant, enterprising but cautious, a solid and careful builder. Edson, the older, had much of his father's enterprise and drive, and an overamount of his eccentricity. James White was saved from serious ill consequences of his enthusiasms both by his own balance of qualities and by his wife's counsel, but his son had not the same good fortune. He was resourceful, energetic, inventive, and he had a good deal of executive ability; but he was sometimes flighty and erratic. He built considerable businesses at different times, chiefly publishing enterprises, but they were liable to explode.

In 1893 James Edson White was in private business in Chicago, and his spiritual state was low. His mother was in Australia, but her letters spoke to his heart. He began again to seek God, and the Lord answered his seeking with a new revelation of His grace. He determined that he must resume work for Christ. He went to Battle Creek, and receiving permission to search for hidden treasure, he was rummaging in the attic of the General Conference when a soiled copy of the manuscript testimonies on the colored work attracted his attention. He took it with him, read and studied it night and day, and soon was fired with the determination to enter the field thus portrayed and which was practically unoccupied.

Characteristically he contrived a way which did not appeal to his sober-minded brethren, but which, with the force of his enthusiasm, was carried through to great success. He had for two or three years been steamboating on the upper Mississippi,



The Mississippi River boat *The Morning Star*. It housed a home for workers, a chapel, and a printshop.

and had become a pilot and captain on the Father of Waters. Now he proposed to build a river boat on the little Kalamazoo, at Allegan, pilot it down the river, across Lake Michigan, through the Chicago Canal and the Illinois River to the Mississippi, and so on down to the Deep South. And he did.

The boat was seventy-two feet long, with a hull twelve feet wide at the bottom, and cabin space under the deck, over which was stretched an awning, which provided an outdoor meeting place. He proposed to use this boat as a home for the workers, a chapel for the converts, a printing establishment, and various other enterprises. It was named the *Morning Star*.

The *Morning Star* was brought stage by stage to the lower Mississippi, and anchored off Vicksburg. Its mission was surprisingly and successfully financed by one of White's shoe-string projects—a simple little book he wrote, *The Gospel Primer*, with the primary object of having something Biblical

Yet, notwithstanding all the evils of slavery, its unrequited labor, its brutal punishments, its violation of family relations and rights, its insult and injury to inherent human dignities, God turned its plague to a profit, its bane to a blessing. One of the noblest of Negro leaders has said: "When we rid ourselves of prejudice, or racial feeling, and look facts in the face, we must acknowledge that, notwithstanding the cruelty and moral wrong of slavery, the ten million Negroes inhabiting this country, who themselves or whose ancestors went through the school of American slavery, are in a stronger and more hopeful condition, materially, intellectually, morally, and religiously, than is true of an equal number of black people in any other portion of the globe."¹

No thanks to slavery. But servitude required transportation, and thus the New World received its great quota of Africans, and they received an introduction to transplanted European civilization. From no favorable viewpoint did they see it, true; they were made the trodden floor, and their vision of the temple of Christian America was taken prone and suffering. Yet there were ameliorating conditions. Many slave owners were humane, some were sincere Christians. Individual servants (the cultured Southerner never used the term *slave*) were favored, taught, converted. Some made their mark, not alone upon their people, but upon the white public. And, despite the untoward conditions, the evangelization of the slave was effected by noblehearted Christian men.

The conscience of Christian America marched forward, with many a slip and many a halt, it is true, branded and shackled by cupidity, scorn, and indifference; but emancipation came at last, and with it a tremendous work of educating the freedman. In this work various agencies participated, the American Missionary Society, started by the Congregational Church but becoming nondenominational, being the foremost; and some independent enterprises were begun which had great influence, such as General Samuel C. Armstrong's Hampton Institute, in Virginia. Out of this coeducational,

industrial-training school grew great results, not least of which was Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

Seventh-day Adventist efforts for the Negro at the close of the Civil War were small and unintegrated. Mrs. Van Slyke in Missouri and Joseph Clarke and his wife in Texas were the only teachers for the freedmen of whom we have record. When J. S. Killen, of Georgia, received the Adventist faith in 1878, some of his servants came with him; and one of them, Edmund Killen, already a preacher, proclaimed the message among his people, resulting in a number of adherents. But though there was an interest among Seventh-day Adventists, resources were small, experience was less, and initiative not great. In 1892 the superintendent of the Southern field, R. M. Kilgore, reported that there were no more than fifty colored Sabbathkeepers in the South. He pleaded for schools and for workers. The General Conference went so far as to recommend that "local schools for . . . colored students be established at such places in the South, and on such a plan, as may be deemed best by the General Conference Committee after careful investigation of all the circumstances."² They also appointed a special agent, Henry S. Shaw, to superintend and foster the work among the colored people.³ Shaw, though a white man, was so dark that he sometimes passed as one of those who had a drop of "the strongest blood" in his veins. He was earnest, consecrated, and cheerful; and the upward swing in the Adventist Negro work was in no small part due to his labors. At the beginning of his superintendency there was one colored minister, C. M. Kinney,⁴ and two licentiates, A. Barry and T. B. Buckner, both of whom were soon ordained.

In the course of the next three years a start in education was made, by establishing a school on a farm near Huntsville, Alabama; but the inauguration of elementary schools for the education of children and of illiterate adults was due to quite another enterprise. The voice of Ellen G. White had been raised before in behalf of the Negro people and their right to

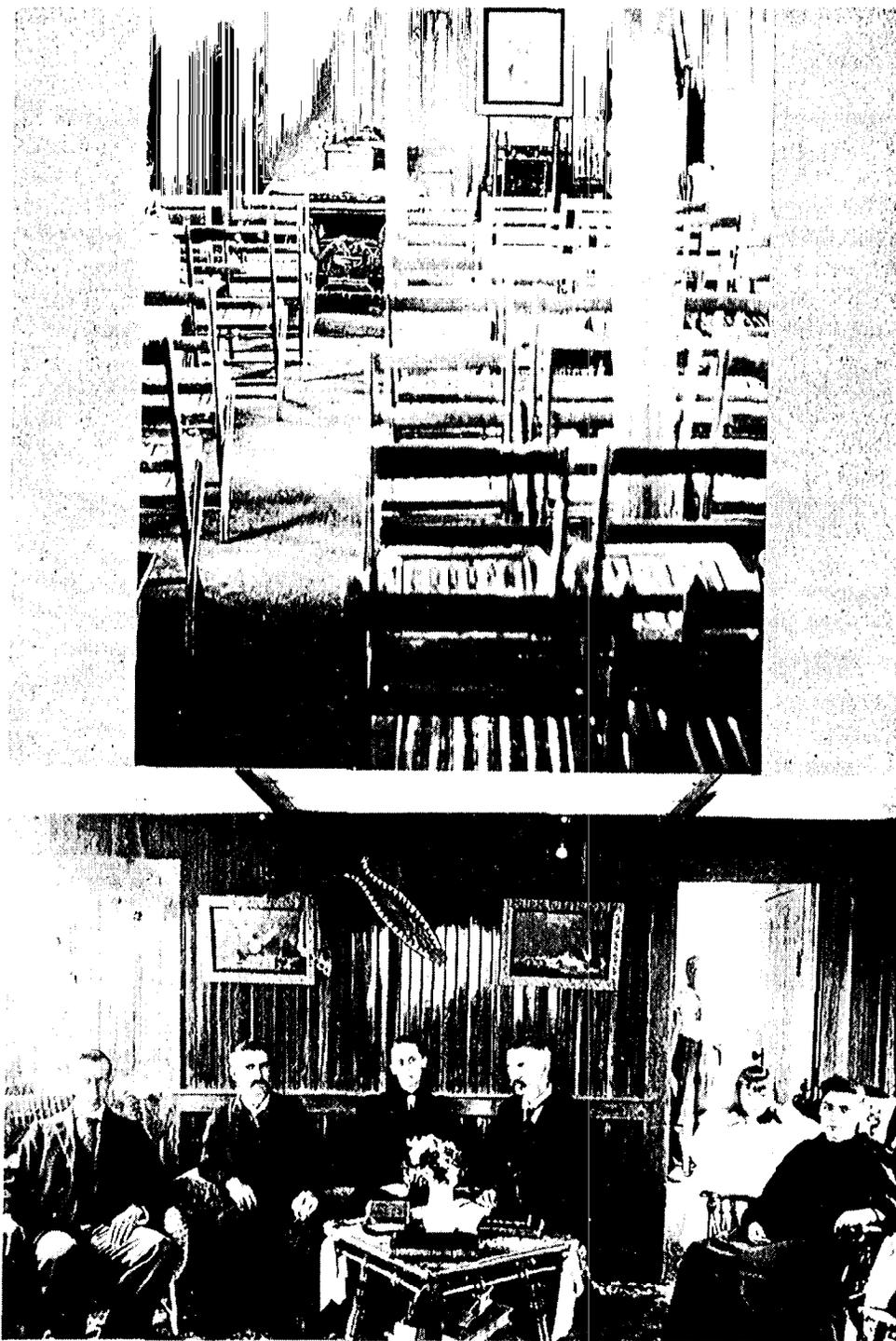
AMERICAN NEGRO EVANGELISM

GOD moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform," wrote Cowper. And in nothing has the saying more pertinent application than in the case of the American Negro and his evangelization. America in the centuries of discovery had a native population, which, however, at least north of the Rio Grande, was displaced by two alien races, one a European, the other an African. The European came of his own volition; the African, against his will. But both have thrived while the American Indian has diminished. One tenth of the population of the United States is Negro in some degree; and as Booker T. Washington remarked, "Negro blood is the strongest blood in the world: one drop in a white man's veins makes him a Negro."

The crude social conscience and economic vision of the seventeenth century approved of slavery, and thereby upset the balance of the world, whose Creator not only "made of one blood all nations of men," but "determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." The Englishmen who purchased of the Dutch trader at Jamestown, a year before the *Mayflower's* landfall, nineteen Negro men and women, understood not at all either the immorality of their social ethics or the grave political problems of which their act was the seed. Two hundred years of the African slave trade, with domestic multiplication, planted in the United States over four million black slaves; and when emancipation came with the Civil War, the Negro had stamped his ineffaceable mark upon the economy and the society of America. Eighty succeeding years, though they have seen great progress in the education and accomplishments of the Negro in America, have in some areas increased rather than lessened the racial tension, and created in America an issue which has global repercussions.

341

One of the unique missionary enterprises operating in the Mississippi River States was the boat *The Morning Star*, an idea conceived by James Edson White. The worship room (top) and the living room of the crew (bottom) are shown.



on the first day, one from Vicksburg, the other from Birmingham. The president of the General Conference, O. A. Olsen, and the superintendent of the district, George A. Irwin, put on their overalls and worked with the others for a token week of interest.

The first need was a supply of water. The old well was choked full of debris, and was rumored, furthermore, to be the burial place of a Yankee cavalryman. At first they hauled water from a spring on the hill. Then they set up a windmill over a well in the field; but two hours' pumping ran it dry. Then they set to work to clear the old well by the house. For two days they dug down through seventeen feet of mud mixed with knives, pitchforks, clevises, plow points, rocks, and what not. The only evidence of the Yankee cavalryman was a spur that appeared on the second day, an object that induced the telling of the story, whereupon the two students declared they would never go down into that well again. Somebody else finished the job.

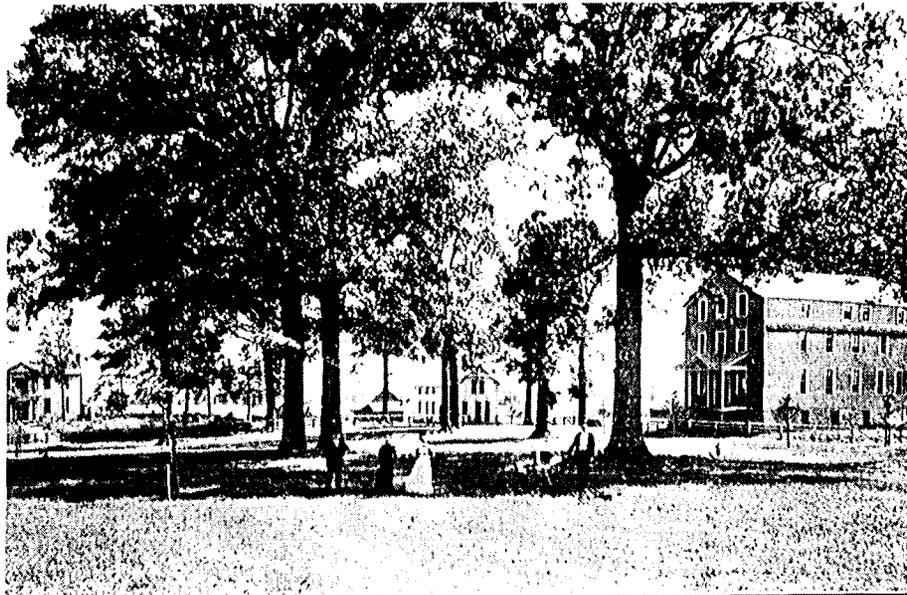
Gradually the place was reduced to order; the barren fields were restored by cover crops and the little fertilizer the place could produce. And three years after first treatment, one ten-acre field gave a harvest of 270 bushels of wheat. A triumph! A scientific program of crop rotation and use of legumes built up the farm finally to a record of fertility.

The good will of the neighbors was cultivated. There was some prejudice among white farmers, but unexpected cooperation from the school in their farm needs made friends, and the school's reputation in country and town grew. One neighbor had indulged in some very harsh criticism. Then his barn burned, with all his work animals and his tools. Mr. Jacobs loaded up five or six cultivators, took his younger son and some students over, and said to the man, "We have come to plow your corn."

The man looked hard at him, "Is that the kind of man you are?" he asked.

"Yes, that's the kind of man I am. Why not?"

The first training school for Negro workers was established in 1895 at Huntsville, Alabama, known later as Oakwood College. The top panel shows the original buildings, and the bottom panel a corner of the printshop, one of its several industries.



up the Yazoo River, and branch stations were established at various points.

Chief means used were the school, the literature work, the teaching of health habits and of industries. As fast as colored believers could be trained, they were turned into pastors and teachers. The aim was to man Negro schools with Negro teachers, but the demands so outgrew the supply that in a number of cases white teachers from the North were employed. These sometimes, by the chemical combination of their carbide enthusiasm with the waters of Southern passion, produced flames that make great reading now, but at the time were far from comfortable. Nevertheless, the work grew, until ten years after the initial effort there were nearly fifty small schools in six States, and the establishment of higher schools for the advancing students had been effected.

The work that began with the *Morning Star* eventuated in the formation of the Southern Missionary Society, which conducted schools, carried on evangelistic work, taught principles of health, provided charities, and did publishing work. The headquarters were moved to Nashville, where a printing establishment of some size was begun, later to be turned over to the conference and to become the Southern Publishing Association. The work of J. E. White in the South continued for some years after his mother's return from Australia, and her visits to the South were stimulating and encouraging. When for age Edson White had to retire, and turned over the assets and properties of the society to the conference, he could behold the Negro work established on a sound basis and with a growing development.

Meanwhile there was progress in other quarters and by other men. H. S. Shaw, appointed by the General Conference to superintend the Negro work, was a resourceful man, and energetic. Beginning at the Ohio River, he worked Southward to encourage and build. And he did not disdain to work with his hands as well as with his eloquent tongue. For several months he worked with the *Morning Star* enterprise in Mississippi, and

he helped establish their schools beginning to dot the adjoining territory.

M. C. Sturdevant began here in the South his work for the Negro which he so magnificently carried on, later, in the heart of Africa. There were developing also Negro ministers, some of whom have already been named. Some of the Negro teachers early trained by the Southern Missionary Society not only carried on the educational work successfully but became pastors and evangelists. Among these were Thomas Murphy, Frank Bryant, M. C. Strachan, Franklin Warnick.

One of the most vigorous and successful of workers was Anna Knight, of Mississippi, who received knowledge of the Adventist faith while still a girl, through correspondence and literature. Over great obstacles she obtained an education, including nurse's training, and opened a school in her home community, which she left in the hands of a younger sister when she was called as a missionary to India. Returning after some years, when a hostile element had burned down the school, she rebuilt and re-established it, meeting the opposition with Christian fortitude. This work was finally aligned with the Southern Missionary Society's work, and she went on to wider activities.

A more advanced educational work was done under the wing of the General Conference. Stirred to action by the appeals of Ellen G. White and the developing work of J. E. White, these Southern workers took steps to establish a training school for colored workers in the heart of the South. Taking lessons not only from the educational principles enunciated by Mrs. White but from the examples of certain Negro schools under other missionary agencies, the General Conference planned this school to be agricultural and industrial as well as normal and theological.

An estate was purchased in 1895 in the north of Alabama, near the city of Huntsville. It was an old plantation, the land worn out, the buildings falling to pieces. S. M. Jacobs, of Iowa, came with his family to open the work. Two students arrived

with which to teach illiterate Negroes to read, but with the secondary purpose, which soon came to fill the horizon, of furnishing money to the mission. Half of its twenty-five-cent price went to the colporteur, the rest to the printer and the mission. Enthusiastically taken up by thousands of church members, the *Primer* sold by the million. Later other books were written and sold, climaxed by *The Coming King*, which for many years led all subscription books on the Second Advent.

Volunteers made up the company of workers, from White's first partner, a businessman named W. O. Palmer, to successive groups of canvassers, teachers, nurses, mechanics, who accrued on the trip from Michigan through Illinois, past Tennessee, down to Mississippi, and later were recruited from all over the United States. Among these were his wife, Mrs. Emma White, Miss M. M. Osborne, Fred Halladay, Dr. Kynett, the nurses Lydia Kynett and Ida Wekel, E. W. Carey, L. A. Hansen and wife, F. W. Rogers and wife, Vincent Crawford and wife, and scores of others.

The mission was privately launched and privately supported; it was not a conference project. But the interest of the Adventist public was thoroughly enlisted. Mrs. White's supporting messages were partly responsible for this, and also not a little, J. E. White's fertile publicity methods. His *Gospel Herald*, a monthly paper telling the gospel story in simple style, but not forgetting to mention its sponsors' work or its supporters' generosity, was an Arnold von Winkelried that opened the way through opposing spears to a great missionary and publishing work in the South. It died, but through the gap poured in succession *The Southern Watchman*, *The Watchman Magazine*, *Our Times*, *The Message Magazine*.

White's initial expedition was, indeed, as it seemed to the Battle Creek critics, a quixotic enterprise; and it is doubtful that any other combination of qualities than those in Edson White could ever have carried it through to success. A boat indeed! an ark to carry a band of innocent visionaries into the

maw of the Yankee-hating South! None of them had any experience in the work for the Negro, or in meeting the deep-seated grim convictions of the Southerner about white supremacy. And to go into the very blackest part of the Black Belt, the Yazoo Valley, where the Negro outnumbered the White twenty to one and in some places one hundred to one, where the white rider kept a tight rein, a ready whip, and an itching spur on his dusky steed!

But the challenge brought into play the viking qualities of James Edson White. Whether at the helm of his boat or building schoolhouses, whether dealing with officials or placating white planters and vengeful blacks, or organizing industries and teaching humble and eager learners, he rode the crest of the waves, and always came to safe harbor.⁵ Sometimes choleric, again the soul of diplomacy; sometimes the eloquent preacher, and then the skillful river captain snatching the refugees from the levees and housetops in the raging flood, alternately planning great enterprises and pinching the toes of his socks for pennies to pay the bills, James Edson White was the challenger to Christian adventure and the despair of conventional workers. Except for the encouraging messages from his mother in the far antipodes, which on the one hand fended off his critics and on the other lifted up his soul in God, he must time and again have sunk in despair. But it was given to him, this impulsive, generous-souled, erratic adventurer in the work of God, to plant a standard and to rally round it an increasing company of crusaders for the work among the Negroes, where the timid attempts of preceding decades had dismally failed.

The work in Vicksburg was begun by visiting Sunday schools and churches, in one of which two white women missionaries who afterward joined their ranks, had preceded them. Then, as the *Morning Star* deck became a familiar meeting place, and the Sabbath began to gather adherents, night schools were started to teach the illiterate; a chapel was erected in the city, with a charming reading room of unbelievable hominess that made a model for their own cabins. Soon the work extended

"Well, if that's the kind of man you are, I've got something to do. Mr. Jacobs, I've said some mighty hard things against you for starting that school. Now I ask you to forgive me for all I've said."

"Why, I had forgiven you long ago," said Jacobs. "If not, I wouldn't have come over here."

Out into the field they went. "Now, boys," said their leader, "if you've ever done an honest day's work, do one today." And they did. Noon came, and Jacobs told the boys to get their lunches from the wagon.

"No, sir," said the man. "My wife is getting dinner, and you shall eat at my house." That day not only the field was cultivated but the heart of a neighbor was also. The next day they went over to Byrd Terry's, a colored brother, and helped him with his wheat; and the twin reports of these acts of Christian grace to white and black alike went arm in arm about the country.

The schoolwork that first summer was given in night classes, conducted by the two older Jacobs children, Clara and Lewin. About twenty were in attendance the first year. Year by year the school advanced, however, new buildings being added and new work conducted. The program has been maintained of combined agricultural and industrial work with classroom study, and Oakwood College stands today a school with a fine record of students trained for various branches of the work, some in America and some in foreign fields.

The five to seven years that filled in the last end of the century saw a good beginning in the Negro work in America, which made the foundation for the later great advancement in the half century since that time, in the prime home mission.

¹ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 16.

² *Seventh-day Adventist Year Book* (1893), p. 62.

³ *General Conference Bulletin*, vol. 5, no. 13, Feb. 21, 1893, pp. 311, 312.

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ See Appendix.

Who'll Be a Witness for My Lord?

My soul is a witness for my Lord,
My soul is a witness for my Lord,
My soul is a witness for my Lord,
My soul is a witness for my Lord.

You read in de Bible an' you understand,
Methuselah was de oldes' man,
He lived nine hundred an' sixty nine,
He died an' went to heaven, Lord, in a due time.

O, Methuselah was a witness for my Lord,
Methuselah was a witness for my Lord,
Methuselah was a witness for my Lord,
Methuselah was a witness for my Lord.

You read in de Bible an' you understand,
Samson was de strongest man;
Samson went out at-a one time,
An' he killed about a thousan' of de Philistine.

Delilah fooled Samson, dis-a we know,
For de Holy Bible tells us so,
She shaved off his head jus' as clean as yo' han',
An' his strength became de same as any natch'al man.

O, Samson was a witness for my Lord,
O, Samson was a witness for my Lord,
O, Samson was a witness for my Lord,
O, Samson was a witness for my Lord.

Now, Daniel was a Hebrew child,
He went to pray to his God awhile,
De king at once for Daniel did sen',
An' he put him right down in de lion's den;

God sent His angels de lions for to keep,
An' Daniel laid down an' went to sleep.
Now Daniel was a witness for my Lord,
Now Daniel was a witness for my Lord.

O, who'll be a witness for my Lord?
O, who'll be a witness for my Lord?
My soul is a witness for my Lord,
My soul is a witness for my Lord.

Blacks

Adventists have not generally been associated with dominant sexual or social groups, but with regard to race, the position has been different. Members of the church have predominantly been drawn from, and have identified with, the dominant ethnic grouping in American society—that of white Anglo-Saxons. Because of this, the black experience in Adventism has few peculiarities; rather, it follows the pattern of development in race relations in the nation as a whole and as such provides a good example of the Adventist tendency to replicate important aspects of the American experience.

If the American revolution can be interpreted in racial terms then it can be viewed, as the sociologist Van den Berghe wrote, as “a movement of political emancipation by a section of . . . white settlers against control from England.”¹ Certainly, the subjugation of the native Indians and the persistence of slavery indicated that the white revolutionaries did not believe the principles of liberty applied equally to all men. Because of this, the problem of race has been, perhaps, the darkest blot on the American dream. Like the founding fathers, the Adventist pioneers were white. It is true that some blacks were connected with the Millerite movement. The black preachers Charles Bowles and John W. Lewis made notable contributions, and another black Millerite William E. Foy had visions in 1842 that were similar to those Ellen White later experienced.² But the Adventism that emerged after the Great Disappointment was essentially an all-white movement that embodied the prejudiced attitudes and experienced the racial problems of America as a whole.

This contrasted with the racial attitudes generally associated with the Millerite movement. Miller himself favored abolitionism, as did many of his associates until their reformist zeal was sapped by the expectation of the Second Advent.³ Furthermore, some of the individuals who were to play important roles in the Seventh-day Adventist church were keen advocates of reform. Joseph Bates participated in the antislavery societies of the 1830s, and John Byington (the first president) and John

P. Kellogg (the father of John Harvey) are said to have offered their homes as stations on the Underground Railroad, which was set up to help fleeing slaves.⁴

It is significant, however, that individuals generally engaged in these activities either before they became Adventists or before the Adventist church became an identifiable unit. In the years after the Great Disappointment, racial attitudes amongst the Sabbath keepers underwent a subtle change. Race ceased to be an issue of social reform and became instead means of demonstrating American hypocrisy. In 1851 J. N. Andrews seized on the racist policies of the United States in order to prove his point about the lamblike beast.⁵ Similarly, James White, in his notorious “Nation” editorial of 1862, linked the practice of slavery to the eschatological damnation of the nation: “For the past ten years the *Review* has taught that the United States of America were a subject of prophecy, and that slavery is pointed out in the prophetic word as the darkest and most damning sin upon this nation. It has taught that Heaven has wrath in store for the nation which it would drink to the very dregs, as due punishment for the sin of slavery.”⁶ To early Adventists, race was largely an abstract concept that had more to do with proving their eschatological understanding than with effecting social reform. This may be one reason why, despite their stated abhorrence of slavery, Adventists gave less-than-wholehearted support to the abolitionist cause during the American Civil War.⁷

The Adventist pioneers had very little personal contact with black people. It was not until the 1870s, when their evangelistic endeavors brought them into the South, that Adventists encountered blacks in significant numbers. They did not, however, set out to evangelize the black communities. Rather, it was blacks who found the church after turning up at Adventist meetings without being directly invited. At these meetings, Adventist ministers discovered the pattern of segregation existing in the South and to which, as northerners, they had never really been exposed. The blacks who came sat in a separate partition or outside the meeting halls. Elbert B. Lane, the first Adventist minister in the South, reported holding meetings in a Tennessee depot building with “white people occupying one room, and the colored the other.”⁸ This self-segregation apparently took some Adventist workers by surprise. In 1876 Dudley M. Canright described a meeting he held near Dallas, Texas. People “came from every direction,” he wrote in the *Review*, “afoot, on horseback . . . with wagons, men, women and children both white and black.” But then he saw “something new—the whites all seated inside the house and the colored people all outside—an invariable custom through the South.”⁹ There is no indication at this stage that Adventists endorsed these practices, although they did accept them as part of life in the region. The reports of Lane and Canright do show, however, that Adventists first saw blacks in the

movement separated from whites or on the back seats outside the church. It was an appropriate beginning to Adventist dealings in race relations, for from that time to the present day, Adventists have never relinquished the idea that good relations between the races are best served by some kind of segregationist policy.

Racial segregation, which is still a marked feature of Adventism in the United States, was prompted first by expediency, then by choice. It was felt that blacks could not be reached without alienating whites unless mission work was divided along racial lines. Canright was one of the first to advocate this. He argued in 1876 that evangelism among the freedmen had to be a distinct mission. "A man cannot labor for them and for the whites too, as the white would not associate with him if he did," he wrote in the *Review*. "There is no objection to laboring for them and teaching them, but it must be separately."¹⁰ This policy was adopted by other Adventist workers, including Edson White, the son of Mrs. White, who sailed down the Mississippi River in the 1890s in the riverboat *The Morning Star*. White went specifically to evangelize the black communities and took great care not to antagonize whites in doing so.¹¹

Prejudiced attitudes thus dictated the Adventist approach to race relations. But soon, Adventism itself began to reflect the racial divide in America. In 1886 the first all-black Adventist church was established in Edgefield, Tennessee. It was followed by another in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1890. In 1895 Oakwood College was started for young Adventist blacks in Huntsville, Alabama. All these institutional developments were perfectly in tune with a nation whose black and white populations were becoming increasingly isolated.¹² When Jim Crow segregation became entrenched in the early 1900s, the Adventist version of it was already firmly in place.

There had, however, been a debate within Adventism about the propriety of this kind of racial segregation. Not all Adventists agreed with it, just as not all Americans—even in the South—accepted a policy of outright segregation before 1900.¹³ The liberal John Harvey Kellogg did not subscribe to the principle of the "color line" and supported other Adventists who defied it. Kellogg's stand upset Edson White, who in 1899 wrote to his mother about the doctor's attitude. White felt that Kellogg and others who wanted to defy segregation would "close up the field" if their ideas gained any credence.¹⁴ His mother, however, had more ambivalent feelings. In the 1890s she urged the integration of the Adventist church and told white Adventists they had no right to exclude blacks from their places of worship.¹⁵ She argued that men who believed the separation of the races to be the best way of meeting the prejudice of white people "have not had the spirit of Christ."¹⁶ But in 1908 in a pamphlet called *Proclaiming the Truth Where There Is Race Antagonism*, Mrs. White bowed to the white racism she had earlier tried

to resist. "Among the white people in many places, there exists a strong prejudice against the colored race. We may desire to ignore this prejudice, but we cannot do it. If we were to act as if this prejudice did not exist, we could not get the light before the white people," she wrote. The prophetess argued for separate white and black churches "in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hindrance."¹⁷ And it was this view that determined Adventist policy as the church moved into the new century.

Before considering how Adventist race relations developed in the twentieth century, it is worth examining another interpretation of the church's early record on race. Within Adventism perhaps the most influential view is that set out in 1970 by Roy Branson in three *Review* articles. In the first, he argues that the Adventist pioneers were in the vanguard of the abolitionist movement and that they took positions that were, for the time, quite liberal. But the evidence cited is based largely on the antislavery activities of Bates, Byington, and J. P. Kellogg, even though the sources indicate that they cut their ties with the abolitionist movement once they became involved with the Adventist community. These pioneers may have had an active pre-Adventist commitment to abolition, but to transpose that commitment to Adventism itself is to exaggerate the church's interest in social reform.¹⁸ Bates, for example, abandoned his career as a social reformer even before the Great Disappointment of 1844.¹⁹ Evidence also suggests that even the early antislavery activity was not all that it has been claimed to be. Byington, for example, may never have used his home as a station on the Underground Railroad.²⁰

In further support of his thesis, Branson cites a statement by Mrs. White in which she instructed church members to disobey the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act that required American citizens to deliver fleeing slaves to their masters.²¹ Considerable doubt arises as to whether Adventists were in any way ahead of other abolitionists on this question. The law was inspired by Southern congressmen and its enactment united Northerners against it. Even people who previously had not shown much interest in the plight of the slave condemned the act. The law was generally regarded as another unwelcome attempt by the Southern states to control the affairs of the entire nation. The Fugitive Slave Act was therefore greeted immediately with widespread protests, public disavowals, and flagrant disregard. In one or two instances, individuals tried under the act were spectacularly acquitted by the courts. Thus Mrs. White brought the church into harmony with mainstream Northern opinion. Indeed, the prophetess, who made her statement in 1859, nine years after the law was enacted, took her time in protesting against what among her neighbors had long been regarded as an unjustifiable act.²²

The point is not that Adventists were silent on racial issues; they were

It was very uncomfortable from the very first. There were a number of southern white people in high positions in the General Conference at the time and they brought their prejudices with them. I could not eat in the General Conference cafeteria with everyone else. Some whites would not even greet you when they saw you in the morning. When they saw you coming, they would look at you, look by you—there would be no greeting at all. This was largely on the part of the womenfolk, but once in while the men would do it too.³⁵

What accounted for all this prejudice? It was certainly true, as Moseley suggests, that many Adventists simply imbibed the deep-seated attitudes of the times. But there were also some specific characteristics of the church that made Adventists susceptible to prejudiced behavior. It is quite likely that the desire to remain aloof from social problems may have made the church rather insensitive to the issue of race.³⁶ The policy on church and state also made white Adventists reluctant to speak out on racial injustice. The question of race was subordinated to what they considered to be the greater good of the church. Adventist leaders believed it was to their advantage to accept the racial policies that existed in America and later to adopt them for their own use. As the Adventist A. W. Spalding explained in an unpublished history of the black work: "Injustice and oppression are repugnant to the Christian; pride and disdain are foreign to his heart; but his Christian experience should not therefore lead him to start a crusade against customs which do not interfere with the Christian's duty."³⁷

As a result of this attitude, the church did not openly support the principle of black equality. Rather, as Abraham Lincoln had done during his senatorial debates with Stephen Douglas in 1858, Adventists denied that blacks were equal to whites for fear of becoming unpopular.³⁸ During his mission down the Mississippi River, Edson White and his associate, F. R. Rogers, often met with hostile opposition from white groups. In Yazoo City, Mississippi, the editor of the city newspaper viciously attacked the Adventist workers for, among other things, teaching equality of the races.³⁹ In a letter to the paper, Rogers wrote: "Understanding the reports that have been circulated about us and our work, I wish to state to the public, in order to right myself on these matters, that we DO NOT believe in social equality, neither do we teach or practise it."⁴⁰ Ellen White, too, made similar statements. She advised that the mingling of whites and blacks in social equality was not to be encouraged.⁴¹ "The colored people," she wrote, "should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people."⁴² Although not intended for the purpose, these sentiments undoubtedly helped those within the movement who wanted to keep blacks "in their place" and who wanted to justify discrimination against them.

The perpetuation of racial prejudice was also perhaps connected with the changing relationship between the races in America. The Civil War marked the point in American history when the relationship between

whites and blacks changed from a master-servant model to a competitive model. When in 1863 Abraham Lincoln emancipated slaves, he freed them to compete on an equal footing in society. But in order to maintain its position, the white majority created new forms of subordination. Blacks were segregated, disenfranchised, and denied equal opportunities on the labor market. While the master-servant relationship persisted, there was no need for this. But the white majority evidently felt it needed to maintain control of blacks by political means that were supported, through organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, by violence. It was the Emancipation Proclamation that uncorked the potent bottle of white racism.⁴³

Something similar occurred in Adventism. Although the relationship between whites and blacks in the church was never one of master-servant, it was certainly one of master-pupil. In 1903 Edson White revealed to the readers of the *Review* how he saw the blacks in the South. He described them as "a world within a world," "intensely religious" but of having "no refining influence over them, because they have no associations with those who have had the opportunity for education, culture, and refinement." They were "a superstitious people," he wrote. "You could not expect anything else. When we began holding meetings on the boat [the *Morning Star*], the people who came once would always come again, and a story was started that the people who came onto the boat were 'hoodooed.'" He continued: "We need schools in the South, not only to teach these people how to read, but to teach them how to work, to teach them trades, the use of implements, and how to farm."⁴⁴ The Adventist missionary saw it as his duty to educate the uneducated Negro.

But this relationship changed as blacks became literate. The best illustration of the black membership's educational advance was Eva B. Dyke's achievement in becoming the first black woman in America—and possibly in the world—to earn a Ph.D. She completed her doctorate at Harvard in 1921.⁴⁵ Blacks lost their superstitions and began to compete with whites on an equal footing within the movement. As that competition increased, the nature of Adventist discrimination became sharper and more intense, and the white majority became more committed to denying blacks equal status in the church. Precisely when the relationship between the races moved from paternalism to competition is difficult to determine. But the formation of black conferences was the acknowledgment that it had happened.

The competitive phase of race relations helps explain why blacks often revert to a self-imposed segregation. There have always been two poles in the history of the Negro in the United States. One is the push for integration and equal rights. The other, the desire for separation and withdrawal from white society. Integration is perhaps the initial goal, but if competition becomes too fierce and the white majority

opposition from school officials and Ester's brother (although not apparently from her father), the couple managed to maintain the relationship. However, one day Ragland was called into the president's office and was told he could not marry a white woman. "That night," he recalled, "I got up at one o'clock and left the dormitory and walked through the fields to the banks of the St. Joe River, just outside the little town of Berrien Springs, to commit suicide."³² He contemplated his future for an hour before deciding not to jump into the water. Not long afterward, the college sent Ragland to work at the Review and Herald publishing house in Washington, which apparently ended his relationship with Miss Pearce.

The final straw, however, was the situation at Battle Creek Sanitarium, where Ragland went to work a few years later. He recalled that black and white workers were not allowed to eat together. This so insulted him that he decided not only to leave the Adventist church but to leave America altogether. The sanitarium was not at this time an Adventist institution, as Kellogg had maintained control after he left the denomination in 1907. However, in Ragland's mind the sanitarium was still associated with the denomination. Ragland was ninety-three when he related his story, so it is possible that his memory was faulty. But if the sanitarium he described was Kellogg's rather than the church's institution, then Ragland's experience there would cast some doubt on Kellogg's liberal reputation. It suggests that even Kellogg eventually allowed segregationist practices at his institutions.

Ragland moved to Canada but soon returned to Detroit, where he began a successful career as a public official, playing an important part in advancing the cause of blacks in different parts of the country. In the 1920s, as industrial secretary of the Louisville Urban League, he organized what he claimed was the first public housing program for blacks in the United States and saw the first Negroes onto the local police force—apparently, the first south of the Mason-Dixon line. In 1940 he became a racial consultant for Ohio's social security department, and in 1949 he received thirty-two lines in *Who's Who in America*. After a long period of estrangement, he returned to the Adventist church in the late 1960s, vowing never to leave the denomination again over the issue of race.³³

In the end, John Ragland satisfactorily bridged the gap between his deep personal anguish and his belief in the church. J. K. Humphrey was not as lucky. Humphrey was a black Baptist minister who became an Adventist in 1902. He was a man of considerable gifts and was chosen to lead a newly formed black group in New York shortly after his conversion. Later, he founded the First Harlem Seventh-day Adventist Church, which grew rapidly under his leadership. The church, whose membership reached 600 in 1920, spawned the Second Harlem Church in 1924. It was in the 1920s that Humphrey became increas-

ingly concerned with the status of blacks in the Adventist church. Everywhere he looked, he saw discrimination: in the church's schools, hospitals, sanitariums, and conferences. No doubt Humphrey's vision was affected by the stirring events that were then occurring on his doorstep. Harlem in the 1920s was an exciting place to be black. Marcus Garvey's black nationalist movement was in full swing. Humphrey, like Garvey, was a Jamaican, but his own solution to the problem of unyielding racism was the organization of black conferences. Along with several other black leaders, Humphrey canvassed this idea at the denomination's Spring Council meeting in 1929. The General Conference responded by setting up a commission to study the proposal.

Humphrey left the Spring Council convinced—rightly as it turned out—that the General Conference had no intention of accepting the black leadership's wishes. He therefore started work on a secret communitarian project. He called it Utopia Park. It would be situated just outside New York City and would consist of an orphanage, an old people's home, a training school, an industrial area, and health care facilities. If blacks could not go back to Africa as Garvey advocated, at least they could retreat to Utopia Park, "the fortune spot of America for colored people," as Humphrey billed it. The Adventist pastor emphasized that the park would not be just for Adventists but would be open to all blacks in the United States.

Inevitably, word of Humphrey's plans leaked out to his conference superiors. Alarmed at Humphrey's secret project, they decided to defrock him. They had, however, to reckon with the First Harlem Church. When their decision was put to the congregation on November 2, 1929, members closed ranks behind Humphrey and denounced conference leaders for their actions. At one point, the meeting became so heated that only Humphrey's intervention prevented a full-scale riot from developing. Church officials had no option but to disfellowship the church as well. The church reformed under the name United Sabbath-Day Adventist Church. In the black press, Humphrey and his members were viewed as part of the black man's struggle against white oppression. The United Sabbath-Day Adventist Church exists today, but the dream of Utopia Park eventually foundered on legal and financial difficulties. In retrospect, Humphrey's mistake seems only to have been his premature support for black conferences. He was ahead of his time in his efforts to combat racial discrimination.³⁴

The extent of that discrimination pervaded even the General Conference. W. H. Green, who became the first black head of the denomination's Negro department in 1918, and his successors, G. E. Peters and F. L. Peterson, all came up against the color line that operated at church headquarters. Calvin E. Moseley, who became the fourth black to head the Negro department in 1953, recalled the situation when he arrived:

indeed quite vocal. But their readiness to speak out was motivated by their particular view of the end of the world, rather than by their desire to liberate Afro-Americans. Branson himself comes close to recognizing this. In his second article (devoted to the subject of slavery and prophecy) he notes: "Both Uriah Smith and James White related slavery to prophecy. . . . Oppression of blacks in America was more significant evidence that the beast in Revelation 13 was the United States." Indeed, as Branson continued: "Far from being a purely secular concern, Adventists thought race relations were intimately involved with a proper understanding of prophecy and last-day events." These judgments would seem to support the view presented earlier in this chapter that the early Adventists saw the question of race primarily as a stick with which to beat the American beast.²³

The third article in Branson's series attempts to explain Mrs. White's early twentieth-century statements advocating separate white and black churches. He argues that the prophetess's views reflected a worsening of the nation's race relations in the 1890s. The realities of white prejudice forced Mrs. White to reconsider her stand.²⁴ While this explanation is plausible, it would be a mistake to imply that the advocacy of racial segregation was unrepresentative of the Adventist tradition. In an Adventist context Mrs. White's statements were not particularly anomalous. For a time she may have attempted to maintain a liberal position, but when in 1908 she finally advised segregation, she was merely repeating the ideas Canright advanced in 1876. Moreover, the priority she gave to evangelizing white people indicated that Adventism, in racial terms, had changed little during the intervening years. It was still a white movement, with a mission to a white America, and blacks were not allowed to jeopardize the evangelistic objective of the denomination.

But what began as an evangelistic expedient eventually became the denomination's preferred method of dealing with the races, especially as the black membership grew. Between 1894 and 1918, the number of black Adventists increased from 50 to 3,500.²⁵ As more blacks came in, the pattern of institutional segregation became more entrenched. In 1927 a Scottish Adventist, Mrs. Nellie Druillard, established Riverside Sanitarium in Nashville, Tennessee, specifically for blacks. This was followed in 1934 by the founding of the black magazine *Message*, which has since been the voice of black Adventism as well as a major tool for evangelizing American Negroes. The most important institutional development, however, was the formation of black regional conferences in 1944. The black Adventist population then stood at nearly 18,000, approximately 8.5 percent of the Adventist membership in America at that time.²⁶ At the behest of black leaders, the General Conference created conference structures solely for the black churches. Eight of these have so far been formed around the country. The black

conferences, although administered by blacks for blacks, bear the same relationship to the union administration as other Adventist conferences.²⁷

The formation of regional conferences cemented the principle of separate development, which had been implicit from the moment blacks first turned up at Adventist gatherings. In some ways, the events of 1944 put into practice the Supreme Court decision of 1896, which saw the two races, at least in theory, as "separate but equal." Given the racial climate in the nation as a whole, it might be thought that the development of black Adventist conferences was inevitable. But this is not necessarily true. Adventists shared the problem of blacks with other American sects. The Jehovah's Witnesses, however, showed a markedly greater capacity for racial integration than did the Adventists.²⁸ The Mormons, on the other hand, unashamedly held to a doctrine of white supremacy, barring blacks from the priesthood and avoiding contact with them.²⁹ It was Adventism that most closely followed national trends in that it accepted blacks into its community but adopted segregationist policies.

The Adventist church also harbored a great deal of prejudice. Regional conferences had been created in the shadow of a notorious incident of racial discrimination. In 1944 the Adventist Washington Sanitarium refused to treat a black woman after she had fallen ill while visiting the capital. Mrs. Lucy Byard, an Adventist from New York, was then rushed to another hospital in the city. But the delay was fatal. Mrs. Byard died of pneumonia before she could be properly treated. Faced by an outraged constituency, the church's black lay and administrative leadership started the campaign that resulted in the formation of black conferences.³⁰

The policy of not treating blacks in the church's hospitals was only one aspect of Adventist discrimination. Blacks were barred from Adventist schools and, despite their growing numbers and increasing education, were denied equal opportunities within the general church body. These practices put black Adventists in a dilemma. Should they remain within an organization they otherwise felt to be right? Or should they leave a church whose racial policies were, to them, un-Christian? Many stayed. But some, like John M. Ragland, found racial discrimination too much to take, and left. Others like J. K. Humphrey were expelled for pursuing what they considered to be a better deal for the church's blacks.

The case of John Ragland is probably typical of many black Adventists in the first half of the twentieth century. The son of Virginian slaves, Ragland's problems began when he fell foul of the church's dislike of interracial marriages. At the denomination's Emmanuel Missionary College during 1908-9, he had what he described as "a running love affair" with a white woman named Ester Pearce.³¹ In the face of

proves too intransigent, blacks are likely to see separation as the best way forward. Segregation is then seen as the answer to discrimination. Certainly, in the Adventist case, blacks proposed regional conferences after they felt integration was an unobtainable goal. In the next two decades, this general pattern was continued. Black Adventists fought for equal status and participation in the church, but the 1960s ended with many of them calling for greater organizational separation. The Adventist experience was again similar to a nation that in this period produced both Martin Luther King's dream of complete integration and the militant separatism of the Black Muslims.

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s at first heightened racial tensions in the denomination. An incident that occurred at an Adventist church in Alabama dramatically portrayed the uneasy relationship that existed between the races in the early 1960s. The church, composed mostly of white members, invited a group from Oakwood College to present a Sabbath program. Arriving at the church, the black group found a roped-off section for them to sit in. However, the section could not hold them all, so some of them attempted to find seats elsewhere in the church. As this was against the church's policies, the deacons tried, unsuccessfully, to usher the blacks out. In the midst of the confusion, an elder stood up, pulled out a gun, and declared: "I've got six bullets here and they all say nigger on them." The minister's wife started to cry. "We love you niggers," she said, "but we just don't want you to sit with us."⁴⁶

In other cases, white Adventists linked arms outside their churches to prevent blacks from entering them.⁴⁷ Similar battles were played out in the church's schools. When a black girl was refused admission to an Adventist academy, her parents publicly attacked the denomination for what they considered to be a clear example of racial prejudice. This incident prompted a large protest at the denomination's General Conference session in San Francisco in 1962. About a thousand black Seventh-day Adventists gathered in the city in a demonstration of defiance at the church's racial policies. The event attracted considerable attention in the local press.⁴⁸

Eventually, church leaders responded to the pressure for change. Typically, however, they distanced themselves from the campaigns inside and outside the denomination. In a 1965 editorial in the *Review*, F. D. Nichol implicitly criticized clergymen who took part in the freedom marches. He wrote that the Adventist church sympathized with "those underprivileged," but it did not feel that the answer lay in social protest. Revealing once again the priority given to the church's mission, he stated, "We have ever felt that we can best reveal true Christianity and thus best advance the Advent cause, by taking the more quiet and perhaps indirect approach to problems that so often arouse human passions."⁴⁹

But throughout this period, major pillars of Adventist segregation were falling. In 1965 the *Review* carried actions of the General Conference committee that called for the ending of racial discrimination in the denomination's schools, hospitals, and churches.⁵⁰ The General Conference cafeteria had already been desegregated in the 1950s. But the integration of Adventist schools was a slow process. Southern College in Tennessee, a bastion of white Southern Adventism, admitted its first black students in 1968 after a bitter struggle. Five years after the last state university, Alabama, had integrated its campus.⁵¹ The church also appointed more blacks in leadership positions. In 1962 Frank L. Peterson became the first of several blacks to hold the position of general vice-president of the General Conference. In addition, Adventist publishing houses put out books and articles to educate the membership on racial matters. Among the most significant were Ron Graybill's *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (1970), which presented the prophetess as a champion of racial equality, and the series of articles by Roy Branson that appeared in the same year.

Despite the moves toward integration, the black conferences remained. Indeed, the controversies of the 1960s convinced many black leaders that only through the creation of black unions, the next level of government in Adventism, could parity be reached with whites. The question, for the black Adventist E. E. Cleveland, was one of power. He saw that union presidents were decisive figures in church administration but that blacks had very little hope of reaching such positions. He thus supported black unions because it was "imperative that black men have someone at Union Conference level to speak for them."⁵² However, Calvin Rock, another black leader, later argued for black unions on the grounds of the genuine cultural differences that exist between the races.⁵³ He also had in his support the fact that the separation of the black work had apparently led to a spectacular increase in the black membership. Between 1944 and 1970, the number of black Adventists rose from around 18,000 to just under 74,000, or 18 percent of the total American membership. Throughout the 1970s, black unions were debated. The proposal was rejected several times during the decade by General Conference committees.⁵⁴ But the black constituency received some consolation when a black man, Charles Bradford, was appointed president of the North American Division in 1979.

In addition to the calls for greater separation, black leaders also raised the level of black consciousness in the 1970s. This was not dissimilar to the "black is beautiful" movement of the 1960s. The roots of this in Adventism, however, went back to 1934, when Frank L. Peterson published *The Hope of the Race*. It contained the traditional Adventist themes, but it differed from all Adventist books before it in the attention it paid to black history. Its pages were sprinkled with photographs of black heroes such as Booker T. Washington and the singer

Roland Hayes. The book celebrated the black experience almost as much as the Adventist message.⁵⁵ E. E. Cleveland wrote a similar book in 1970 called *Free at Last*. The inside cover contained a collage of famous black figures from Jesse Owens to George Washington Carver. The book was dedicated to the black man's hopes and, like Peterson's work, was clearly a black interpretation of Adventism.⁵⁶

Because they have sought to establish a black identity as well as an Adventist identity, black Adventists have drawn inspiration from black role models outside the Adventist community. Conversely, prominent blacks who emerged from Adventism, such as the writer Richard Wright, strongly asserted black pride. Wright's most famous novel, *Native Son* (1940), revolves around a black character who finally discovers a meaning for his existence when he accidentally kills his white employer's daughter.⁵⁷ Little Richard is also noted for his black consciousness. When the rock singer retired in the late 1950s, he attended the black Adventist institution Oakwood College, where he particularly enjoyed classes in black history. Although he resumed his musical career in the early 1960s, he again turned to religion in the 1970s, when he established an independent ministry aimed at Afro-Americans that drew inspiration from, among others, the black Adventist leader, E. E. Cleveland.⁵⁸ The black identity of Prince, the other world-famous singer with an Adventist background, is also marked. Prince's Adventist heritage reveals itself in the strongly apocalyptic content of many of his songs.⁵⁹ In contrast, the black musicians produced by the Jehovah's Witnesses, such as Michael Jackson and George Benson, draw little on their racial or religious heritage.⁶⁰ It would appear that the black artists who emerge from Adventism have a stronger and more aggressive sense of racial identity than do their counterparts from the Jehovah's Witnesses—a sect with a better record of racial integration.

In a famous study of race relations, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess argued in 1921 that blacks would eventually be assimilated into American society.⁶¹ In the equally famous 1944 analysis *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, Gunnar Myrdal made the same assumptions. He believed that not only did blacks want to be assimilated but that this was the only viable option.⁶² With the early emergence of individuals such as W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, and even Booker T. Washington, it is doubtful if black leaders have seen integration as their only objective. But it was the black nationalist movement of the later 1960s that forced sociologists to recognize the separatist, as well as the integrationist, impulse in black history.⁶³

The paradox of race, observed the writer Joel Williamson, "is that black people have to get out of white society in order to get into it, and they have to get into it in order to get out. They have to get into the society to get a minimum of those palpable things that people need

minimum of justice. . . . Yet because white people are prejudiced and have the power to manifest their prejudices in a multitude of ways, they have to get out . . . to maintain a sense of worth and self-esteem."⁶⁴ In their own experience of race relations, Adventists have provided a small illustration of this aspect of American society. The separation of races in the church witnesses to the continuing tensions between them, and Williamson's paradox appear to apply to the Adventist black, who, although perhaps loved by his white brothers, has never been totally convinced that they want him to sit with them.

Adventism's Rainbow Coalition

Roy Branson

An understanding of the roots of the diverse groups in Adventism, particularly its largest ethnic community—Black Adventists—will help us to better appreciate each other's struggles and concerns.

Probably no church in the world embraces more ethnic communities than Seventh-day Adventists. One hundred and fifty years after the Great Disappointment, almost 90 percent of Seventh-day Adventists now live outside the United States. Adventists worship in more countries than any other church but Roman Catholicism. Even among the 10 percent of the Adventist denomination living in the United States, the majority will be non-Whites as early as 1998.

Embracing fellow believers who look, talk, and act differently from ourselves has been one of Adventism's more dramatic pilgrimages. The road to ethnic diversity has sometimes been a rough one—and it may get rougher. We can learn from how our founders wrestled in the United States to

combine appreciation of cultural differences with a sense of unity and common purpose.

Adventism was begun, and initially led in the nineteenth century, by WASPS—White Anglo-Saxon Protestants—living in New England and upper New York State. For a few years after the Great Disappointment, they believed that God would take to heaven only those who had accepted Him before 1844. In effect, their Shut-Door teaching permitted primarily WASPS into heaven. Even when they changed their minds and opened the Shut Door, Adventists took several years to actively welcome Whites other than Anglo-Saxons.

White Ethnic

In 1856, twelve years after the Great Disappointment, James White, J. H. Waggoner, and Uriah Smith took Adventism's first step toward ethnic diversity. They prepared a tract for German immigrants in their own language. Among the waves of European immigrants landing on the Eastern shore of the United States, those who joined Adventism came primarily from those Protestants who had dissented from established European state churches. The first Norwegian and Swedish immigrants, baptized in 1858, included a Baptist preacher and forty members of his congregation. John Mattson soon also converted a Danish Baptist preacher to Adventism.

In the 1870s, Adventists expanded their work among German and Scandinavian immigrants. In 1871, the first Adventist periodical in a foreign language appeared—the Danish *Advent Tidende*. Danish converts convinced fellow emigrants from Germany to the Dakotas to become Adventists. In 1872, a lay leader in a Nebraska Church of the Brethren brought several other German immigrant families into Adventism. That same year, a former Baptist preacher organized the first Swedish American church in the United States. Concurrently, the *Svensk Advent Herald* (Swedish Adventist Herald) began publishing.

During the next decade, Bible schools were started for

sionary to Japan. His son was responsible for starting the initial Japanese American church in Los Angeles. In 1922, the first Japanese American churches were organized in northern California—a congregation of fifteen members in Mountain View and one of twenty in San Francisco.

External forces were responsible for significant increases in Asian American Adventists. The first was the imprisoning of Japanese Americans in California concentration camps during World War II. The Foreign Department sent three full-time workers and 120,000 pieces of Japanese language literature into the concentration camps. Two hundred Adventists went into the camps, 350 walked out—a 75 percent increase.

More liberal immigration laws in the mid-1960s led to an even greater number of Asian American Adventists. This increase paralleled a climbing percentage of Asians among all immigrants to the United States. From 1,000 members in 1965, Adventists of Asian origin increased within a decade by over 150 percent. Then, from 1980 to 1990, Asian American Adventists increased by another 252 percent. By 1992, although Asian Americans constituted only 2.6 percent of the division membership, they had expanded to over 20,000 members in the North American Division.

The concentration of Asian American Adventists in California is reflected in the fact that Asian American Adventists send a much higher percentage of their children to Adventist colleges in California than do other ethnic groups. (Although Adventist schools of higher education in California also admit a significant number of foreign students from the Pacific Rim countries and enroll some non-Adventist Asian Americans, most of their ethnic Asian students are from American Adventist families.) In the 1992–1993 school year, Asians and Asian-Americans made up 14 percent of the enrollment at Pacific Union College, 20 percent of the students at Loma Linda University, and 36 percent of the student body at La Sierra University. Asians constituted a larger percentage at all three schools than any other ethnic group but Anglos.

Hispanic Americans

As with so many of the ethnic groups, Hispanics started becoming Adventists in the late nineteenth century. As might be expected, it was in the Southwest, near Mexico, that Hispanics first found Adventism. In 1898, a Methodist pastor in Tucson, Arizona, brought his church of Spanish-speaking members into the Adventist denomination. Shortly after 1900, Hispanic churches sprang up along the Rio Grande—El Paso, San Antonio, Laredo, Corpus Christi, and Mission, Texas. In the 1920s, more Hispanic congregations appeared in such picturesque towns as Las Cruces, San Marcial, Socoro, and Raton. Hispanics in California organized their first congregation in 1906 and in Colorado two years later. Up to World War II, Mexican Americans in the Southwest, California, and Colorado remained the core of Hispanic American Adventists.

The church had Mexican Americans in these areas primarily in mind when it twice established schools for Spanish-speaking Adventists in the Southwest. First, in 1920 the Spanish-speaking Training School opened near Scottsdale, Arizona, in conjunction with what later became Thunderbird Academy. The school closed thirteen years later during the Depression. The second attempt by the General Conference—Seminario Hispano-Americano, near Albuquerque, New Mexico—lasted only ten years. It was sold to the Texico Conference and became the Sandia View Academy.

After World War II, the world of Hispanic Adventists became much more diverse. Puerto Rican Adventists immigrated to New York City. In the 1960s, Cuban Adventists moved into Miami. In the mid-1960s the same immigration laws that admitted vastly more Asians did the same for Latin Americans. Hispanics of different nationalities, particularly Central Americans, found their way to North America.

Hispanics have not attempted to organize their own ethnically defined conferences. Instead, a pattern emerged of directors or vice-presidents for Hispanic members within the existing conferences and unions. Since the 1960s, Hispanics

Seventh-day Adventist denomination, an unnamed Chippewa couple.⁴ By 1897, the first congregation of Seventh-day Adventist Native Americans had been organized.

Adventists have directed most of their money and attention involving Native Americans toward Navajos. To this day, it is regarded as a mission effort. The North American Division supports a twelve-grade school in Holbrook, Arizona, that teaches farming, gardening, plumbing, carpentry, electronics, and auto welding. The division has provided scholarships for Indians in other parts of the country to attend the academy in Arizona.

After World War II, at about the same time the denomination started the school in Arizona, it also began a dispensary in Monument Valley, Utah. It was not until 1969 that the denomination ordained an Indian, Tom Holliday, who became pastor of the Adventist church in Monument Valley. Interestingly, in spite of these efforts in Arizona and Utah, as of 1992, the vast majority of Native American Adventists lived in the North Pacific Union—992 of the 1,791 Native Americans in the North American Division.

Jewish Americans

It is assumed that even fewer Jews than Native Americans comprise North American Adventism. One person was responsible for Seventh-day Adventists first paying special attention to Jews: F. C. Gilbert, a London-born Jew, who in 1889 converted in Boston to Seventh-day Adventism. For half a century, Gilbert, as secretary of the Jewish Department and then field secretary of the General Conference, pleaded for more work to be done for the Jews. Gilbert wrote articles in the *Review and Herald* and many tracts for fellow Jews. From Gilbert's time to the present, the denomination has published a special magazine for Jews, now called *Shabat Shalom*. Still, so few Jews were ever converted, the Foreign Department never even kept figures of how many North American Adventists were Jews.

It was not until 1949, three years after Gilbert's death, that the first Jewish Adventist congregation was organized in New York City. J. M. Hoffman, a Jewish convert who first became active in evangelism in the South, moved to the Bronx, where he organized 25 members into a congregation. He wore the Jewish prayer shawl and yarmulke, replaced all Sabbath offerings and Ingathering campaigns with a congregation-wide double-tithe, and built up the membership to over 130. In 1959, Hoffman moved the congregation from the Bronx to mid-Manhattan, into a multipurpose building that included a 400-seat auditorium. Hoffman called the new facility the Times Square Center.

Eventually, because of objections from New York rabbis, Hoffman had to relinquish his Jewish vestments. After Hoffman retired, the membership of the congregation dwindled to 25 Jewish members. While F. C. Gilbert, and now Clifford Goldstein, the editor of *Liberty* magazine, have gained prominence within Adventism, and Jewish Adventists report that they constantly meet denominational leaders and members who are wholly or partly Jewish, no ethnic community within American Adventism remains less visible than Jews—and less threatening to other ethnic groups.

Asian Americans

During the 1992 riots in south central Los Angeles, Korean American Adventists were among those whose stores were demolished. That is not surprising, since Korean Americans now comprise the largest group within American Adventists of Asian origin. Over half of Asian American Adventists live in California (12,000 of the division's 20,000).

California is where the first Asian Americans became Adventists and organized their first congregations. In 1892, T. H. Okahira was baptized in an evangelistic campaign in Paso Robles, California. He attended Healdsburg College (now Pacific Union College), and four years later the first Japanese American convert became the first Seventh-day Adventist mis-

Scandinavians in Chicago (1885) and for Germans in Milwaukee (1886). Scandinavian and German departments were also instituted at Battle Creek College and then at Union College (1891). At the turn of the century, the Anglos continued to regard immigrants as foreigners. When denominational leaders came to organize departments at the 1901 General Conference, they created what they called the North American Foreign Department, specifically “for the work among the German and Scandinavian nationalities in North America, and for others as necessity may demand.”¹

In 1910, no less than three foreign-language seminaries opened for classes: Danes and Norwegians in Hutcheson, Minnesota; Swedes on a farm in Broadview, Illinois; Germans on 112 acres near Clinton, Missouri. These seminaries grew through World War I and after. By 1922, the Danish-Norwegian Seminary had grown from a beginning of 82 students to 188, and the Swedish Seminary from 22 to 200 students. The German Seminary achieved the largest enrollment—225 students. During these years, when the United States had the highest percentage of foreign-born and second-generation citizens in its history, the Anglo Adventists reported that those they designated as “foreign” members comprised over 16 percent of the SDAs in the United States.

Scandinavians came to dominate the leadership of the Foreign Department. By 1918, S. Mortenson, a Danish American, noted that immigration patterns had changed—in his view, for the worse. In the 1870s, he said, people from northwestern Europe formed 99 percent of the immigrants to the United States, but “we find that in 1914 the figures had so changed that the people from northwestern Europe made up only 25 percent, while those from southeastern Europe constitute 75 percent of the immigration.”

Mortenson regarded the latest immigrants with at least as much suspicion as Anglo-Saxon Adventists had earlier regarded the German and Scandinavians, like Mortenson. “On an average, 37 percent of them are illiterate. They are practically all Roman or Greek Catholics, and in their ideals,

customs and habits they differ widely from their northern neighbors and from us.” Mortenson looked on the newcomers from southern Europe as culturally unequal. “It is true many of them are outwardly unlovely, uncultured and unpolished, but the raw material for sparkling jewels is there. The privilege is ours to grind and polish the rough surface and bring out the inner beauty.”²

Deteriorating economic conditions in the United States forced first the German Seminary in Clinton, Missouri (1925), and then the Danish-Norwegian Seminary in Hutcheson, Minnesota (1928), to move to the Swedish Seminary at Broadview, Illinois. As late as 1932, the secretary of the General Conference Foreign Department felt it necessary to assure the Scandinavian Adventist membership that this did not mean a breakdown of ethnic distinctions. “One question that was raised was the objection to having Danish-Norwegian young people mixed up with representatives of the Latin races. . . . Marriages between Nordics and Latins at Broadview are very rare (only 7 Italians and 4 Poles are in attendance at Broadview).”³

During the Depression and World War II, immigration declined. By 1933, the percentage of Adventists in the United States designated as ethnics slipped below 10 percent. Also, the second generation of immigrants from across Europe was assimilated rather easily into the American Adventist Church. Descendants of Scandinavian and German immigrants came to serve in many leadership positions, including vice-presidents and president of the world Church. By 1951, the Foreign Department was disbanded.

Native Americans

Anglo Adventists lumped the original Americans with foreigners. C. W. Parker reported in an 1893 *Review and Herald* that in Pine City, Minnesota, “last Sabbath we had in our meetings Scandinavians, Americans, and Indians, which shows that the message is going to the people, tongues and languages.” He also reported the first Native American converts to the

have grown rapidly. By the early 1970s, Hispanics constituted one-third of the Texico Conference and 40 percent of the Greater New York Conference. From 1980 to 1990, Hispanic members in North America increased 127 percent. By 1992, Hispanics had become 17 percent of the Pacific Union membership, 15 percent of the Southwestern Union, and 12.5 percent of the Atlantic Union. Among North American Adventists as a whole, Hispanics were a more modest 8.5 percent of the membership. But if growth patterns hold steady, by the year 2000, there will be 150,000 Hispanic Adventists in the North American Division, comprising 14.5 percent of the division membership.

African Americans

As in the United States as a whole, the most complicated ethnic relationship among Seventh-day Adventists has been between Whites and Blacks. At least in America, the relationship has formed a recurring pattern: The general society is changing the relationship of Blacks and Whites, some event creates a crisis in Black-White relations within Adventism; Black members make certain demands; the White majority refuses; instead, the Whites institute the changes Blacks had demanded during the previous crisis in racial and ethnic relations. The dynamics of the race relations and encounters between Whites and Blacks in the Adventist Church have had far-reaching effects and considerable historic impact on the entire denomination. Therefore, considerable discussion is here given to the development of the Black work as it reveals the prevalent attitudes on the subject.

Millerites and Abolitionism

Black Adventists trace their roots back to the Millerites. William Foy, a Black man, received visions (1842–1844), that were similar to Ellen White's early visions in 1844. Ellen White said that Foy had four visions and that she talked to him after she had spoken at a meeting. She said Foy told her

he had seen some of the same scenes she saw. She recalled hearing him speak in Portland when she was a girl and said he bore 'remarkable testimonies.' For years it was believed Foy refused to share his visions, gave up Christianity, and died in 1845 after the Great Disappointment. Foy lived until 1893. These and other misconceptions are cleared up in the book *The Unknown Prophet* by Delbert Baker.

The Founders' Theology on Race

Only six years after the Great Disappointment, Ellen White urged civil disobedience in the cause of anti-slavery. When the U.S. Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Ellen White told Sabbath-keeping Adventists in no uncertain terms that "the law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey."⁵⁵ When she learned that an Adventist defended slavery, she bluntly admonished him: "You must yield your views or the truth. . . . We must let it be known that we have no such ones in our fellowship, that we will not walk with them in church capacity."⁵⁶ At a time when many, even in the North, considered slavery a commercial or political issue, Ellen White regarded slavery as a moral outrage.

Ellen White could have believed in the abolition of slavery and still not regarded the Black persons as equal to whites, but she was unequivocal: "Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, Black and White, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God."⁵⁷ Not only were redeemed Christians equal in Christ, but Blacks and Whites were equal brothers because of a common creation. God wants us, she said, to remember "their common relationship to us by creation and by redemption, and their right to the blessings of freedom."⁵⁸

James White, the organizational leader of Sabbath-keeping Adventists, declared that oppression of slaves in America was significant evidence that the beast in the book of Revelation, chapter 13, was the United States, a beast that looks like a lamb but speaks like a dragon.

When the Civil War began, President Lincoln had not yet announced his Emancipation Proclamation and said that he was fighting the rebellion only to save the Union, not to free the slaves. Uriah Smith, who succeeded James White as editor of the *Review and Herald*, used the pages of Adventism's official church paper to pronounce an anathema on the sitting President of the United States for not acting immediately to free the slaves.

The first Black Seventh-day Adventists were scattered through northern churches. The first congregation of Black members was organized in the South. Harry Lowe, a former Baptist preacher, joined a biracial church in Edgefield junction, Tennessee, near Nashville. Then in 1886, because of racial tensions, he led in the formation of a Black congregation of ten members. The first Black Seventh-day Adventist to become an ordained minister, C. M. Kinney, was born a slave in Richmond, Virginia; converted to Adventism in Reno, Nevada, and then attended Healdsburg College for two years. Kinney preached in Kansas before moving on to a successful ministry in Kentucky and Tennessee. By 1890, a second predominately Black church was organized in Louisville, Kentucky.

In the early 1890s, Ellen White spelled out for the General Conference officers what equality between whites and blacks, based on her theology of both redemption and creation, meant in the practical life of the church.

It will always be difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the White people in the South and do missionary work for the colored race. But the way this matter has been treated by some is an offense to God. . . . You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the White brethren.⁹

James and Ellen White's older son took his parents' theology of ethnic and race relations seriously. The result was

crucial for relations between Whites and Blacks in the American Adventist Church. In 1895, Edson White built a boat, called it the *Morning Star*, and with some White colleagues, sailed it down the Mississippi River. He and his friends conducted for Black Southerners along the river towns of Mississippi, not only religious meetings, but health clinics and classes in reading, writing, and farming.

However, in 1895, opposition to Edson's *Morning Star* mission came not only from White plantation owners. Black preachers, fearful of losing members, also incited Whites against the Adventists. The result were violent attacks, burnings, and attempted lynching. Edson White had sailed into what some historians of the South have called the "Crisis of the Nineties." It was a time, says Yale's C. Vann Woodward, when "a great restiveness seized upon the populace, a more profound upheaval of economic discontent than had ever moved the Southern people before, more profound in its political manifestation than that which shook them in the Great Depression of the 1930s."¹⁰ Economic, political, and social frustrations pyramided social tensions, which broke out into aggression against Blacks—and sometimes against their White friends.

Finally, in 1899, Ellen White reluctantly began counseling caution. "As far as possible, everything that will stir up the race prejudice of the white people should be avoided. There is a danger of closing the door so that our white laborers will not be able to work in some places in the South." She did add the famous promise to Black Adventists: "Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows us a better way." Ellen White remained committed to equality between Blacks and Whites based on both God's work of salvation and creation, but after the experience of her son in the mid-nineties, she became more pragmatic in how to apply racial equality to specific circumstances.¹¹

The Creation of the Negro Department

By the time of the 1909 General Conference session, there were about a thousand Black Adventists, and the first crisis

in relations between Whites and Blacks had hit the denomination. L. C. Shaefe, formerly a Baptist preacher, and probably the most prominent Black preacher in Adventism, had been invited to pastor the integrated, though predominately Black, First Seventh-day Adventist Church of Washington, D.C. One of its members was the daughter of Frederick Douglass, the most famous Black person of his time, and a witness, he said, to the falling stars of 1833.

Prominent members of the Church felt that the newly elected General Conference president, A. G. Daniells, wanted Black and White Adventists to worship in separate congregations. As the newly reorganized General Conference was moved from Battle Creek to Washington, D.C., the officers left First Church to organize other, White congregations. The General Conference committee refused to assign a White pastor to assist Shaefe in an evangelistic campaign. Dr. J. H. Howard, a Black physician in First Church, expressing views shared by Shaefe, wrote to Daniells that "it is difficult to see why it is necessary to make a race line in the Adventist denomination in face of the fact that the truth involves a positive protest against any such thing in the church."

By the time of the 1909 General Conference session, the demands of the Black leaders had become specific. J. K. Humphrey, pastor of the Harlem First Church, made his case on the floor of the session by appealing to the denomination's earlier efforts on behalf of White ethnics. "As I studied the situation, I found that the other nationalities were getting along first-rate. . . . It encourages you to listen to these reports of how the work is going among the Germans, Danes, Scandinavians and others; but when it comes to the Negroes, do you hear anything?"¹²

A. G. Daniells strongly supported the creation of the Negro Department. Like Humphrey, he cited the precedent of the Foreign Department. The first signer of the "Appeal," Sydney Scott, made the fieriest speech of the discussion, concluding that "there ought to be a just and fair representation in that department from the local mission clear to the head" and that

the name of the department should be "Afro-American."

Scott, and the other Black leaders, got their department, but not the suggested name. Nor did they get representation. The first secretary leading the Negro Department was a White man, as were many of his successors. It would be nine years before the first Black leader, W. H. Green, would head the department.

After World War I (1914-18), crowds in America's cities cheered returning Black regiments. But when the Black veterans began claiming the rights and privileges of American citizens, Whites fiercely resisted. Between 1916 to 1918, one-half to a million southern Blacks migrated to northern jobs. In just two years (1919-1920), 100,000 Whites joined Klu Klux Klan chapters in twenty-three states. In the summer of 1919, no less than twenty-five major riots broke out in American cities. One in Chicago lasted for thirteen days, wounding hundreds and killing thirty-eight people.

Crisis in Harlem

At the same time that Adventists, and Americans generally, were regressing in race relations, Blacks in northern cities were becoming more militant. This was the time of social and literary activity in New York City. The post-World War I period was also the beginning of the Harlem Renaissance, a flowering of artistic and literary talent that included a number of Caribbean immigrants and later, an author from an Adventist minister's family, Arna Bontemps. He served as principal of Adventist Harlem Academy and taught briefly at Oakwood College before becoming writer in residence at Fisk University and visiting professor for six years at the University of Chicago and Yale. In 1928, during this period of increasing ferment, W. H. Green, the first Black secretary of the Negro Department, died. He had led the department for a decade. Black Adventist pastors were disappointed in how little had been accomplished by the department since 1909. They proposed that the General Conference abolish the Negro Department and replace it with Black conferences; one

ately afterward, approved Black conferences, voted to elevate Oakwood to senior college status, and appointed Louis B. Reynolds to be the first Black editor of *Message*, the Black missionary magazine.

Before the end of 1944, the Lake Region Conference was already established within the Lake Union. By the end of 1946, five Black conferences had been created. Within a year of the organization of these Black conferences, the percentage of the U.S. Black population that was Adventist exceeded, for the first time, the percentage of U.S. Whites who were Adventists.

Through the late 1940s and early 1950s, integration advanced gradually in the United States, and even more slowly within the church. In 1950, McElhenny's successor as president of the world church, W. H. Branson, tried to speed things up. He released an unprecedented letter—reminiscent of a U.S. President's executive order—addressed to all union and local conference presidents and managers of Seventh-day Adventist institutions in North America. In this letter he appealed to Church leaders to redouble effort in the area of human relations.

Perhaps no religious group in the United States or the world, claims so loudly that it is international in its attitudes and services as do the Seventh-day Adventists and yet, in this matter of Negro segregation, we are trailing behind the procession. We seem afraid to venture any changes in the relationships which we maintained a half century ago, notwithstanding the fact that the whole world about us had made and is still making drastic changes.

Shall we be the last of the Christian bodies to break away from our historic attitudes and chart a new course in our human relationships?

... We wish to appeal to the managing boards of our publishing houses, sanitariums and schools in the East, North and West, to give immediate study to this matter. We believe that in most places in these sections of the country there can be complete integration of the races in

our institutions without serious difficulty.

We understand that in the deep South a few of our institutional boards have voted to discontinue segregation. . . . In some places it will require some courage to launch into such a program but the entire country is headed in that direction. The government, the churches, and the business world are leading the way, and why should we hesitate to follow?¹⁶

A month later, the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously declared in *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. Through the remainder of the 1950s, administrators responded to Branson's letter and trends in the society by gradually integrating more and more Adventist institutions. It was later in the 1960s that Adventist schools were integrated, and the General Conference session (1962) in San Francisco elected the first Blacks to the positions of associate secretary and general vice-president of the General Conference.

Of course, Martin Luther King, Jr., stepped up the pace of integration, with the 1956 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, followed by other direct actions. In Tampa, Florida, a young pastor of the Black Adventist church, Warren Banfield, accepted the presidency of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He organized the Black citizens of Tampa so well that his threat to lead a bus boycott was sufficient to integrate the public transportation of the city. He persuaded the city to build public housing for the poor Black people of Tampa.¹⁶

Not surprisingly, a specific incident soon recrystallized race relations within North American Adventism. Almost twenty years after an Adventist Black woman was turned away from the emergency room of the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital, Frank Hale, chairman of the Department of English at Central State College at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Burrell Scott, a successful Ohio contractor, tried, at the beginning of the 1961–1962 school year, to enroll their Black daughters at Mount

the most important document affecting them since the Emancipation Proclamation: "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." For the first time, during World War II, Blacks were integrated into units of the army, navy, and marines.

By contrast, at the end of World War II, at General Conference headquarters in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, the only Black among General Conference leaders was the leader of the Negro Department. He and other visiting Black leaders of the church were still not permitted inside the Review and Herald Publishing House cafeteria, the place General Conference leaders routinely ate lunch. Both the nearby Adventist institutions, Columbia Union College and Washington Sanitarium and Hospital, did not admit Blacks.

In this environment, the almost predictable incident catalyzing a change in relations between Black and White Adventists occurred. A Black Adventist woman visiting relatives in Washington, D.C., suddenly fell ill. Her sister drove her to the closest Adventist hospital, the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital. The emergency room staff refused to care for a Black patient. The sister, now desperate, drove her to the Freedman's Hospital in another part of the city. Before they arrived, her visiting sister had died.

The Black press reported the incident to the country. Outraged Black Adventists organized a Committee for the Advancement of World-wide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists. Among the prominent Black laity signing an eight-page set of demands from the committee to the General Conference was Eva B. Dykes, the first Black woman to complete a doctorate in the United States—from Radcliffe College at Harvard University.

The statement contrasted the integration of colleges and hospitals outside the church to denominational institutions to which Black members contributed tithes and offerings. Three principal demands were made: integration of Adventist institutions, greater Black representation at all levels of

denominational administration, and greater accountability from denominational leadership of Black members' financial contributions to the Adventist Church.

With the press following developments, and prominent Black laity across the United States demanding action, the General Conference president met with representatives of the committee. He then convened a meeting to consider the future of the Black work in America. Just before the 1944 Spring Council of the Church's top leadership, prominent Black pastors, leaders of union Negro Departments (appointed after the Church's previous racial crisis), prominent Black laity, some White union presidents, and General Conference leaders gathered in April at the Hilton Hotel in Chicago. Presiding was J. L. McElhenny, president of the world Adventist Church. Fourteen years before, as vice-president for North America, he had been involved in dealing with the demands of J. K. Humphrey for Black conferences and his subsequent expulsion.

The General Conference leaders informed the assembled group that integration of the Adventist Church on the scale outlined by the committee of Black laity was impossible to achieve. Instead, McElhenny proposed implementing the 1929 demand of J. K. Humphrey and others to create Black conferences. Each Black conference would have jurisdiction over Black members then within several White conferences. In many cases, Black conferences would coincide with the territory of entire unions. Integration was unattainable, but there could be increased self-determination of Black clergy and conference committees. What was being proposed fell between two alternatives found in Protestant American churches: the commitment to integration at all levels, found among what remain predominantly White Episcopalian and Presbyterian denominations, and the completely separate Black and White denominations, found among Baptists and Methodists.

The head of the General Conference Colored Department, G. E. Peters, supported the creation of Black conferences. By the time a vote was taken, so did a strong majority of the entire committee. The 1944 Spring Council, meeting immedi-

Black General Conference leader would be succeeded by several Black conference presidents.

The most obvious candidate for president of a Black conference was J. K. Humphrey. Nineteen years before, in the aftermath of Schaefer's departure from the denomination, Humphrey had stood with A. G. Daniells, the General Conference president, and helped him create the Negro Department. Humphrey, originally an ordained Baptist pastor in the Island of Jamaica, pastored the Adventist First Church of Harlem. The church was made up primarily of West Indian immigrants, in a Harlem being ignited by West Indian ideas of self-determination. Under Humphrey's leadership, the congregation became the largest in the Greater New York Conference. He had also started three other congregations.

A spring 1929 meeting of General Conference leaders in Washington, D.C., failed to approve the creation of Black conferences and instead created a commission of sixteen to study the matter (eleven Whites and five Blacks), to bring a report to the 1929 Fall Council. Humphrey quickly concluded that although he was on the commission, Black conferences were dead. He proceeded to pour his energies into promoting and soliciting funds for Utopia Park, located forty-five miles south of New York City, in New Jersey. It would include three lakes and facilities for an orphanage, a home for the aged, a training school, an industrial area, and private residences. It was time, Humphrey was convinced, for Black Adventists to create their own institutions. When the conference president inquired into Utopia Park, Humphrey wrote back that "I thank you very much for your expressions of kindly interest and your desire to cooperate in this good work, but it is absolutely a problem for the colored work."¹³

During the year, the commissioner of Public Welfare for New York City had asked the Greater New York Conference what the Utopia Park promotion was all about, and the city made permission for soliciting the Ingathering more difficult. In the fall of 1929, after consulting with the Atlantic Union, the Greater New York Conference requested that Humphrey

give up plans for what the conference president had called a "colored colony." When Humphrey refused, the conference committee fired the pastor of its largest congregation.

The dismissal took place on a Friday. The following Saturday evening, the First Church of Harlem gathered to hear the news. Not only did the Greater New York Conference president attend, but the president of Atlantic Union, the secretary of the General Conference, and the revered president of the General Conference himself, W. A. Spicer. The meeting lasted five hours. According to an internal report of the General Conference leadership, the entire congregation supported the pastor. The *New York News* reported to the public that "the meeting soon became uncontrollable and bid fair to develop into a riot, which was prevented by the quick action of the pastor himself."¹⁴

After the 1929 Autumn Council, in the midst of confrontations with Humphrey, J. L. McElhenny, vice-president of the General Conference for North America, wrote a twenty-eight-page printed "Statement Regarding the Present Status of Elder J. K. Humphrey." He defended not only the denomination's actions concerning Humphrey, but its refusal to approve separate Negro conferences. In less than twenty years, McElhenny would again face a crisis in race relations within the church and would propose Humphrey's solution of Black conferences.

However, on January 24, 1930, the Harlem First Church its pastor were expelled from the denomination. Most of the members stayed with Humphrey, calling their congregation the United Sabbath Day Adventist Church. The district attorney's office cleared the Utopia Park project, but it was never developed.

Creation of Black Conferences

The election of Franklin Roosevelt and the beginning of World War II had a dramatic effect on American Blacks, and indirectly on race relations within the Adventist Church. From 1933 to 1946, the number of Black employees on the federal payroll increased from 50,000 to 200,000. Some Black leaders called Roosevelt's presidential order of June 25, 1941,

MINISTERING TO MINORITIES

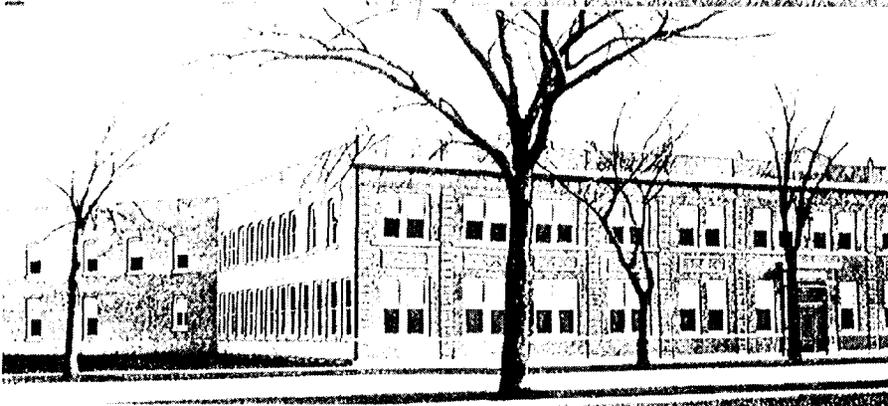
AMERICA has been called a melting pot of nationalities and races. Without question there is a miscellany of peoples. From the beginning of colonization Europe poured forth English, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, French, Swedish, German, Dutch, and various other strains. The Spanish and the Portuguese were to the south, and infiltrated. The American Indian was already here, and the Negro came. Later periods saw great influxes of immigrants: the Scandinavian peoples, particularly on the new lands of the Northwest, and later the Russians; the Irish and the Italians answering to calls for construction work; the Slavic peoples in the mines, the factories, and other industries; the Portuguese and the Canadian French on the farms and gardens and in the factories of the Northeast. From the West, Oriental peoples—the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipinos—and others came in successive waves.

Those nationalities most nearly related readily intermarried; for instance, the Northern and Western Europeans. The farther removed from affinity, the more slowly did they mingle; yet there was more or less amalgamation even of diverse races. Stresses and prejudices, due to pride of race, religion, and class, and to different living standards, have at times created eddies of passion and contest; some of these seem almost permanent. Yet on the whole the mixture of peoples in the American nation has formed an amalgam more harmonious and peace loving than in any comparable region of earth. Without calling the melting pot a complete success, we can say that it is at least self-containing and promising. The religion of Jesus Christ, when operative, is the greatest agency in the unifying and harmonizing of peoples.

The message of Seventh-day Adventists, for the first half

311

Top: Spanish American Seminary in New Mexico. Center: Administration Building, Oakwood College. Bottom: Pacific Press Branch, Brookfield, Illinois.



Also, growth and vitality more often flow from cultivating diversity than from seeking unity. The more self-determination Adventist ethnic leaders in North America have achieved, the more they have cultivated their communities, the more the Church as a whole has grown.

Finally, we can only embrace the strangeness of others when we respect the surprising as an expression of God's irresistible creativity; when we participate in God's unquenchable delight in shapes, colors, and points of view; when we capture God's joy in the diversity of creation.

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Endnotes

1. *Review and Herald*, 8 June 1905, 6.
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3. Campbell, North American Foreign Department, 1932.
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5. *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:202.
6. *Ibid.*, 359, 360.
7. *Testimonies for the Church*, 7:225.
8. *Ibid.*, 223.
9. *The Southern Work*, reprinted by Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington, D.C., 1966, 15.
10. *The Strange Case of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 77.
11. *Testimonies for the Church*, 9:214, 207.
12. *Review and Herald*, 17 June 1909, 7.
13. J. K. Humphrey to Louis K. Dickson, 20 August 1929, quoted in Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage* (1974), 1:1, 37.
14. *Ibid.*, 39.
15. W. H. Branson to all union and local conference presidents, managers of SDA institutions in North America, 13 April 1954.
16. Conversations with Warren Banfield.

Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jerico

Joshua fit de battle ob Jerico,
Jerico, Jerico,
Joshua fit de battle ob Jerico,
And de walls come tumblin' down.

You may talk about yo' king ob Gideon,
You may talk about yo' man ob Saul,
Dere's none like good ole Joshua
At de battle ob Jerico.

Up to de walls ob Jerico.
He marched with spear in han'
"Go blow dem ram horns" Joshua cried,
"Kase de battle am in my han'."

Den de lam'ram sheep horns begin to blow,
Trumpets begin to soun',
Joshua commanded de chillen to shout,
An' de walls come tumblin' down.

Dat mornin' Joshua fit de battle ob Jerico,
Jerico, Jerico,
Joshua fit de battle ob Jerico,
An' de walls come tumblin' down.

Vernon Academy in Ohio. They were refused, and no denominational officials rectified the situation.

As in 1944, the Black Adventist laity organized, this time as the Laymen's Leadership Conference. In 1961, the General Conference president refused to even meet with the Black laity. It was a mistake. Mylus Martin, a Black member and reporter with the *Cleveland Press*, helped to facilitate news coverage. The first Saturday of the 1962 General Conference session, both San Francisco daily newspapers ran front-page stories, printing the demands of the Laymen's Leadership Conference: rethinking Adventist appropriations for Black churches in the United States; abolition of unofficial but real racial quotas proscribing Blacks in Adventist schools; and the complete and immediate desegregation of all Adventist organizations and institutions. More stories appeared in the local newspapers and in the national press on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. On Wednesday, the General Conference president held a press conference affirming that the SDA Church would desegregate.

The Church had taken a major step toward responding affirmatively to demands it had said, sixteen years earlier, in 1944, were impossible to achieve—election of Blacks to all levels of denominational administration.

During this decade, Black Adventist leaders were being influenced by more than what they saw in the media. Black Adventist pastors in the South helped organize boycotts of merchants who segregated their facilities. They participated in the famous 1965 Selma to Montgomery march that led to the passage of federal legislation guaranteeing voting rights to Blacks. The South Central Conference, the Black Adventist conference in the deep South, made sure that its mobile medical unit from Mississippi was a part of Martin Luther King's March on Washington and that it was parked in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial to provide emergency medical care.

The Black Union Issue

At the 1968 annual meeting of North American Black Adventist leaders, the Regional Advisory Council, several

younger leaders proposed that the General Conference give greater financial support to Black conferences and also create two Black unions in North America. They ran into the determined opposition of the General Conference president, Robert Pierson, who for years had worked with Black leaders to expand the racial integration of the church. In 1969, a special interracial commission to study the issue rejected Black unions in North America but accepted the "Sixteen Points" that listed a series of measures that would strengthen the Black work. The next year, Charles C. Bradford became the first Black secretary of the North American Division. Black leaders were elected secretaries, or the second highest administrators, of unions across North America. In 1979, Charles Bradford succeeded Neal Wilson as the first Black President of the North American Division. The next year, the Lake Union elected Robert Carter the first Black president of a North American Union. In the 1990s Black leaders have been elected presidents of predominately White conferences.

Growth patterns of Black Adventists in North America reveal that membership took off after 1944, when Black leaders took over the running of Black conferences. There was another upturn in the mid-1960s, a period when Black laity and clergy were increasingly asserting themselves inside and outside the denomination. Even as Black Adventists have become increasingly upwardly mobile—educationally, economically, and professionally—they have continued to grow in numbers. By 1992, Black members constituted more than twice the percentage of U.S. Adventists (25 percent) as the percentage of Black citizens in the nation.

Brown and Yellow, Black and White

A glance at the roots of ethnic diversity in North American Adventism suggests that currents in society and culture can lead us to rediscover important parts of our Adventist heritage. Responding to shifts in our cultural environment helps us recover and appreciate important aspects of our community that we had forgotten were powerful and revitalizing.

of their history, went mainly to people of British stock. Rising in New England and borne along on the westward-moving stream of population, it spread among the English-speaking settlers. Because of the Bourdeau brothers there was an early interest in the French, particularly in Quebec; but the field was difficult and the converts were few. When, however, it came to the new States of Wisconsin and Minnesota, and later more western and northwestern States, it encountered Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, and German peoples; and with the accession of the Olsens, Matteson, Shultz, and like men, it reached out among them. The Scandinavian and German elements in the church became considerable.

By the turn of the century interest had been aroused in other nationalities which had come to the United States, and early in the reorganization (1905) there appeared the North American Foreign Department, with G. A. Irwin in charge and I. H. Evans as secretary. In 1909 O. A. Osen became general secretary. This, however, dealt mainly with the languages and peoples already forming a part of the constituency; namely, the German, Danish-Norwegian, and Swedish. At the 1918 General Conference this department became the Bureau of Home Missions, a name it retained until 1946. During this time it initiated work for several other peoples, including the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, and the Jews.

In 1946 the department was reorganized, becoming the Home Foreign Bureau, with Louis Halswick secretary and E. J. Lorntz associate. It now carries on work in twenty-five different language groups in the United States; namely, Armenian, Chinese, Czechoslav, Danish, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Icelandic, Indian, Japanese, Jewish, Yugoslav, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Rumanian, Spanish, Slovak, Swedish, Ukrainian. One hundred and sixty foreign-speaking language workers are carrying on a full-time program for these different nationalities. There are in these language groups approximately fifteen thousand believers, and the accessions have for some time averaged

a thousand persons per year. Tithes and mission funds paid by them amount annually to more than a million dollars.¹

Education.—Special opportunities have been offered in education for foreign-speaking students. Beginning with the first year, Battle Creek College offered both language and Bible courses in Danish, Swedish, French, and German. The French was discontinued, but in the other three languages courses were offered until 1890. When Union College opened in 1891 these departments were transferred to that school, where they were continued for twenty years. During these years many were trained to work effectively among their nationals in North America, as well as in Europe and other countries.

In 1909, after a careful study, it was voted that a Danish-Norwegian school be established in the Northern Union Conference, a German school in the Central Union Conference, and a Swedish school in the Lake Union Conference.²

A college property built by the Lutherans at Hutchinson, Minnesota, was purchased for the Danish-Norwegian school. A similar property at Clinton, Missouri, was secured for the German school. For the Swedish school a good farm property twelve miles west of Chicago was purchased, and there suitable buildings were erected.

These schools were named the Danish-Norwegian Seminary, the Clinton German Seminary, and the Broadview Theological Seminary. Later, these were changed to Hutchinson Theological Seminary, Clinton Theological Seminary, and Broadview College and Theological Seminary. These schools each year increased in attendance, and in 1918 were given senior college status by the General Conference Committee. In that year other language departments were added at the Broadview College: Italian, Rumanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Yugoslavian, and Finnish.

Owing to increased use of the English language among the foreign-speaking constituency, especially those of Northern European origin, the necessity of special schools in those lan-

guages progressively lessened, and in consequence they gradually went out of existence. Clinton in 1925 merged with Broadview, and Hutchinson in 1928 was released to the Minnesota Conference for use as an academy. In 1934 Broadview turned over its college work to Emmanuel Missionary College, and became an academy for the Illinois Conference.

To prepare the workers still needed for the nationalities formerly served by these schools, a select few college graduates of these nationals were sent to Europe for one or two years, where they made an intensive study of the language in which they later labored.

The presidents of these schools were, in order: Hutchinson Theological Seminary: M. L. Andreasen 1910-18, N. P. Neilsen 1918-20, H. M. Johnson 1920-26, H. Grundset 1926-28; Clinton Theological Seminary: G. A. Grauer 1910-13, E. C. Witzke 1913-14, J. H. Schilling 1914-16, 1921-23, F. R. Isaac 1916-21, W. B. Ochs 1923-25; Broadview College: G. E. Nord 1910-17, H. O. Olson 1917-28, T. W. Steen 1928-34.

As work among the Spanish-speaking people developed later, and centered largely in the Southwest, educational facilities were provided as follows:

Scandinavians and Germans.—The Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish peoples are well represented in the membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The larger number of these being of the second, third, or fourth generation in America, they speak the English language and are for the most part incorporated in American churches; but there are a number of churches that conduct their services in their mother tongues. There are about 4,000 members of Danish-Norwegian speech, and as many more of the Swedish. Out of them have come a large number of gospel laborers in America, in Europe, and in the uttermost parts of the earth; and they are represented in all classes of workers. The German element, too, has been and is a great factor in the work of the church. It has furnished ministers, colporteurs, and other workers, not only for the homeland, but for Germany, Russia,

and other fields. German churches in America number more than one hundred, with over 5,000 constituents.⁹

The Spanish.—Work among the Spanish is largely concentrated in the Southwest. This land—from Texas to California—which once belonged to Mexico, still holds about three million Spanish-speaking people. The Second Advent message reached out to them from their English-speaking neighbors and from Spanish books circulated by the colporteur. The first ordained minister in the Spanish tongue was Marcial Serna, who as the pastor of a Mexican Methodist church in Tucson, Arizona, in 1898 invited the Adventist elder W. L. Black to preach from his pulpit. The resulting relations brought Pastor Serna with all his congregation into the Advent faith, and they constituted the first Spanish-speaking Seventh-day Adventist church in America. Pastor Serna labored among his people for many years, and raised up churches. In 1903 Elder J. A. Leland organized a Spanish church in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the first baptism being of Louisa Sandoval. This Sandoval family has furnished three generations of Sabbathkeepers; and on land of their holdings near Albuquerque the Sandia View Academy was established in 1942, serving as a training center for many Spanish children in the area. Elder Burt Bray labored for some twenty years among the Spanish people between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and El Paso, Texas, and also in Colorado.

The Spanish work in California dates from 1906, when John P. Robles and C. Castillo opened meetings in Los Angeles, where a good church was organized. In Phoenix, Arizona, a Spanish church was raised up by the brothers Frank and Walter Bond, who later labored in Spain. The Spanish work was brought into the Bureau of Home Missions in 1921, under the directorship of H. D. Casebeer.⁹

The Portuguese.—Because the language is similar to the Spanish, work among the Portuguese was at first fostered by the Spanish Division. About two thirds of the Portuguese in the United States are on the Atlantic seaboard, particularly

southeastern New England; the other third are mostly on the Pacific Coast. In 1912 F. Gonsalves, a Portuguese, accepted the Advent faith in Taunton, Massachusetts. Interpreting for the English preacher, he assisted in bringing into the church a good many of his countrymen, who later, in 1918, were formed into a Portuguese church. J. F. Knipschild, learning the Portuguese language, ministered to that people in New Bedford, the city of Joseph Bates, and a good church has been raised up there. A church school and a junior academy for the children and youth are also conducted at New Bedford.⁵

The French.—Begun so early by the Bourdeau brothers, the French work was very difficult, because it was almost wholly among Roman Catholics, who tenaciously hold their people. Nor was it prosecuted with continuity, its ministers being often engaged in the English work or sent to mission fields. The latter part of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth century, however, saw some French workers devoting most of their time to their own people: E. P. Auger, Jean Vuilleumier, G. G. Roth, and Louis Passebois. The French work in eastern Canada, where the great bulk of American French are located, has been organized into a special mission field, under the care of the Canadian Union Conference. The difficulties of the work among the French are illustrated by this statement from Louis Passebois: "The work among the French is practically all among the Roman Catholics, and the work has gone slow and hard. I have been arrested fourteen times. My home has been burned down and I have received fourteen Black Hand letters threatening my life and the lives of my family. I was slapped by a priest in a public place and otherwise abused; was forbidden to speak in public, and driven from the hall. In a place where a man became interested and called me to his home for studies, the mob would not allow me to get off the train."⁶

The Italians.—Immigration of Italian people to the United States began in the last decades of the nineteenth century and reached its peak in the 1920's, just before the

American Government fixed immigration quotas. In 1900 one of the Italian immigrants landing in New York was Rosario Calderone, who in Italy had prepared himself for the priesthood. Soon after landing he made the acquaintance of an Adventist Italian, by whom he was introduced to the faith, accepted it, and was baptized. Like many another clerical convert, he first entered the colporteur work, in Brooklyn and in 1907, as a result of his labors the first Italian Seventh-day Adventist church was formed there. The second church was organized in New York City the next year.

Chicago is the second largest center of foreign-language residents; and here, in 1912, Elder Calderone was called to open the work among the Italians. As with the French, the Italians are strongly influenced by, and attached to, the Roman Catholic Church, and it is hard to gain an entrance to their thinking. The first meeting in Chicago, after extensive advertising, drew just two persons; but one of those, A. Catalona, became a strong Christian worker. The Italian church in Chicago now has a membership of two hundred.

A monthly paper, *La Verita*, was published, and Miss Vesta Cash, a niece of O. A. Olsen, became the first Italian Bible instructor. Though she at first knew nothing of the language, she rapidly learned, and she led the few believers in the distribution of the paper. A good church was raised up in Chicago. When a migration of Italians to the Pacific Coast began in the 1920's, the work out there was undertaken by several conferences, and a number of churches were formed. The Italian Adventist believers in the United States now number about one thousand.⁷

Slavic Peoples.—The last gospel message has been presented in several other European languages among immigrants in America. The Russians and Ukrainians, who settled mostly in the Dakotas and neighboring States and in Saskatchewan and adjacent provinces in Canada, have been appealed to through literature and the spoken word, J. A. Letvinenco and S. G. Burley being among the early and continuing work-

persistent missionaries. After fourteen years in the highlands, Follett and his wife were compelled for health reasons to take a lower altitude, and have since then labored among the more western tribes, around the Colorado River. He is the editor of the *Indian Missionary*, a monthly paper serving the whole Indian field. Mr. and Mrs. Ira Stahl are also at work here. A school for the Navajos has been established at Holbrook, Arizona, under the supervision of Marvin Walter and his wife, who also do itinerant missionary service in the surrounding field.¹¹

Contrasting to the missions to the highly intelligent and numerous Navajos is the mission, begun by Clifford L. Burdick, to the Seri Indians on Tiburon Island, in the Gulf of California. This tribe, numbering but two hundred, has been counted the most degraded and the most savage and treacherous in the history of white-red relations. The land is barren, and the Indians live by fishing, but they were also cannibalistic till threatened with extermination by the Mexican Government unless they gave up the practice. For centuries hostile to foreign encroachment, they were so savage that it was deemed suicidal for any white man to set foot on their island. So pagan were they that they did not even have a heathen religion. Two centuries ago the Jesuits tried to convert them, but the priests were killed or driven out.

Burdick, though warned that he was going to his death, went in with an interpreter, and gradually won their confidence by ministering to the sick and feeding the hungry. He took the gospel to them in pictures—the Sabbath school primary Picture Roll. After the lesson study one Sabbath an Indian woman stood in front of the picture of Jesus for some time. Finally, smoothing her hand over the picture of the Saviour for a moment, she then rubbed it over her own heart. It was her idea of applying the righteousness of Christ to her own troubled soul. The chief of the tribe, though he affected indifference during the story, showed his appreciation as he left by giving a large pearl to the missionary. The work has

been begun; it awaits the establishment of a mission station and school.¹²

In Oklahoma a work was begun by Ekler and Mrs. F. M. Robinson in 1936. They were followed by Oscar Padget and C. D. Smith. The latest missionaries are Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Wennerberg, who came there in 1945 from the mission in Ontario, where they had spent several years in building up the work. The Indians of Oklahoma are no longer on reservations but are mingled with the white population. Consequently, the Indian church members are seldom in segregated groups but are in churches containing both white and Indian. A Chippewa brother, Frank Webb, coming from his native Minnesota, gave twenty-five years to colporteur evangelist work among the Indians of Oklahoma, until his death in 1946. He was known far and wide as the "Indian preacher."

The station at Brantford, in Ontario, was at the same time taken over by Mr. and Mrs. Ira Follett. There a completely Indian church is self-sustaining and missionary-minded. Individual Mohawk and Seneca Indians in Ontario and New York are believers in the Advent message. A church of twenty-two members was once organized on the Onondaga Reservation in New York, but through neglect it perished.

The work has extended westward in upper Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Among the Chippewas, at Zeba, Michigan, a school was conducted by Mrs. Harry Clausen from 1910 on for several years. On the Onocida Reservation, near Green Bay, Wisconsin, where a church of fifty-eight Indian members was raised up, a layman and woodsman, William Kloss, earned the money in the lumber camps to build their school buildings. David Chapman was the first teacher, and the school prospered for several years.¹³

Among the Sioux of the Dakotas several stations have been established, under such workers as Mr. and Mrs. Calvin D. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Brown, and E. L. Marley. A Sioux convert, Brother Blackhoop, made a translation of *The Bible Made Plain* from the English into the Dakota Sioux. This is

tions of the United States. The services of two former missionaries to Japan, then having returned to America, were employed, among others, by the United States Government in helping to reorient the internees. One of these was B. P. Hoffman, teaching in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary; the other was P. A. Webber, teaching in Madison College. Many Japanese students were, by Government permission, gathered into the latter school, where they received a training which, after the conclusion of the war, a number used to advantage in re-entering Japan.¹⁰

Two peoples to whom the church owes a duty, yet the efforts for whom have so far been small and the results scanty, are the North American Indians and the Jews. The beginnings of Seventh-day Adventist work for each contain romance and heartbreak.

The Indian Work.—The first historic race in America is the Indian. The advance of white civilization and power has crowded them into a few reservations in the East and the Northwest. Only in the Southwest do any retain approximately the land of their fathers, though here also they are on reservations. New Mexico, Arizona, and southeastern California hold this territory. In the highlands are the Pueblos with their several divisions, also the Apaches, and the Navajos, the largest single tribe in America. In the lower lands westward are the Maricopas, the Mohaves, the Yaquis, the Yavapais, the Pimas, and the Papagos. In Oklahoma, once Indian territory, to which aborigines from east of the Mississippi were removed a hundred years ago, the Indian population is principally of the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole tribes. Said a young woman convert of the Cherokees: "I am happy in the knowledge that this great, threefold message had its origin in the land of my forefathers, and that from its humble beginning in this country, it has gone out into all lands, and is rapidly advancing among all the tribes of earth."

Oklahoma contains more than 100,000 people of Indian blood, largely mingled, however, with the white. Of pure-

blood Indians, Arizona and New Mexico contain 54 per cent of the total Indian population of the United States. This population is distributed, though in smaller numbers, through twenty-seven States, including Alaska, besides a large population in Canada. In the East, the Iroquois, the Six Nations, have reservations and agencies in New York and Ontario, and a remnant of the Cherokee tribe has a reservation in the mountains of North Carolina. Michigan and Wisconsin are the only other States east of the Mississippi with appreciable Indian populations—Potawatomi, Chippewas, Sacs, and Foxes. In the Northwestern States the Sioux, the Cheyenne, and smaller remnants of tribes are found in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, to the number of about 87,000. California, Oregon, and Washington contain about 43,000, and Western Canada and Alaska have more than 80,000. The total Indian population north of Mexico is nearly half a million—350,000 of them in the United States and 111,000 in Canada.

Wronged and robbed and neglected, the proud aboriginal race of America has largely withdrawn into its racial heritage, cherishing its traditions, its religious concepts, and its types of civilization. Widely differing in cultures and customs, the different stocks and tribes have been uniform in rejecting the white man's civilization and his religion; and some of the conquering race have deemed it best to leave them so. But the spiritual successors of John Eliot have heeded the commission of their Lord: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." They have felt their obligation to the Indian of America no less than to the Indian of India.

Seventh-day Adventist effort for the Southwest Indians began in 1916 with the work of Orno Follett, who settled with his family among the Navajos, and in a very brief time acquired their language. The nomadic habits of the tribe and their pride in their own myths and traditions remain obstacles to their acceptance of Christian beliefs and practices, but some fruit has been garnered by the faithful efforts of the

ers. A number of churches have been raised up. Russian and Ukrainian departments have been conducted in two of our schools, enlisting many young people, and large gatherings of the believers have appeared in camp meetings conducted in these languages. A Ukrainian monthly magazine, the *Watchman*, is published.

The Czechoslovakians began to hear the message in the early 1900's, largely through the efforts of their countrymen, L. F. Kucera and Paul Matula. This work has, so far, centered chiefly in the large cities of New York and adjacent areas and Chicago and its environs.

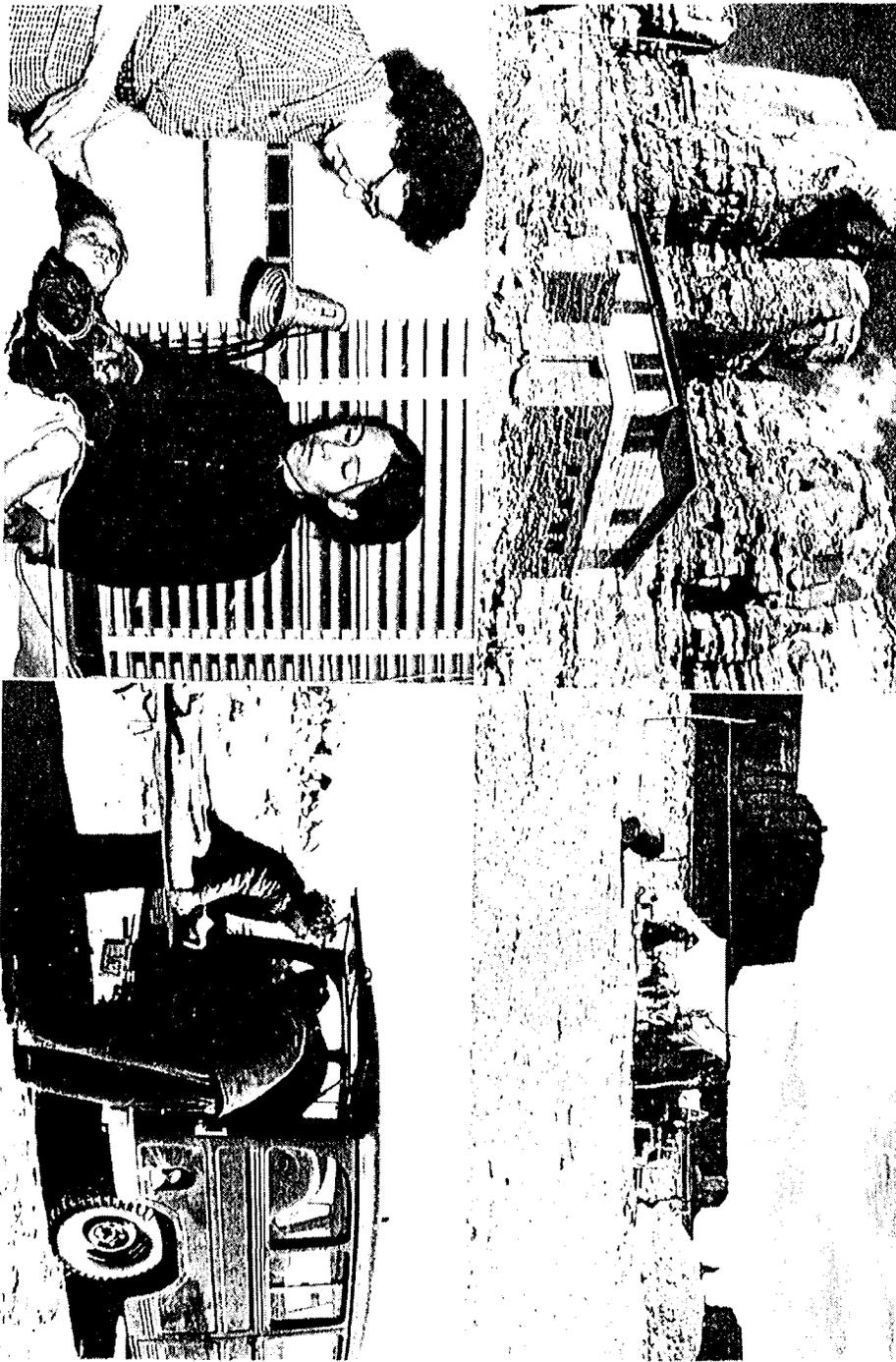
The Yugoslavs and the Poles are two other Slavic nationalities who are receiving the message in America.⁸

Still other diverse nationalities who are sharing in this evangel are the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Rumanians, the Finns, and the Icelanders.⁹

The Japanese.—There were few of this nationality in America until immigrants began coming in greater numbers in the first of the twentieth century. An agreement in 1907 between the American and the Japanese governments limited this immigration; but on the Pacific Coast the Japanese were already well represented, and their American-born children, the nisei (second generation), imbibing the language and customs of the land of their birth, and being loyal American citizens, formed a group that invited gospel service.

The first Japanese convert was T. H. Okohira, who then attended Healdsburg College and began laboring among his countrymen in the Bay cities. In 1896 he sailed with Professor Grainger to open the work in Japan. A long life of service was his. His son, A. T. Okohira, later labored among the Japanese of Los Angeles. Another Japanese worker was K. Inoue. A considerable number of Japanese accepted the Advent message.

The dislocations consequent upon World War II at first engulfed them, with their countrymen, in the relocation camps; but in the end many were distributed in different sec-



Top right: Monument Valley Indian Mission, Arizona. Top left: Monument Valley Mission headquarters. Bottom right: Mission truck that also serves as ambulance. Bottom left: Nurse Gwen Walters treating baby at Navaho Mission School.

the first book Seventh-day Adventists have published in any North American Indian language.¹⁴

Slight efforts have been made among the Indians in Western Canada and up along the Yukon. In Alaska, S. H. Emery carried on both station and itinerant work for several years. An incident he relates is one of a thousand the world around that show the direct working of the Holy Spirit.

Awakened at 5:45 one morning from sound sleep, he felt the impression that he must take his projector and two films on the second coming of Christ to the aged chief of the Hyda village. He did so, and the chief watched without comment. But at the close he rose, his face radiant, and exclaimed, "That's good!" Then he continued: "This morning I awoke about six o'clock and prayed. I asked God to show me the truth. I do not read, so I cannot know unless I can see. I fell asleep again, and I dreamed that I did see pictures that would show me the right way. When I awoke I thought I would go to Ketchikan, look for a picture show, and find the pictures of truth. But that was not God's place for the pictures. Now I have seen them; you have shown them to me, some of them the very ones I saw in my dream." Then slowly, deliberately, he said, "You are the one with the power. When you come, I feel different, I feel good. God's people are a heart people. You must have it here [touching his heart] to be a Christian."¹⁵

The Jewish Work.—In the late 1880's a young Jewish lad named Frederick C. Gilbert came to America from England, seeking employment and the regaining of his health, which was impaired by tuberculosis. He had been a pious boy, intended by his family to become a rabbi, but his ill-health caused him to leave the rabbinical school. Finding a home with a Seventh-day Adventist family, his prejudice against the Christian religion was gradually broken down, especially as this people accorded with three prime Jewish practices—the keeping of the Sabbath, abstention from the eating of pork, and the paying of tithe. In an experience strange and over-

whelming to him, he confessed himself a sinner, and found a Saviour in Jesus Christ.

Gilbert entered the colporteur work, and by that and other labor succeeded in going through a course of training in South Lancaster Academy. He felt a deep burden for his people, the Jews, and in 1894 he began labor among them in Boston. This was the beginning of Seventh-day Adventist work for the Jews, work which Gilbert, with denominational help, carried on for half a century while also ministering to non-Jews. In the latter part of this career he was joined by another Hebrew Christian, S. A. Kaplan, in editorial and evangelistic work.¹⁶

The Negro Work.—The Seventh-day Adventist constituency among the colored people of the United States has been raised from about one hundred in 1890 to more than seventeen thousand in 1946. The initiation and early progress of efforts for the colored race have been related in the first volume of this work. The policy has been followed in the Seventh-day Adventist Church of encouraging and training Negro leaders and administrators for the colored constituency. As such leadership has developed, the responsibility for the evangelization and education of Negroes has been progressively laid upon it, with evident benefit to the cause and with emergence of strong and loyal workers. While the colored constituency has gained more of self-government and direction, its organic connection with the denomination has been maintained, and Christian fellowship, counsel, and mutual assistance have marked the church relations.

In 1909 the colored work, represented by a constituency of about one thousand, was organized into a department of the General Conference. The first two secretaries were white men, A. J. Haysmer and C. B. Stephenson, who served until 1918. In that year the first colored secretary, W. H. Green, was elected to head the department. Elder Green served faithfully in this capacity for ten years, during which time the colored membership advanced from 3,400 to 8,114. At Elder

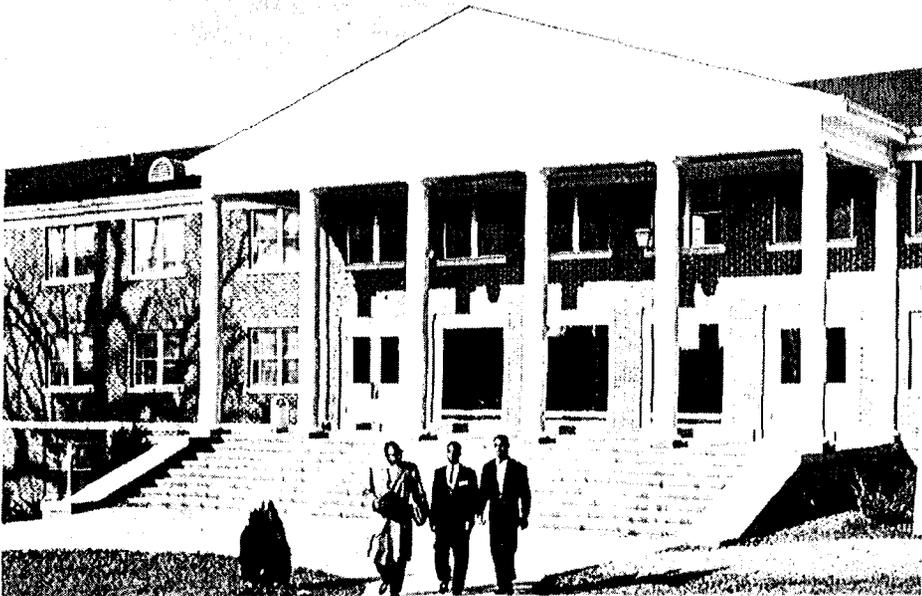
Green's death G. E. Peters served an interim term of about two years. In 1930 F. L. Peterson was elected secretary, serving until the General Conference of 1941, the membership then numbering more than fourteen thousand. G. E. Peters was elected secretary in that year, and has continued in the office since. During this time there has been marked progress in numbers, finances, evangelism, education, and medical work.

At the Spring Council of 1944 action was taken to form conferences of the Negro constituents within the territories of the several unions which contain large numbers of colored churches. Such conferences are coincident in territory with the already existing conferences, the division being along ethnic lines.

These areas, with the colored conferences formed, were: the Atlantic Union—the Northeastern Conference, with 2,468 members, headquarters in New York City; the Columbia Union—the Allegheny Conference, 4,047 members, headquarters in Pottstown, Pennsylvania; the Lake Union—the Lake Region Conference, 2,517 members, headquarters in Chicago; the Southern Union—two colored conferences: the South Atlantic, headquarters in Atlanta, with 3,523 members, and the South Central Conference, 2,300 members, headquarters in Nashville.

The fields where the colored constituency is not strong enough to warrant separate organizations are designated colored missions. The Autumn Council of 1945 authorized the organization of a mission plan for the colored constituents of the Central and the Southwestern unions. These two missions were organized and began their functions on January 1, 1946. The organization calls for a Negro superintendent and an executive committee. The colored work in the Pacific Union territory still maintains the departmental form of organization, with a Negro secretary who is a member of the union conference committee and who works under the direction of the union committee. The colored work in the Northern and the

Top: Publications of the North American Negro Department. Center: Riverside Sanitarium, modern medical unit serving Negro constituency of the South. Bottom: Peterson Hall, new men's dormitory at Oakwood College, Huntsville, Alabama.



North Pacific unions is still small, with a diminutive membership. In these territories there are colored pastors of some churches, which are an integral part of the conferences in which they are located.

Oakwood College, near Huntsville, Alabama, is the most advanced Seventh-day Adventist school for Negroes in the United States. After a career as a school of junior college grade, under a succession of white presidents, it came forth in 1943 as a senior college and under wholly Negro administration. The first such president was J. L. Moran. He was succeeded in 1945 by F. L. Peterson. This college has done nobly in training workers for evangelistic and educational roles both in the United States and in foreign fields. Following in high degree the program for comprehensive education, in the union of hand, head, and heart, it has been in no way behind the other Seventh-day Adventist educational work in the South. A number of academies, particularly in the great cities of the North, East, and Pacific Coast, provide secondary education, while the elementary church school work is being fostered throughout the nation.

The medical work for Negroes, a most important field, has labored under many handicaps and misfortunes, due largely to lack of means, insufficiency of trained personnel, and the comparatively low economic state of the race. But it has never been wholly abandoned, and at present it has the brightest prospects. The first trained American Negro nurse among Seventh-day Adventists was Anna Knight, of Mississippi, who was also a teacher, and who did magnificent pioneer service not only in the Southern United States but in India. In 1908 a sanitarium for colored people was opened in Nashville, with Dr. Lottie Isbell Blake as medical superintendent, and it continued for five years. In 1910 a sanitarium was established on the campus of Oakwood College, with Doctors M. M. and Stella Martinson in charge. They were succeeded in 1912 by E. D. Haysmer, M.D., followed the next year by J. E. Caldwell, M.D. Thereafter the institution had no resident physi-

cian but was staffed with nurses. Miss Etta Reeder was the superintendent until 1921, and Miss Bain, until 1923, when the sanitarium was discontinued.

In 1930 Mrs. N. H. Druillard, at the age of eighty, suffering a severe accident, promised the Lord that all the years He would yet give her should be devoted to the betterment of the Negro people. She had already interested herself in this work, with gifts to Negro institutions and with her counsel; but now her mind turned more exclusively to it. She made a remarkable recovery, and for about ten years carried out her vow by founding with her own resources, on the banks of the Cumberland River, near Nashville, the Riverside Sanitarium and Hospital. It was in very simple but substantial buildings that "Mother D" carried on the work of this little institution, herself administering, teaching, and laboring with her hands. The sanitarium acquired a high professional as well as spiritual reputation.

In 1941, after the death of its founder, the institution began an expansion and improvement under the auspices of the General Conference, to whom the property had been deeded. A large and modern, well-equipped building, with a capacity of eighty-four hospital beds, was erected during the years 1945 to 1947, making the physical plant of the sanitarium equal to many of the older denominational institutions of healing, and notable among Negro institutions not only for its equipment and service but for its rural setting and influence. From near its beginning it has been staffed with colored workers, nurses, and physicians. H. E. Ford was its business manager from 1935 till his death in 1938, when he was succeeded by his brother, L. E. Ford, later by H. D. Dobbins. T. R. M. Howard, M.D., was its medical superintendent from 1936 to 1938. C. A. Dent, M.D., became superintendent in 1940, followed in 1942 by J. Mark Cox, M.D., its present director. The first superintendent of nurses was Geraldine Oldham, R.N.; in 1938 she was succeeded by Ruth Frazier, R.N., who had been with the institution from near its beginning. Miss Fra-

ELLEN G. WHITE'S INFLUENCE ON SDA APPROACHES TO RACE RELATIONS

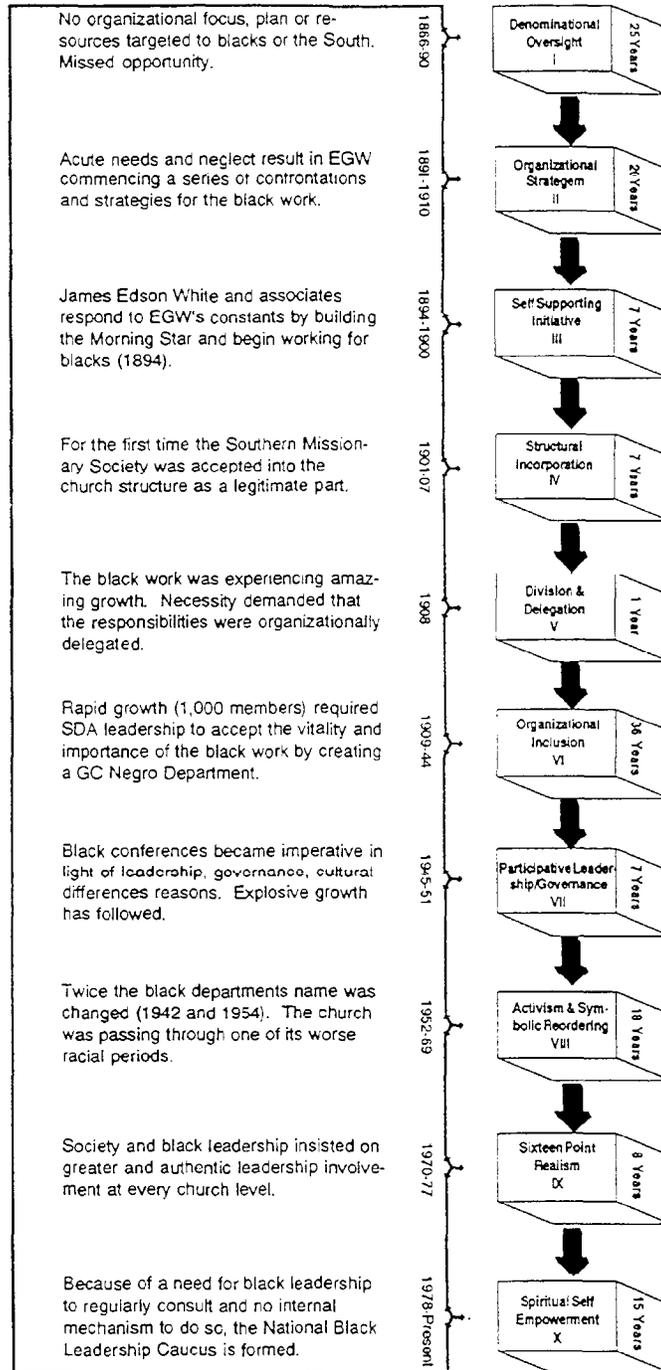
In our consideration of EGW's position in the SDA church, we have discussed this in terms of denominational history, authority, and her role as a prophetic-type messenger. In this and the following chapter we look at her influence in two areas of contemporary, theological discussion, viz., race relations and ecumenism. These are selected because they are particularly relevant to a church which claims to be international in character and outlook, and which conducts a very large mission programme. These topics are important not only for the SDA church but also for all Christian denominations as they seek to relate to the contemporary challenges. On the first topic EGW had much to say for it was a live issue in her later years.

While at the outset of investigation the present writer envisaged a wider treatment of this topic of race relations, his study and increasing acquaintance with the material available led him to the conclusion that the investigation must be narrowed, in order to write a chapter of acceptable length in relation to the total thesis. In the material that follows discussion is confined, therefore, to a) race relations within the SDA church, in the conviction that if there is true unity and harmony there it will be a witness to the wider community, and b) to the situation in the U.S.A. and Britain, as far as the SDA church is concerned, with occasional significant developments or problems elsewhere being noted if they are pertinent to the main thrust of the chapter.

In both locations there are similarities and differences. In the U.S.A. the SDA church met the problem of race relations after some fifty years of development as an organisation. SDAs were made aware of the problem as their evangelistic programme, based at first in Northern USA, moved into the unsettled, post-emancipation South. After an initial attempt at continuing their policy of racial integration in their churches, they then moved towards separate development for black and white. One cannot explain this on a rational basis. In a complex situation it is difficult to know which pressures to resist and which you can give into without violating principle. Moreover, because of their distinctive beliefs, as we will notice, the SDAs faced unique problems in the South. Later, however, they responded to both internal and external pressures in a more thoughtful and Biblical approach. In Britain it was again some fifty or sixty years after the beginning of the SDA church in that country that a small denomination was confronted with the issue through an influx of immigrant members. The early welcome and acceptance of these black members was to lead later to frustration and even occasional friction on both sides. The prophetic messenger was no longer alive to give contemporary counsel as she did in the U.S.A., so her utterances had to be interpreted for the situation today.

In the U.S.A. the SDA church was confronted with an increasing proportion of its national population coming from a non-white background ethnically. In Britain the SDA church was to find itself as a minority group, denominationally, heavily populated with a minority group nationally. In the U.S.A. the moral and political backgrounds of the problem were largely rooted in slavery and abolition. In Britain the

Organizational Development Model of the Black SDA Work (1860s to 1990s)



Delbert W. Baker, PhD, 1993

zier's long and faithful work culminated with the opening of a nurse's training school in the new building January 1, 1949.

In the publishing field the monthly *Message Magazine*, a missionary paper for the Negro population, was established January 9, 1935, by the Southern Publishing Association, edited at first by the editors of the *Watchman Magazine*. But in 1943 a Negro editor, Louis B. Reynolds, was installed, and the magazine has greatly prospered under his hand and his staff of helpers. The magazine's contributors are largely colored, though not exclusively so, and the illustrations feature Negro subjects. *Message Magazine* has a large circulation, sometimes topping 300,000, though, as it is chiefly of the single-copy-sales type, handled by student scholarship candidates and colporteur salesmen, this fluctuates. The yearly subscription list is, however, being steadily built up. For press communication with church members, the *North American Informant*, a bi-monthly, is issued from the Washington office of the department.

A few books written by colored authors, illustrated largely with Negro subjects, and leaning to quotations from Negro sources, are beginning to be produced. *The Dawn of a Brighter Day*, by L. B. Reynolds, heralding the Second Advent, is one of these. Another, by G. E. Peters, *Thy Dead Shall Live*, presents the doctrine of immortality only through Christ. A third, *The Hope of the Race*, by Frank L. Peterson, is a compendium of the truths of the Advent message. In the field of dietetics, *Eating for Health*, by a graduate dietitian, Marvene C. Jones, is proving very popular. It is not assumed that a completely Negro-suffused literature must be presented to the colored people; but some books and periodical literature which by their composition and illustration relieve somewhat the uniform Caucasian appearance, make a welcome relief.

The work for the colored people of the United States has become the most advanced in all the world in education and fitting for service. A number of American Negro missionaries

have served and are serving in Africa, the tropic lands of America, and in other climes.

The complete detailed picture of the North American work for minorities cannot be covered in a chapter; but this glimpse of a half century of progress, of organization, and of some of the special features developed, will provide an acquaintance that makes it not wholly a stranger.

¹ Louis M. Halswick, *Mission Fields at Home*, pp. 25, 26.

² *Review and Herald*, Oct. 28, 1909, pp. 6, 7.

³ *Mission Fields at Home*, pp. 26-56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-78.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-83.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 111-117.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.

¹² *The Indian Missionary*, October, November, 1945.

¹³ Orno Follett, letter to the author, July 7, 1948.

¹⁴ *The Indian Missionary*, June, 1946.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, April, 1947.

¹⁶ F. C. Gilbert, *Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 64-128.

moral and political problems historically were rooted in colonialism and the patronising attitude toward missions. They were made more complex however, by the pressures of contemporary thought developments of the twentieth century in a) political thinking, especially socialism; b) the rise of black power and black consciousness; c) a greater awareness of sociological backgrounds to ethnic origins and cultural ideas; and d) debates on human equality and rights.

Our task, then, is to endeavour to trace the problem within the historical perspective both of the secular environment and the development of the denomination, and to notice the influence of EGW's ministry and writing as the SDA church faced the issue of race relations.

Early SDA Approaches to Race Relations

It was in the midst of the American Civil War (1861-1865) that the SDA denomination was formally organised. In that year, 1863, all the members of the SDA church were resident in the Northern States of the U.S.A. Their early leaders were undoubtedly abolitionists in the mould of Garrison; - men and women who opposed slavery on moral grounds.¹

They expressed themselves clearly on this point in their official church paper, especially in response to a correspondent who had "been engaged for the last twenty-five years in the anti-slavery cause." This man had always "regarded the Review as an auxiliary" but now he chided the editor that in his opinion the paper had not acted in this capacity during the last two or three years. "It had failed," he said, "to aid the cause of Abolition."²

Uriah Smith, as editor replied categorically: "Our feelings in regard to slavery could hardly be mistaken by any who are acquainted with our position on the law of God, the foundation of all reform, the radical stand point against every evil. Slavery is a sin we have never ceased to abhor; its ravages we have never ceased to deprecate; with the victims locked in its foul embrace, we have not ceased to sympathise."³ Smith's concern is that "the tyranny of oppression" prevents effective help being brought to the slaves either as a body or as individuals. He does see, however, considerable opportunities for reform near at home. Then he writes:

"In saying this, we do not tell the slave that he can afford to be content in slavery, nor that he should not escape from it whenever he can, nor that all good men should not aid him to the extent of their power, nor that this great evil should not be resisted by any and all means which afford any hope of success. All this should be done. And we rejoice when we hear of one of that suffering race escaping beyond the jurisdiction of this dragon-hearted power. But we would not hold out to him a false ground of expectation. We would point him to the coming of the Messiah as his true hope."⁴

This same emphasis appears in his conclusion when he affirms that their primary task as Christians was "to emancipate our fellowmen, from the worst of all bondage, the service of sin"⁵ James White made a similar antislavery approach in the midst of the Civil War in an editorial entitled "The Nation".⁶ In this he commented on the apparent contradiction between the strong antislavery position of the SDAs and their non-involvement in the war. He sought to redress the "fanaticism growing out of extreme non-resistance"⁷ that had been developing among some SDAs and went so far as to say that in this "most hellish rebellion

since that of Satan and his angels" it might be inexpedient to refuse to fight if conscripted.

This editorial provoked voluminous correspondence in the Review, discussing opinions both pro and con, until the end of October 1863. In a final article James White modified his position from that taken in "The Nation" and wrote:

"We did say in case of a military draft, it would be madness to resist. And certainly, no true disciple of non-resistance would resist a military draft... We have struck at that fanaticism which grows out of extreme non-resistance, and have labored to lead our people to seek the Lord and trust in him for deliverance. How this can and will come, we have no light at present."⁸

The discussion petered out after this leaving the SDAs still perplexed and divided on the issue. EGW had kept out of the controversy, but, in 1863 when her Testimony no. 9 was published showing pro-Northern sympathies, she disagreed with both James White and the extremists on the opposite side, and stated plainly that the SDAs could not "engage in this perplexing war, for it is opposed to every principle of their faith"⁹ Her reasons were that in the army there would be a continual violation of conscience, and that there were wrongs on both the North and South sides. The Rebellion must be condemned, but she points implicitly in the direction of non-combatancy. After further study and because of their convictions a) on the perpetuity and sacredness of the ten commandments, with particular reference to their sabbatarian concern, and b) that the shedding of human blood in war was contrary to the Christian faith, the SDAs chose a position of non-combatancy in the Civil War, a practice they have recommended to their members ever since.¹⁰

The SDAs were activists, however, to the extent that some well-known members assisted the escaping slaves via the so-called "underground railroad,"¹¹ and, on the basis of Deuteronomy 23:15, - Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped," - they were prepared to go contrary to the law of the land on this matter; which law, they considered, contravened the law of God.¹²

EGW was one with her people in the condemnation of slavery which she denounced as an "accursed system,"¹³ an "enormous and grievous sin" for which God's "wrath burns against this nation."¹⁴ Those who sided with the Rebellion and supported slavery must be disfellowshipped.¹⁵ The "few" in the ranks of the SDAs who were sympathising with the slave holder needed to understand that "God gives him no title to human souls, and he has no right to hold them as his property... The colored race are God's property."¹⁶ As already noted, she advocated violation of the law demanding the surrender of a fugitive slave.¹⁷ There is no doubt that the people of the Negro race were very close to the heart of EGW.

Prior to the Civil War there were evidently Black SDAs¹⁸ and in the freer atmosphere of the North there is no indication of anything other than complete acceptance and racial harmony. In the post-Civil War period the SDA church was still in its formative stages and apparently continued its policy of preaching to all who would listen, and accepted both black and white as members of the one church.

There were some initial misunderstandings on the concept of mission, as we have noted,¹⁹ and when in the early 1870's the SDAs began to consider a broader perspective for their work, it was to Europe that they turned their attention, sending out their first "missionary",

J.N. Andrews, to Switzerland in 1874.²⁰ About thirteen years later their first missionaries went to Southern Africa but this was in response to requests from white settlers who had been reading SDA literature.²¹

Like many of the denominations, with strong roots in Northern U.S.A., the SDA church rejoiced that the slaves were freed at the end of the Civil War, but then forgot that there were great needs to be met among these people; that the church had responsibilities in rehabilitation. This was a neglect that was to have far-reaching consequences.

Although the SDA church was looking increasingly to the possibilities of evangelistic work outside North America, there were some efforts directed to the Southern States of U.S.A. These were largely of an individual nature and originally initiated by white ministers of Southern origin.²² Silas Osborne and W.K. Killen are two examples. Spalding writes of their work and approach as follows:

"They had no difficulty in dealing with their converts, to the satisfaction of both races. In Georgia, indeed, the color-line question hardly appeared, the colored members being few and scattered. In Kentucky Osborne formed the two races into separate companies and churches."²³

Spalding claims that when Osborne visited Battle Creek in 1877,²⁴ he discussed the problems of the South with James White, then president of the General Conference, and that he agreed with Osborne's programme.²⁵ He then avers:

"But a few years later, Northern laborers being sent to aid in the work in Kentucky, and one of them being elected president of the little conference to succeed Elder Osborne, insistence was made that the two races be joined in the churches.

Neither of these laborers stayed long but the results of their work remained in enfeebled churches, injured public feeling and conditions which were a source of weakness..."²⁶

Whether Spalding's evaluation can be accepted is open to question. It is clear, however, that his next paragraph is patently a fact. "The matter," he says, "however, did not come prominently to the attention of the denomination, because it was in only two or three places that the difficulties were acute, and the cause in the South was not extensive enough in those years to take overmuch of the time of the annual conferences."²⁷ Not until 1887 is there any record of official discussion on the situation in the South relative to the integration of the races in the church.

The General Conference Bulletin of 1887 reports the "animated discussion" of the delegates on the resolution "That this conference recognize no color line."²⁸ A much longer amended resolution was finally carried which stressed that "no distinction whatever" should be made "between the two races in church relations."²⁹ In addition it was voted to request a committee of three "to consider the matter carefully, and recommend proper action to the Conference."³⁰ This committee reported a week later that after careful discussion they saw "no occasion for this conference to legislate upon the subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken."³¹ Individual ministers were thus left to their own discretion in their evangelism.

In the 1888 General Conference Bulletin there is a brief mention of the issue when the leader for the work in Georgia and Florida states

In her closing sentences she again stressed the need for prompt yet wise action. "As a people we should do more for the colored race in America than we have yet done. In the work we shall need to move with carefulness, being endowed with wisdom from above."⁵⁸

The remaining nine articles underlined these themes, and stressed particularly the need for SDA families to move down into the South, not to colonise, but to demonstrate by example of life what Christianity was all about. Moreover they were to seek to share with the blacks, their expertise in agriculture and other trades, and do as much as they could to assist in a literacy programme. They were to so work that they would lead the blacks to a position of self-help.⁵⁹

These primary writings of EGW on the subject of race relations set down for SDAs, and for all Christians really, the responsibility they had to redress the evils of slavery as much as possible; to eschew prejudice in all its forms; and to recognise the black as a brother both in worship and in work. This was the laying of the foundation. Now the detailed work built on this must be carefully considered.

The Work of J. Edson White in the Southern U.S.A. and Subsequent Developments 1895-1909

As we have noted already, the SDA work in the Southern States prior to 1895 was on a small scale and it was a struggling enterprise. It was diversified in its approach because of local conditions with but few separate, black churches.⁶⁰ The denomination was already confronted by problems because of its Sabbatarian principles, which meant that its black converts refused to work on Saturday but would work on Sunday. This was an affront to white, traditional-Christian employers.

Politically and historically the mistakes and neglect of the Reconstruction Period in the South were being felt by the blacks at this time, and indignity was to be piled on indignity in the years ahead.⁶¹ Through compromise and political scheming the North had failed to carry through the intent of Emancipation. As one writer expresses it:

"The acquiescence of Northern Liberalism in the Compromise of 1877 defined the beginning, but not the ultimate extent, of the liberal retreat on the race issue. The compromise merely left the freed man to the custody of the Conservative Redeemers upon their pledge that they would protect him and his constitutional rights. But as these pledges were forgotten or violated, and the South veered toward proscription and extremism, Northern opinions shifted to the right, keeping pace with the South, conceding point after point, so that at no time were the sections very far apart on race policy."⁶²

EGW's writing much nearer the time, saw things similarly. In 1895 she wrote:

"The colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now ten fold harder than it would have been..."

"After the war, if the Northern people had made the South a real missionary field, if they had not left the negroes to ruin through poverty and ignorance, thousands of souls would have been brought to Christ. But it was an unpromising field, and the Catholics have been more active in it than any other class."⁶³

Again in 1900 she wrote:

"The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers toward the ignorant and oppressed colored people. If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin."⁶⁴

Yet once again in 1908 she stated her opinion:

spirit that Jesus had. "If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the Kingdom of God... They (i.e. the blacks) should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them."⁴⁵

Throughout this basic appeal there is the evidence that EGW recognised the perplexing nature of the problem confronting the SDA church and its complexity. She referred to the "perplexing questions."⁴⁶ She noted that it would not be easy to correct the lifelong practices of the downtrodden peoples and "to implant ideas of purity and lowliness, refinement and elevation."⁴⁷ The appeal also contains the warning in embryo, to be amplified later, that the workers in the South "must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question."⁴⁸ She did not see it as the time for the encouragement of inter-racial marriage. The closing paragraphs reiterate that which was a principle in all EGW's writings on the question of race. Believers "cannot by their practice sanction any phase of oppression or injustice to the least child of humanity... Let none of those who name the name of Christ be cowards in His cause."⁴⁹ What this principle meant in terms of practice in differing situations she would spell out in later communications.

This appeal evidently had some influence on the SDA leaders of the time for it was printed in pamphlet form and circulated, but little was done as a result. Not until J. Edson White, a son of EGW,⁵⁰

"discovered" this pamphlet in 1893 while attending a Bible Institute at Battle Creek, did any practical action develop.⁵¹

EGW left for Australia late in 1891, but she had not forgotten the needy Southern field. Her 1891 appeal had been addressed primarily to the leaders of the denomination. Now in 1895, with specific efforts underway in the South, she prepared a series of ten articles for the Review. These were addressed to the whole church.⁵² The opening one was printed some nine months before the others.⁵³ In these messages her concerns were the same as those given two years earlier. There must be no animosity or prejudice toward the blacks.⁵⁴ She urged that "national and denominational distinctions be laid aside. Caste and rank are not recognized by God and should not be by His workers."⁵⁵ She recognized that there were still major problems in the matter of practising the brotherhood of all mankind and that procedures might need to be different in different places.

"No human mind should seek to draw the line between the colored and the white people. Let circumstances indicate what shall be done, for the Lord has His hand on the lever of circumstances. As the truth is brought to bear upon the minds of both colored and white people, as souls are thoroughly converted, they will become new men and women in Christ Jesus... Those who are converted among the white people will experience a change in their sentiments. The prejudice which they have inherited and cultivated toward the colored race will die away."⁵⁶

Then she pointed out in this appeal to the whole church that "the test will come not as regards outward complexion, but as regards the condition of the heart. Both the white and the colored people have the same Redeemer, who has paid the ransom money with His own life for every member of the human family."⁵⁷

"that he had had no trouble with the color line."³² In 1889 the Bulletin reports a comment by an Elder Kilgore concerning the

"Southern Field" as follows:

"The prevailing sentiment against those of Northern birth, and that which is brought to them by those not of Southern proclivities, makes the work...in that field more difficult than in those fields north of the 'Mason and Dixon's Line. He who labors in this field must be acquainted with and adjust himself to the customs and usages of this people in order to reach them."³³

In view of later discussion it is also significant that he mentions the problem of Sunday laws, especially in Mississippi, which were causing difficulties for the SDAs who evidently took the statement "six days shalt thou labour" very literally.³⁴

Several impressions emerge from a study of the sparse records of these pre-1890 times. The SDA work in the South was small and did not enjoy strong support from the Northern headquarters where a rapidly developing overseas mission programme, together with increasing doctrinal and institutional tensions were consuming the time of the leaders. Where the church was established, the degree of integration depended on whether the initiating evangelists were of Northern or Southern origin, and on the degree of local prejudice and pressure. Elsewhere the acceptance of whites and blacks into church fellowship was on the basis of equality in the faith.³⁵ The first black SDA church was organised at Edgefield Junction, Tenn., in 1886³⁶ and the first black, SDA minister was ordained in 1889.³⁷ EGW has little to say during this period although there is evidence of her concern at what she calls

"haphazard" approaches.³⁸ The fact is that by 1890 there were only 20-50 black, SDA members south of the Mason-Dixon line.³⁹

EGW's Primary Statements on Race Relations

EGW's basic approach to the SDA church concerning its responsibilities to the blacks, especially in the South of the U.S.A., was read by her to thirty leaders of the church on March 21, 1891, in connection with a General Conference Session at Battle Creek, Michigan.⁴⁰ She recognised that her statement would not be acceptable to all. "I know that that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet,...but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward."⁴¹ After stressing the example of Jesus, who refused to withdraw himself from any class of humanity, EGW presents her platform. The key emphases are: a) The fact that in Christ all are brethren; - "The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. If a red man, a Chinaman, or an African gives his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for his color. He calls him his well-beloved brother."⁴² b) Opposition to all forms of prejudice: "...selfishness, tradition, and prejudice pollute the soul... Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Christ."⁴³ c) The responsibility of the church to work for the blacks especially since there has been neglect. "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made a greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people."⁴⁴ d) The concept that when a person is converted they will have the same

"Much might have been accomplished by the people of America if adequate efforts in behalf of the freed men had been put forth by the government and by the christian churches immediately after the emancipation of the slaves. Money should have been used freely to care for and educate them at the time they were so greatly in need of help. But the government after a little effort, left the Negro to struggle, unaided, with his burden of difficulties. Some of the strong Christian churches began a good work, but sadly failed to reach more than a comparatively few; and the Seventh-day Adventist church has failed to act its part."⁵⁵

Ronald Graybill, who has made a special study of this period as it related to the SDA church and race relations,⁶⁶ has noted other facets of the problems in the South. He refers to the development of imperialism in American thought, to the trend of disfranchisement of the Negro, to lynching, riots and violence, all of which led increasingly to the enactment of segregation laws. He considers that in this period, - the close of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, - the concept of segregation was accepted by the majority in both North and South as the American way. The people were led, says Graybill, "by their president, the Supreme Court, and ironically enough, the chief leader of the Negro race (i.e. Booker T. Washington)."⁶⁷

The official records of the SDA General Conference Sessions of this time mirror some of these developments in the South. There are references to prejudice and especially the need for educational facilities to train blacks to work in the South.⁶⁸ This concern is summarised by R.M. Kilgore, the Superintendent of the SDA mission, in simple terms. He is reported as saying, "We must do something toward educating workers to labor among this people, and to provide facilities

whereby the children and youth of our colored brethren and sisters may have equal advantages with those of fairer complexion."⁶⁹ In 1895 O.A. Olsen, then General Conference President, spoke optimistically of the Southern work, referring to it as "a very promising field", but in his presidential address he also recognised that "the time has come when if we would do our duty, we must lay larger plans for the work in the South."⁷⁰

It is at this time that J. Edson White, during a period of spiritual renewal in his life, read, apparently for the first time, the 1891 appeal of his mother to the church leaders concerning the needs of the South, and determined with W.O. Palmer, to work for the black race there, in the context of prevailing conditions we have outlined above. He chose to build a paddle steamer, named Morning Star, which he took down the Mississippi to serve as a floating evangelistic and educational centre.⁷¹ He was accompanied by a small group of missionary recruits. They reached Vicksburg, Mississippi in January 1895. Two years later they moved to Yazoo City working in both places, and intermediate river locations.

Edson White founded the Southern Missionary Society,⁷² whose aims were to promote "mission schools and evangelism among the Negro people in the Southern States."⁷³ While it operated under General Conference approval, it was a volunteer programme, financed by the sale of publications authored by Edson,⁷⁴ and one book of EGW composition entitled Christ Our Saviour. The work in Mississippi also attracted contributions from the church at large.

Edson White was also responsible for the publication of a magazine, the Gospel Herald,⁷⁵ whose object was to "carry the principles of Christian education to the people of the South."⁷⁶ He was concerned to assist the black farmers to make profitable use of their land, and placed great stress on a literacy programme.⁷⁷ He laid the foundation for what was to become in later years the Southern Publishing Association.

The picture of the SDA work in the Southern U.S.A. at this time divides into two perspectives. In the foreground is the more flamboyant and daring programme of Edson White, - a programme which was undoubtedly needed to stir the wider conscience of the church, but one that was destined to run into trouble shortly. In the background were what might be called the "official" programmes of the central organisation of the church which had begun to exert itself for the people of the South. These were simultaneous with Edson's thrust and were concerned with two educational institutions and, at the turn of the century, attempts to establish a sanitarium.

An early SDA educational institution in the South was opened in the small village of Graysville, Tennessee, in the autumn of 1891.⁷⁸ Its primary purpose was to train Christian workers for the South. In its inception it was a private venture, but then, in 1895, it was accepted by the General Conference when the property was turned over to that organisation. From the scanty records and reminiscences available it appears that the school was to be for both blacks and whites, but this plan created problems with the local neighbourhood.⁷⁹ It also appears that there was a tendency to put more money into the operations there than into the less favourable situation at the other school in Alabama.

EGW speaks strongly against this, urging that the purposes of each school be understood and that both be supported in their respective tasks.⁸⁰

The second educational venture has been referred to already above. In 1895 the General Conference determined to open a school in the South primarily for black youth. They purchased a 360 acre farm about five miles north-west of Hunstville, Alabama, deciding to name it "Oakwood" because of "65 towering oaks that stood on what was to become the heart of the campus".⁸¹ The early records reveal the struggle to establish and maintain this infant institution.⁸² Part of the problem was the desperate poverty among the blacks in the South and a consequent inability to pay fees. In his presidential address to the General Conference Session in 1899, G.A. Irwin said:

"We regret exceedingly that we cannot report more progress among this people. (i.e. the blacks.) Many causes combine to make this a difficult field. Education lies at the foundation of this work; but owing to the extreme poverty and destitution of the majority, it must of necessity be largely gratuitous for the present."⁸³

There were constant appeals to the membership in the North to support the Oakwood venture, and EGW endorsed these plans. Despite her concern for the steady development of the Hunstville project there is evidence that such counsel was neglected.⁸⁴ Her continuing concern expressed itself in a letter to F.E. Belden, her nephew. She believed that her nation had "been guilty of a great wrong... In comparison with the great need there has been very little outlay of means to improve them by teaching them the knowledge of God. After being deprived of their rights, and for generations treated like cattle, they have been

deprived of the means of bettering their condition. Virtually they have been left in heathenism, when they might have been helped to educate and elevate themselves. Their color has closed to them almost every possible avenue to improvement."⁸⁵

In this unhappy situation the Hunstville enterprise struggled on. An Oakwood Archives document refers to a visit by the General Conference president in 1904 amidst fears that the school might be closed.⁸⁶ However in June of the same year EGW visited the campus and is reported to have declared "not one foot of this land should be sold and instead of fifty students in attendance there should be a hundred."⁸⁷ This was in harmony with her previously expressed convictions that the stronger must help the weak.⁸⁸

EGW's appeals did prevail, and although she was never satisfied that the best had been done for Oakwood, yet she rejoiced that some progress was made and that an uplift programme was being maintained.⁸⁹ The attempts to establish medical work in the form of a hydrotherapy sanitarium and health education outreach were not very successful. However, even here there were some who persisted and eventually a more permanent work emerged.⁹⁰

Now we must turn back to Edson White and note briefly the later phases of his work. While he was interested in all aspects of the SDA programme in the South, his particular concerns were in the Mississippi region. EGW showed a keen personal interest in his endeavours, giving financial and moral support.⁹¹ In addition to her personal encouragement to Edson, there are pages of letters, articles, and, when she returned from Australia, addresses, on behalf of the work in the South.

Almost from the beginning of his mission in Mississippi Edson White had recognised some of the special difficulties confronting his work in the milieu of the Southern States. In a letter to the General Conference president in 1895 he wrote about the differences between working in the North and working in the South. He illustrated this by referring to the fact that in the North it was often customary for the evangelist to stay with those among whom he was working. This was different in the South. "Here we do not dare accept any entertainment from the colored people, even if they were able to give it. A missionary a little ways from here was taken out by a masked band and shot because he made common with the colored people."⁹² This fear of mob action was never far from his mind although it did not seem to halt his intrepid approaches.

His first serious crisis did not occur until late in 1898. F.R. Rogers, one of his white associates, was severely threatened and told that the building in Yazoo City would be burnt and the Morning Star sunk.⁹³ Edson recalled his mother's constant counsel for caution in the work in the South so that the effort for the blacks would not be hindered or closed down. In a letter to a "Friend and Fellow-Worker" he speaks of issuing an extra edition of his magazine the Gospel Herald.

"In this we will show our leading denominational institutions... It will explain that we have nothing whatever to do with politics that we have not come down to invade the customs of the country, but only to make better men, better citizens, better Christians out of the people. The general impression is that we have some kind of a hocus pocus religion that we cannot get the white people to accept, and so have come down to try to get it off on the negroes. They want to know why we do not take it to

We have tried to emphasise that EGW's pronouncements must be considered both in their historical context and also in relation to her avowed, guiding principles. It would seem, unfortunately, that both black and white SDAs have taken the 1909 statements and used them differently without attempting to understand their immediate and total context.

EGW approached the delicate and difficult subject of race relations, as far as the SDA church was concerned, in a threefold way. First, it was her task to declare in no uncertain terms that there could be no such thing as racial-superiority thinking within the church. The whole body must recognise this foundational principle.¹¹⁰ Second, it was her task to remind a church which was mainly Northern in origin and outlook of the responsibility that rested upon the whole nation to make restitution for the past iniquities of slavery, and further that this activity was long overdue on the part of the North and the SDA church.¹¹¹ Thus her earlier articles depict a depressing picture of the depravity and need of the blacks who have been left to themselves, largely since the close of the Civil War.¹¹²

Her third approach is to spell out the specifics of the work she believed needed to be done for the blacks and whites of the South. Her main emphasis is for the blacks, naturally, and she views everything in this light in the majority of her counsel. Right from the outset she urges caution that the prevailing prejudice in the South be recognised and that every care be taken so that the necessary work for the blacks can continue.¹¹³ She sees this work not in terms of political or revolutionary activity but in the steady development of education so

that they can become self-reliant economically, coupled with this they are to be taught health and hygiene so that they may enjoy the blessings of good health and comfortable homes.¹¹⁴ As far as the whites are concerned they are to be led to an increased understanding of the Gospel as an antidote to their unwarranted prejudice.¹¹⁵ None of these principles changes in the 1909 statements. The very reason for these statements is the concern that she has had as outlined above. We have already noted that the sentiments of 1909 were expressed in 1899 after the experience in the Mississippi regions. These are temporary counsels. The suggestions are "until the Lord shows us a better way."¹¹⁶ As far as the counsels of the SDA church are concerned the voice of the black representatives is to be heard.¹¹⁷ There is no finality in the counsel and twice the emphasis is that no exact course can be laid down for dealing with the issue in the future.¹¹⁸ The expediency she advocated was better than that large numbers of black believers might lose their livelihoods and even their lives.

One might wish that the balanced statements of EGW's convictions had been issued in 1909, and that, failing this there might have been an earlier attempt to place them in historical perspective. This was done to some extent in the republishing of The Southern Work.¹¹⁹ A similar approach in an earlier decade would have saved much bitterness and uninformed discussion in the opinion of this writer.¹²⁰

Whatever may be the rights or wrongs of the past it is perhaps appropriate to conclude this section with a comment by Otis B. Edwards, a black SDA, long connected with Oakwood. He said, "Perhaps the

Before we consider these later statements there is need to say a word concerning Edson White's further work. The threats and attacks did not stop the SDA mission in the South. They did hinder it and make it more perplexing. Both Edson and his wife Emma suffered a break down in health, and had to leave the Mississippi valleys and plains for a time. When he returned he established his headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee. This seemed a sensible choice because of the opportunities for advancement of educated blacks in the already established institutions there.¹⁰¹ In 1912, because of his wife's failing health, he moved back to the North and remained there until his death in 1928.¹⁰²

EGW's Later Statements on Race Relations

Graybill has shown that there was nothing racist in the EGW expressions, with satisfaction to both black and white SDA thinkers,¹⁰³ and the present researcher concurs with such an opinion. However, there is a problem which led Graybill into his particular research. This is that, in spite of her many statements on the equality of all races before God, and her consequent disavowal of racial prejudice, there was published in 1909 an EGW testimony which included such phrases as "the mingling of whites and blacks in social equality was by no means to be encouraged,"¹⁰⁴ and "the colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people."¹⁰⁵ A longer passage read:

"In regard to white and colored people worshiping in the same building, this can not be followed as a general custom with profit to either part, - especially in the South. The best thing will be to provide the colored people who accept the truth, with places of worship of their own, in which they can carry on their services by themselves. This is particularly

necessary in the South, in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hinderance."¹⁰⁶

All this was to be explained to the black people. "Let them be shown that this is not done to exclude them from worshipping with white people, because they are black, but in order that the progress of the truth may be advanced. Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows a better way."¹⁰⁷ This counsel can only be understood in the context of the circumstances which occasioned it. These have been outlined above. In considering this aspect of the EGW messages on race relations, careful attention must be given to her overall approach. As she saw it, the options in the early 1900s in the South were either to proceed regardlessly on the programme of integration, or to move more cautiously temporarily. The first approach EGW believed would be harmful to all concerned but the blacks would suffer especially. This she did not wish to see. The second approach, although painful and open to criticism, she believed would be for the greatest good of all. But it was not to be permanent policy.

In the same 'Testimony' it is emphasised that the unregenerate whites are the real problem. They "are not willing that special efforts should be put forth to uplift them (i.e. the colored people) ... Some act as if slavery had never been abolished."¹⁰⁸ Once again the dominant theme of all her statements is restated: "He who is closely connected with Christ is lifted above the prejudice of color or caste."¹⁰⁹ But these sentiments are often forgotten by the quoters and the other difficult and apparently contradictory statements are stressed. Why did EGW write in this way?

the white people and not make a business of working among the negroes. This extra will show that we are taking it to All classes and races."⁹⁴

Whether this had an effect is not known. No further dramatic trouble is reported, however, until May 1899.

This incident was more serious than the former and took place at Calmer. Here one of the white workers, Stephenson, was taken to the railroad station and forcibly deported. The church was looted and materials burned. A black worker named Casey had managed to escape, but another black named Olvin was taken and severely whipped and his wife was shot in the leg.⁹⁵ We should note here that it was almost immediately after this affray that EGW wrote in even stronger terms concerning the caution that must be exercised if the black was not to again suffer unjustly.⁹⁶

It is interesting to note that in the same year Edson White expressed himself to a woman in Washington D.C. who was preparing to work for the blacks there and who evidently appealed to him for some interpretation of the "Testimonies". We quote the key portions of his reply:

"Now in regard to the Testimonies requesting colored schools unmixed with whites. I understand that this refers to the South only where mixed schools will not be tolerated. God forbid that we should build up color lines where they do not now exist...

"I think there is a rule that we may safely follow in this color line business. We must regard it only as it affects the outside element in such a way as to close up our work and injure our usefulness... You cannot make divisions where God regards us all blood relations to the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ... God

has made of one blood all nations of the earth and He so regards them. If we are the children of God we will regard them in the same way. We are not to regard the prejudice of men in matters of this kind only as we are compelled to do so in order that we may be allowed to work for them where a different course would close the field to our work and make it difficult and impossible to reach the people at all."⁹⁷

As Graybill has pointed out, Edson White cannot be regarded as an authoritative interpreter of his mother's counsel above others, but "certainly he worked more closely with her on this subject of race relations than any other person, and certainly he was closer to the situation than any other person."⁹⁸ For this reason his emphasis on avoiding white prejudice for the sake of ultimate black development and advancement is significant.

Edson's problems with white prejudice were not over by any means. In June 1900 both the Yazoo City Herald and the Yazoo Sentinel, two local newspapers, unleashed further attacks and threats, and again F.R. Rogers was their luckless victim.⁹⁹ Their bones of contention were both the Sabbatarian principles of the sect and the fact that with this they had thrown in a "large slice of social equality."¹⁰⁰ It was this latter charge that was to be magnified and especially attacked.

These historical factors have been emphasised because they provide the background for understanding the later, published statements of EGW on the question of race relations in 1909. The material for these statements had been produced in most cases before 1909 in different manuscripts addressed as a result of certain events, a number of which we have highlighted here.

greatest stimulus to missionary efforts for the Negro came, however, from Mrs. Ellen G. White."¹²¹ The contemporary documents appear to support his opinion.

SDA Approaches to Race Relations in the U.S.A. 1909-1976

In the history of the Negro in the U.S.A. the year of 1909 is an important one. Some four years earlier, in June 1905, the Niagara Movement had been founded which, amongst other things, called for "the abolition of all distinctions based on race."¹²² In 1909, however, a conference was called which led to the organisation in 1910 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Among its stated objectives the NAACP pledged itself "to work for the abolition of all forced segregation, equal education for Negro and white children, the complete enfranchisement of the Negro, and the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."¹²³

1909 was also an important year in SDA history. In a further reorganisation of their work at that time, the SDAs established a Negro Department so that the interests of this group could be promoted and cared for more adequately.¹²⁴ Some eight years earlier a leading black SDA minister had made an eloquent appeal for the development of his people in leadership posts in the church's work.¹²⁵ This department was to result in such progress. In the minutes of its first meeting, the Negro Department noted that in 1907 there were 700 SDA members "south of the Mason and Dixon line."¹²⁶ Nine years later this number had increased to 3,500.¹²⁷ During this period three white SDA ministers served as directors of the Department. In 1918 W.H Green,

a former lawyer in the District of Columbia, U.S.A., became the first black director of this department, - a practice that has been followed ever since.¹²⁸

1909 was also the year that the well known testimony of EGW on race relations, to which we have already referred, was published. It came at a time when resident whites in the South were strongly opposing sometimes violently, the SDA mission work there. Yet even before this, as we have also noticed, EGW had expressed her concern at the diminishing efforts, and even neglect, in the work for the blacks in the South.

It is difficult to ascertain why there was this measure of neglect and even indifference to the denominational programme in the South. Certainly strong personalities became involved other than Edson White. Both P.T. Magan and E.A. Sutherland pioneered their particular brand of "self-supporting" SDA education in the Southlands, but apparently their work was mainly for needy whites.¹²⁹

The issue is made more complicated because of the character of the chief promoter of SDA work among the blacks, namely Edson White. He was an erratic individual as far as SDA denominational service was concerned, being in and out of it on several occasions. Many of his ideas were unorthodox and, most seriously, he was financially unstable.¹³⁰ It is extremely difficult to evaluate whether the neglect, therefore, was because of basic prejudice toward blacks on the part of the white leadership, or whether the lack of enthusiasm was because the work was the brain child of Edson. In other words, it is not easy to assess whether there was evil prejudice of either type, or whether there

was a genuine desire to avoid making it more difficult to preach the SDA message to all races and classes. The contemporary evidence suggests the latter. The fact is that the SDA work in the Southern States continued, but it was still largely white-led. Gradually the separateness between the black and white work increased. While it may have been expedient originally, it became a set pattern later.

There are those in the SDA church, who, looking back, consider that EGW's 1909 statements were followed to the exclusion of the other counsel she gave. Senior, black, SDA leaders believe that the testimony of 1909 became a veto on their progress.¹³¹ They consider it came about as follows: The EGW articles, comprising the book The Southern Work were printed privately by Edson White, that is they were not a publication of a denominationally owned publishing house. As his edition was sold out there was no reprinting. Thus this important aspect of EGW's teaching was largely lost, or at best obscured, - privately circulated. Consequently the majority in the SDA church tended to hide behind the EGW statement of 1909, especially as the racial climate in the U.S.A. did not improve and segregationism became the way of life.

Many of these same leaders are convinced that the undue emphasis on the 1909 testimony was a contributory factor in the apostasy of black SDA leaders such as L.C. Sheafe¹³² and John Mann.¹³³ It may also have contributed to J.K. Humphrey's "black Zionism" approach in the early 1920's, although other factors seem to have been influential in that situation.¹³⁴

Until the 1940's the SDA work at local congregational level was generally separate, especially in the territories that had formed the Confederate South, but at local conference level it was not. So while there was this separateness and even segregation at local church level, all the congregations, black and white, were under one administrative umbrella, - the local conference committee, - led generally by whites. This was, of course, a mirror or the pattern of local U.S.A. society. In the SDA church it frustrated the local black leadership and meant that at a wider level only few blacks were able to develop as conference leaders or administrators.

From the time of Edson White's mission in the South, where after the initial troubles he had encouraged separate black and white development,¹³⁵ there had been talk of separate black conferences for the SDA work. This idea continued to surface through the next two decades. In 1929 the SDA General Conference Committee Minutes indicate that a recommendation for the organisation of Negro Conferences be submitted to a special commission on the future of SDA Negro work.¹³⁶ The appointment of a secretary for the Negro Department was left in abeyance pending the report of this commission.¹³⁷ Its findings were submitted in September 1929. The suggestion for Negro Conferences does not surface. Instead the action states "in each union conference where there are as many as 500 colored believers except in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern (where they already had same) a Negro secretary be elected, this secretary to be a member of the union conference committee." (the governing body).¹³⁸

The stark, official minutes give no indication of the discussions preceding this decision. Senior black leaders today contend that the whites resisted what the blacks considered both a necessary and progressive move. The years of depression followed swiftly in the U.S.A. Both black and white SDAs suffered in the general difficulties, and with the problems of a world work to sustain in such conditions, the general Headquarters had little time or opportunity for further discussion of the Negro work in U.S.A.¹³⁹

As the country entered the 1940's, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, the movement towards integration of black and white generally, began to gather momentum. Other denominations began to make declarations of intention, but still the SDAs were generally silent on the issue. And the question has been asked, was it that EGW testimony of 1909, isolated from the many other statements, that still dominated official SDA thinking? There is no definite answer. Perhaps human inertia is more powerful than a prophetic message.

The change came in 1944. A year previously the appointment of a committee to study "the future development of our colored work in North America" is noted in the General Conference minutes.¹⁴⁰ Their report was presented and accepted in 1944. There were now 233 largely Negro SDA churches in North America with a total membership of 17,000. The committee's reaction read as follows: "That in unions where the colored constituency is considered by the union conference committee to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant, colored conferences be organised." These conferences were to

be administered by colored officers and committees. They were to sustain the same relation to their respective union conferences as the white conferences.¹⁴² The way was now open for the development of much needed black leadership and integration. A black SDA leader has commented recently on this decision as follows:

"April 10, 1944 was a historic day in records of the black work in North America. J.L. McElhany president of the General Conference, served as chairman of the General Conference Spring Council held in Chicago, Illinois, when the action was taken to organize black conferences in North America. Many whites and blacks resisted this new untried action. In spite of all the pros and cons the last 28 years have proved this was a wise course of action."¹⁴³

This assessment seems justified as the events from 1944 are surveyed.¹⁴⁴ Three colored conferences were organised in 1945, two in 1946, and one in 1950 and another in 1952. (In 1966 one of these original conferences, - Allegheny, - was divided into two conferences.) The decision on integration in all health and education institutions came in 1953.¹⁴⁵ The first black associate secretary of the General Conference, F.L. Peterson, was appointed in 1954, and the first vice-president in 1962. Now the SDA church was moving close to the ideal set for it by its prophet.¹⁴⁶

Around the time of the 1970 General Conference Session there was considerable agitation for the development of black unions, - the next higher organisation in SDA church structure.¹⁴⁷ There was considerable discussion on this issue both publicly and privately but without any formal action the church appeared to move to a consensus that rather than strengthen separatism, which the black union conference could

produce, it would opt for a wider representation of races in its administrative structures at all levels. This it implemented in its World General Conference Session at Vienna in 1975 and has continued to do so since.

While the ideal is still not reached, there is a better atmosphere in Seventh-day Adventism today, with happier working relationships generally. White prejudice does exist in certain areas still, and feelings of past injustices still rankle in the minds of some black writers.¹⁴⁸ The SDA church has sought, however, at least since 1954, to take much more seriously the total counsel of EGW. Through firm declarations on Human and Race Relations;¹⁴⁹ through annual Black History weeks in many of its colleges in the Western world; through the example of Andrews University which has stressed integration;¹⁵⁰ and through Human Relations workshops in which prejudices have been examined in a residential atmosphere;¹⁵¹ - the SDA church has endeavoured to repudiate racism.

Before concluding this survey it is important to notice another aspect which has been a point of controversy in Seventh-day Adventism at times, and which has been connected with EGW's counsel, - this is the question of inter-racial marriage. In her life time EGW was opposed to this but there is no indication in the counsel given that this was a racist pronouncement. She did not advise against such marriages simply because two different races were involved. She does express concern for the children of such unions who, in her opinion, may be ostracised by those of either race in society at large. Generally, however, her comments on inter-racial marriage are set within both the

historical situation and the wider context of marriage counselling.¹⁵² A further dimension is the personal nature of this surviving counsel, i.e. its application to the individual in areas on which a historian is unable to comment. An example is found in a letter¹⁵³ written to a black believer, needed as a worker in the South, who was proposing to marry a white girl. This document illustrates well the general trends of EGW's counsel.

First, there is the historical setting. It is 1901 and the antagonisms in the South are increasing. EGW's concern is for the blacks, that nothing should hinder unduly the efforts on their behalf. Hence there are statements such as: "If you take this step it will create great difficulty for the work in the Southern Field and great trouble for the colored people," and, again, if such a marriage took place it is her conviction that it "would close up many openings in the Southern field." Since "souls are involved in the step you propose to take," the young man was to ask himself the questions, "How can I best glorify him (i.e. God) and promote the interests of my people in the colored states?... Have I not a work to do for my oppressed, discouraged fellows?" Here, then, was pragmatic advice to an individual facing a specific, local, historical situation.

Second, EGW takes up one or two points of general marriage counselling. The hazards of marriage should always be reduced by careful pre-marital considerations. In this particular case she mentions that a black marrying a white in the Southern context might mean that both lives would be endangered in the then tense situation. This meant the marriage would be under a constant tension. For her marriage was

to be "ordered by the Lord" and she stressed the need, therefore, of adequate spiritual preparation, which she considered in this case was lacking. Then it appears that the girl's mother was unhappy about the proposal and her views should be considered. While there is an overlap between these points and the third area of counsel, they contain principles which many, who approach marriage seriously, recognise as worthy of consideration even today.

Third, EGW claims certain insights on which it is not possible for a commentator writing years later to make an evaluation. In this particular case she says that the young man concerned is rather self-opinionated, lacking humility, and concerned more with self-pleasing than a recognition of God's will. She sees these as problems for the success of any marriage regardless of racial differences.

This subject of inter-racial marriage is discussed at some length because while in the past there may have been an unwarranted attitude on the part of some SDAs that a marriage to one of another ethnic group was "wrong", per se, and while this impression, and thus racial prejudice, may have been unwittingly encouraged by the format of the Selected Messages, Book 2, in its early editions,¹⁵⁴ this is not EGW's position. For her marriage was a serious act and her counsel regarding it is wide ranging. Consideration of ethnic difference is only one aspect of the total evaluation necessary.¹⁵⁵

EGW was no racist. She was well aware of the problems and identified them. "The spirit which has held the colored people so long in slavery is alive today (1899), and among the whites there are those who will work in every possible way against that which has a tendency

to uplift the colored people... If you would make the southern whites and the colored people your friends, you must meet them where they are, not to act as they act, to sin as they sin, but to present the truth to them in your daily life."¹⁵⁶ Yet she believed that the practice of true Christianity would be effective. "When the love of Christ is cherished in the heart as it should be," she wrote, "when the sweet, subduing spirit of the love of God fills the soul-temple, there will be no caste, no pride of nationality; no difference will be made because of the color of the skin. Each one will help the one who needs tender regard and consolation, of whatever nationality he may be."¹⁵⁷ It was in this direction that she pointed her church, and all Christians.

Race Relations in the SDA Church in Britain

While their fellow church members in the USA were facing the problems of the South, the SDAs in Britain were struggling to establish a foothold in a land that was not over enthusiastic about "new American sects", as the SDA movement was considered. The subject of race relations remained a theoretical one for them since there were few black residents of Britain. In the one or two seaports where a black person accepted the SDA beliefs they were integrated into the existing church fellowship.¹⁵⁸

In the pattern of most Christian denominations in Britain, SDAs here did not discuss race relations. It was not a contemporary issue. The few who had had contact with their American cousins considered the problems of black and white living together in the same nation, and so in the church, as an "American problem". During the World War II, a few

British SDA congregations were visited by US serviceman SDAs, and some of these were black. In one such church where there were quite a few black visitors, there was some surprise that the black soldiers tended to sit on one side and the white soldiers on the other, but again it was dismissed as part of the American scene.¹⁵⁹

After World War II as the Union Jack was lowered and the flags of independent nations were unfurled in its place, as the Commonwealth replaced the British Empire, and as economic problems affected certain, former, colonial areas, especially the West Indies, the scene changed in British Seventh-day Adventism. While there have been some attempts to evaluate this change, no complete study has been made,¹⁶⁰ and this thesis does not seek to make such a study, for it is concerned here with what effect, if any, EGW's counsels on race relations had on the British, SDA church.

In the early years of this development, that is the 1950's, the general picture was one of happy acceptance of the immigrant as a "brother in Christ".¹⁶¹ Occasionally there was some bewilderment at certain cultural and sociological differences, but these did not weaken the welcome given. It is doubtful if the average SDA in Britain knew about EGW's counsel as found in The Southern Work, and there seems no evidence that the 1909 testimony had any particular influence, except that there was a certain reticence in the matter of inter-racial marriage. Apart from this British SDAs were clear on the concepts of racial equality and brotherhood in Christ.

Through the decade of the 1960 however, changes began to occur. There were few other denominations in Britain that were facing the

challenge of receiving immigrant members, certainly not in large numbers. Seventh-day Adventism, with its international organisation and practice of membership transfers,¹⁶² was in an unusual, if not unique, situation. It had never been a very large body in Britain,¹⁶³ and consequently had attracted little support or notice. In some cases it had been vigorously attacked by more established denominations or competing groups especially for its Sabbatarianism and the role of EGW in its history. Now this small, struggling, largely indigenous church was suddenly flooded with enthusiastic, zealous, expressive West Indian brethren and sisters. Congregations which had counted their accessions previously in single figures on an annual basis, now saw their numbers increasing noticeably week by week.

The Sociologist has praised the British SDA church for its initial acceptance and integration of the immigrant into its fellowship.¹⁶⁴ At the grass roots level, however, the SDA church was not prepared physically for the influx. Its church buildings, where possessed, were small and inadequate for the full church life and programme to which the immigrants were accustomed. Since the problem was largely in London and the major industrial areas, it did not effect more than about 40% of the SDA church membership, and there is no explicit mention of the problem in the official records of the time.¹⁶⁵

Tensions did begin to develop, however, at the local level. The immigrants were equal members with the previously indigenous; and, through the system of local SDA church government, (where church officers are elected by the whole membership annually), soon found themselves in leadership positions. As their numbers increased so they introduced,

report on race relations was submitted to the British Union Conference Committee in December 1972. It recommended, among other things, that a Human Relations Day be observed annually on a set Sabbath (Saturday), that a standing Committee on Race Relations be maintained, and that "clarification of Ellen G. White's views on race relations and explanations of certain statements in Vol. IX Testimonies" be sought. It also recommended that "evangelistic presentations should include the moral obligations of all christians to believe in the dignity of man and practice the brotherhood of mankind."¹⁷¹

In June 1974 the London Laymen's Forum was established. This was led by black Seventh-day Adventists. In the first edition of their duplicated news-sheet Comment they set out their grievances. These may be summarised as dissatisfaction with the local and union conference leadership; the desire for greater representation on the conference-committees; the implication that those who were already on committees may be unaware of the issues "or do not care to know"; the suggestion that there is need for greater integration; and the explicit statement that while they supported an increase in white membership "it must not be at the expense of the kin of those who faithfully support the greater part of the ministry." As previously noted, they felt the need for more black ministers.¹⁷² Three points may be noted. First, the group made it clear that they were the only ones "in a position to speak for the coloured membership."¹⁷³ Second, they stated at this time that they were not seeking for a separate conference but greater integration. Third, there was from the beginning little, if any, reference to EGW. Over the next years only the second point changed.¹⁷⁴

Some began to call for a black conference like the regional conferences in the U.S.A. This led to the British Union Conference conducting a postal ballot during October 1976 in which all its members were invited to vote on the issue.¹⁷⁵ A number of the Forum leaders opposed this approach.¹⁷⁶ The result of the ballot was announced in December 1976. 5478 of the approximately 12500 members had participated. 849 were in favour of a regional conference, 4629 were not in favour. The Union President stated: "There is no doubt that the large majority of our members believe that our church in this Union should be organized and operated with Christian concern and consideration for all races within and without the church."¹⁷⁷ This referendum largely settled the issue, but in Birmingham and London several churches apparently still wish to form a regional conference and the outcome is still uncertain with discussions continuing.

It would not be accurate to describe this tension as typical of the SDA church in Britain. As indicated the issues are especially debated in a few areas. It is the present writer's evaluation that had the full EGW counsel been studied generally by the SDA church in Britain much earlier, some of the tensions could have been avoided. It could be argued that, as in the USA, there may have been a slowness in British Seventh-day Adventism to recognise the problem and dimensions of the race relations issue, especially in their church. Questions of greater representation and a more adequate supply of capable black ministers obviously need study to see how they can be implemented satisfactorily. While this study notes an occasional, regrettable act or statement which could be interpreted as arising from racial prejudice,

naturally, patterns of worship to which they were accustomed, - freer in style and with more congregational response. Two effects began to be noticed.

First, the local populace appreciated what was being done for the immigrants in their midst, but assumed, in many cases, that the local SDA church or meeting was just another "West Indian Club". This attitude made even more difficult the already problematic task of communicating SDA beliefs to the still largely white population. Some blacks understood this point of view and the expressed concern of the administration to maintain its public evangelistic thrust.¹⁶⁶ Others were very opposed to it, pointing instead to the low-key, lack-lustre, half-hearted evangelistic zeal of the original members and seeing themselves as catalysts for renewal and greater action.¹⁶⁷

Second, some whites, unable to adapt to this freer, more charismatic type of worship favoured by the West Indian, began to attend other churches, largely white-led, or ceased attending church at all. In one or two cases a white minority group left the original church to form a worshipping group on their own. These met in a hired hall continuing in their own liturgical style.¹⁶⁸ Such a departure generally meant leaving a church building which they had sacrificed financially to obtain over many years. Since at this time many of the West Indians were still sending their tithes and a generous portion of their offerings "back home", it is not difficult to see the emotional tensions that such actions created on both sides. The concepts of Christian love and unity were being sorely tested. By now in the late 1960's the world, and the church, was aware of the subject of race relations as never before.

Racism had become an ugly reality in Britain. Inevitably there was an osmosis type reaction between these environmental pressures and the church situation. Consequently such withdrawal, as noted above, tended to be magnified and interpreted as racial prejudice by some of the black members.¹⁶⁹

A further exacerbating factor was the paucity of black ministers. Only one came from the West Indies and a number of the black young people who completed ministerial training at the SDA college in England did not in fact enter the ministry but chose to study in the U.S.A. (By 1970 there were four black, SDA ministers in Britain, by 1976 the number had doubled, and will continue to increase as those now in training complete their course and other students take their place.) A number of black lay leaders believed that it would be easier for the black youth to identify with a black pastor; the older members did not see it as such a problem.

As the SDA church in Britain came into the 1970's a period of difficulty faced certain places on the question of race-relations. As described above a polarisation had occurred in a few areas. From the scant evidence available there seems to have been virtually no discussion at local level of EGW's counsels. The British SDA administration stressed the need for unity and brotherhood. The local conference sessions each appointed a black representative to their governing committees in 1967.¹⁷⁰ In 1970 one of the five lay representatives appointed to the British Union Conference Committee was a black. These moves, however, were not sufficiently satisfying to certain black lay leaders, for reasons which are difficult to identify. A sub-committee

report on race relations was submitted to the British Union Conference Committee in December 1972. It recommended, among other things, that a Human Relations Day be observed annually on a set Sabbath (Saturday), that a standing Committee on Race Relations be maintained, and that "clarification of Ellen G. White's views on race relations and explanations of certain statements in Vol. IX Testimonies" be sought. It also recommended that "evangelistic presentations should include the moral obligations of all christians to believe in the dignity of man and practice the brotherhood of mankind."¹⁷¹

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it does not reveal an inherent racism in the rank and file of the SDA church in Britain. Nor, on the other hand, is there evidence that the London Laymen's Forum has the confidence of the majority of the black SDA membership.¹⁷⁸ A number of SDA churches in predominantly immigrant areas are developing as co-operative, multiracial congregations. This would seem in harmony with the counsel of their founder, who stressed the need for harmonious development of church life regardless of colour, caste, or class, with the occasional separate development only as an interlude or as a prelude and preparation for more effective integration ultimately.

EGW and Race Relations in the SDA Church Today

It is not easy to evaluate EGW's overall influence on SDA race relations, since she died in 1915, just twenty years after SDA efforts in earnest for the black people of the Southern U.S.A. had commenced. If she had been younger when this work began and had lived on, the picture might have been different. It is possible, however, on the basis of evidence from written sources and interviews to draw some tentative conclusions.

It seems clear that EGW was ahead of the leaders of her denomination in her thinking and convictions concerning the black race, especially in the area of responsibility for redeeming the past. In dramatic tones she addressed the 1901 General Conference Session:

"As it has been presented before me, the Southern field has been so long neglected that the cries of distress have gone up to heaven, and there never can be a clearance of our people until that field

shall have fourfold more than any other field should have. They must have it, because they have nothing with which to carry forward their work. From the light that God has given me, our people will never stand as they should stand before Him, until they redeem the past."¹⁷⁹

The neglect of the SDA church in carrying out these responsibilities weighed heavily upon her.

In the 1903 session she expressed herself once again:

"You say that the colored people are depraved and wicked, that their standard of morality is very low. Who made them wicked? Who spoiled their morals? I want you to think of this and of the burden that rests upon the white people to help the colored people..."

"The workers in the school at Huntsville are to have our tender sympathy and our practical aid. Do not let them suffer for the lack of facilities, for they are trying to educate the colored people. The school at Huntsville is in positive need of our care and donations..."

"Not one-thousandth part of the work has been done that should have been done for the colored people, who need help more than any other people in America."¹⁸⁰

It appears that not until the 1960's were these appeals understood and acted upon in any major way.

She was equally clear that decided efforts should be made to develop capable workers from among the black race at that time. She saw this as essential if the work on their behalf was to survive. Typical of this type of appeal is one made in connection with a plea to support the work at Huntsville:

"For the accomplishment of the Lord's work among the colored people in the South, we can not look wholly to white laborers. We need colored workers, O, so much! to labor for their own people

everywhere, and especially in those places where it would not be safe for white people to labor. Without delay most decided efforts should be made to educate and train colored men and women to labor as missionaries."¹⁸¹

This emphasis on what would be termed today indiginisation, - development of national leadership, - is one that the SDA church should have recognised more readily and earlier, not only in the Southern USA but also in other areas of the world. For a long time its efforts were limited or dependent on the foresight of an individual mission superintendent.¹⁸² In some cases it was not until crisis occurred in the form of war or political re-alignments within a country that the need for trained, local leadership was fully realised.

It is apparent that EGW's counsel, especially in its emphasis on the basic principle of the equality of all men, was liberal and advanced for her time. Not only did she stress this equality as persons, as we have noticed, but she also stressed the equality of spiritual need. In one of her appeals for both black and white teachers in the South, she said: "The white people as well as the colored, need to be saved. Many of the white people in the South are as ignorant and degraded as the colored people. God wants to save them."¹⁸³

So today her counsel could reinforce the thinking and expression of many contemporary Christian writers on the subject of race relations. This counsel may be emphatically propounded remembering also her associated advice that where there is prejudice such counsel should be carefully introduced and argued.

One might say, then, that the SDA church had a body of counsel on race relations which was non-racist, forward looking and progressive. Because this counsel was closely associated with specific historical or local situations, some of it required careful interpretation, but the principles provided illumination for what was a difficult question. Denominational history does not show that the counsel was repudiated or rejected theoretically, but it was certainly neglected, if not ignored, particularly in the USA.

EGW was evidently conscious of these possibilities, for in the EGW Estate Files there is evidence of her concern. It takes the form of two documents. The first is an unpublished work entitled, "The Southern Work", and subtitled, "A Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Work of the Seventh-day Adventists in the Southern States of America." EGW evidently reviewed this material in her eighty-fourth year and made the following notation in her own handwriting on the front page: "This matter must be fully considered."¹⁸⁴ The second exhibit is another unpublished book manuscript by Spaulding, "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt".¹⁸⁵ It is an open question as to why these books were not published, since EGW was certainly concerned that there should be some such publication. Some point to her decease in 1915 as precluding production. Others, notably SDA historians, have examined the manuscripts and consider that the approach is not one that would be acceptable in the present time of historico-critical research. Perhaps it is just a further indication of the inability, or unwillingness, of the SDA denomination to follow through on their prophet's counsel at that time.

If this latter observation is true it is especially disappointing because of the intrinsic character of Seventh-day Adventism which is one of enterprise. This point is grasped by Spaulding who lived much closer to the early situation. In his unpublished manuscript he expresses it as follows:

"Among the smallest of the Christian bodies at the close of the war was the Seventh-day Adventist church. It started no work and it had no agent among the freedmen. While its individual members had a deep interest in the slave, holding, indeed, abolition sentiments and doing service on the Underground Railroad, the part they acted in behalf of the freed man was at first not great, and found play only through other organizations.

"There were reasons for this. In the first place, the denomination was young and small... Starting in New England and New York, its faith had found firmest root in the middle west, and Iowa and Minnesota were then its frontiers. Stopped by slavery, which it unalterably opposed, it had made no progress into the South.

"Another fact prevented the knowledge that inspires action. It was the soldier and army chaplain who saw the freedman in his rags and his ignorance, and either engaged himself or incited others to engage in the Negroes behalf. But Seventh-day Adventists, like the Quakers, were opposed on principle to war, and few of their members had been in the army. Of such as there were, probably none dated their connection with the body from a point before the war.

"Further than this, the sect, being new, was more concerned in presenting the truths it regarded as vital to the Christian world, than in dealing with social problems. The members were for the most part poor, and their slender resources seemed scarcely equal to the enterprises then on foot. It did not seem good policy for so small a body, precariously entrenched in recently occupied territory, to venture into the troubled field of the South.

"Nevertheless, while the above statement may present a plausible reason for the neglect by SDA's to enter upon a work for the freedman, it is rather, in view of the policy of that church, but an excuse. For it is the genius of SDA work to inspire every member with the sense of responsibility and personal initiative wherever a need is presented."¹⁸⁶

We have quoted Spaulding at length since, as we have indicated already, his material is not generally available.

Now in the light of this evaluation of EGW's material we suggest the following:

1. Since her counsel has not always been followed with discernment, and since at times it appears to have been used by some SDA's to go contrary to what EGW herself intended,¹⁸⁷ there needs to be a much more thorough examination of what she actually said on the subject of race relations, and much greater care taken both in the way the subject is introduced and in the manner particular positions are argued. This would seem to be more necessary in British Seventh-day Adventism than in the USA at the present time. In the latter country, over the last decade, decided efforts to correct past mistakes and misunderstandings have been made, as we have noted.
2. Such a study of the EGW counsels on race relations should lead to a wider recognition of the rationale behind her statements on the part of both blacks and whites. In every individual, both black and white, there is latent prejudice. This needs to be recognised within the sympathetic framework of the Christian community. For the white this means generally the need to develop Christian love,

compassion, co-operation; to avoid patronising attitudes, and to seek understanding of the difficulties blacks face when they are a minority group in society. For the black it means the overcoming of alienating suspicion and unnecessary assertiveness, together with a willingness to seek Christian solutions rather than score political victories. Within the SDA church, and possibly elsewhere, 4. such study as we are recommending should also lead to a realisation that the demand of either ethnic group, naturally more noticeable in the black minority, to make church appointments solely on the basis of a person's race, would be out of harmony with EGW's understandings.

3. Most prophets find themselves expressing an ideal and then having to live in, and give counsel to people to relate to, what is less than the ideal proposed. This was certainly true of EGW's ministry and is connected with her counsels on race relations. She was very clear on the ideal. "The test will come, not as regards the outward complexion, but as regards the condition of the heart. Both the white and the colored people have the same Redeemer, who has paid the ransom with his own life for every member of the human family."¹⁸⁹ However, in order that this ideal be placed before all, EGW recognised the pragmatic necessity that at certain times and in certain places less than the ideal might need to be practised in the hope that the ideal would be reached eventually. This led her, as one who placed great emphasis on the necessity of personal salvation, to stress the responsibility of the "believer" to act at all times in such a way, - even being willing to suffer

personally, - so that the "non-believer" might not be denied the opportunity also of grasping, what EGW referred to so often as the "truth". Much of her counsel can be interpreted adequately only in the light of this conviction, and such an evaluation needs to be understood both by SDAs and others who study her writings.

4. In all discussion of EGW's race relations' counsels, especially those that relate to temporary separateness, both the flexibility and the non-finality of these counsels must be kept in mind. This is necessary to differentiate between separateness, which may be a necessary expedient, and segregation, which EGW would condemn because it is based on a philosophy of inequality and superiority which she consistently repudiated.

12. cf. EGW, "The law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating this law." 1T, p. 202.
13. 1T, p. 254 (1862). cf. "It is so strange that Northern men can sympathise with this terrible rebellion and the institution of slavery." EGW, RH, September 16, 1862, p. 126.
14. EW, p. 275 (1858).
15. 1T, pp. 359, 360 (1863).
16. Ibid., p. 358.
17. See footnote 12 above.
18. EGW records in her diary a visit to the Hardy home: "We were heartily welcomed by the family. A good dinner was soon in readiness for us of which we thankfully partook. This is a colored family, but although the house is poor and old, everything is arranged with neatness and exact order. The children are well behaved, intelligent, and interesting. May I yet have a better acquaintance with this dear family." EGW, Diary, January 25, 1859.

The Oakwood College Library Files give the impression that Sojourner Truth (alias Isabella Van Wagener), a famous self-made black woman, was a SDA. cf. James E. Dykes, "Lifted Lamp in the Worlds Wild Storm", Message Magazine, February 1958, pp. 17-19, 27. However, the SDAE, pp. 1331, 1332, does not accept this view. cf. F.M. Wilcox, "Our Illustrious Dead", RH, December 1, 1932, p. 1133; "We stood by the grave of Sojourner Truth, a Sabbath keeper, and one deeply interested in our work, although we believe she never united formally with the church."
19. See a discussion of this in Chapter 4.
20. See SDAE, p. 35. Undoubtedly an important factor in this move was that the SDAs in U.S.A. of immigrant, European stock were sending back to their relatives in Europe SDA literature and were anxious for the interests developing from this activity, together with those from M.B. Czechowski's work, to be contacted.
21. See an account of this in SDAE, pp. 1209, 1210.
22. The details which follow are taken from an unpublished book manuscript entitled "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt." EGW Estate, DF 376. A.W. Spaulding, ("Spaulding" is his pen name), is evidently the author from the correspondence between him and W.C. White on file in the EGW Estate Office. Ron Graybill, an

Footnotes and Sources to Chapter 7

1. See Julia Neuffer, "How Activist Were Adventist Abolitionists?" RH, September 10, 1970, p.11.
2. Anson Byington, Letter to U. Smith, RH, March 10, 1859, p. 124. (See also RH, April 21, 1859, pp. 174, 175; April 28, 1859, p. 181; May 3, 1860, p. 190.)
3. RH, March 10, 1859, p. 124.
4. Idem.
5. Idem.
6. RH, August 12, 1862, p. 84.
7. RH, September 9, 1862, p. 118.
8. RH, October 21, 1862, p. 167.
It is interesting to note that although James White wrote: "We have spoken against slavery and the rebellion in the most unsparing terms. We have taught that slavery would exist till the second coming of Christ and that the prosperity of the nation was gone forever." (RH, September 9, 1862, p. 118), no one took him up in their correspondence on these latter points.
9. 1T, p. 361.
The original "Testimony for the church, No. 9" was published in 1863. The "Bro. A.R." to whom it was addressed acknowledges the veracity of the testimony in a letter to the Review. (See RH, April 21, 1863, p. 167.) This Testimony is found today in 1T, pp. 355-368.
10. See F.M. Wilcox, Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1936. (On the American Civil War see pp. 57-65.) See also "Appendix" in 1T (1948 printing), pp. 716, 717: cf. Peter Brock, "The Problem of the Civil War", Adventist Heritage, Vol. I, No. 1 (January 1974), pp. 23-27.
11. The "underground railroad" was the name given to the organisation and programme to assist fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. For some details of John Byington's involvement (he was the first president of the SDA church), see John O. Waller, "John Byington of Bucks Bridge". Adventist Heritage, Vol I, No. 2 (July 1974), pp. 5-13, 65-67. John P. Kellogg (father of J.H. and W.K. Kellogg), is said to have used his farm in Michigan to harbour fleeing slaves.

About the Black Work

1/121

EGW Estate researcher, considers that this MS is very valuable as a source book for the facts of Adventist Negro history, but "its interpretation of that history, and its coverage of Negro history generally, are often open to debate." (Interview with writer, May 1974). See also footnote 185.

- 23. Spalding, Lights and Shades, p. 137. (Emphasis supplied by writer.)
- 24. See RH, May 31, 1877, p. 172.
- 25. Spalding, loc. cit., p. 137.
- 26. Idem.
- 27. Spalding, loc. cit., p. 138.
- 28. See General Conference Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 1 (November 14, 1887), pp. 2,3.
- 29. Idem. The full text of the resolution is as follows:
 "WHEREAS, the Bible says that there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, but that all are one in Christ Jesus, therefore
 RESOLVED, That it is the decided opinion of this Conference, that when the colored people of the South accept the Third Angel's Message, they should be received into the church on an equality with the white members, no discrimination whatever being made between the two races in church relations."
- 30. Idem.
- 31. See General Conference Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 7 (November 21, 1887), pp. 2,3. The full text is as follows: "Your committee, to whom was referred the question known as 'the color line' respectfully submit the following report: - As the question pertains to the best methods to be pursued in the presentation of the truth in the South where persons of African descent are most numerous, and as no one of the committee has had any personal experience in that work, we have deemed it proper to confer with those whose fields of labour have been in that section of the country. As the result of these interviews we find those who are present who have labored in the South unanimous in the opinion that it is easy to pursue a course which will create no disturbance, and do no injustice to the colored people. This being the case your committee can see no occasion for this Conference to legislate upon the subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken and that all reference to the question be omitted from the minutes."

- 32. See General Conference Bulletin, Vol. 1, No.1 (October 19, 1888), p.2.
- 33. General Conference Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 1 (October 18, 1889), p. 25.
- 34. cf. The case of R.M. King, a Tennessee farmer who became a SDA in 1884 and who was prosecuted for ploughing on Sunday. (See SDAE, p. 661.)
- 35. These points are well illustrated by a report in the Review by R.M. Kilgore of a council held in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1889. He writes: "Many important questions were considered during the council, among which the race question was probably the most serious and perplexing. It is hard for our brethren in the North to realize that anything like the color line, or a distinction between the two races, should exist in the minds of any; but there is no question about it here in the South, and any effort made on the part of those from the North to break down the distinction between the races, thus ignoring popular prejudice, is simply fanatical and unwise. Those who have not labored in the South cannot possibly appreciate the situation. It is not only a difficult problem to solve among our white brethren, but the perplexity and embarrassment of the situation are realized as fully by the colored people... We are glad however, to note this fact: That with those who have received the truth in the love of it, and know the power of the truth in their own hearts as it is in Christ Jesus, the prejudices that once existed are gone; and were it not for the feeling on the part of those from without, there would be no trouble on this question, even in the Southern States.

"The advisability of our white brethren from the North laboring indiscriminately among the whites and colored, was considered quite fully, and declared by all to be wholly impracticable and out of the question, for he who does it can have no influence whatever among the whites in any part of the South. And unless the white laborer should come with an understanding that his labor was to be exclusively among the blacks, and make no effort whatever to labor for the whites, it will be useless for him to try to labor at all."
RH, October 29, 1889, p. 683.

Kilgore continues in this report to speak of the decision by consensus that "canvassing", i.e. the selling of Christian literature from home to home, was probably the best way to conduct the SDA programme in the South if it was to reach all people. "While the canvassing work is considered merely a business transaction, those who engage in it are not considered as having any great public influence, and are, therefore, in many localities, permitted to canvass all classes indiscriminately, though in some places this

is not to be tolerated, especially if the individual is from the North." *Idem.* He also refers to the problems the SDAs were facing due to the "stringent Sunday laws."

36. See SDAE, p. 1062.

37. Charles M. (Kinny) Kinney, (1855-1951), See SDAE, p. 665, and RH, October 29, 1889, p. 683.

Ronald Graybill has styled him "the founder of Black Adventism" (in an interview with the writer in May 1974). In Kinney's obituary it states that when he joined the SDA church in 1878 "he was the only Negro member of the Reno Seventh-day Adventist church and the church welcomed him warmly." (See RH, September 27, 1951, p. 20). Cf. C.M. Kinney's reminiscences in RH, February 6, 1930, p. 23. It was through the preaching of J.N. Loughborough and EGW that Kinney became a SDA. (cf. Signs of the Times, August 8, 1878, p. 240.) He appeared to work primarily for his "own people", i.e. the blacks, cf. RH, January 29th, 1889, p. 77, and the following poignant report: "Unfortunately for my people, three great obstacles stand in the way between them and the truth; namely, ignorance, superstition, and poverty, and besides they have drunk (sic) deep of the wine of Babylon. In view of these difficulties, large accessions of this people cannot be expected, at least not at the present time; but should there be, it would not add to the financial strength of the cause. But these considerations should not deter me or any one else from doing all possible for them. Therefore I earnestly ask the prayers of all who wish to see the truth 'brought before many peoples, and nations, and tongues,' that I may have strength, physical, mental, and spiritual to do what I can for the colored people." RH, October 27, 1885, p. 668. (Emphasis in the original.)

38. See EGW, Letter 37, 1887, in MS. Release No. 125.

39. The figure of membership varies in the different reports available. The most pessimistic say "20" the more optimistic say "50". Cf. RH, March 24, 1966, p. 4, and SDAE, p. 1062.

40. cf. EGW, The Southern Work (herein after abbreviated as SW). p.9 and RH, March 24, 1966, p. 4.

41. SW, p. 10. These and the following quotations are taken from the 1966 reprint of SW. The original was printed by J. Edson White in his little print shop on his boat the Morning Star in the summer of 1898. He had gathered together the articles of his mother with reference to work in the South which he considered pertinent to the task there.

42. Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

43. Ibid., p. 13.

44. Ibid., p. 15.

45. Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

46. Ibid., pp. 9, 15.

47. Ibid., p. 16.

48. Ibid., p. 15.

49. Ibid., pp. 17, 18.

50. James Edson White (1849-1928). He was the second son of James and Ellen White. For a brief biography see SDAE, pp. 1418, 1419. He was somewhat of an enigma and problem because of his inability to handle finances adequately. His ideas outstripped his financial acumen.

51. See Graybill, Mission to Black America, pp. 16, 17.

52. They appeared in the RH, April 2, 1895, November 26 to December 24, 1895 and January 14 to February 4, 1896. Today they are found in SW, pp. 19-65.

53. See above. Some of the issues were discussed by A.L. White in a series of articles in the RH, March 24 - April 21, 1966, under the general title "Race Relationships". These articles were reprinted in a 12 page pamphlet, undated, under the title "Guiding Principles in Race Relations".

54. SW, pp. 19, 20.

55. Ibid., p. 21.

56. Ibid., p. 22.

57. Idem.

58. SW, p. 24.

59. See SW, pp. 25-65. N.B. pp. 27, 33, 43, 53, 63-65.

60. The churches at: Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, organised in 1886; Louisville, Kentucky, 1890; Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1891; New Orleans, 1892; Nashville, Tennessee, 1894. (See SDAE, p. 1062.)

61. For a background to the period under discussion see especially Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, and Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow. In the Oakwood College Library (an SDA

institution) are seven scrapbooks entitled "The Negro Problem". These are newspaper clippings preserved by a Clarence Crisler, one of EGW's secretaries, during the period 1903-1912. The majority of the cuttings are taken from the New York Age newspaper which styled itself "An Afro-American Journal of News and Opinion". The present writer read through these scrapbooks during a visit to Oakwood in 1974 and found they gave a useful background also to the conditions of the period being discussed.

- 62. Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, pp. 69-70.
- 63. EGW, Letter 5, 1895 (July 24). "To Brethren in Responsible Positions in America".
- 64. EGW, Letter 37½, 1900 (February 26) "To Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office".
- 65. 9T, p. 205.
- 66. See Ronald D. Graybill, "Historical Contexts of Ellen G. White's Statements Concerning Race Relations", Unpublished B.D. Thesis, Andrews University, SDA Theological Seminary, Berrien Springs, Michigan, August 1968. (Out of his work on this thesis came two books authored by him - E.G. White and Church Race Relations, and Mission to Black America.)
- 67. Graybill, Thesis, op.cit., p. 26.
- 68. See General Conference Bulletin 1891, pp. 21, 71; and 1893, pp. 269, 311-313.
- 69. GCB, 1893, p. 313.
- 70. GCB, 1895, p. 150.
- 71. For the details of the story see Graybill, Mission to Black America, and SDAE, pp. 825, 826.
- 72. See SDAE, pp. 1238-1240.
- 73. Ibid., p. 1238.
- 74. Two of Edson White's books were especially popular. The first was a Gospel Primer, consisting largely of Bible Stories. This was a joint production by Edson and W.O. Palmer. The second was The Coming King. In addition Edson authored Best Stories from the Best Book, and The Story of Joseph. (See SDAE, p. 1239.)
- 75. See SDAE, p. 472.

- 76. Gospel Herald, December 1899, p. 105. (Also quoted in SDAE, p. 1239.)
- 77. See Graybill, Mission to Black America, especially pp. 96, 101, and 114.
- 78. For details see SDAE, p. 1237. cf. GCB, 1893, pp. 279, 354.
- 79. See Anna Knight, Mississippi Girl. (This is an autobiography of one of the first black SDA teachers. She went as a missionary to India in 1901.) She speaks of enrolling as a student at Graysville, and attending classes on that first day. However "in the afternoon a group of first day citizens of the village came to the principal of the academy and told him they heard from their children who attended the school that a 'nigger' had been admitted to the School. They would not stand for that in Graysville." p. 31. Anna Knight stayed at Graysville, rooming with the matron and receiving private tuition. She reports the result as follows: "I had learned so much in those ten weeks that no one at home dreamed that I had not been to school. I never told any of my people of my disappointment although it was deep and bitter. I knew it was not the fault of the management of the school or of any of the faculty. The members of the church were all very kind to me and made me welcome at the church on Sabbath." p. 32.
- 80. See 7T, pp. 231, 232. EGW Letter 87, 1902 (Ms Release no. 106), and footnote 84 following.
- 81. SDAE, p. 905. cf. GCB, 1897, pp. 230-232. The original Oakwood Industrial School became in turn Huntsville Training School, and Oakwood Manual Training School. In 1917 it became Oakwood Junior College, and in 1943 Oakwood College, a liberal arts degree-granting institution. Its original acreage was extended to about 1000 acres. When the present writer visited in the 1973/74 academic year 1000 students were enrolled all of whom were black except 3.
- 82. See a variety of materials in the Oakwood College Archives.
- 83. GCB, 1899, p. 6. (See also p. 16.)
- 84. Thus when Smith Sharp, a former secretary-treasurer of the Southern Conference Association, reminisces in a letter to W. C. White (May 2, 1916) he refers to these problems and to an interview in which EGW expressed her concern at the building up of Graysville at the expense of the work at Huntsville. (See also EGW MS. 100, 1904, and MS. 12, 1905.)
- 85. EGW Letter 165, 1899 (October 22), Ms. Release no. 125.

About the Black Work

1/123

86. Ms. in Oakwood College Archives, "Oakwood Manual Training School". This Ms. is undated. It was written by Clarence J. Boyd who was Principal 1911-1917.

87. Ibid., p. 4.

88. cf. "God's means are not to be abundantly bestowed on a few privileged ones, so that they shall become exalted in pride, spreading themselves like a green bay tree, while the most needy, suffering ones are left without succor. Let not those who are in positions of responsibility rest satisfied saying, Be ye warmed and clothed and fed, and do nothing to relieve the temporal and spiritual necessities of the suffering ones." EGW Letter 5, 1895 (July 25). "To My Brethren in Responsible Positions in America."

"If the managers of the Review and Herald Office had been walking in the fear of the Lord, they would have esteemed it a privilege to make personal sacrifices, and would have seen ways to use the facilities of the great publishing house under their control for the advancement of the Southern work. If they had felt the responsibilities of faithful stewards, they would have seen the needs of the colored people, and would have given sympathy to those working for them. Instead of laboring to take all they could get from the workers to add to the profits of the publishing house, they would have freely given the profits of the publishing house to help the poverty stricken mission." EGW Letter 37½, 1900 (February 6). "To the Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office." (Both these Mss. are previously unpublished and released by the EGW Trustees for this thesis, Ms. Release no. 375.)

89. cf. "In this field (the Southern States) there are thousands and thousands of negroes many of whom are ignorant and in need of the gospel. Upon the white people (sic) of the United States the Lord has laid the burden of uplifting this race. But, as yet, Seventh-day Adventists have done comparatively little to help them." Ms. "Oakwood Manual Training School", p.4.

"But the means that ought to have gone to Huntsville did not go, and we see the result in the present showing." Ibid., p. 7.

"This work has been greatly retarded by neglect and because means sufficient to supply its needs have not been provided." Ibid., p. 12.

"Do not lose interest in the work for the colored people... In the past much labor has been given to this people under the most trying circumstances; and you should not overlook what has been done by the hardest kind of labor. Do not ignore what has been done but unite your sympathies with the sympathies and labors of those who have gone before you and prepared the way." EGW Letter 154, 1907 (April 17), Ms. Release no. 106.

90. EGW was especially anxious that sanitarium work should be started in Huntsville. "A small building should be put up, in which the students can be taught how to care for one another in times of sickness." EGW Letter 215, 1904. Ms. Release no. 106. Three years later she wrote again "Let the erection of the buildings for the school and the sanitarium be an education to the students." EGW Letter 289, 1907 (September 10). Ms. Release no. 106.

By 1912 a sanitarium building was listed as part of Oakwood campus and a sanitarium was also operated at Graysville. It was at Nashville, Tennessee, however, that after two short-lived efforts Riverside Sanitarium was established in 1927. It was listed in 1966 as an 84-bed general hospital and is still functioning today. (See SDAE, pp. 1088, 1089.)

91. cf. From Australia she wrote: "I sent a letter to go to you in the last American mail... At that time I sent an order to have one hundred dollars paid to you at Battle Creek, to be used in such cases as you may meet who, if they embrace the truth, must have some help in the lines of food and clothing." EGW Letter 80a, 1895. "Edson and Emma, win all you can, and when you need one hundred dollars more to invest in the work you have been doing, you may draw on my account at the Review and Herald Office." EGW Letter 119, 1896.

"I was glad to receive your letters. They were encouraging. And if you shall get into a strait place for money to help the poor to help themselves you may draw upon me for one hundred more from the Review and Herald." EGW Letter 121, 1896. (These are taken from Ms. Release no. 229.)

92. J. E. White, letter to O. A. Olsen, July 14, 1895.

93. See Graybill, Thesis, pp. 47, 48.

94. J. E. White, letter to "Friend and Fellow-Worker", December 18, 1898. (Also quoted in Graybill, Thesis, p. 48.) Emphasis in the original.

95. See J. E. White, Letter to EGW, May 25, 1899. (For details in story form, based on the original documents, see Graybill, Mission to Black America, pp. 128-132.)

96. cf. EGW, Letter 90, June 5, 1899. (Quoted in SW, pp. 83-87.) "It is from the whites that the greatest opposition may be expected... The white people will stir up the blacks telling them all kinds of stories;...and the whites who want an occasion will seize upon any pretext for taking revenge even upon those of their own color who are presenting the truth. This is the danger. As far as possible, everything that will stir up the race prejudice

- of the white people should be avoided. There is danger of closing the door so that our white laborers will not be able to work in some places in the South." SW, p. 84.
97. J. E. White, Letter to M. A. Cornwell, October 10, 1899. (Also quoted in Graybill, Thesis, p. 56.)
98. Graybill, Thesis, p. 57.
99. Yazoo City Herald, June 1, 1900, quoted in Gospel Herald October 1900, pp. 88, 89; Yazoo City Sentinel, June 7, 1900. Quoted in Ibid., p. 86.
100. Yazoo City Herald, June 1, 1900.
101. cf. EGW Letter, December 4, 1901, in which she refers to "large institutions of learning for colored people there." See also J. E. White Letter to EGW, January 6, 1900, and EGW Letter 228, 1907. (See also Graybill, Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations, pp. 95-107.)
102. See SOAE, p. 1419.
103. See Graybill, Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations with its foreword by a prominent black SDA leader, E. E. Cleveland.
104. 9T, p. 206.
105. Ibid., p. 214.
106. Ibid., p. 206.
107. Ibid., pp. 206, 207.
108. Ibid., pp. 204, 205.
109. Ibid., p. 209.
110. See her basic appeals SW, pp. 9-24. N.B. "When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host... Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family... The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ." SW, p. 12.
111. See SW, pp. 15, 17, 26, 27.
112. See Introduction to SW, p. 7.

113. cf. "It will always be a difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the white people in the South and do missionary work for the colored race." SW, p. 15 (1891). See also SW, p. 22.
114. cf. "Means are required. Let farmers, financiers, and builders come in and use their art and craft to improve the lands to build humble cottages, for this field can be made a fruitful field." EGW Letter 20a, 1895 (August 16). Ms. Release no. 375.
- "Without delay workers must be prepared for this field. Our people should now be raising a fund for the education of men and women in the Southern States, without regard to color, who, being accustomed to the climate, can work there without endangering the life. Promising young men and young women should be educated to become teachers. They should have the very best advantages. School houses and meeting houses should be built and teachers employed." EGW Letter 37½, 1900 (February 26). Ms. Release no. 375.
- Some have misunderstood this stress on education considering that greater emphasis should have been placed on the proclamation of the Gospel, - "the calling of sinners to repentance". EGW did not neglect this aspect, as we have noted. It would appear, however, that she showed a good grasp of black psychology in the thrust of her counsel. What she advocated is similar to the approach of Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. (See George, Segregated Sabbaths, especially pp. 4-6.) "...in the first instance, he recognized the distinctive religious and theological needs of black people; and in the second, he applied his theological views to the practical solution of immediate physical and social problems." Ibid., p. 5. EGW's concern was to restore the dignity and selfhood of the blacks. Thus the kind of education was important. She called for teaching that would assist them to develop this self-awareness. They were to be taught how to achieve self-reliance within their existing environment. This coupled with the Gospel proclamation, she believed, would result in a genuine change of character both personally and as a group, and would provide the incentive for continuing change and development in other spheres of life.
115. cf. "Those white people who appreciate the ministry of Christ in their behalf, cannot cherish prejudice against their colored brethren." EGW Ms. 107, 1908.
- "Those who are converted among the white people will experience a change in their sentiments. The prejudice which they have inherited and cultivated toward the colored race will die away. They will realize that there is no respect of persons with God." SW, p. 22.

116. 9T, p. 207.
117. Idem.
118. cf. "We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future regarding the relation to be maintained between white and colored people." 9T, p. 209.
- "We are to avoid entering into contention over the problem of the color-line. If this question is much agitated, difficulties will arise that will consume much precious time to adjust. We can not lay down a definite line to be followed in dealing with this subject." 9T, p. 213.
119. The need for this historical perspective was recognised by the EGW Trustees. See their Introduction to the 1966 re-publication of SW, pp. 5-7. See also a letter from Arthur L. White to Elder N. G. Simons, Secretary of the South Atlantic Conference, June 10, 1958. (Filed as Q 7 A File 43 C 40 EGW Estate.)
120. This is said on the basis of interviews with both black and white SDA leaders and laity. It is confirmed by the change in attitude by those who have studied the issues and the documents available for research, cf. unpublished papers in AU Document File 43e by Jerome L. Davis, Dave Friesen, Franklin S. Hill III, and Allen Sovory.
121. See Otis B. Edwards, "Origin and Development of the SDA Work among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference", unpublished MA Thesis, Andrews University, August 1942, p. 21.
- This is an example of a number of individual research papers which have been produced on the topic of SDA work and approaches to the blacks in USA. The present writer is not aware of a carefully documented, comprehensive presentation of this subject. The basic materials are available and it is hoped that the initial outline given in this thesis and the sources indicated may provide a basis for such a work.
122. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 445.
123. Ibid., p. 447.
124. Details of the organisation and development of this Department are given in SDAE, pp. 1058-1064.
125. See L. C. Sheafe's statement as follows:
 "The colored people, not simply because they are colored but because they are ostracised, need help and aid, that this truth

- may be brought to them. The great inquiry everywhere as I meet my people in different parts of the country, is, as to what body I am connected with, and whether it is a mixed body. I tell them there are all kinds of nationalities together. They then ask what treatment and representation we are accorded. These questions, come, and it seems to me if an effort could be made along this line, so our people would see some of their own men who accepted the truth being put into, and encouraged in the work; and if lines were marked out where they could work with freedom, that they might do the work, I believe the work would wonderfully advance, and more would be coming into the truth." GCB, Vol. IV, p. 389.
126. See minutes of the meeting of the North American Negro Department of the General Conference held on September 29, 1909. (In EGW Estate DF 42.)
127. SDAE, p. 1063.
128. Many black and white SDAs would prefer the ideal of integration. cf. Calvin B. Rock, "A Better Way", Spectrum, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring 1970, pp. 21, 22. For arguments supporting the regional (ethnic) conferences see Frank W. Hale, Jr., "Commitment vs. Capitulation", Ibid., pp. 31-40; and E. Earl Cleveland, "Regional Union Conferences", Ibid., pp. 41-46. However the majority of the black leaders recognise the benefits of the regional conferences for the development of black potential in the SDA church, at least in the USA.
- As far back as 1922, when there was some discussion about disbanding the Negro Department the following resolution was submitted to the SDA General Conference Executive Committee:
 "Greetings: This is to inform you that the Negro delegation in session, 5.15 p.m., May 24, 1922, met to consider the present situation of the Negro department, and respectfully submit the following:
 (1) That we request the continuance of the Negro Department for the good and prosperity of our work.
 (2) That the present incumbent, W. H. Green, who is secretary is our first and unanimous choice...
 (3) That if it is impossible for him to be retained as such, we have all unanimously united in requesting that Elder J. K. Humphrey be, and is our next choice.
- In good faith hereof, we the colored delegates, ministers and workers, with one or two exceptions have solemnly directed the following named persons - Elders P. G. Rodgers, U. S. Willis, and G. E. Peterson, J. G. Dasent, to present to you the foregoing statement, with such remarks and explanations as may be necessary to make the same plain to you. Randall Johnson, Acting Chairman, H. D. Greene, Secretary." (Memorandum in Oakwood College Library Archives)

- 129. For brief account of Sutherland's work in the South see SDAE, pp. 733-735.
- 130. Edson White recognised his weaknesses in a letter to his mother, October 27, 1896 (EGW Estate DF 771-A). "I have felt that my duty was to clear up my affairs, and get my business matters where the worry and care and reproach would not attend them. I have felt that there are dark times ahead and that for me the only safety was in getting free from debt, where any financial stringency would not pinch me." EGW was also well aware of her son's problems. In 1895 she wrote to him: "Make no unwise investments. Dwe no man anything. Do not bind up borrowed money, making future calculations too abundantly to repay, for this has ever been your weakness." EGW letter 85, 1895 in Ms. Release no. 229, p. 4.
cf. "You said that you had decided to heed the instruction given you by the Lord not to mingle temporal financial enterprises with your work. This, I know, has ever been your danger." EGW Letter 149, 1897, in Ibid., p. 5.
- 131. The points which follow have been taken from several interviews, especially one with H. D. Singleton, June 14, 1974. He was then secretary of the Regional Department, the present name for the original Negro Department.
- 132. L. C. Sheafe had been a Baptist minister before joining the SDA church. He appears to have been an outstanding personality but could not agree with SDA racial policies and from 1910-1915 he was in and out of church fellowship, finally staying out. EGW wrote a personal testimony to him on February 10, 1907. (Ms. S-44-07).
- 133. There is little available evidence on John Mann. He sought to establish a "free" SDA organisation in Savannah in the period 1913-1914. He apparently used the 1909 EGW testimony as his evidence that the SDA church was racially prejudiced. (This information supplied by H. D. Singleton in an interview, June 14, 1974.)
- 134. James K. Humphrey was a native of Jamaica and an ordained Baptist minister before he became a SDA. He was the founder of the First Harlem SDA church and by 1920 its membership was about 600. In addition he had started three other congregations in New York. He was a member of the 1929 commission (q.v.) to investigate the future of the SDA Negro work. When the proposed Negro conference idea was dropped, Humphrey proceeded to lead a large number of his congregation into a separate organisation which became known as the United Sabbath Day Adventists. (This group publishes (1974) a monthly magazine Unification Leader. It is distributed from West 110th Street, New York 26.) In addition

- to his secession from the SDA church, Humphrey also endeavoured to establish a "Utopia Park", - a colonisation project, - on the Eastern seaboard of the USA, which was to be a development exclusively for blacks. In this movement there are considerable similarities to the work of Marcus Garvey, also from Jamaica, and his Universal Negro Improvement Association, which had a chapter in New York from 1916. (See Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 489-492.) Two SDA writers have suggested that attempts to reunite Humphrey's followers with the SDA church have foundered because of his group's rejection of EGW as a "divinely inspired messenger." Mrs. Clara P. Rock (nee Peterson), of the Oakwood College Library Archives, queried this, however, in an interview with the present writer, May 1974. (For details of J. K. Humphrey's activities see Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," Adventist Heritage, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 1974), pp. 34-41, 53, 54. See also two pamphlets in the present writer's possession. An untitled, undated 24 page pamphlet printed by The Russwurm Pub. Co.Inc., obviously published by supporters of J. K. Humphrey but no author is indicated; and an undated 30 page pamphlet published by the General Conference of SDAs, "Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey." This is also unauthored, although at its conclusion J. L. McElhany, Vice-president of the General Conference for North America, accepts responsibility for its publication.)
- 135. See letter of J. E. White to EGW, June 28, 1900.
- 136. General Conference Executive Committee Minutes, April 29, 1929, pp. 838, 839.
- 137. Ibid., May 2, 1929, p. 860.
- 138. Ibid., September 26, 1929, p. 947.
- 139. It was during this time, however, that the Message Magazine, primarily designed for blacks, was commenced in 1935 (See SDAE, pp. 769, 770), and in 1936 a sanitarium, primarily for blacks, was opened near Nashville, Tennessee. (See SDAE, pp. 1088, 1089.)
- 140. General Conference Executive Committee Minutes, November 3, 1943, p. 1132.
- 141. See Ibid., January 13, 1944, p. 1219. The Negro Department became the Colored Department in 1942 and the Regional Department in 1954. (See SDAE, p. 1063.)
- 142. See Ibid., April 10, 1944, pp. 1314-1315, and RH, June 1, 1944, p. 17.

143. See Frank L. Jones, "The Black Man and the Seventh-day Adventist Church", p. 15. Unpublished paper (March 8, 1973) filed in DF 42 at Andrews University EGW Vault.
144. The facts which follow are a summary of the details set out in Frank L. Jones' paper cited above, pp. 24-30. More details on each point are found in individual references in the SDAE.
145. Although this was a General Conference Committee action there is evidence that certain black groups considered that there was some "dragging of feet" on the issue. This is particularly highlighted by the development of the Layman's Leadership Conference chaired by F. W. Hale, Jr., and Mylas Martin IV, in 1961. (The former was to be elected President of Oakwood College in 1966.) They were especially concerned that there be a "follow through on the writings of Mrs. E. G. White (specifically The Southern Work) in the area of race-relations." (Full details are in a pamphlet in the Oakwood College Library Archives and in material given to the present writer.) In bold type they proclaimed: "Anger, resentment, and bitterness over past injustices have no part in the LLC Movement. We seek progress."
146. That some progress had been made earlier is seen in some non-SDA observations, e.g. Malcolm X, in his autobiography, speaks of attending SDA meetings at one stage and describes the people as "the friendliest white people I had ever seen." Malcolm X, with Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press Incorporated, 1964), p. 17. By 1966 of the 385,000 SDAs in North America, 57,000 were black. cf. Hiley H. Ward; religious editor of the Detroit Free Press, commenting on the 1966 World General Conference held in his city: "It is evident that the Seventh-day Adventists are one of the most integrated denominations in the United States." (Quoted by Louis B. Reynolds, "Detroit in Retrospect", North American Informant, Vol. XX, no. 107, p. 3.
147. Two main meetings were held January 13, 1970, and April 16, 1970. The motion to establish black unions was defeated by 41 votes against and 28 for. (See Letter April 19, 1970 written by C. E. Bradford in Andrews University EGW Vault DF 43e.) See also undated open letter by C. E. Bradford in same file: "An Appeal to the Leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church to give special study to the position of the Negro Seventh-day Adventist in American Society and in the Church." cf. E. E. Cleveland, "Brief on Regional Conferences", April 11, 1968, and David Yates, "Is there a Trend in the Concept and Mission of the Church toward Black Unions", February 21, 1972, both papers in Andrews University EGW Vault DF 42. See also RH, June 4, 1970, pp. 9, 10, 15.
148. cf. "Thus our white church leaders are ignorant on the residual effects on the black man both of slavery and of the nitty-gritty problems of survival in the black community. Many white leaders believe it is a waste of time to study these issues, much less to provide the massive reparations due the black man for past indignities suffered at the hands of the slave owner and the generations that succeeded him." And, "...many a black young person has left the church because both black leaders and white leaders were more concerned about foreign missions by proxy than they were about the poor at hand." Calvin B. Rock, "A Better Way," Spectrum, Vol. 2, no. 2, Spring 1970, pp. 23, 27.
149. See footnote 53 above. A sample of the SDA declaration on Human and Race Relations are reproduced in A. L. White's pamphlet "Guiding Principles in Race Relations". For more recent statements see RH, June 17, 1970, p. 19; July 31, 1975, p. 13, "Goodwill and Understanding Between All Men". cf. "A Christian Declaration on Race Relations", Spectrum, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring 1970), pp. 53-55.
150. cf. President Richard Hammill's letter in The Student Movement, May 27, 1971, p. 3. This was in response to an editorial suggestion the previous week in the student paper that a black church be started at Andrews University. We quote two sentences. "The editors of the SM have taken such a provincial and insular view of this matter. They did not consider that AU represents Adventist people from all over the world, and that we cannot cater to any form of separation... At AU we need to learn to live together and to worship together. Those who advocate separation of any kind are not helping but hindering the development of the tolerance, mutual love and forbearance that are the marks of genuine christians."
151. A leading figure in these Human-Relations Workshops has been C. C. Crider, Professor of Sociology at Andrews University. (Full reports of these workshops are on file in the Andrews University EGW vault DF 43-q, and have been studied by the present writer.) An account of one workshop (HRW 20) is given in RH, January 25, 1973, pp. 21, 22. It may also be noted here that in an effort to disseminate the concepts of human brotherhood as widely as possible the Sabbath School Lesson (Weekly Bible lessons studied on a world wide basis in every SDA church where such adult and youth education is possible), for the First Quarter of 1971 took as its overall theme "Christian Social Behaviour". It included in its 13 lessons topics such as "Equality of Believers", and "The Christian's Relationship to His Neighbours of Other Races."
152. This has been recognised by the EGW Estate as is illustrated by the publication of Selected Messages, Book 2. In the first two

Roswith Gerloff is to be commended for her considerable research, and sensitivity to, the issue of race relations. She has also had the advantage in connection with Seventh-day Adventism of visiting their churches both in the West Indies and Britain. Her analysis in terms of both socio-religious and missiological concepts will serve undoubtedly as a base for further study, which is certainly necessary. It may be questioned as to whether the pastor is really au fait with the structure and procedures of SDA church government and, further, whether she has taken adequate account of the background and development prior to the 1973-1976 period of controversy on which apparently she concentrates. It is to be regretted that, up to the present time, she has limited her approach to black SDAs in Britain to three or four articulate individuals who have aired their grievances in published form. The present writer suggests that Roswith Gerloff's study would have been strengthened, and her conclusions modified possibly, had she made contact with a wider, and consequently more representative, group of black SDA laymen in Britain. These men and women, though possibly less articulate, certainly would have provided a valuable input to this important study. The limitations of her thesis to "Black Churches" is the reason, presumably, that little consideration is given to other groups, such as Asians and Mauritians, who are represented in British Seventh-day Adventism.

- 161. This statement and much of what follows, except where otherwise indicated, is made on the basis of personal experience and contact through the period under review. The present writer served as a SDA pastor in London in 1952-54, and was a member of their South England Conference Executive Committee 1957-58, of the North England Conference Executive Committee 1959-61, and of the British Union Conference Executive Committee 1967-1976. It is from the many personal papers, interviews and memoranda, together with official documents, that the picture as presented is drawn.
- 162. The membership of the individual SDA church member resides in his local church fellowship. If he is to be absent from this for a period of more than six months he is encouraged to transfer his membership to the church in his new location. (This cannot be demanded by the church, it is the individual's choice.) He is recommended by vote of his original church as a "member in good and regular standing." The new church receives him into fellowship on the basis of the vote of the church. He is then a full member of the church into which he has been thus received and is eligible for election to office. (See SDA Church Manual, pp. 64-69.)
- 163. SDA membership in Britain as at the end of 1961 was reported as 9,561. (See British Advent Messenger Union Conference Special, 1962, p. 1.)

editions there were two brief statements from EGW on the subject of inter-racial marriage without any reference to the historical position (pp. 343, 344). In the 3rd edition, and subsequent printings there are an additional 8 pages (2SM, pp. 481-488) of EGW material on the subject together with some historical comment. This is discussed in a letter of November 26, 1958, by Arthur L. White. (See EGW Estate Question and Answer File no. 37-B-2.)

- 153. EGW Letter R4, 1901, from which the quotations following are taken.
 - 154. See footnote 152 above.
 - 155. A succinct statement on the issue of inter-racial marriage is made by a SDA Professor of Pastoral Care. See Charles E. Wittschiebe, God Invented Sex (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1974), pp. 241-243. We quote two sentences: "Neither anthropology nor theology supports a bias against any race in marriage." p. 241. "If two persons of different racial background can find a milieu in which they can function as totally accepted individuals, then we can have no other question as to the propriety or wisdom of their marriage." p. 243.
 - 156. EGW, Ms. 118, 1899 (August 21, 1899). Available in Ms. Release no. 210, pp. 11, 12.
 - 157. EGW, Letter 26, 1900 (February 15, 1900). Available in Ms. Release no. 210, pp. 14, 15.
 - 158. The present writer knows personally of this happening in Liverpool, Cardiff, and Glasgow.
 - 159. This incident was related to the present writer by Mrs. Vera Cooper (nee Howard) now in Collegedale, Tennessee, but who lived and worshipped in Southampton during World War II (Interview May 1974).
 - 160. A preliminary SDA study by D. S. Porter was included in "A Century of Adventism in the British Isles", the 1974 Centennial Historical Special of their British Church magazine, Messenger, (See chapter 13, "The West Indies", pp. 40-44.)
- Roswith Gerloff, Lutheran pastor of the German congregation in Oxford, has written an important chapter on certain aspects of the topic in a forthcoming thesis on Black Churches in Britain, to be submitted at the University of Birmingham. Although up to the present time she has not permitted this writer to read her chapter, there have been a number of discussions between us on an informal basis. In the light of these conversations the following observations are made:

- 164. See Hiro, Black British, White British, pp. 31, 32; Patterson, Dark Strangers, p. 232; and an unpublished paper: Cynthia D. Handysides, "West Indian Integration in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Britain", written in connection with B.Ed. studies at the University of Reading, England, 1969. (Copy in possession of present writer.)
- 165. At the 1962 Quadrennial British Union Session of SDAs the then President of the South England Conference, speaking in his official report of membership growth in his conference, said: "While a large proportion of our membership net increase has resulted from public and sundry other forms of evangelism, we cannot overlook the fact of immigrants from parts of the Commonwealth, particularly the West Indies accounting for a fair section of the balance." British Advent Messenger Union Conference Special, 1962, p. 10.
- 166. See News Note in British Advent Messenger, Vol. 80, No. 2, January 24, 1975, p. 8.
- 167. This point of view was expressed by a black, SDA layman N. Kennedy at Newbold College, Bracknell on February 23rd, 1973. In his lecture under the title, "The Role of the SDA West Indian in Britain", he said "We must go out of our way to help the British membership recognise that we are here to assist general growth, not specifically West Indian growth." He further added that "we must organise in such a way that people on the outside see that we are not just a West Indian community." Mr. Kennedy has since become a prominent leader in the Loncon Laymen's Forum (q.v.).
- 168. The only cases known to the present writer where this happened were in Nottingham and in Lewisham, London.
- 169. A further problem was that the Central London SDA church, which had met in the New Gallery, Regent Street, was asked by the South England Conference administration, to withdraw to a new location in Chalk Farm, London. The President claimed that in this way, - by the cessation of distinctly SDA church activities at the New Gallery, - its original purpose as an evangelistic centre for the whole population of London could be better realised. This church, although multi-racial, was predominantly black. The undouted well-intentioned request was interpreted as racial prejudice. No solely black group was ever asked to form a separate church however.
- 170. See lists of elected committee members in the British Advent Messenger, Vol. 72, No. 13, June 23, 1967, and Vol. 72, No. 14, July 7, 1976.

- 171. Taken from the Sub-Committee report in possession of the present writer.
- 172. See Comment (The Paper of the London Laymen's Forum), Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1974, pp. 2, 3.
- 173. Comment, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1974, p. 3.
- 174. In its inception and ideals the London Laymen's Forum was very similar to the 1961 Laymen's Leadership Conference, - an SDA black group in the USA referred to earlier in footnote 145. They also stressed the need for integration but then moved later to support for greater regional development.
- 175. See British Advent Messenger, Vol. 81, No. 21, October 15, 1976, pp. 1, 2.
- 176. The public were made aware of some of the issues in British Adventism in a newspaper article by Colin Cross in the Observer, Sunday, June 27, 1976. The present writer received two duplicated papers, "One Faith, One Church," by Rudi Bailey arguing the black case for separate conferences, and "Why We are against a Referendum," by Ambrose Nicholson and Orville Baxter, claiming that the Referendum, or postal ballot, was simply a "ploy" on the part of the administration "to secure the rejection of a regional conference", p. 2. [It is interesting to note that the black members' material is not based generally on EGW statements or Biblical principles, but is couched more in sociological and political type terms and analogies.
- 177. See British Advent Messenger, Vol. 81, No. 25, December 10, 1976, p. 8.
- 178. It has been reported to the writer that in some London Churches with majority black membership certain Forum leaders were not returned to local church offices in the annual church elections for 1976.
- 179. GCB, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 70.
- 180. GCB, 1903, pp. 203, 204. cf. SW, pp. 14, 15.
- 181. Ellen G. White, The Huntsville School (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1909), p. 4.
- 182. cf. A comment by S. G. Maxwell, an SDA missionary in Africa for 42 years (1920-1962) in a privately published book produced in 1975 in offset. (A copy in the Newbold College, Bracknell, Berks., archives.)

"The circulation of the Word, either by the preacher or the printed page has always involved sacrifice and danger. Too much prominence is given to the names of white missionaries in comparison with those of black Africans. There are far more black missionaries than white in Africa. Hundreds have been willing to leave their own tribes to go to other parts with the Gospel message. Tribal jealousies still exist, and often their lives have been in danger among strange people. They have been willing to meet new customs, eat unfamiliar foods, and learn another tongue.

"No white missionary can succeed without the help of his black brother. Most white missionaries in their travels need a dark-skinned companion as guide and interpreter. Very few white workers really get to understand their people. They may be very efficient in "directing" the work. But the basic needs of the people are met through their own pastors. Too often reports in home papers refer to the white missionaries by name and discuss the others as 'nationals'. The white worker is always in the centre of the photograph, as though everything depended on him. The true story of our African missionaries remains to be written." I Loved Africa, pp. 143, 144.

While some changes are noticeable in recent years, Maxwell's comments are very germane to the topic under discussion.

183. GCB, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 86.

184. See EGW Estate File DF.78 (p. 7 of this document).

185. See footnote 22 above.
 In the Preface, Spaulding noted: "The credit for the initiation and successful prosecution of the work of this book is due to that lifelong friend of the colored people, Mrs. E.G. White, and to her son, William C. White. Their deep interest in the welfare of the race led them to propose such a work, and to provide for the research and effort necessary to produce it." Preface, p. 2.
 There is a reference in the EGW Estate DF.96 to a Ms. being prepared jointly by C. C. Crisler and Professor A. W. Spaulding. (See W. C. White Letter to M. A. Creeper February 13, 1913.) This may be "The Southern Work" Ms. referred to in Df.78 or "Lights and Shades". See also a report of an interview between EGW, W. C. White, P. T. Magan, and D. E. Robinson, dated April 29, 1907. (Photostat copy in present writer's collection.)

186. Spaulding, Lights and Shades, pp. 181-183.

187. cf. Graybill, Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations, p. 115.

188. An interesting attempt to discuss the theological issues of race and Seventh-day Adventism by a black SDA lecturer in theology is Talbert O. Shaw, "Racism and Adventist Theology", Spectrum, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Autumn 1971), pp. 29-38. Shaw concludes that it is not Adventist theology which engenders racism but that too often Adventism gives in to psychosocial forces.

189. SW, p. 22.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORK OF
SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS
AMONG THE
NEGROES OF NORTH AMERICA BEFORE 1909

Submitted for
SOCIAL SCIENCE SEMINARY AND WORLD POLITICS

BY
HAROLD D. SINGLETON

1932

P R E F A C E

These few words on the rise and development of the colored work in North America came as the result of rather a limited research. The good old "Review" stands as a principal source. Another principal and important source was the workers who were identified with the colored work at some time during the period covered by this story. Many of these workers responded to questionnaires sent them.

From their experiences they supplied much help. At Oakwood Junior College valuable help was obtained that particularly pertained to the history of that school. Dr. Everett N. Dick of the History Department at Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska, gave valuable guidance and suggestions.

Colored Adventists date back as far as the 1844 movement. In those early years a few companies of Negroes in America looked for the return of Jesus as preached by William Miller and his associates. (X) That many members of these early companies remained with the movement after the disappointment, I am not certain. However, in the last quarter of the past century various persons at intermittent periods became burdened for the colored people of America. These were occasionally successful in winning a few individuals. At times, colored persons who heard the message as preached in meetings held for whites were convicted and followed in the way of truth. Of course, the great literature ministry found its way into the homes of many Negroes. Some few read and believed.

An outstanding result of the early work done for the colored by the Seventh-day Adventists is that of C. M. Kinney whose story is recited in the REVIEW AND HERALD of February 6, 1930, article, "Early Days of our Colored Work in America." We quote from the REVIEW:

"It was in Reno, Nevada, that J. N. Loughborough pitched a tent in the month of August, 1878. Among those that accepted the message was a young colored man. He was then twenty-three years old. In that meeting he also heard a sermon by Mrs. E. G. White. The last Sabbath in September, 1878, he kept his first Sabbath. He was one of the seven charter members of the Reno church. He did clerical work, and was made secretary of the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society.

In 1893-95, he attended Healdsburg College. The Reno church assisted him in his schooling by paying \$100. At the end of the second year, the California Conference sent him to the State of Kansas to begin mission work among the colored people. Several years afterward he was called by the General Conference to labor with the company in Louisville, Kentucky."

(X) According to Dr. Everett H. Dick, Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska.

It is probable that Elder Kinney, who, by the way, is still living, was the first ordained colored Seventh-day Adventist minister. He was ordained October 5, 1889, by R. M. Kilgore and J. C. Corliss. There are probably others of the very early Negro believers who are just as worthy of mention in this story as Elder Kinney, but of whom we know only little or nothing. We cite Brother Kinney as a pioneer among us.

The very next year after Brother Kinney found the message out in Nevada, a licensed Baptist preacher down in Tennessee attended a tent meeting conducted by one, Elder Owens, in Edgefield Junction. The truth which he heard in the tent and which he read in the SIGNS OF THE TIMES convinced him that the seventh day is the Sabbath. He accepted the message and like Andrews and Philip, he immediately began to search for his brother. This preacher was Harry Love who raised up the first Negro Seventh-day Adventist church in America. (2) The following is told about Brother Love and his work in a letter dated May 16, 1932. The letter is from Sister William Allison of Los Angeles, who was one of the members of this early church. Sister Allison says:

"He, (Brother Love) began to preach the message to his people. It was hard work but he continued to preach night and day wherever he met the people. All the churches shut their doors against him. His former brethren took his license from him, forbidding him to preach in any of the Baptist churches. Elder Love was a man with strong willpower; he was determined to preach the message to his people. He preached over two and one half years before he saw any results. He had strong faith in the Lord and kept on preaching the word of truth. The Lord blessed him with a few souls for his hire. In November of 1885, this little company was organized into a church. Brother Love was made elder and Brother William Allison, deacon."

C. M. Kinney arrived in Edgefield Junction in the early '90's. When Brother Kinney arrived, the little church was meeting in Brother

(2) Letter - Mrs. Wm. Allison to H. D. Singleton, May 16, 1932.

3.

Low's house. Steps were now taken to build a church.⁽³⁾ Deaths, members moving away and etc., decreased the congregation of this first Seventh-day Adventist colored church until it passed out of existence many years ago. About ten years ago the building was sold and the money turned over to the Tennessee River Conference for the colored work.⁽⁴⁾

A. Barry, a colored brother who received the truth through reading the Review raised up the second colored church. This church was organized February 16, 1890, by R. M. Kilgore at Louisville, Ky.

About the same time the Louisville church was organized some colored people at Bowling Green, Ky. heard Elders Eugene Farnsworth and Evans preach the message. These heard the truth gladly. In 1891 a church was organized for the colored in Bowling Green. In 1892 the New Orleans, La. church was organized. Brother Kinney labored in Nashville, Tenn. in 1892, and in 1894 a church was organized at that place.⁽⁵⁾

In the last decade of the past century several articles on the denomination's duty toward the Negro appeared in the Review from the pen of Mrs. E. G. White. The General Conference now gradually awaking to the needs of the colored people sent Willie Haskell and M. C. Sturdevant to work among the colored in the South. Both of these brethren are white and were sent about 1892.⁽⁶⁾

In the summer of 1893, James Edson White, a son of Mrs. E. G. White, experienced a religious revival. He began to consider how he could use his talents more in evangelistic work. "One day as he was walking through the press room of the old Review and Herald office at Battle Creek, Michigan,

(3) Ibid.

(4) Letter - C.M. Kinney to H.D. Singleton, Mar. 27, 1932.

(5) REVIEW, June 9, 1930. G.E. Peters, "The Negro Department."

(6) Letter - M.C. Sturdevant to H.D. Singleton, Mar. 27, 1932.

4.

J. E. White picked up a ruined piece of the REVIEW and in this was an appeal from Sr. White regarding the colored people of the South. He asked his mother if she would advise him to answer this appeal. She advised him to do so."

Brother White began at once to write the "Gospel Primer" and dedicated the proceeds of the sales from this book to the colored work. Money came in freely.⁽⁷⁾ Hearing of the work done by colporteurs along the southern rivers by the use of boats, he decided to build a steamer and follow this method of work among the colored. His steamer, "The Morning Star," was built during the summer of '94.⁽⁸⁾ Brother White had it towed over to Chicago, then down the Chicago Canal and into the Mississippi. They first stopped at Memphis⁽⁹⁾ where they received some unsolicited, yet helpful, advertising. Definite work was finally begun at Vicksburg and Yazoo City, Mississippi. "The Morning Star" was home for the workers, chapel for the meetings, a printing office and did a valuable work in its time. He (Bro. White), brought it to Nashville, Tennessee in late years, and later ran it on a large creek off the Cumberland River north of Nashville near Edgefield Junction. Here it remained for a time until some one set fire to it causing its destruction in the spring of 1907.⁽¹⁰⁾

MISSISSIPPI

Upon his arrival at Vicksburg, Elder White brought up his boat near to a settlement of colored people. The next Sunday he and Brother W. O. Palmer, who was a member of the company that went down the Mississippi in the boat, visited a Sunday school. While at the Sunday school, they spoke to one woman

(7) Letter - B. W. Spine to H. D. Singleton, March 30, 1932.

(8) REVIEW - July 5, 1928, "Obituary, James Edson White."

(9) Letter - B. W. Spine to H. D. Singleton, March 30, 1939.

(10) Story of Advent Movement, M. E. Andross, chapter on Colored Work.

about holding Bible readings. She showed interest. No arrangements for the readings were made at that time, however. The next Tuesday the woman came to the boat and begged for the workers to remain and give her people readings. After assuring her that that was their purpose, they made arrangements with her for Brother Palmer to give a reading at her home that night. Twenty-one persons came to the study the first night. The number increased later, necessitating the use of the church. Seventy-two persons presented themselves at the church.⁽¹¹⁾ Thus the Negro work in Mississippi began.

By the summer of 1895, about twenty-five were keeping the Sabbath at Vicksburg as a result of Bible readings and school work. On August 10, a little church 20 x 40 ft. was dedicated. It cost about \$150. The labor was donated.⁽¹²⁾ In August, 1896, Elder O. A. Olsen reported that many attended the meetings, and also the school which had been organized making it necessary to build an addition to the chapel. This company had not been organized into a church up to August, 1896. The tithe paid by the company, excluding workers, ranged from \$45.00 to \$50.00 per month.⁽¹³⁾

In 1807, Brother and Sr. Holiday, who had been connected with the school at Vicksburg, began holding Bible readings, night schools and Sunday schools in Yazoo City. In addition to teaching the Bible, they taught the people how to read. When one minister in Yazoo City spoke against the Seventh-day Adventist work, a lady who had learned to read in one of Brother Holiday's night schools, came to the minister and said, "What do you mean by talking against these people? We have been paying you preachers ever since the war to teach us, and when did any of you come to our homes night after night to teach us to read. These people have come here without pay and are teaching us these things."

(11) SIGNS OF THE TIMES, Feb. 21, 1895, "From the Lower Mississippi."

(12) REVIEW, August 27, 1895, O. A. Olsen.

(13) REVIEW, August 25, 1896, O. A. Olsen.

In the spring and summer of 1898, a movable chapel was built for this place.⁽¹⁴⁾ About this time Brother and Sister T. R. Rogers (white) entered the mission school work in Yazoo City. The school had a daily attendance of 150 during the term 1898-99.⁽¹⁴⁾

In those days the Mission school was the principal means used in beginning the work in a new place and in building the work up. An illustration of the type of work done in those schools is given by Elder White in writing of the work in Yazoo City in the REVIEW of June 12, 1900. He writes: "In these schools the usual public school readers have been discarded, and their place supplied with the GOSPEL PRIMER, GOSPEL READER, CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, and the Bible. History is taught from the Bible standpoint. CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR is used as the first book in history. . . . PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS is then taken as a second book in history. The interest of these history classes is encouraging. Even the children who are studying CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR are all interested to know what Jesus did next, and they talk of it at their homes, thus deepening and widening the influence of the school.

"The Sabbath came to the people largely through the school. The workers and teachers have endeavored to follow the light given to educate before bringing out these testing truths, and the wisdom of this instruction is now apparent. The workers have tried to be patient and let the Lord send conviction to the hearts in His own way, and now the truth is reaching the hearts of the people through the teachings of the schools. Simple school lessons from the books already mentioned have taught the binding nature of the law of God, and historical events have brought the Sabbath question to their notice in the most simple and natural manner. Before they hardly knew it they were themselves leading out on the subject of the true Bible Sabbath.

(14) REVIEW, Nov. 22, 1898, "Yazoo City" J. E. White.

(15) REVIEW, May 2, 1899 (Supplement, E. A. Sutherland.

"As soon as the Sabbath question began to be agitated by the people, it was thought time to start a Sabbath school and a Sabbath service in the chapel at Lintonia. The Sabbath school has now a membership of 57 and an average attendance of 45, and its donations are about 50¢ each week. The meeting which follows consists of a Bible reading or a short talk, and then a social meeting. The meetings are excellent and the testimonies borne are spirited and intelligent, expressing great joy because of the light being received from the Word of God."

In addition to those at Vicksburg and Yazoo City, companies had been raised up in Calmar, Pa Alto, and schools at Lintonia and Wilsonia (suburbs of Yazoo City) and Vicksburg. (16)

"Elder White persuaded his co-workers and some northern and southern friends to cooperate with him in the organization of a non-profit sharing association, the Southern Missionary Society. This legal organization held title to the property, also solicited funds for the support of its enterprises.

"The Society soon found it necessary and agreeable to place capable and earnest colored teachers in its mission schools. Among these were T. G. Warnick and wife, J. W. Dancer, T. B. Buckner, W. H. Sebastian, and the writer and his wife (M. C. Strachan). These new colored missionaries entered upon their duties in 1899 and 1900. (17) From 1900 onward the work in Mississippi is a recital of work done by Negroes for Negroes. Other colored men also soon became prominent in the work in Mississippi and in other states.

"The first campmeeting for colored in Mississippi and the second in the United States took place at Jackson during 1902. One faithful sister who lived nearly 200 miles away started with barely enough money to pay railroad fare. Her faithful companion promised to remain at home and earn the money to send for her. There were thirty-five delegates present. Three persons accepted the truth."

(16) REVIEW, January 31, 1899, "With J. E. White," G. A. Irwin

A. Barry, W. H. Sebastian, and M. C. Strachan were assisted in the meetings by a few white workers who gave part time. Brother Strachan had been conducting a mission school in the front room of his house in Jackson. A company of nine Sabbath-keepers met at Brother Strachan's house. (18)

The second annual campmeeting of the colored believers was held at Jackson, August 28 to September 8, 1903. A forty foot audience tent and six family tents had been pitched. Forty-one Sabbathkeepers were present. Among the colored workers taking part were W. H. Sebastian, T. Murphy, and M. C. Strachan of Mississippi. T. B. Buckner of Alabama and S. S. Ryles of Arkansas. (19)

In 1904, a church 24 x 48 ft. was built in Jackson. (20) Later, April 21, 1906, a church of fifteen was organized there as a result of Brother Strachan's labors. (21)

The year book of 1904 records W. H. Sebastian as minister in the Mississippi conference with M. C. Strachan, N. B. King, and Thomas Murphy as licenciates. Schools were being operated in Greenville, Jackson, Columbus, Lintonia, Yazoo City and Vicksburg. During this same year of 1904, a company that knew nothing of Seventh-day Adventists, but which had been keeping the Sabbath for three years was found at Brookhaven. Brethren Sebastian and Strachan were able to organize a Sabbath school of about 18 at that place. (22)

The third annual colored campmeeting of Mississippi took place at Columbus, August 26 to September 5, 1904. The collections of this meeting covered the expense. The campmeeting was managed solely by colored workers. (23)

(18) REVIEW, October 14, 1902, "Jackson, Miss. Campmeeting," A. Barry

(19) REVIEW, October 1, 1903, Jackson, Miss. Campmeeting, W. H. Sebastian, T. Murphy, M. C. Strachan.

(20) REVIEW, March 17, 1904, "Two Colored Churches."

(21) REVIEW, May 17, 1906, Field note.

(22) REVIEW, August 18, 1904, "Mississippi," W. H. Sebastian, M. C. Strachan.

(23) REVIEW, October 6, 1904, Mississippi Campmeeting " " " "

The colored workers in Mississippi at the beginning of 1905 paid about one half of the lithe of the whole state and comprised about two-thirds of the membership of that state. In the years 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1908, the work entered Greenwood, Amory, Natchez, Pala or Hattiesburg, Ellisville, and other places through the efforts of W. H. Sebastian, Thomas Murphy, S. A. Jordan, A. C. Chatman and N. B. King.(24) During this same period the Vicksburg church increased to 85 members and a church school of over 100 children, the largest church school in the state.(25) The property was worth \$5,000.(5) For the year 1908-09, the Southern Missionary Society operated a four-teacher school at Vicksburg, a three-teacher school at Yazoo City, two-teacher schools at Natchez and at Greenville, and one-teacher schools at Columbus, Clarkesdale, Palmer, Ellisville, King's Crossing and Soso.(26)

TENNESSEE

We have seen earlier in our story that the first colored church in the United States was organized at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, in 1885. About ten years more went by before definite organized efforts were put forth in Tennessee for the colored people. At the General Conference of 1893, Dr. J. E. Caldwell was called to labor in District No. 2.(27) Dr. Caldwell located at Knoxville as the only white worker in District No. 2, giving his entire time to the colored people.(28) Later Brother C. E. Sturdevant labored in Knoxville, mostly for the colored. Out of the total white and colored membership of fifty-five in that city in 1896, the colored outnumbered the whites 3 to 1.(29)

(24) REVIEW, March 2, 1905. G. I. Butler: March 30, 1905; Dec. 28, 1905; October 4, 1906; Dec. 6, 1906; Dec. 20, 1906; Sept. 20, 1908.
 (25) Letter - Thomas Murphy to H. D. Singleton, May 8, 1932.
 (5) "The South" p. 19.
 (26) Year Book, 1909.
 (27) General Conference Bulletin, March 7, 1893.
 (28) REVIEW, Dec. 9, 1893, R. M. Kilgore.
 (29) REVIEW, Jan. 28, 1896.

Elder C. M. Kinney and Brother James Lewis conducted a tent effort in Nashville during the summer of 1894.(30) The following September a church of seven was organized.(31) A church building was erected in Nashville in 1904.(32) In 1905, M. C. Strachan and N. E. King conducted an effort in Nashville resulting in seven taking their stand.(33) Sydney Scott and M. C. Strachan held a campmeeting in Nashville in 1908.

Probably the first colored campmeeting ever held by our people was in the church yard of the Edgefield Junction Church, October 6-20, 1901. "The meeting was a grand success" and good interest was aroused. The meeting had been planned with some misgivings but circumstances seemed to have demanded it.(35)

As early as March 26, 1898, a company of colored believers existed in Chattanooga. A church school existed there prior to 1901. A campmeeting and tent meeting were held in the summer and fall of 1903 in Chattanooga creating some interest.(36)

Elder J. E. White began the work in Memphis about 1894. In 1908, the company there was meeting in the Oddfellow's Hall. (37)

(30) REVIEW, June 26, 1894.
 (31) SIGNS OF THE TIMES, October 22, 1895.
 (32) REVIEW, March 17, 1904. "Two Colored Churches."
 (33) REVIEW, October 5, 1905, J. E. White, "The Work in Nashville, Tenn."
 (34) REVIEW, Sept. 27, 1906. Geo. I. Butler.
 (35) REVIEW, October 22, 1901, "Colored Campmeeting," J. E. White, October 29, 1901. "A Successful Campmeeting" C. P. Bollman.
 (36) REVIEW, March 26, 1895, January 1, 1901; October 15, 1903.
 (37) Letter - C. M. Kinney to H. D. Singleton, March 8, 1932.
 T. Murphy to H. D. Singleton, May 8, 1932.

NORTH CAROLINA

14.

In December of 1899, W. H. Armstrong came South to labor for the colored people. He found a group of persons at Winston-Salem who could not read, nor who knew of any living Sabbath-keepers. Yet these people were keeping the Sabbath the best they knew how. Early in 1901 a church of eight members was organized in Winston-Salem.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Early in 1901, I. E. Kimball, (white) had an interest in Wilmington.⁽⁶⁰⁾

SOUTH CAROLINA

The following from the pen of R. M. Kilgore is typical of the methods used by many white people in spreading the truth among the colored in the early days. "In opening up the work in South Carolina, and among the colored people, it was thought best to make haste slowly on the start, and begin in a more quiet way at different points, rather than engage in public efforts with a tent.---Brother Johnson and wife are located for the present at Greenville; Brother Webster and wife at Spartanburg, S. C.---where they enter upon the work among the colored. All of these brethren will go from house to house preaching the kingdom of God, distributing reading matter, thus preparing the way for more public efforts in the future." This was written in 1893.⁽⁶¹⁾

It seems that the sale of a "Gospel Primer" to a colored lady back in the nineties with the result that the sister accepted the message and really started the church in Spartanburg. This church consisted of about sixteen members in 1906. Up until that year this church had no building for worship.⁽⁶²⁾

- (59) REVIEW, Nov. 27, 1900, W. H. Armstrong, March 12, 1901.
 (60) REVIEW, April 23, 1901. I. E. Kimball, "Work in the South." May 28, 1901.
 (61) REVIEW, April 18, 1893, R. M. Kilgore, "In the South."
 (62) REVIEW, April 26, 1906, D. E. Blake, "South Carolina."

Concerning the colored work in North Carolina the following by Will L. Killen, State Agent for that state appeared in the REVIEW of May 2, 1893:

"The colored people are taking hold more rapidly than the whites. About fifteen of them have begun keeping the Sabbath." These fifteen seem to have accepted through Bible readings held by Brother Killen and other colporteurs.

Brother A. W. Sanborn of Rattle Creek, labored with a company in Asheville with a good degree of success during 1893 and 1894.⁽⁵³⁾ In fact Brother and Sister Sanborn found only one colored brother keeping the Sabbath when they came to Asheville, but in about a year had a company of ten believers. These workers endured much want and suffering.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Elder C. M. Kinney worked in Asheville in 1897 and 1898 when he left the believers united with the white church.⁽⁵⁵⁾ A church was built and dedicated in 1907. All but \$150.00 of the cost was donated by a white sister. During 1908, Elder M. C. Strachan, who was in Asheville to regain his health, worked with the church a few months.⁽⁵⁶⁾

After spending about two years in Asheville, Brother Sanborn began to work for the colored in Greensboro. This was the last of the year 1894. Within five weeks after his arrival in Greensboro, three had commenced to keep the Sabbath.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In the last years of the nineteenth century our white brethren suffered much persecution for Sunday breaking. One colored brother, Robert Morehead, of Greensboro, was persecuted in 1896 for breaking the Sunday, June 27.⁽⁵⁸⁾

- (52) REVIEW, Oct. 22, 1901 Dr. O.C. Gadsmark, "Progress in the South."
 REVIEW, March 2, 1904, " " " " "Louisville."
 REVIEW, Dec. 10, 1908, E. G. Rayea.
 (53) REVIEW, Dec. 5, 1893, R. M. Kilgore.
 (54) REVIEW, Jan. 2, 1894, D. T. Shiveman; REVIEW, Feb. 1895, A. W. Sanborn.
 (55) REVIEW, C. M. Kinney to H. D. Singleton, March 27, 1932.
 (56) REVIEW, March 11, 1909, Sydney Browneberger.
 (57) REVIEW, Feb. 5, 1895, A. W. Sanborn.
 (58) REVIEW, July 25, 1896.

Back in 1898, I. E. Kimball started a school for colored in Charleston and by June, 1899, eight had taken their stand for truth.⁽⁶³⁾ Lewis C. Sheafe raised up a company of twelve at Aiken in 1901.⁽⁶⁴⁾ In 1900, one, J. H. Pomeroy began the "Peace Haven Industrial School" for colored youth in Blackville.⁽⁶⁵⁾

In the year 1906, only one colored church existed in South Carolina. This church was the one at Spartanburg. A few more believers were scattered through out the state making a total of about thirty. In the whole state there was but one colored worker. There was no church building, nor school.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Sydney Scott came from Alabama to South Carolina in November of 1907. He ran an effort in Greenville during 1908, which resulted in twenty-five souls and thus practically doubling the membership in the state.⁽⁶⁷⁾ About this same time two colored men by the names of McLaughlin and Mullins heard the Sabbath truth but knew of no organized conference. These two men gained a few followers. When they later heard Elder Scott and learned of the organized work they turned their companies over to the Charleston, Greenville and Ediate Island.⁽⁶⁹⁾

GEORGIA

The General Conference of 1896 recommended "That Miss M. M. Osborne make Atlanta, Georgia her field of labor, engaging in work for the colored people."⁽⁷⁰⁾

- (62) REVIEW, Sept. 27, 1906, E. W. Webster, "October Collection."
 (63) REVIEW, August 30, 1898, I. E. Kimball; June 6, 1899, I. E. Kimball.
 (64) REVIEW, April 23, 1901, L. C. Sheafe, "In South Carolina."
 (65) REVIEW, October 2, 1902, J. H. Pomeroy.
 (66) REVIEW, Sept. 27, 1908, K. W. Webster, "The October Collections."
 (67) REVIEW, Dec. 3, 1908, Sydney Scott.
 (68) Letter, L. Mullins to H. D. Singleton, April 26, 1932.
 (69) Year Book, 1909.
 (70) REVIEW, March 31, 1896.

Early in 1900, M. C. Sturdevant whom we have already met as the pioneer of the work in Birmingham, was sent to Atlanta to work among the colored people.⁽⁷¹⁾ Sister Sturdevant started the first church school for colored in Atlanta. This was in 1900. At Atlanta, Brother Sturdevant found only one colored Sabbath-keeper, Brother Hall by name. The first meeting places in Atlanta were very "humble halls and shacks." When the Sturdevants left Atlanta in 1902, they left a company of twenty believers.⁽⁷²⁾ The church in Atlanta was organized April 19, 1903, with a membership of fifteen.⁽⁷³⁾ In January, 1907, Elder W. E. Sebastian arrived at Atlanta to take over the work. At that time there was not a church building in the state for colored Seventh-day Adventists. There were sixty-four counties in the state not yet entered. Only the one small church in Atlanta represented the truth in the State of Georgia.⁽⁷⁴⁾ When Elder W. C. White visited Atlanta in 1909, he found a mission school of two rooms and homemade desks. Since necessitating strict economy, they kept their trunks and beds in parts of the school rooms. A new location was purchased about this time. The new building, 34 x 48 ft., faced Greensferry Avenue. It was in the neighborhood of Spellman, Morehouse and Atlanta University. The front of this building was used as a church auditorium and the back for school purposes. Back of the main building another two story building was erected for school rooms and parsonage. These buildings were dedicated on February 6, 1909. ⁽⁷⁵⁾

In 1908, a company of six in Brunswick were following in the way of truth. A small mission school taught by R. E. Williams was also being operated there. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

- (71) REVIEW, January 30, 1900.
 (72) Letter, M. O. Sturdevant to H. D. Singleton, April 24, 1932.
 (73) REVIEW, May 19, 1903 Field note.
 (74) REVIEW, April 4, 1907, "Georgia" W. H. Sebastian; July 4, 1907. "Georgia and the Colored Work" George I. Butler; Feb. 6, 1908, W. H. Sebastian.
 (75) REVIEW, April 8, 1909, W. C. White, "A Visit to Atlanta, Georgia."
 (76) REVIEW, September 24, 1908; Year Book 1909.

FLORIDA

It was at this meeting that J. W. Manns was ordained. Meetings were held in Palatka, Jacksonville, and Fernandina early in the year of 1909. Four accepted in Palatka, four in Jacksonville and three in Fernandina. (85)

TEXAS

A Sabbath school of seven members was organized in Corsicana, Texas in 1896. (86) Some few were being added among the brethren in Texas in 1898. (87) Brother Thomas Defreeze who was working among the colored people in Northeast Texas in 1904, reported a company of fifteen at Fairfield. (88) A church of nine was organized in 1904 at Waco. (89) The first colored church building in Texas was dedicated at Clebourne, April 29, 1905. (90)

ARKANSAS

There were some colored believers in Arkansas, at least, as far back as 1893, when two colored Baptist preachers and their families began keeping the Sabbath. After Bible readings had been held for two months in 1901 in Catcher, eight began keeping the Sabbath. (91) The readings were held by Elders Scott and Ryles. The interest here was caused by books sold some years before. (92)

Probably the first campmeeting to be held in Arkansas took place at Newport in 1903. (93) In 1907, M. M. Jones and J. W. Dancer held tent meetings in Pine Bluff. Elder Jones, who was superintendent of the colored work for the Southwestern Union, held a campmeeting at the close of the effort. A small church was organized at Pine Bluff as a result of these meetings. In 1908 the campmeeting was again held in Pine Bluff. (94)

- (84) REVIEW, Dec. 3, 1908, Page Shepard.
 (85) " April 15, 1909, R. W. Parmele, "Florida."
 (86) " Oct. 6, 1896, Elijah Taylor.
 (87) " Dec. 20, 1898, C. M. Reynolds, "Texas."
 (88) " May 19, 1904.
 (89) " May 19, 1904, S. S. Ryles, "Texas."
 (90) " May 18, 1905.

Elder L. N. Crisler, president of the Florida Conference, reported in 1895 an encouraging work being done among the colored people in that state. (77) By the fall of 1899, M. L. Ivory had labored in Orlando, Sanford, Palatka, Windsor, and Gainesville and Waldo. A church was organized at Orlando, July 29, 1899. By this time the truth also had been preached in Oakland, Bartow and Jacksonville. (78) Work was also done in Punta Gorda in 1899, and in 1904 a church of ten members was also organized there. (79)

In the year 1906, a campmeeting was conducted by Elder Sydney Scott at Lakeland. Sixty campers were on the grounds. Eight persons were baptized. Elder Scott was assisted by J. W. Manns and M. M. Butler. (80) The next year, 1907, a campmeeting was held at Tampa and some twelve persons were baptized. (81)

The Negro work in Florida, in 1908, consisted of four organized churches, five companies of believers, six church schools, three church buildings, and one licensed minister. The minister was J. W. Manns. (92) The Palatka company which had stood for the truth a long time, was organized in 1908 into a church with ten members. Sister Ella Sanks and others were conducting a school in Plant City and in this year the Tampa, Lakeland and Bartow companies met at Sister Sank's school and were organized into a church of sixteen members. (83) The campmeeting of this year was held at Palatka. Some who had never partaken of the ordinances, as well as others who had not had them for years, enjoyed them at this campmeeting. Eight were added to the truth and nearly one hundred dollars taken up in cash and pledges.

- (77) SIGNS OF THE TIMES, January 17, 1895.
 (78) REVIEW, Sept. 5, 1899, M. L. Ivory, "Florida."
 (79) REVIEW, Dec. 22, 1904, J. S. Washburn, "The Florida Campmeeting."
 (80) REVIEW, Jan. 10, 1907, M. M. Butler, J. W. Manns, "Florida," Dec. 13, 1906.
 (81) REVIEW, Nov. 7, 1907, G. B. Thompson, "The Florida Campmeeting."
 (82) REVIEW, Sept. 10, 1908, R. W. Parmele, "Florida."
 (83) REVIEW, Oct. 1, 1908, R. W. Parmele.

20.

VIRGINIA, DELAWARE; MARYLAND AND D. C.

Back in 1901, 1902, and 1903 some work was being done for the colored people of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Berkeley, Danville, Newport News and Hampton. White workers carried on this work. Probably the first colored workers in Virginia were Leslie Muntz and F. G. Warnick. By 1907, there were churches in at least News Ferry, Spencer, Danville, and Richmond. (101)

About the year 1895, some white Adventists went into the State of Delaware and at Dover, the capital, and were able to win Frederick H. Seeney, a Moor, to the truth. He in turn won his entire family of many brothers with their families besides scores of others in that settlement. He was ordained to the gospel ministry. Elder Seeney started the colored church school at Cheswold, Delaware which was the first church school in any state north of the Carolinas. (102) It was not until October 17, 1908, that the company at Dover, Delaware, was organized into a church. During that year a tent effort was held in that city following which a church of seventeen was organized. These believers did not at that time have a satisfactory building for worship. (103) Elder Seeney held meetings in Baltimore, Maryland, and Laurel and Cheswold, Delaware in 1906. About twenty were added at these places. (104)

Until 1902, the colored believers and white believers in Washington met as one group. These were all members of the First Church. As a result of the rapid growth of the colored membership, it was thought well to separate the white and colored. Accordingly, the white members organized themselves into the Second Church. The colored and a few whites remained in the First Church. At the time of this separation, the First Church held an indebtedness of \$3,500.00.

- (101) REVIEW, I. E. Kimball, "Work in the South" August 5, 1902.
 " " " " "Work for Colored People in Virginia" October 31, 1907.
 May 20, 1907, K. W. Herrell.
 Letter -- J. B. Mallory to H. D. Singleton, April 17, 1932.
 (102) Letter, P. G. Rogers to H. D. Singleton, March 27, 1932.
 (103) REVIEW, November 5, 1908, F. H. Seeney, "Dover, Delaware."
 (104) REVIEW, December 27, 1906, Field Note.

19.

Devall's Bluff was entered by S. S. Ryles in 1904. A few Sabbathkeepers were raised up. Late in that year the Southwestern Union purchased a forty acre tract of land at Devall's Bluff. On this land the first colored church in the State was erected. (95) The conference built an additional building on the property for school purposes. The school opened December 4, 1905, with an enrollment of ten. The name of the school was "Vartan Springs Intermediate School." (96) Some work was done by J. W. Dancer at Little Rock in 1906. (97)

LOUISIANA

We have seen previously in our story that the New Orleans, Louisiana Church was organized in 1892. It seems, however, that this church became disorganized in the year that passed. In 1905, efforts were again made to build up the work in New Orleans. Sister Edmonia White was located in New Orleans as a Bible worker in behalf of the colored. Several Negroes attended an effort conducted for whites in the city during 1905. (98) This interest continued to grow. A church school was started shortly afterwards. For the school year 1907-08, a school was opened at Newellton. (99) According to E. L. Maxwell, during the year 1908, the State had one ordained minister, one licensed minister, and one Bible worker. (100)

- (91) REVIEW, June 6, 1893, C. M. Bruner.
 (92) " " October 23, 1901, Sydney Scott, "Arkansas."
 (93) " " Nov. 19, 1903, S. S. Ryles, "Work in South."
 (94) " " Dec. 26, 1907, J. W. Dancer, "Arkansas Campmeeting."
 " " Aug. 27, 1908; Oct. 8, 1908, J. W. Dancer.
 (95) " " Jan. 19, 1905, Field Note.
 (96) " " May 12, 1904; Jan. 19, 1905; Jan. 18, 1906; April 11, 1907.
 (97) " " Dec. 20, 1906, "Arkansas" J. W. Dancer.
 (98) " " Aug. 17, 1905, S. B. Norton, "Louisiana."
 " " Feb. 8, 1906, Page Shepard, "Louisiana."
 (99) " " Feb. 6, 1908.
 (100) " " Sept. 10, 1908, E. L. Maxwell, "Louisiana."

The separation was effected September 18, 1902, with W. A. Spicer, O. O. Farnsworth, and M. W. Cottrell present.

The spring of 1902, Elder L. C. Sheafe was called to Washington and he and Elder Secey ran a tent effort that summer. When the separation was made, Elder Sheafe was made pastor of the First Church. By early spring in 1903 eighty souls had been added to the church. On Dec. 6, 1903, Elder Sheafe organized the third Adventist church, the second colored of Washington. This church became known as the People's S.D.A. Church. There were forty-five initial members of this church. A hall was at first rented, but later a three story brick building costing \$10,000 was purchased. This building was at the corner of 10th and V Streets, NW. It was dedicated June 10, 1905. The membership of this church had now grown to 130. (105)

In 1906, Elder Sheafe pulled out from the organized movement. The majority of his membership went out with him. In this crucial period Elder M. C. Strachan was called from Nashville to take charge of the few who remained faithful to the organization. The fifth church was organized by Elder Strachan. This church has in later years become known as the Ephesus Church.

NEW YORK

In 1902, S. N. Haskell took an interest in giving the truth to the colored people of New York City and Brooklyn. Elder Haskell started the work for the colored in New York City in a room on W. 59th Street. By November of 1902, a hall was being rented at \$25.00 per week. A church of six charter members was organized in December of 1902 by H. W. Cottrell and E. E. Franks. Brother C. H. Carroll (white) was placed in charge of this work. Within a few weeks after the organization the membership had grown to about eighteen. The colored workers in New York City and Brooklyn before 1909 were J. C. Hennessy, J. B. Mallory and J. K. Humphrey. (106)

OTHER STATES

As early as 1901, a group of colored believers in St. Louis, Missouri, were meeting in the Y.M.C.A. Hall. These brethren were adding to their numbers while patiently waiting for a minister to help them. (107) By 1903, a church had been organized in Kansas City, Mo. (108)

A church of fourteen was organized at Kansas City, Kansas, in 1902. Brethren Sydney Scott and S. S. Ryles were connected with the work in that city at that time. On March 5, 1905, the church building was dedicated. In 1907, and 1908, U. S. Willis worked successfully in Kansas City, Kansas. (109) During these years believers sprang up in other parts of Kansas at Nicodemus, Leavenworth, and Independence. (110)

(105) REVIEW, May 13, 1902; Oct. 7, 1902, H. W. Cottrell, Washington April 7, 1903, L. C. Sheafe; Dec. 31, 1903, A.G. Daniells; June 15, 1905, K. C. Russell; Aug. 24, 1905, Lewis C. Sheafe.

(106) Letters, J. B. Mallory to H. D. Singleton, April 14 and 29, 1932.
(107) REVIEW, June 10, 1902, S. N. Haskell "New York" Nov. 11, 1902, S. N. Haskell, "Greater New York" Dec. 10, 1908, Feb. 24, 1903, E. E. Frank "New York City."

(107) REVIEW, Sept. 17, 1901, R. C. Porter, "St. Louis, Mo." June 22, 1903,
(108) REVIEW, Nov. 19, 1903, S. S. Ryles "Work in the South."
(109) REVIEW, Nov. 25, 1902; March 30, 1905; Dec. 12, 1907; May 7, 1908.
(110) REVIEW, August 25, 1904; Aug. 17, 1905; Feb. 22, 1906; all Field Notes.

A little work had begun to be done in Illinois by 1905. In fact, a church had already been organized in Springfield, and in 1905 they bought a lot upon which to build. A new mission was started in Chicago among the colored during 1906. (111)

About the time headway was beginning to be made in the work in the South, the truth was also finding its way into hearts way out in Denver, Col. It was in the year 1892, that Charles S. Lightner having read the truth in Bible Readings for the Home Circle, secretly stole away from his hostile parents and was baptized. The following year W. S. North, then a waiter, kept his first Sabbath, he having become convinced of the truth through reading our literature. Both of these men later became ordained ministers and have spent many years on the front line. The work in Denver was pioneered by C. S. Lightner, W. S. North and Thomas Branch. (112)

When Elder Sheafe went to Washington about 1902, W. H. Green, a practicing lawyer heard him and was convinced of the truth. Closing his desk, Brother Green entered the West Pennsylvania Conference as its sole colored worker. He pioneered the work in Pittsburg, laboring in that city from 1905 to 1906. A church of ten members was organized at Pittsburgh, January 21, 1906. By the spring of 1909, the membership had grown to 34 and church property costing \$8,000 had been bought. Over in Philadelphia in the East Pennsylvania Conference Elder Seeney labored for about three or four months in 1908. He was able to convince just two persons, P. G. Rodgers and wife. (113)

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- (111) REVIEW, May 18, 1905; Field Note, Nov. 29, "Illinois" L. D. Santee.
 (112) Letters C. S. Lightner to H. D. Singleton, April 30, 1932
 W. S. North " " " March 17, 1932
 J. W. Allison " " " April 12, 1932
 (113) REVIEW, Nov. 15, 1906, W. H. Green; "Western Pennsylvania"
 March 25, 1909, W. H. Green, "Pittsburgh"
 Letter, Mrs. W. H. Green to H. D. Singleton, April 14, 1932,
 P. G. Rodgers to H. D. Singleton, March 27, 1932.

Jumping from Pennsylvania to the West Coast, we find a church of fourteen organized at Berkeley, California, in 1906. Brother and Sister A. R. Jones (evidently white) were spending their time doing missionary work among the colored people settled along the Bay. (114)

MEDICAL WORK

It was in 1901 that the Southern Missionary Society began the Nashville colored sanitarium. Miss Mary Grant (later Dr. Mary Grant) was in charge with Dr. J. A. Wilson as consulting physician, and Miss Susie Mills, nurse. Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Young (white) of Rockford, Illinois, came down a few months after the opening to act as superintendent and housekeeper, respectively. In the fall of 1902, Dr. Lottie C. Isabell, a recent graduate from the American Medical Missionary College, connected with the project. Prejudice and lack of means hindered the progress of this sanitarium and in the spring of 1908, it was discontinued.

A question from Mrs. E. G. White on the medical work among the colored followers: "Medical missionary work must be carried forward for colored people. Sanitariums and treatment rooms should be established in many places."...

"Huntsville has been especially pointed out as a school in connection with which there should be facilities for thoroughly training consecrated colored youth who desire to become competent nurses and hygienic cooks." (116)

- (114) REVIEW, January 3, 1907, Field notes.
 (115) Letter, Lottie C. Blake to H. D. Singleton, April 28, 1932.
 REVIEW, May 26, 1904, Geo. I. Butler.
 (116) REVIEW, Sept. 10, 1908, Mrs. E. G. White.
 (117) REVIEW, May 13, 1909, W. C. White, "The Huntsville School."
 REVIEW, April 22, 1909, I. E. White.

O A K W O O D

25.

About 1907, a nurses' class was started at Oakwood. In the spring of 1909 a small sanitarium was built.

September 1908, Elder G. A. Irwin wrote that there were no sanitariums or treatment rooms for colored in all of the South. He wrote that the time had come to redouble efforts for the colored. In the same year an appropriation of \$5,000 was made to this work.

In January of 1908, at a session of the Southern Union Conference Committee, resolutions were adopted providing for a colored sanitarium in Nashville. Accordingly the Southern Missionary Society began to purchase a \$4,000 building. D. E. Blake and his wife, Dr. Lottie C. Blake, had been previously called to Nashville to assist in locating a suitable place for the sanitarium.

To the building that was bought five rooms were added. These were to serve as bathrooms and treatment rooms. In February 1909, the "Rock City Sanitarium" was formally opened. It had a capacity of eight patients. This institution served as a sanitarium and nurses' training school. The Southern Missionary Society bore most of the debt in building the sanitarium.

In the year when our story closes, 1909, efforts were being made to build up three sanitariums, one at Atlanta being added to those already being started in Nashville and Huntsville. All three of these sanitariums would be small. The total cost of all three would not equal that of one of our smaller sanitariums for whites.

(117) See page 24.

(118) REVIEW, Sept. 10, 1908, G. A. Irwin, "Our nearly Mission Field."

(119) Letter -- Dr. Lottie C. Blake to H. D. Singleton, April 28, 1932. REVIEW, June 2, 1908, C. P. Bollen.

" Dec. 24, 1908, D. E. Blake, "Rock City Sanitarium"

" April 22, 1909, J. E. White, "Medical Missionary Work for Colored People."

Mrs. E. G. White wrote, "We should educate colored people to be missionaries among their own people. (120) During 1895, Mrs. White wrote several articles in the REVIEW emphasizing the denomination's duty to the colored people of America.

In this same year at the Fall session of the General Conference Association, a committee of three was appointed to look up a location for a school. The committee consisted of G. A. Irwin, Harmon Lindsay and O. A. Olsen. This committee also had power to purchase, providing they did not exceed \$8,000. The committee met in Chattanooga, November 20. Elder Irwin had already made some investigations which led the committee to believe that North Alabama would offer a good location for the school. The committee took the train for Huntsville, ninety-seven miles distant. A 360-acre farm about four miles north-west of Huntsville was purchased for \$6,700.00. Three hundred acres of this land was already cleared and under cultivation. The remaining sixty acres were in timber. An old manor house was the main building on the place. Several cabins surrounded the "big house." (121) Elder Olsen made the following description of the main building on the farm:

"The house is two stories high. The main building, facing the north, contains two rooms on the first floor with a large hall between them. The room at the east end is twenty-two feet. It will be set apart as a chapel. On the other side of the hall is a room 18 x 20 ft., which will serve as a dining room. The two rooms on the second floor are exactly the same size as those below, and they will probably be used as recitation rooms." (122)

(120) SOUTHERN WORK, p. 13.

(121) REVIEW, January 7, 1896. O. A. Olsen, General Conference Bulletin, February 23, 1897.

(122) REVIEW, February 25, 1896, O. A. Olsen, "The New School."

Professor M. E. Olsen, the son of G. A. Olsen, describes the beginning of Oakwood thus:

"I had the privilege of accompanying my father, Elder O. A. Olsen, and Elder C. A. Irwin, when they went to Huntsville to look over the land in that vicinity and make a final decision. While the negotiations were under way we stayed at a hotel. As soon as the matter was settled, and we knew that the property was ours, we picked up a few necessary articles of furniture, chiefly beds and mattresses, loaded them on a wagon and started for the farm.

"It was dark when we drove up in front of the old manor house and unloaded. There had been a cold drizzling rain all the afternoon and we were pretty well chilled after the slow ride. Hastily stopping up some of the larger holes in the windows, for the house was somewhat out of repair, we built a roaring fire of logs in the big fireplace, and after a warm supper and a pleasant social time around the great fireplace, we were ready to try the new beds. The house in those days looked old and forsaken enough to be haunted, but our slumbers were undisturbed.

"The next morning after breakfast we walked over the farm inspecting every part of our new possession, including the cultivated portions and timber. I remember the soil in the best field was a chocolate brown, and the corn in some places stood well over our heads. Everything went to show that so far as the land was concerned, we had acquired a piece of land we might well be proud of."

The name "Oakwood" came about thus, according to Professor Olsen:

"Both Elder Irwin and my father were in every way pleased with the place. They especially admired the magnificent Oak trees on the grounds, and it was while walking reverently under those towering giants that they decided that the place should be known as "Oakwood," thus perpetuating the memory of its most remarkable physical feature."

Full possession of the land and building was taken January 23, 1896.

Brother Grant Adkins and wife were called to take temporary charge. Two teams and some necessary implements and tools were bought in order that the work of improving and carrying on the farm might be begun. In 1896, the General Conference called Brother Solon Jacobs of Iowa to take charge of the place as superintendent. He assumed these duties in April 1896. Some necessary repairs, and an addition to the main building, 18 x 44 ft. for the kitchen,

(123) The Oakwood Bulletin, Dec. 1, 1923, M.E. Olsen, "Beginning at Oakwood."

(124) General Conference Bulletin, Feb. 23, 1897; G. A. Irwin, "Dist. 2" REVIEW, March 31, 1896.

dining rooms, sleeping rooms for girls, were at once begun, and carried forward to completion as rapidly as other duties on the farm would permit. In September, ground was broken for another building 20 x 44 ft., two stories high, the lower story of which was to be used as school rooms, and the upper story as a dormitory for the boys. It was thought that this building would be ready for occupancy by the first of October, so a handsome announcement of sixteen pages were prepared advertising the school to begin Wednesday, October 7, but due to financial and probably other difficulties, the new building was not completed when planned, and day school did not start until November 16. Night school had been carried on for several weeks prior to November 16,

On this date, November 16, the Oakwood Industrial School property value was \$10,157.57; enrollment-16; acres of land - 380; buildings - 4; teachers-4. The courses of study were the Grammar School and a Special course. Eight of the sixteen students were to attend day school and eight a night school.

By February 1897, twenty-two more students had enrolled, and quite a number more had made application but were not accepted for that time because of room shortage. (125)

A visitor who spent a few weeks at Oakwood the summer after it was purchased describes it thus:

"I have just returned to Chattanooga from Huntsville. I have spent over five weeks at the school, painting and papering, and I realize that the head of the Lord has been guiding and directing in the work at this place. It seems that a better place could not have been selected for this work. The surroundings are beautiful. Mountains are all around in the distance ranging from three to twelve miles away. A good view of the city, four or five miles distant is also obtained. The home itself reminds one of the old time mansions in England. It has broad open fire places, long doorways and a spacious hall, and quaint old-fashioned window lights. Large columns support the porticoes. The house, we learn, was built three quarters of a century ago. The building itself shows that the work done was of the first quality. It has been neglected for some years in the past, and I should judge it has not been painted on the outside for about 30 years. Hence, it needed repairing." (126)

(125) General Conference Bulletin, Feb. 23, 1897; G.A. Irwin, "Dist. 2"

(126) REVIEW, November 17, 1896, W. T. Bland.

(126) REVIEW, June 2, 1896, W. Woodford.

In writing of the first days at Oakwood, Brother Jacobs, the first principal said:

"A team brought us, my family and Elder Olsen, out from town just at daylight. As we came to the farm, Elder Olsen said, 'Brother Jacobs, this is the northeast corner! It was solid brush to where the sawmill now stands. Going on to the large gate, we passed into what looked like the Florida jungles. These came to an end at the gate on the road where you now pass out. A large barn just about to fall down, nine old cabins just back of the old mansion and between it and the barn, the old buggy house, which once had been a nice one, now ready to fall, were the buildings which met our eyes.

"The first twenty students came in from April 3 to November 16, 1896, with not a single necessity. ...Not a well was on the place. We had to strain all the water from the old cistern to get rid of the "wrigglers." Some students were compelled to sleep on the floor in some of the old cabins with nothing over them you could call a roof." (127)

The students present when the school opened its doors November 16, are referred to as the "original sixteen," but Brother Jacobs has given the list as seventeen. Thirteen of these persons were: Robert Hancock, Harry Pollard, Frank Brice, Charles Norford, Mary Norford, Nannie McNeal, Ella Grimes, Etta Littlejohn, Daisy Pollard, Lela Peek, George Graham, Sam Thompson and Francis Worthington. (128)

In the early days at Oakwood, money was scarce. Many necessities which the school could not buy were donated by friends who learned of the needs through the REVIEW and other sources. Among things donated in 1896 were an organ, a mower, bedding, clothing, and a sewing machine. (129)

Early in 1899, Elder G. A. Irwin, at that time president of the General Conference, visited Oakwood and reported that practically all of the students were professing Christ. A large barn had just been built. That the Oakwood school had outgrown the fond expectations of its founders is shown from Elder Irwin's article to the REVIEW at that time.

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- (127) Oakwood Bulletin, Dec. 1, 1923, "A Letter from Oakwood's First Principal"
S. M. Jacobs.
(128) Oakwood Bulletin, Dec. 1, 1923, "The Original Sixteen."
(129) REVIEW, Dec. 20, 1898, A. Ballenger.

His words are thus:

"If buildings and appliances could be furnished sufficient to accommodate about fifty students, I think that would be as far as it would be wise to go with this enterprise. This number could be supported from the farm, and as some get their educational training and go out into the work, others could take their places." (130)

Thirty students were enrolled in 1899. These came from Alabama, Indiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and North Carolina. During this year, the boys were sleeping in two small rooms and the girls in one low room. (131) In addition to sleeping rooms, recitation rooms and a chapel were needed. As one writer put it, "The greatest need of this school can be stated in two words, "more buildings." (132)

Answering this need for new buildings, the General Conference furnished the lumber and one carpenter. With this help a new building was erected by student labor. This new building was 30 x 64 ft., four stories high including basement, has a capacity for forty students, with commodious chapel and recitation rooms. The building was completed and dedicated early in 1900. Early in 1901 a two story dormitory was completed at a cost of \$3,000.

The enrollment for the school year 1899-1900 was fifty-seven. The next term the enrollment decreased to fifty-four. Of the fifty-four students, none were paying their way. They worked five hours per day in payment for schooling including everything but books and clothes. The ages ranged from 14 to 45 years. (133)

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- (130) REVIEW, Jan. 24, 1899, G. A. Irwin, "Oakwood."
(131) REVIEW, June 12, 1899, Hattie E. Parsons, "Visit to Oakwood."
(132) Ibid
(133) REVIEW, Jan. 30, 1900, G. A. Irwin, "General meeting for Dist. #2."
REVIEW, March 20, S. N. Haskell.

May 21, 1902, Oakwood lost a barn by fire. (134)

Financially the school was not self-supporting. About 1902 actions were taken by the Southern Union to make the school more self-supporting. (135) The school endeavored to create no debt, but stopped spending when the money ran out. By (136) 1902, the farm had doubled its value.

It was in March 1902, because of failing health, Brother and Sister Jacobs resigned the work of superintendent and matron, respectively. Brother C. H. Rogers was called to take Brother Jacob's place and Sister Estella R. Graham was called to take sister Jacob's place. B. E. Nicola was the principal at that time. (137)

An idea of the students monthly expenses those days may be gathered from an article in the REVIEW by Elder G. I. Butler. Elder Butler stated that in 1903, a charge of \$7.00 per month was made for board, etc. However, this did not include tuition since no tuition was charged. Elder Butler also stated further that the school needed a girl's dormitory, principal's cottage, a dependable water supply for the entire year, and a better equipped library. (138)

Although the school plant developed some after it was purchased, yet the facilities etc., of the place were so poor in 1904 that Elder A. G. Daniels, president of the General Conference, wrote that Oakwood was at the place that it must be put on a higher plane with better facilities or discontinued. (139) In the midst of the crisis, Mrs. E. G. White visited Oakwood June 20-23, 1904. A board meeting was held while she was there. She spoke to the students on two occasions. Concerning the visit of Sister White, Elder Butler wrote:

(134) REVIEW, June 3, 1902.

(135) REVIEW, February 4, 1902.

(136) REVIEW, January 15, 1901, W. Woodford, "Oakwood Ind. School."

(137) REVIEW, June 10, 1902, G. I. Butler, "Our Training School at Huntsville, Ala."

(138) REVIEW, May 26, 1903, G. I. Butler, "Interesting Facts About the Oakwood School"

(139) REVIEW, Feb. 18, 1904, A. G. Daniels.

"She has very excellent and satisfactory counsel to give to the brethren... She stated, substantially, that the Lord had shown her this school, and its surroundings several years ago. She pointed out different features concerning the buildings, the fruit trees, and the general appearance as it was presented to her. She spoke in the highest terms of the capabilities of the soil, if it would be properly managed, and its best qualities be developed.

"She said in public, that not one foot of this land should be sold; that the school, instead of numbering fifty students or under, ought to have one hundred or more - indeed. She made statements concerning it, as represented by her son, that the school might attain to some two hundred or two hundred and fifty in number if properly managed. She gave suggestions as to changes that should be made; these have been carried into effect. She said that immediate efforts should be made to enlarge this school and put it in a far better condition.

"The statements in the presence of the Board and the Committee were such as to set at rest much questioning and doubt in regard to the future of this institution. All of those who believe the testimonies felt satisfied that the only course to be pursued was to take hold, and put this institution in a state of greater efficiency.

"It was voted to raise \$5,000 as soon as it could be done. The school is in debt to the Southern Union Conference to a large amount. This money to be raised was to pay teachers and do repairs. One thousand dollars was called for immediately. A change made at this time was the calling of J. R. Rogers to be Principal and Business Manager." (140)

Following her visit to Oakwood, Mrs. White wrote through the REVIEW as follows:

"Recently the question was asked me, 'Would it not be well to sell the land at Huntsville, and buy a smaller place?' Instruction was given me that this farm must not be sold; that the situation possesses many advantages for the carrying forward of a colored school. It would take years to build up in a new place the work that has been done at Huntsville. The Lord's money was invested in the Huntsville school farm to provide a place for the education of colored students. The General Conference gave this land to the Southern work, and the Lord has shown me what this school may become and what those may become who go there for instruction, if His plans are followed.

"In order that the school may advance as it should, money is needed and sound intelligent generalship. Things are to be well kept up, and the school is to give evidence that Seventh-day Adventists mean to make a success of whatever they undertake."

(140) July 21, 1904 - G. I. Butler, "The Only S.D.A. Colored Training School."

"The facilities necessary for the success of the school must be provided. At present the facilities are very meager. A small building should be put up, in which students can be taught how to care for one another in times of sickness.

"The man who takes charge of the Huntsville school should know how to govern himself and how to govern others. The Bible teachers should be a man who can teach the students how to present the word of God in public, and how to do house-to-house work. The business affairs of the farm are to be wisely and carefully managed.

"The teachers should constantly seek wisdom from on high, that they may be kept from making mistakes. They should give careful attention to their work, that each student may be prepared for the line of service to which he is best adapted. All are to be prepared to serve faithfully in some capacity. Teachers and students are to cooperate in doing their best. The constant effort of the teachers should be to make the students see the importance of rising higher and still higher.

"The leading, controlling influence in the school is to be faithfulness in that which is least. Thus students will be prepared to be faithful in greater things. Each student is to take himself in hand, and with God's help overcome the faults that mar his character. And he is to show an earnest, unselfish interest in the welfare of the school. If he sees a loose board in a walk or a loose paling on the fence, let him at once get a hammer and nails and make the needed repairs. Nothing in the house or about the premises is to present a slack, dilapidated appearance." (141)

Many improvements were made by the spring of 1905. These included several changes in the faculty, many repairs, etc. As a result the enrollment had also improved to seventy-one. The value of the school property had also increased to \$15,437.66 (142)

G. H. Baker, principal during 1905-06, writing of the needs at Oakwood said that there was not a bathtub on the place and the needs included a better water system, buildings painted, laundry building, milk house, larger building to accommodate more students. (143)

(141) REVIEW, Sept. 1, 1904, E. G. White, "A Visit to the South--No. 4"

(142) REVIEW, Aug. 18, 1904, G. I. White, "A Review of the Work in Southern Union,"

May 18, 1905, Report of General Conference.

(143) REVIEW, Oct. 5, 1905, G. H. Baker, "Oakwood School, Huntsville, Alabama."

Seventy-five hundred dollars were appropriated during the year 1905-06. Five thousand to be used for facilities as a girls' dormitory and treatment rooms, the remaining \$2,000 was to build up and equip an orphanage. (144)

Following the suggestion of Mrs. White, plans were made for medical work in connection with the institution. Dr. Groom, who visited the school and attended a board meeting in January, 1906, recommended that the school not be hasty in the matter of a sanitarium, but that it develop its present building facilities as much as possible. He suggested that a sanitarium be started in the basement of the Home building. It was, therefore, decided accordingly, that both rooms and a water tank be installed in the basement of the Home building. (145)

As a result of the money appropriated to Oakwood, such additional improvements as two teacher's cottages, a new tool-house, a shed for the young cattle, a cistern, 700 ft. of sewer line were made by the Fall of 1906. Also, the following lines of manual training were being given: blacksmithing, carpentry, broom-making, agriculture, poultry raising, dairying, tea culture, horticulture, carpet-weaving, cooking, plain sewing and dressmaking. Still another new thing was done that year and that was that the teachers had some of their salaries paid to them by the school. Prior to that time, the conference had borne all of the salary expense. (146)

Of the spiritual condition of the students at this time, we learn that almost all of the students had accepted Christ; twenty-one being baptized in the 1905-06 school year. Often times students who knew nothing of the message attended the school.

(144) REVIEW, Jan. 25, 1906, G. A. Irwin, "Southern Union Conference."

(145) Oakwood Normal Training School Board Minutes, Jan. 24, 1906.

(146) REVIEW, October 4, 1906, O. R. Staines, "Progress and Oakwood School." Board meeting, January 23, 1906.

These usually accepted the truth and requested baptism. The students engaged in missionary work among the school's neighbors during this period. (147)

It will be interesting to stop here and consider a few items of interest found in the minutes of the faculty, committee, and board meetings as well as in the REVIEW.

"A lengthy discussion was entered (at a board meeting) as to the feasibility of lighting our school buildings with electricity. It was the idea of some that with our water plant we install a dynamo sufficient to produce lights for the several buildings. However, it was finally voted that we keep kerosene lamps until the need of electric lights presents itself."

VOTED, that a team be provided to take students to town each Friday, the boys one Friday and the girls the next, each student to pay ten cents per trip."

Some salary rates of faculty members during 1908 were:

Treasurer: \$12.00 per week; Doctor-\$12.00; Farm Manager-\$10.00
Preceptor - \$10.00

The tuition for full work was: Primary- \$1.00; Intermediate-\$1.50;
Training school - \$2.00.

The students rates per hour were: boys - 4 1/2¢ to 8¢. Girls from about 4¢ to 6¢. Girls working in the garden for farm received one cent more per hour than those engaged in domestic work. The students put in fourteen hours per week without remuneration.

Girls, this may be the beginning of the middy and skirt uniform!

At a faculty meeting in 1905, Mrs. Baker, the wife of the principal, and the wives of the faculty members were requested to form a committee to investigate the adopting of a uniform for girls. This committee advised that uniforms be worn by girls on Sabbath and at chapel exercises.

And boys! sewing classes were held for boys and girls in 1906.

An embryonic normal department was being conducted in 1905-06.

(147) REVIEW, October 4, 1906, W. J. Blake, "Alabama."
REVIEW, October 5, 1905, G. H. Baker, "Oakwood School, Huntsville, Alabama"

The normal students received practice by teaching in the primary department of six students. (148)

It seemed that the school was improving in building facilities and enrollment quite rapidly from the time of Sister White's visit. That its main building should burn at this particular time, October, 1906, would seem discouraging to even a stout heart. It would seem that the hand of God was against the school. However, plans were immediately made to rebuild on a larger scale.

The committee dealing with the situation voted to erect five new buildings, "one building of two stories for school purposes solely, with chapel, recitation rooms, office for president, etc., another, a dormitory for the boys, about the same size; a one-story building for bath and treatment rooms, on a small scale; another for a workshop; and one for dining-room and kitchen." It was estimated that these buildings would not cost more than \$7,000. Two thousand would come from the insurance on the destroyed building, and \$5,000 from a \$50,000 fund being raised at that time for the Southern work. The idea of the small buildings was to obviate deaths from fire, one having perished in the recent fire, and also that the loss of property in case of fire might be small. The plan was to set the buildings apart quite a distance as a fire prevention, and to beautify the campus. (149)

(148) Board Minutes, Feb. 3 & 4, 1908.
Executive Committee Minutes, April 2, 1906, Nov. 23, 1907.
Faculty Minutes, October 1, 1905.
Committee on Program for Summer School of 1907, April 12, Minutes.
REVIEW, March 15, 1906, G. H. Baker, "The Oakwood School."

(149) REVIEW, Dec. 20, 1906, G. I. Butler, "Special Needs of the Huntsville, Alabama Colored School."

Our story of Oakwood ends here. That God's hand directed in the selecting of the property and in the establishing of the school, we have seen clearly. That the program of the institution was mostly slow can be attributed to poverty of funds, and field that cooperated poorly, and a faculty that was all too often weak. If our story carried us as far as the Oakwood of today, we would find a plant far surpassing the school of 1909 in value of equipment, in curriculum, and in enrollment.

General Conclusions

Now we'll consider some facts that I have considered as general and not belonging especially to any one of the phases we have discussed.

It was at the General Conference of 1893 that R. M. Kilgore, then connected with the work in the South, said:

"At present there is but one ordained minister, and one licensed missionary laboring among the colored millions of the South. There is not a school where one of them can receive any Bible instruction; and only one where even the common branches are taught by our people. One of our sisters in Graysville, Tennessee has opened the doors of her home and is teaching a small class of colored youth. We plead most earnestly that the conference take immediate action in regard to this matter. We must do something toward educating workers to labor among this people, and provide facilities whereby the children and youth of our colored brethren and sisters may have equal advantages with those of fairer complexions." (157)

At this same General Conference W. W. Prescott said, "One or more schools should be opened in the South for the colored people." (158)

The following resolution was adopted at the conference of 1893:

"We recommend that other local schools for white students and colored students be established at such places in the South, and on such a plan, as may be deemed best by the General Conference Committee, after careful investigation of all the circumstances." (159)

(157) REVIEW, General Conference Bulletin #15, Feb. 21, 1893, R. M. Kilgore, Supt., Dist. #2.

(158) Ibid, #15, Feb. 23, 1893.

(159) Ibid, #20, Resolutions #11.

There probably were other actions taken by the General Conference prior to 1893, but my limited research material does not supply me with bulletins preceding 1893.

In 1893 there were barely twenty colored believers below the Mason-Dixon line. These paid a tithe that amounted to less than \$50.00 per year. (160)

When the twentieth century dawned, it found about seventeen laborers under the pay of the General Conference working almost exclusively for colored people, eight or ten were devoting part of the meager tuition paid by the pupils. It found Oakwood with an enrollment of fifty. There had not been any tent effort conducted by colored when the century opened, but the next year in 1901, the first tent meeting for colored, by colored was held. The new century likewise found 315 Sabbathkeepers and seven organized churches in the Southern field. (161)

The colored membership had grown from about twenty in 1892 and 1893, and 315 at the beginning of 1900 to over 700 in 1907. There were 50 churches in 1907; 45 ministers; a yearly tithe of \$5,000; nine tent companies in the field below the Mason-Dixon line.

There was one lone colored canvasser in 1893, but there were 13 canvassers in 1908. In 1908 the membership stood at more than 1,000 with 65 churches; 16 church buildings and 20 mission schools.

There were fourteen tent companies in the field in 1897. (162)

Up to about 1902, the Southern Missionary Society had almost full charge of the colored work in the Southern Union, especially in Mississippi. In 1905 G. I. Butler stated that about as much had been done by that Society in gaining members from the Negro race as by all other agencies for winning colored people in the Southern Union combined. (163)

(160) REVIEW, Aug. 12, 1907, Sydney Scott "Progress of the Work for Colored People in the South."

(161) Ibid, REVIEW, Feb. 27, 1900, S. N. Haskell, "In the Southern Field." Jan. 1901, N. W. Allen, "Dist #2" Nov. 5, 1903.

(162) Ibid.

(163) REVIEW, March 2, 1905, G. I. Butler, "To Our Brethren in the South" May 13, 1902. G. I. Butler, "Recent Labors in the Great Southern Field." 1909.

Prior to 1904 the Society had done its school work in Mississippi, but in that year school work in other states was begun. In 1909, over twenty of these schools were in operation in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. (164)

Writing of these schools, C. D. Bollman said:

"Scarcely any them are self-supporting... For the purpose of controlling the attendance at these schools, and also of making each teacher as self-helpful as possible, the Society required that tuition shall be collected as far as possible. In very few instances are there tuitions sufficient to pay the salary of the teacher. ...in cases where parents were absolutely unable to pay any tuition, and in cases where they are able but unwilling, there is usually some way to make arrangements for the payment of a small tuition in order that the children may not be deprived of the advantage of a Christian education. So in no case is the real object of the school made subservient to the financial phase of the work."

The institutions like Fisk, Tuskegee, Spellman, Walden, etc., reach the better class but the mission schools reached all classes. (165)

A little tract entitled "The South" partially describes the work done by the Southern Missionary Society. The tract states that at the time of its writing, the Southern Missionary Society had developed five ordained ministers, thirteen school teachers, Bible workers and medical missionary workers, twenty-seven in all.

In a financial way the Society was supported by appropriations, gifts from individuals, and the sale of such books as the GOSPEL PRIMER, THE STORY OF JOSEPH, THE COMING KING and other books from the pen of Elder J. E. White.

Although the Southern Missionary Society did a great work and we give it credit for its work and the organized way in which it functioned, we must certainly remember that other agencies, though not so well organized, did great work for the colored people in regions where the Society did not reach.

(164) REVIEW, Nov. 3, 1903, J. E. White, THE WORK AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE, Year Bk.
 (165) REVIEW, Dec. 17, 1908, C. P. Bollman.

The State and Union conferences employed many workers and built many churches outside of the Society. The Southwestern Union carried on its work independent of the Society.

The Southwestern Union colored work was organized under the direction of the Union Conference in 1901. The work began very small but grew until in 1905, there were six churches and three church buildings and three ministers in the union. Two tents were ordered in 1905 by the union. One of these was used by Arkansas for the colored and the other in Texas among the colored. The believers paid a tithe of about \$400.00 during 1905. There were 100 believers. (166)

By the end of 1906 there were eight laborers in the union and one church school with an enrollment of twenty located at Devall's Bluff, Arkansas, on a forty acre farm. (167)

The statistical report of the denomination showed that at the close of 1907, the Southwestern Union had nine churches, 110 members who paid tithe of \$420.00 for the year; had four church buildings valued at \$1,000 with a seating capacity of 200; had two ordained ministers, three licensed ministers; three licensed missionaries, four canvassers; gave a total offering of \$35.64 to missions for the year, and operated five Sabbath schools and two young people's societies. (168)

The colored work was given to the local conferences again in 1908. This was the arrangement existing before 1901. (169)

(166) REVIEW, Sept. 17, 1908, Statistical Report.
 " June 22, 1905, N. P. Nelson, "Report of Southwestern Union Conference.
 " Sept. 7, 1905, N. P. Nelson, "The Work for the Colored Peoples in the Southwestern Union Conference."
 " March 1, 1906, C. N. Woodward.
 (167) REVIEW, Sept. 19, 1907, "Statistical Report for Year Ending Dec. 31, 1906.
 (168) REVIEW, Sept. 17, 1908, Statistical Report.
 (169) REVIEW, Aug. 27, 1908, C. N. Woodward.

Having found the colored work far from self-supporting, the Southern Union Conference Committee appealed to the General Conference Committee to appoint a day in each year throughout the whole country for the raising of funds for the colored work. (170) Accordingly, the General Conference Committee passed the following recommendation at a meeting held at College View, Nebraska, "That the first Sabbath in November be appointed for a collection in all our churches for the colored work throughout the South." (171)

In 1905 the General Conference Committee changed the time of the offering from the first Sabbath in November to the first Sabbath in October. (172)

The first year's offering ran up to nearly \$10,000 but after that year the offering became small for each year until 1908 when many strong appeals were made for money. That year, at the Northern campmeetings, the needs were presented and some campmeetings gave as high as \$2,000 and \$3,000 for Oakwood and for the new sanitarium in Nashville. The offering for that year was distributed to the three union conferences in the South and to the State of Virginia. (173)

We have tried to trace as best we could the Negro work in North America from its infancy. We have seen it develop from less than twenty members in the early nineties to over one thousand in 1908. Many times doubting believers who tired of the repeated calls made for help to carry on the colored work, asked if it paid, if the money being spent was not wasted.

Dear Reader, would you consider it unprofitable? Just think if the work had been dropped, what would have become of this thousand and more souls? Our story does not go beyond 1908 and 1909, but if it did reach to our time, we would find over 8,000 Negro Seventh-day Adventists in America today.

After the work had begun to broaden into practically every part of the country, and a strong ministry developed, the General Conference in session in 1909 created a North American Negro Department to work through its secretary

- (170) REVIEW, Aug. 18, 1904, G. I. Butler, "A Review of the Work in the Southern Union"
 (171) REVIEW, Oct. 13, 1904, A. G. Daniels.
 (172) REVIEW, June 22, 1905, W. A. Speer, "Action of Gen. Conference Committee."
 (173) REVIEW, Aug. 27, 1908, G. I. Butler; Aug. 27, 1908, I. H. Evans.

out of the General Conference headquarters the same as the other departments. The following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, that in carrying out the provision of the constitution creating a North American Negro Department of the General Conference, the following be the working basis:

- (A) That the work for the colored people in the Southern and Southwestern Union conferences be organized on a mission basis in each union.
 (B) That a strong effort be made to quickly place the truths of the message before the colored people of the South in the most effective ways, especially by the use of suitable literature, evangelistic work, and mission schools.

A large delegation of colored workers attended this conference. They took an active part in the discussions about the new departments. (174) A secretary for the Department was not chosen at the conference, but the matter was referred to the General Conference Committee.

Here we end our story. We trust that at some future time the story of the development of this work can be continued beyond 1908.

 (174) REVIEW, June, 17, 1909.

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 M. C. Sturdevant, March 27, April 24, 1932

OAKWOOD BULLETIN, Dec. 1, 1923.

" Board Minutes, January 23, 24, 1906; Feb. 3, 4, 1908.

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SOUTHERN WORK, Mrs. E. G. White.

STORY OF THE AIVENT MOVEMENT, Mrs. M. E. Andross.

THE SOUTH, J. I. White.

YEAR BOOK, 1905.



Special Number. Condition of the Field.

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NO. 10.

THE SOUTHERN FIELD CLOSING TO THE MESSAGE.

THE silence of our denominational papers with reference to the condition of the Southern field must not be taken as an indication of the real situation. There are evidences and indications which we feel should be known by us as a people, and which it is not wisdom to publish in the columns of any of our periodicals. Of a truth: the powers from beneath are becoming wonderfully active, and their servants among men are responding with alarming promptness.

We have supposed that white people could go into any part of our free United States and teach the gospel, instruct the ignorant, feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, without fear of molestation or interference. How true this is may be gathered from the facts we shall present in the pages of this article.

The following paragraphs are taken from an editorial in the July number of the GOSPEL HERALD:—

Danger Signals.

THE SOUTHERN FIELD IS CLOSING.

"Our recent instructions warn us that the South is a very difficult field, 'and soon will be even more difficult.' We are also told that the field is closing, and that in some places it has already closed to some lines of work.

"Recent experiences show this to be a fact. Calmar was practically closed to the work last year by the efforts of a mob of wicked men, and yet the seed sown in that place is still active and bearing fruit. The little company there are standing firm, and others who heard the truth before are from time to time taking their stand.

"This season, at Yazoo City, as people began to take their stand for the truth, the colored church element became angry, and by working among a certain class of whites, stirred them to opposition. (See the pointing out of just this kind of work in the little book, "Southern Work," page 118.) The city papers wrote scurrilous and false editorials which stirred up a bitter feeling among a certain class of whites, on the ground that our white teachers were teaching in our colored schools. Such a statement was false, for we had, weeks before, withdrawn all white teachers and had replaced them with colored teachers. But their purpose was served by the statement just the same.

"Our colored workers were intimidated, and even ordered not to hold further services in our church. The latter injunction was unheeded, but great care is being taken to do all work quietly, and to avoid unnecessary opposition.

"In another place a colored man was whipped a year ago, and has been subjected to threats ever since. He has lately been arrested and thrown into prison on an evidently false and trumped up charge of murder. His belief made him obnoxious. We shall defend him in court to the best of our ability.

"These omens, together with developments in other places, indicate that Mississippi, at least, is practically closed to white labor among colored people. Judicious colored workers must be supplied, who will work under instruction, to teach school and give Bible lessons to their own race, and so bring to them the knowledge of the Third Angel's Message.

"But the fields are closing, and what will our record be when presented with our failure to move out in this work while yet we can? There are fields where we can work. Shall we

wait till these fields are also closed against the truth? 'Do something, and that at once,' is the instruction that is coming to us now."

For more than three years active work has been in progress in Yazoo City, Miss., and vicinity. In all this work politics have been ignored. Our workers in the South have no politics. Our kingdom is "not of this world." We have also studiously refrained from having anything to say in regard to the customs of the South. Although some of the customs are wrong, oppressive, and wicked, they were there before we came, they are very positive and aggressive, and nothing any reformers may do can change them; and instead of their growing better, every thinking man can see that they are growing more pronounced and positive.

Our duty is not to attempt to battle with problems we can not solve, and difficulties we can not remedy. Our duty is to carry Present Truth to those who know it not, and leave these social and political problems with Him who will finally right all wrongs, and bring relief to all who are oppressed.

There is one line of work in some parts of the South that it seems can not be tolerated, and that is the teaching and educating of the colored people by white teachers. As yet there is no opposition to the work of colored teachers, and that is why we are doing our best to secure competent and reliable colored people to go into this field to work for their own race. But for two years

Brother Rogers was connected with the large school at Lintonia, a suburb of Yazoo City, as its principal. During that time he was often insulted on the streets, hooted at by the boys, stoned, and once nearly knocked down in the street by roughs. This was because he was teaching a school for colored people.

But no organized opposition came to the work until the Sabbath question became prominent, and quite a goodly number were taking their stand for the truth. Now, the devil hates the Sabbath worse than any other truth held by God's people, and he certainly made his hatred manifest in this place. A mass meeting of the colored people was held, and white men were asked to be present to address them. One prominent and supposedly respectable citizen advised the colored people to mob our workers. Committees of the lower strata of society were sent to interview and threaten the workers, and the situation became grave. In justice to the better class of citizens we would say that no mob demonstration, or other unlawful acts have yet come from the respectable, business class of citizens. The authorities have also been active in the protection of workers so far as was in their power.

At this juncture in the work the newspapers of the city took up the matter in a way that surprised us. The following is an editorial from one of their papers:—

Seventh-day Adventists.

"The period of reconstruction in the South was an epoch in local history which will not soon be forgotten by the people of Mississippi, and particularly those of Yazoo County. Under the leadership of unscrupulous carpet-baggers, the negroes were arrayed against the whites, and every plan which a cunning brain could devise was resorted to to humiliate the South and place 'black heels on white necks.' The history of that epoch is written in the blood of the best manhood of the State, and the mounds in our cemeteries are silent monuments to the heroic sacrifices that were made to maintain natural

conditions and the right of a superior race to rule a country which his intelligence had brought to a high state of civilization.

"At the cost of many precious lives, carpet bagism was overthrown and the temple scourged of the scoundrels and thieves who had invaded the South and attempted to put upon them a yoke worse than death. A condition of peace and prosperity was again restored, and the negroes soon saw the best friend he ever had was the white people of the South. This condition of peaceful relation between the races has been maintained uninterruptedly to the present time. Now, however, an element of discord has been introduced in local affairs, and unless prompt and radical measures are taken to avert the impending trouble, a conflict, the end of which no man can foresee, is sure to follow.

"A white man named Rogers, representing the so-called Seventh-day Adventists, has been proselyting among negroes here for about a year past. He has been permitted to go about his work of teaching the negroes, until it has become so distasteful to the whites and the better colored element, that they are becoming alarmed. Rogers established a church and a school, exclusively for negroes, and though Yazoo City is well supplied with schools and churches for negroes, to the support of which the whites contribute liberally, no open protest was made until it became known that Rogers is not only teaching social equality, but practicing it. It is stated by reliable negroes that he has adopted two negro girls aged about sixteen. Whether or not this is true, we do not know, but we state as an absolute certainty that these negro girls are living with Rogers as members of his family; that they eat at the same table, sleep in the house with his family, sit around the fireside with them, and to all appearances are equal members thereof.

"Aside from this, which, in itself, is enough to damn him in the eyes of all decent people, the so-called religious doctrine which he teaches is contrary to the law of the land. In brief, he teaches that the day which we all recognize as the holy Sabbath, is not the Sabbath at all, and that any kind of work may be done on that day with impunity. And this in face of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has re-

fused to sustain them in their position. Our Sunday has been set apart by all Christian nations for centuries as a holy day—a day of rest, in conformity with Divine injunction, and no intelligent, Christian community will tolerate any man who persistently teaches open violation of it.

"Rogers' deluded followers are not smart enough to see that his only interest in them is to separate them from their hard earned money, and that the doctrine which he is teaching will sooner or later bring them to grief. The better element of their race recognize this, and are outspoken in their denunciation of the work he is doing here.

"The *Sentinel* would much regret to see the history of 1875 repeated in Yazoo County, but we greatly mistake the temper of her people if they sit calmly by and long permit this interloper to teach and practice a doctrine which is so repugnant to the traditions of her people. This rule of color and law of race has always been preserved in the South. We have treated the negro always kindly and considerately, but always with a firmness that could not be misunderstood. We have built him a home, but have not permitted him the liberties of our own; we have built him a church, but have not allowed him to mingle with us in worship; we have built him a schoolhouse, and taxed ourselves to support it, but we have seen to it that his children have not mingled with our children in the study hall, on the play ground, or elsewhere. We have treated him justly; but in doing so, we have also been just to ourselves. In doing this we have simply enforced nature's laws, and obeyed the will of that Being who created a superior and an inferior race. This the negro well understands, and the work of Rogers and his ilk will find little encouragement among the better class of colored people who want to see the peaceful relations between the races preserved. We trust that Rogers will have sense enough to understand and respect this sentiment, and seek more congenial fields for the propagation of his noxious social-equality ideas before it is too late."—*Yazoo Sentinel*, June 7, 1900.

To the political side of this question we shall make but little comment, for with this we as a people have nothing to do. And yet we

THE GOSPEL HERALD.

87

would call attention to the tone of the first two paragraphs of the article. Old issues, supposed to be buried after the war, are here taken up, and it will be seen that the same spirit still exists which brought about the war of the sixties.

To the rest of this article we would say that no single individual is responsible for this school at Lintonia. The school was established and is managed by the Southern Missionary Society. Brother Rogers is our Superintendent of Instruction for the State of Mississippi, and in all his efforts in this place he has been working under the instruction of the Society, and according to the plans and principles which are from time to time adopted in its councils.

So far as social equality among the races is concerned, we stamp the statement in this paper as a barefaced falsehood. If the editor of the paper was acquainted with the circumstances, he would know that such is the case. If he is not acquainted with the circumstances, and yet publishes such matter as this, he is equally responsible; for it is false in either case.

In regard to the negro girls mentioned in this article as being adopted by Brother Rogers, this is also false. He has simply undertaken to help two girls to obtain an education who would otherwise be unable to do anything of this kind. According to the customs of the land, they are not brought into his family as members of his family, and in no wise has he departed from the customs of the South in this work. So this statement is also false.

In regard to "Rogers' deluded followers," I will say that there are a number of people in the vicinity of Yazoo City who are very thankful for the help and encouragement which have been brought to them through the efforts of the Southern Missionary Society. They have been assisted to obtain an education, and efforts have been made to teach them the principles of true Christianity,

and they do appreciate this work. The success of the work has been so great that the membership of our school has reached the number of two hundred, with an attendance which has over-crowded our first building, and compelled us to erect an addition last season; and even then the school was so crowded that in the language of some of our General Conference officers who visited the school, the students were packed like "sardines in a box."

There is a class of colored people, however, who are opposed to this work, and this is the class of colored ministers who desire to lord it over their congregations, and who are teaching the people false doctrines, holding them in error and keeping them in church-superstition, which is equal to that of the Roman Catholic Church in her palmiest days. Such people object to the work of enlightenment which is coming to their audiences, because it introduces the same result upon the people that the teaching of Christ did when He was on earth. The power of the priests and rulers was broken by the simple gospel of Jesus Christ.

We have little to say with reference to the statement that the colored people are being treated justly by the whites in school or in other lines. This is a phase of the problem which we do not exploit, and which it will do no good to stir up. Our only work is to bring help to those who need it, to bring education to the ignorant, and a true Gospel to those who are receiving the false.

In response to the foregoing article, Brother Rogers sent the following statement to the "*Yazoo City Herald*," which is the only other daily paper published there:—

Adventist F. R. Rogers.

HE DENIES THE CHARGE OF TEACHING SOCIAL EQUALITY.

YAZOO CITY, MISS., June 8, 1900.
Editor Herald: Understanding the reports that have been circulated about us and our work, I wish to state to the public, in order to right myself on these matters, that we DO NOT believe in social equality, neither do we teach or practice it.

We have never adopted any colored girls nor do we ever expect to do so. None has ever eaten at our table or spent their evenings in our parlor. True, we have had servants and treated them as such. We have ever been cautious to observe the customs of this place and be governed by them. We are ever for peace and as law-abiding citizens have never taught anything to the contrary. We believe in obeying the laws ourselves and teaching others to do the same.

Now, with these facts before the public I have a clear conscience before God and man.

With best wishes for the people of Yazoo City, and much success to the *Herald*, I am,
 Truly yours,

F. R. ROGERS.

To this statement the paper made the following response:—

"Elsewhere in to-day's *Herald* will be found a communication from Mr. F. R. Rogers, the leader of the Seventh-day Adventists in Yazoo City, and who, for his own good and that of the community, has left, he leaving for Vicksburg Saturday. It will be noted that Rogers denies that he ever taught or practiced social equality while in Yazoo City. His denial will do him no good, for the proof is conclusive that he both taught and practiced it. Having accomplished the object it had in view, that of getting Rogers away from Yazoo City, the *Herald* will not now engage in any discussion with him. We are glad that he is gone, as the room of all such in this community is worth more than their company. Now that he is gone, the *Herald* would advise his deluded followers to give up the worse than foolish doctrine that he has been teaching. No good can come to the colored people from following it, and only harm to them will be the result. Rogers took the sensible view of the situation in quietly leaving after the issue had been raised. We would now warn others not to come here to take up the work that he has left."

To this we only have to say that this statement from this paper is also false, and that it is false is susceptible of abundant proof. Both papers of the city simply joined in the publication of statements without foundation, to prejudice the people against our work.

As to Brother Rogers leaving Yazoo City, we felt that when this opposition came, the time had arrived when we should remove our white workers from the place and make a

change in our plans, putting the work entirely into the hands of the colored workers, who would operate under the instruction of the Society. So Brother Rogers moved his family to Vicksburg, and in so doing was only following the example of Christ when brought into similar conditions while in His work on earth.

This will explain our situation, even in view of the following statement, which also appeared in the *Sentinel*:—

"We are informed that F. R. Rogers, the white man whose social equality practices were exposed in the *Sentinel* last week, will have a statement in the *Herald* this week denying the allegation which this paper has made against him. Of course any statement a man like Rogers may make is not worthy of notice or credence, and is referred to here only to emphasize his true character. The *Sentinel's* charges were based on the testimony of at least five white people whose reputation for truth and veracity is unimpeachable. If Rogers was not guilty, as charged, why did he make such haste to leave town? We understand that he has gone to Vicksburg, where the denomination which he represents has a pretty strong following. He told a gentleman here that they had secured a pretty good foothold in every State in the South except Mississippi, but that the people in this State did not take kindly to their peculiar doctrine. They had been forced to leave Jackson, he said, on account of the unpopularity of their teaching. The church and school which Rogers established here have been turned over to a young white-looking negro named Warnick who recently came here from Philadelphia."

We also stamp these statements as absolutely false, with no foundation in fact. The statement near the close of this article, that "they had been forced to leave Jackson," is also false, because we never began operations in Jackson in any way, shape, or manner, and this will go along side of the other statements which are quoted in this connection.

In the same number of the *Yazoo Herald* occurred the following paragraph, which our people can take for what it is worth:—

"The Seventh-Day Adventist cess-pool in Yazoo City has been cleared of much of its filth. This was done because the citizens—the better element, the law-abiding ones—decided that it should be. Now there are some other pools here that breed as much filth and corruption as did the Adventists. They should also be cleansed. They can be if the people only say the word. They will never cleanse themselves. There are not a half dozen citizens in the city who don't know to what we refer. The *Herald* has no more evidence of their existence than anyone else. The moral atmosphere would be much better if these places were closed. Will they be?"

If to be a law-abiding citizen, to regard the poor of the country in which we are working, to teach the pure and simple gospel of Jesus Christ, and to endeavor to uplift the fallen and teach the poor, entitles us to such names as are given in this article, we are willing to receive them. But please remember that these statements show the trend of events in some portions of the South, and emphasize strongly the statement that *the fields are closing*.

We would again emphasize the fact that these false statements and this violent opposition do not come from the better class of citizens as stated in the foregoing quotation. Wherever we have been, the business people have always respected us and treated us as well as we have ever been treated in our lives.

In the *Yazoo City Herald* of June 1, is found the following article:—

A Word to the Colored People.

DANGER IN FOLLOWING THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.

"The religiously inclined of our colored people—and most all of them have a tendency toward religion—are becoming exercised at the influence certain Seventh Day Adventists are having over their race in Yazoo City. For more than a year the Adventists have been quietly at work among the negroes, having established a church and school for them in Lintonia. For a time their doctrine did not seem to make much headway. But they have persisted, and by throwing in a large slice of social equality with their Seventh

Day observance doctrine, they have influenced a number to join them and to renounce the Sabbath Day, which is and has been observed by every Christian denomination since the morning the Saviour rose from the tomb.

"To counteract the influence of the Seventh Day people there was a large meeting of the colored people at St. Stephens church Friday night. This meeting was attended by several whites, who wanted to assure the colored people of their sympathy in their efforts to overcome the trouble to follow their acceptance of the doctrine, teachings, and practice of these Seventh Day people.

"These people are strangers to the negro, and have no real sympathy with his material and religious welfare. The whites and blacks are now living harmoniously together, and it would be the utmost folly for the blacks to listen to any man or woman whose teachings would in the least interfere with this condition. If the Seventh Day doctrine is a good one, and the only correct one, then the blacks should insist that those who seem so deeply interested in their welfare should go among the whites and teach it, and not confine their teachings exclusively to their race. That they are not doing this in Yazoo City, should be enough to make the colored people let these strangers alone.

"The laws of the State of Mississippi recognize the Sabbath Day, and prohibit worldly employment on that day. This law these Seventh Day people want their followers to fly in the face of and to bid it defiance. They teach that Saturday is the day that should be observed as one of rest—and that it is neither wrong in morals or law to do any and all kinds of work on what is recognized as the Christian Sabbath.

"This is a dangerous doctrine for anyone to be teaching in this community—especially among the colored people. No good can result from such a doctrine, and the dangers are only increased when coupled with the practice of social equality. The *Herald* knows enough about the old Southern darkey to know that they never expect to see the social barrier between the two races broken down, and it knows more than that, that the negroes have no respect for the white man or woman who practices or teaches it.

"The *Herald* does not know to

THE GOSPEL HERALD.

89

what extent the teachings of these people have gone in Yazoo City, but we think it now time to speak a word of warning, inasmuch as the better element of the colored people are taking notice of the dangerous ground upon which they are leading some of their race. If these Seventh Day people are here teaching social equality between the races and defiance to a State law, they should be told quietly but firmly to move on. It is easier to put out a spark than it is a conflagration.

"We say this as much in the interest of the colored people, as of the whites, and would advise the colored people to let these strangers alone. To take their advice against the counsel and teaching of their lifelong friends of both races, is folly and nonsense, and can only result in injury to them."

Another statement made in the foregoing screed is incorrect. We do not teach our people to "fly in the face" of the Sunday laws of Mississippi. According to instructions we teach the colored people to refrain from work on that day, or to do any other deed which will stir up the animosity of the people. This paper has simply set up a man of straw and then thrown mud at it.

We have little comment to make on this article, as nearly all the points have been previously commented on, but one point we would like to mention. "These people are strangers to the negro, and have no real sympathy with his material and real welfare." We have only to say that this is not the sentiment voiced by the better class of colored people who desire to see the advancement of their race.

In endeavoring to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, preach the Gospel to the poor, and bring education to the ignorant, we have shown to the better class of colored people that we have their interests at heart; and all this is done without putting contribution boxes under their nose or calling upon them to give of their limited means to purchase the Gospel, as is the case in most of the other colored churches.

We ask our people who read

this to carefully consider the situation as evidenced by these attacks upon us in Yazoo City. It is true that Brother Rogers left the place for Vicksburg. It was not because he was afraid to stay; it was not because he was ashamed of his work; it was not because he was dissatisfied with the result. It was simply for the purpose of doing everything in our power to promote peace and quiet in connection with the work. Violent opposition on our part can result in no good and can only intensify the spirit of persecution which is voiced in the articles previously quoted.

Nothing can be gained to the work in the South by attempting to oppose the prejudice of the people and to withstand their criticism. God will work out the problem in His own way if we do our duty. But as we look over the field and see its condition today, how earnest is our acceptance of the statement that "it is time to move when God speaks." Had we instituted the work years before, the people would now be accustomed to it, and even in these places where we are now having difficulty, the work could go forward without opposition. This is proved by circumstances which come under our own observation.

The effort to bring these facts to our people is to open before them some of the evidences which show the rapid closing of this Southern work. The efforts of certain States to disfranchise the negro is only intensifying the problem, and will result in making the work more difficult wherever this effort is being made. There are yet many places where the work can go forward and where white labor can still operate. What shall we do as a people in the way of pressing in and occupying these places before the devil has the start of us that he is gaining in many localities?

The Southern field is practically without facilities. It is hampered on every side for lack of means, and in

any line of work we are bound about by the lack of funds to carry it forward. We do not desire to make any comparisons in any lines of our work, but we believe before God today that if all our State Conferences, where the truth has been before the people for many years, would set apart a portion of their income to be placed immediately into this work, the Lord would bless them in so doing, and in the end more means would flow into their treasury as the result of such work. We are not alone in this statement, and have good authority for making it as broad as we have.

May the Lord help us to see the need of this neglected field and incline our hearts to do our utmost to relieve this pressing necessity.

FALSE ACCUSATION.

The following clipping from a Vicksburg paper was sent to us a few months ago. Mr. H. B. Aden, who gave the particulars, has been interviewed, and states that he knew nothing of the circumstances only as they were given to him by some negroes. These negroes were bitter enemies of N. W. Olvin, because of his religious belief, and from all accounts have banded together to persecute him in every way possible. The statement is as follows:—

FIENDISH MURDER

Of a Little Negro Boy by a Negro Man, in Issaquena County.

"From Mr. H. B. Aden who arrived in this city by last night's 7 o'clock Valley train, the following particulars of one of the most brutal and horrible murders ever committed in this section, are learned:—

"Some months ago a negro man giving the name of N. W. Oliver, came to the Valley Park section, and located on the Dixie plantation where he taught school. A short time after his coming, he took up with a colored woman who had a child, a boy about five years old. Oliver took a dislike to the child, and on many occasions treated him shamefully.

"A few days ago, Oliver whipped the child most unmercifully, break-

ing the flesh in many places. The mother dared not utter a word of complaint, fearing the anger of the brute Oliver.

"After Oliver had beaten the child until but little life was left, he spread grease over its body and limbs in great profusion and then held it so near a hot stove that the flesh was blistered. The victim of this most unhuman treatment died white in the hands of Oliver.

"The latter was arrested, and committed without bail. If the full extent of his crime had been known before he was sent to jail, it is probable he would never have lived to have a trial.

"A gentleman from that section in the city to-day states that Oliver's life is in no wise secure even now."

The spelling of the name of Olvin is about as true and accurate as the rest of the statement. His name is Olvin instead of Oliver. He never undertook to teach a school in that section, but simply took a piece of land to work as others do. He did not "take up with a colored woman who had a child." But an orphan boy who was wandering about homeless, was taken by him into his family, and was treated like one of his own children. The boy had previously been exposed to smallpox and soon came down with the loathsome disease. And although Brother Olvin was living in poverty, he and his family took care of this boy till he recovered.

It is true that the boy needed correction; for he had so long run wild that he was found stealing from the neighbors, and in correcting him, Brother Olvin did no more than his duty. The statement of a refinement of cruelty as given in this clipping are also false. The man Olvin we have regarded as an earnest, sincere Christian man, who has his faults with others, and yet who is endeavoring to serve God and overcome his faults. He accepted the truth at Calmar, and is the man who was there whipped by the mob because he had accepted the Sabbath and was giving Bible readings among his people.

After this, while he was absent on

business at Vicksburg, his crop of cotton was taken from his storehouse by his landlord, under pretense that it was all due for rent of land. In this way he was robbed of his whole year's income, for which there was no redress.

As in the case of Daniel they had no fault to find against this man except "concerning the law of his God." All kind of good things were proposed and offered to him if he would give up the truth of the Bible, but that was just the thing he would not do. They sought some occasion to arrest him, but he fled from the place before they could do it.

In another county he rented land and undertook to raise a crop this season. He was in debt on account of the usage he had received, and was very anxious to pay this debt. But he was followed to his new home, and every effort was made to break him up there.

He has been persistently followed ever since, and this accusation of murder is simply a part of the program of persecution which began with the people at Calmar.

I had a conversation with his wife, who utterly repudiates the charge of cruelty and brutality as stated in this article. She says that they have lived happily together, and that he is very kind in his family.

The facts are these: After the boy had been nursed through his attack of smallpox, he came down, through improper eating, with dysentery. One day he was lying on the veranda, the floor of which is five feet from the ground. Brother Olvin was in the house lying down, as he was suffering from fever that day. The boy rose from his couch, and it is supposed that as he rose he was seized with dizziness, and he fell from the veranda, striking his head upon a wash-tub and fracturing his skull.

The daughter saw the boy fall, and made an outcry, and Sister Olvin ran out to see what the trouble was. She saw the boy lying on the ground. Brother Olvin was roused by the out-

cry, and he went out, picked up the boy, and carried him into the house. As the result of the wound, the boy died that night. The wicked element took from this the pretext to make a complaint against Olvin and have him arrested for murder.

The Coroner was a colored man. The Coroner's jury, which he empanelled, were all colored men, and were the same men who made the complaint against Olvin. The injustice of the thing can be readily seen.

Not to dwell upon this case longer, we will say that the evidence is conclusive of the innocence of Olvin. The very men who testified on the jury are frightened at the situation, and some time ago some of them stated that they would not testify in Court to what they had testified at the Coroner's inquest. Some say that before the case comes to trial, they will leave the county and will not testify. All this shows that they know their statements to be false, and they fear the consequences.

We have secured the best talent in Vicksburg to defend the case, but the persecution of Brother Olvin has been so intense that we shall remove him from the State as soon as the case is settled.

WORK TO BE DONE.

We are instructed that we must work for the white as well as for the colored people. From time to time the HERALD has told of the need of educational work in the mountain regions of North Carolina and Tennessee.

The Hildebran School.

To begin this work, there seems to be no better way than to assist Elder Shireman in his school and colporter work at Hildebran, N. C. We can in this way study his work, and, when strong enough with facilities and means, be prepared to open up other fields.

But Elder Shireman needs help in his work. He has built up the school and equipped it at his own expense,

THE GOSPEL HERALD.

91

and with but little outside assistance has carried it forward as well as he could for several years; but now the interest in his school has spread throughout the surrounding country, and the necessities of this school demand some assistance from us in the North.

As stated in the GOSPEL HERALD, we are endeavoring to raise a fund of \$300 to aid in this work. \$50 of it has been already subscribed, and yet we need \$250 more to give him the aid which he needs for facilities and expenses this season. Shall we quickly raise the means so much needed for this work?

As before stated the subscription list is already started, and by an examination of the October HERALD, each one can see what has already been done. Let us help this worthy enterprise.

The Publishing Work.

As has been elsewhere stated, publishing facilities have already been procured for the work, at Nashville, Tenn. The need of this work has been already explained; books must be issued in cheap form for circulation by the hundreds of thousands among those who are unable to pay the regular prices at which these books are furnished in the North.

Arrangements have been made to issue an edition of 10,000 copies of the "Gospel Primer," which can be sold in substantial paper covers for 10 cents per copy. Colporter wagons are preparing to start in North Carolina to reach the people who are in such need of proper reading matter. We hope to soon see some starting in Tennessee also. We desire to be able to supply these people with these books by the thousands.

After the work is once started we expect to be able to get the first cost price out of the books; but funds are needed at once to purchase paper for a 10,000 edition of this book. It has been proposed to raise \$150 for this purpose. One-half of this fund has already been raised, but \$75 more will be needed to complete

this paper fund. Shall this be done immediately?

Treatment Rooms at Nashville.

In accordance with the light which we have received on this subject, the Southern Missionary Society has planned to open treatment rooms for the colored people at Nashville, Tenn. The plan under consideration now is to rent a store building with rooms in the upper story. The store below can be fitted up for church purposes, for a day and night school, and for reading rooms. The rooms above can be fitted up for treatment rooms. This is breaking new ground in the colored work, but we believe it to be along proper lines, and that it will be successful in reaching the people.

In connection with this we expect to have a training school for nurses in which colored men and women can come and receive training in this line of work, which will fit them to do medical missionary work in a simple way among their own people. They will be taught proper methods of cooking in addition to their nurses' work, so that they can enter into the homes of the people, give simple treatments, and teach them how to care for themselves.

Those taking this training will be sent to visit the houses of the people in Nashville, and when they find cases that need attention they will report them at headquarters, and a nurse will accompany one or more of the students and have them give the treatments under instructions. This work will be a practical clinic in these lines.

We mentioned this method of instruction in a letter to Dr. Kellogg, of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, and he replied as follows: "In reference to the work of training colored nurses I think an excellent way would be to have them trained at the bedside. Bedside training is a very efficient means of training."

It has been planned to raise a fund of \$1,000 to secure proper facilities to open this work at Nashville. \$200 of this fund have already been raised

as will be seen by consulting the list in the GOSPEL HERALD; we shall be glad to have you consider the names there given.

In addition to this we have received the following line from Dr. Kellogg, in response to an inquiry as to the best facilities to provide. He says: "I have a nice little electric light bath which I will donate, and which will be far ahead of a steam bath."

We had not thought it possible to secure such facilities as this, and we are certainly very grateful for Dr. Kellogg's interest in this effort.

We have already secured a fine corps of experienced nurses to take charge of this work. We only lack sufficient means, and a little time, to put this enterprise into operation. Shall we receive the remaining \$800 during the next thirty days?

Annual Meeting of the Southern Missionary Society.

THE Second Annual meeting of the Southern Missionary Society will be held at Yazoo City, Mississippi, Wednesday, Jan. 30, 1900. A good representation of stockholders is desired.

J. E. WHITE, *Pres.*
F. M. KELLOGG, *Secy.*

"Best Stories."

THE book "Best Stories from the Best Book" is scoring such an immediate success as did no other book we have ever issued. Below are a few of the words of commendation:—

"Mrs. Akin of this city put in 5½ hours last week on 'Best Stories,' and secured 14 orders. The book is a fine seller." W. S. CLEVELAND.

Jamestown, N. J.

"I think it will be a fine seller."

Des Moines, Iowa.

W. L. MANFULL.

"The prospectuses came yesterday and we all think them little beauties. I see no reason why thousands of these little educators can not be sold in the next few weeks." C. D. WOLF.

Charlotte, N. C.

"I have just received the prospectus to 'Best Stories from the Best Book' and I can sound its loudest praise everywhere. My little girl said she could sell 'that.' Well I think most any one could sell it."

Waukomis, Okla.

R. H. THOMPSON.

"I have taken sixty orders for 'Best Stories' in five days. My brother fourteen years old has taken thirty-two orders."

Mendon, Mich.

OLIVE B. HAGLE.

Order Blanks.— Those who desire to subscribe, or obtain subscribers for the GOSPEL HERALD, or those who wish to aid any branches of the work, can use the order blanks below. When filled out, cut from paper and forward to SOUTHERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1908 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.

Subscription Order Blank.

SOUTHERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1908 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

Please send the Gospel Herald one year to the following names and addresses, for which find inclosed 25 cents for each subscriber.

NAME.	POSTOFFICE.	STATE.

Name of Sender,

Postoffice, State,

Something for Nothing.

We have a plan by which those who have not the money to spare can yet assist the work of the Southern Missionary Society financially: we refer to the Smouse Missionary enterprise. The plan is that on application C. W. Smouse, of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, will send a package of 12 to 18 beautiful leatherette wall pockets, which will sell readily to friends and neighbors. The money received from this sale is forwarded to Bro. Smouse, and the profits on the sale are sent forward to aid the work of the Society. More than a thousand of these packages have already been sold, and nearly \$1,500 has already come into the work as the result of this enterprise.

YOU PAY NOTHING.—All you have to do is to fill out the blank below and send it to Bro. Smouse, and he will send the package to you with all charges prepaid. All you have to do is to give a little of your time, and a few hours work will sell a package, and this will bring a donation of about \$1.25 to the Society, and will be credited to you in the GOSPEL HERALD as a donation to the work. We hope that hundreds who receive this paper will fill out the blanks below, and send it Bro. Smouse, and so aid this needy field.

C. W. Smouse,
Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.

Please send me sample package of Missionary Wall Pockets, which I promise to sell as soon as possible after I receive them. I will send the money received for them as soon as I can sell them.

Name

Postoffice

Express Office State

Three Important Funds

Are mentioned on the opposite side of this sheet. We have endeavored to place the situation carefully before you. Are you interested in this neglected field? Would you and the friends in your church like to aid by sending a donation to some of these funds? If so, fill out the blank below as you feel called upon to do willingly, and send to the following address:—

Southern Missionary Society, 1908 Grand Ave., Nashville, Tenn.

Enclosed find \$..... as donation as specified below:

For \$1000 Treatment Room Fund, \$.....

For \$300 Hildebran School Fund, \$.....

For \$150 Gospel Primer Paper Fund, \$.....

Name

Postoffice

State

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION

VOL. 5.

OAKLAND, CAL., APRIL 9, 1903.

NO. 9.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

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DAILY PROGRAM

8-9 A. M., social meeting or instruction.

9:30-11:30 A. M., Conference meeting.

3-5 P. M., Conference meeting.

7:30 P. M., preaching service.

GENERAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Sixteenth Meeting

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 1903, 9:45 A. M.

Elder G. A. Irwin in the chair. Prayer by Elder J. N. Loughborough.

The Committee on Education submitted a report, which, by consent of the Conference, was ordered printed on slips, for the study of delegates.

It was voted that this report should be made the special order of business Thursday, at 9:30 A. M.

The Chair: We have some unfinished business before the house. On page 102 of the "Bulletin" is printed a partial report of the Committee on Plans. Recommendation 11 has been passed. The secretary will read Recommendation 12.

The Secretary (reading): "12. That the commandment of the Lord, that the poor shall be permitted to glean after the harvesters, be accepted as giving permission to representatives of needy missionary enterprises to visit the churches and families of the brethren in well-to-do conferences for the purpose of arousing an interest in

needy missionary enterprises and collecting money for the same. That the story of Ruth's be accepted as an illustration of the spirit and methods which should be followed in that work."

The question was called on this recommendation, and the reading of the next recommendation was called for.

The Secretary (reading): "13. That, in the interest of harmony and success, the local conference presidents be consulted before gleaning is begun in any field."

D. E. Lindsay: I move that this recommendation be amended by substituting for the word "presidents" the word "committees."

R. A. Underwood: I second the motion.

The motion to amend prevailed.

While the spirit and intent of the recommendations were being explained and discussed, the hour of adjournment arrived. The meeting was adjourned to 3 P. M., even date.

G. A. IRWIN,
Chairman.

H. E. OSBORNE,
Secretary.

GENERAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Seventeenth Meeting

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 3 P. M.

G. A. Irwin in the chair. Prayer by J. M. Rees.

The business before the Conference was the consideration of recommendations on page 102 of the "Bulletin," relating to assistance for the Southern work and needy enterprises.

On motion, it was voted to refer back Recommendations 12, 13, and 14 to the Committee on Plans, in order that the report from the Southern Union and other special instruction regarding the work in the South might be presented

to the Conference before action was taken on the recommendations.

The Chair stated that if it was desired still to defer action on Recommendation 9, page 100 of the "Bulletin," there was no unfinished business before the Conference.

On motion of A. G. Daniells, Elder Geo. I. Butler was invited to make his report for the Southern Union Conference.

G. I. Butler: Brother Chairman, I feel a little embarrassed as I arise to make this report. I had thought to make a written report in full, but, owing to my sickness and the burden of other work resting upon me, I have not done so; therefore my report, for the most part, will have to be made off-hand. I hope you will pardon any lack of order in it, and realize the circumstances.

Southern Union Conference

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT, GEO. I. BUTLER

The territory of the Southern Union Conference embraces the nine Southern states of Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with an area of 431,205 square miles, and a population of 14,908,379, nearly one-half of whom are colored.

The Southern Union Conference was organized April 9, 1901, at Battle Creek, Mich., during the last session of the General Conference. At that time there were in this field but three organized state conferences, viz., Tennessee River, Florida, and Cumberland. All the rest of the territory was an unorganized mission field. In the entire territory there were 62 churches, having a membership of 1,900, which, with 680 isolated Sabbath-keepers, made a total of 2,580 reported believers. Upon closer investigation, this estimated membership was subsequently found to be much too large. At the time of organization, there were

employed within the limits of this conference 24 ministers, 11 licentiates, and 30 licensed missionaries, making a total of 65 laborers on the pay-roll. Besides these, there were 65 canvassers, 20 medical missionaries and nurses, and 15 other workers who were laboring as self-supporting missionaries. The tithes received for the year ending Dec. 31, 1900, were \$13,214.80. The total book sales reached a very gratifying figure, though the exact amount I have not been able to ascertain.

Since the last General Conference, five state conferences have been organized, as follows: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the two Carolinas.

On Dec. 31, 1902, the secretary of the Southern Union Conference reported 80 churches, with a membership of 1,824, which, with the addition of those belonging to the unorganized companies and the isolated Sabbath-keepers, make a total membership of 2,240. In this Southern Union Conference there are 115 Sabbath-schools, with a membership of 2,447; 30 church-schools, with an enrolment of 854 pupils; 36 church buildings, and 10 buildings occupied for school purposes.

Within this conference there are 32 ordained ministers, 17 licentiates, 40 licensed missionaries, 31 canvassers,—a total of 119, 70 of whom are on the pay-roll. During the year 1902 the tithes received were \$20,571.30; offerings paid to foreign missions, \$2,178.44; total value of book sales, \$17,029.02.

OUR INSTITUTIONS

Since the last General Conference, the Southern Publishing Association, of Nashville, Tennessee, has been organized and incorporated. Its workings and standing will be presented by those more directly connected with the institution.

The Southern Training School, located at Graysville, Tennessee, is conducted for white students. During the past two years it has been favored with a good degree of patronage. At the present time the provisions for boarding and lodging students are not adequate to accommodate all in attendance, so quite a number are compelled to occupy rooms outside the home. The principles of Christian education, as taught by Prof. J. E. Tenney and his associates in the school and throughout the field, are awakening a deep interest in the cause of education in

the minds of both parents and youth. This to us is a very gratifying result. In this line of work the outlook for the future is most hopeful.

The Oakwood Industrial School, located near the city of Huntsville, Alabama, is an institution for the education and training of colored youth. At the present time this school has an attendance of about forty students. Three teachers are employed.

Although another will speak more in detail concerning this school, yet, as this is the only institution in the world, in connection with the third angel's message, that has been established for training workers among the colored people, I will state that it seems to us that greater and better facilities must be provided there, in order that this institution may be a more efficient agency for the development of laborers for this long-neglected and downtrodden race. In order to accomplish this, there must be a stronger force applied than is at present possible with the weak resources at the command of the Southern Union Conference. If satisfactory results are to be obtained, there must be awakened both in the North and in the South, in behalf of this needy institution, a more general interest than can possibly be raised simply within the limits of this Union Conference. This session of the General Conference ought not to adjourn without adopting some measure that will place the Huntsville Industrial School on a footing that will harmonize with the call of God for this hour.

I will say that this statistical report which I have read is a very fair statement of our condition in the South. It was prepared by Elder Kilgore, when he supposed I should not be present. I will speak further of matters needing consideration.

The territory of the Southern Union Conference is a great field. Though not so thickly populated as many of our Northern fields, it contains nearly fifteen millions of people.

We have had our difficulties there. The financial question has been one of great difficulty. It meets us at every turn, when we try to move ahead in any direction. I might say to you that our Union Conference is considerably in debt. We had to borrow \$2,000 to pay off our workers who had labored faithfully and needed their money to keep them from distress. The pay-roll

has been cut down very materially, so that the conference itself shall not be buried more deeply under debt. How we are going to sustain the laborers who are really needed in the field is a question that we would be very thankful to have this Conference help us to decide.

It has been intimated here, since I have been present, that we ought to send more laborers into that field to help us, and surely they are greatly needed. But when you begin to talk of sending laborers down, the question that stares us in the face is, "How are we going to pay them?"

(A. T. Jones: Let the conferences that send them support them.)

If this were done, it would do much toward solving our financial problems. But our situation at present is very perplexing. The income of the Southern Union Conference is not sufficient to pay all whom we should like to keep at work in the field. Under these circumstances, we can not feel free at present to appeal to our sister conferences in the North to send us laborers, for we could not support more than we already have.

In comparison with the work in most of the Northern states, our work is in a backward condition. Not until hundreds and thousands of men and women had accepted the Sabbath truth in the North, and many conferences had been organized, was any minister sent to the South to raise up churches. Notwithstanding the comparatively short time during which the message has been proclaimed in this field, and the many peculiar conditions against which the laborers must contend, much has been accomplished. The organized conferences, however, are not strong either in numbers or means, and must, therefore, receive help from some source, in order to do more aggressive work.

Unfortunately some of our good brethren in the North have gone to the Southern states to labor with the expectation of finding a field where the work would be easy. Such laborers have met with disappointment, and in many instances have returned to the North. These short visits to the South are not of much benefit to the field. We welcome additions to our force of laborers; but if we were permitted to choose, we would ask for men and women whose hearts are filled with love

for souls, rather than with a desire to find an ideal field of labor. Some sections of the South are somewhat malarious, it is true, but, taken as a whole, the field is an unusually healthful one. During my fourteen years' residence in Florida, I never suffered from malaria, and I never had a cold.

As we have carefully studied the needs of the work in our field, taking into consideration the peculiar conditions to be found there, we have thought that it would be advisable, so far as possible, to encourage our young men and young women living there to prepare themselves to enter the work in their home land. In our training-school at Graysville, Tennessee, we have many noble youth who, we believe, will develop into invaluable laborers. Other things being equal, we feel certain that the strength of our work depends largely upon our efforts to develop consecrated home talent.

At the same time, I desire to assure you, brethren, that the people of the South greatly appreciate the helpers furnished them by some of the stronger conferences in the North and the West. I might mention California, Iowa, and other conferences, in this connection. These laborers have been doing good work, and are highly prized by us all. May God bless you abundantly for your liberality, shown us in so practical a way.

There are many portions of the South that are in great need of help. The president of the Mississippi Conference makes a special appeal for help. That is a state in which there are nearly as many colored believers as white. The treasurer's report at the last camp-meeting showed that the colored people, poor day laborers, had paid about half of all tithe that came into the treasury.

The Cumberland Conference, which is, I think, the oldest conference, is fairly well supplied with funds, as far as tithe is concerned, to pay their laborers, but I presume they would be glad of more laborers if they had funds with which to pay them. Tennessee River Conference is also a large and a flourishing conference, but is, I think, rather in need of funds. Little Florida, where I have my home, has always paid its own bills, and never had a gift from the General Conference or anybody else. We hope it will always be that way. Georgia especially is in great need, and

so also Alabama. Louisiana is prospering.

Then there are the great cities in the South,—Atlanta, Louisville, Nashville, Memphis, and especially New Orleans, and other large places in the South. Very little has been done in those cities. Sister White has spoken very plainly that we must enter these fields, and I do believe the time has come when we should go into the cities with a force that will make our presence and influence felt. In the Southern cities there are much wealth and intelligence. We have secured the services of Elder John A. Brunson, who is a very valuable laborer, and has done most excellent service. I thought if we could get a large tent, we might do a great work. The California Conference might perhaps be induced to donate us one. They have been very generous to us, and we trust they will continue to be.

I know that, if we obey God, we shall certainly go into these cities. I believe God will help us. I can not doubt it, if we go with humble hearts and in His fear.

SANITARIUM WORK

I will now speak of the institutions that we have in the Union Conference. The testimonies in regard to the Southern country have set before us the importance of small sanitariums. We have tried to carry that instruction out. Many people of nearly every leading city of the South have been up to Battle Creek, and have the greatest respect for the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Dr. Kellogg has told me that quite a large portion of their patronage has come from the South every year. Now there is an interest in this work all through that country, and a ready response has been made to the efforts we have endeavored to make. There is a feeling all through the South, among the more intelligent classes, in favor of our system of treatment and the health-reform truths that God has given us. This will be of immense advantage and assistance to us in starting our sanitarium work in various places. Our brethren have taken hold of this work nobly and liberally.

An institution has just been started in Graysville. I am not prepared to speak especially in reference to that. But we are all glad to know that God's blessing is upon it, and it is going through all right.

We have made arrangement by which

we expect to use the building at Atlanta, which was formerly owned by the "Review and Herald," for sanitarium purposes, and plans for this have already been laid. We have considerable money yet to raise. We really need help in starting this where locally there are so few that can help us financially.

In New Orleans a restaurant is in operation; the health work is being started, and we hope to have a sanitarium there not long hence.

In Nashville, Brother L. A. Hansen has been laboring successfully with treatment-rooms for several years. He has had a restaurant also, and we think we will soon have a full-fledged sanitarium there.

We have started sanitarium work in Louisville, and it is going favorably. In Hildebran, North Carolina, we are also doing work in this line, and with proper assistance we hope soon to have it in running order. There must be institutions established in other cities all through the South. We do not expect to build great, overgrown sanitariums, of course, but small ones, just as the Spirit of God has said that we should, all through that Southern country.

SCHOOLS

Now in regard to our schools. We have an excellent school at Graysville. It is not a large school, but it is conducted in a way that secures excellent results. You will understand this when I tell you that there was but one scholar that went away last year at the close of the school but what was converted to God. I wish you could be in some of their meetings, and hear the earnest young people speak of what God had been doing for them, and of their desire to go out into the work of God and prepare themselves for usefulness.

What shall I say in regard to our Huntsville school? You can not understand, you can not grasp, the difficulties connected with the colored school that we have there. Your schools, so far as I know, depend on the tuition largely for support. What would you do when you had not a scholar that could pay tuition? Then how would you go to work to support your schools? Very few of these colored students have any means; they can just barely get to the school.

The school is located on a farm of about 360 acres, in a very pleasant and beautiful locality. The building was

once an old farmhouse of the Southern style, where Andrew Jackson and other leading dignitaries had been. The farm ran down, and we got it cheap; but we have been struggling along under adversities.

Brother S. M. Jacobs, who went down there from Iowa, was a great blessing to that work. He remained there until his wife was unable longer to continue bearing the responsibilities and labors there, and he had to leave.

We have been trying to keep the school and the farm going. It has been almost impossible to do it. We have not been able to make a wonderful show. For the past two or three years they have had from forty to fifty scholars there. The more intelligent and able colored men in the South would naturally be drawn to such schools as Mr. Counsel's and Booker T. Washington's. We can not present all the inducements that they can, and we have not a great many colored people in our Conference—only a few hundred—to draw from.

The colored work is hedged about with all kinds of difficulties. I wish some of you could have some of the experiences the rest of us have had there in trying to keep that work going. There is a great work to be done; we are not beginning to do what we ought to do in the colored work; but how to meet the difficulties of the situation has been a matter that has perplexed us.

We have hoped, and I still hope, that it will not be a great while before we can make our white work in the South self-supporting. But I have no hope that we can ever make our colored work self-supporting. I want to say to you, brethren, as representatives of the whole field of white people in the United States of America, I want to say to you that you are just as much responsible in this Northern country to help sustain that colored work as we are in the South. With all the difficulties we have to support and enlarge our white work in the South, why has not the North, which has thousands of dollars of tithe and a great constituency to draw from, just as much, yea, even more, burden to sustain the colored work than we who are struggling under all these difficulties in the South? I want to impress upon our people the great need of their help. We are told by the "Testimonies" that we are not beginning to do our duty to the colored people. I know it is so, for we are making but a dent in the great

mass of the nine millions of colored people in the South.

We need colored laborers, but it is difficult to find them. There are hundreds of fields all over the South where, if we had intelligent, devoted colored laborers that would go out and prepare the way, we could quadruple our colored work in a short time. There is an ear among the colored people to hear. They feel friendly to us; they know that our position is not like that of the other white churches, and they are willing to hear; and so in almost all places we find ears to listen to the truth. But we are completely tied, hand and foot, with scarcely any means to use. Brethren, come to the rescue. I feel the burden of that great, dark field of nine millions of people. Many of them are poor and in great distress. The Lord has been pleading with us for years especially in regard to the colored work.

We have recently begun to do what we could at Huntsville to improve the conditions there, and make it possible to bring in some more students. About twenty acres of fruit trees have been set out this spring, but we are hampered at every step.

I have been in the work for a good while, but I never got into anything that puzzled my brains more than I have this year in the South. I never worked harder or with more perplexities. These things make a man's heart ache, and would bring discouragement upon his soul if he did not have great faith in God. I want to say, brethren, we simply must have help. We want you to take it into consideration. We plead with you to help us bear these burdens.

If ever I felt as though we must do something, I did when we made a trip over here last May and June, and our brethren so kindly and generously met us and helped us here in the state of California. I can never forget it. But we did not raise nearly all the means we needed to raise, and what we might have raised under more favorable circumstances. If there had been that unity of feeling and sympathy, we might have got a great deal more than we did just as well as not. We strained every nerve to try to bring in means to help in our publishing association and in other ways.

THE SOUTHERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Now I want to talk about another

point,—of the work of our Southern Missionary Society. Many of you, doubtless, have heard of it. Let me give you a little historical information in regard to it.

It was some eight years ago that Brother Edson White felt like giving himself more directly to the work of God; and in view of what his mother had said, he felt a burden to work for the colored people. He took that burden upon his heart, had a little steamer built called the "Morning Star." With this he went down into the hardest spots they had in the whole Southern field,—down in Vicksburg, Nachez, Yazoo. Around in that country I suppose there is as little favor shown to the colored people as anywhere in the South. He labored thus for about five years. He had quite a little company of workers associated with him, Brethren W. O. Palmer, Fred Rogers, and others, and they labored there at the risk of their lives. The white men around said their meetings must stop, and they took one of the workers and put him on the cars and told him to leave; and I think there were two or three colored people killed. Sometimes, Brother Rogers tells me, men going by would fire a rifle ball right through his house; and when he went up to Yazoo City, he had to go in the night, and come back in the night. Sometimes when the vessel was anchored, and while they were having meetings on it, there would be plans concocted to destroy and burn it—I do not know what they would have done to the persons on it—but God in His infinite mercy in some way would give them the information, and they would sail away, and when the men got there, they did not find the vessel. Many things of this kind might be mentioned, but this is sufficient to show that the brethren labored there at the risk of their lives. I do not know just how many people were brought out there.

Many of the colored people receiving instruction were ignorant; they labored intensely hard to learn, and night schools and other schools were established so that these people might receive instruction. I think there was one old lady seventy or eighty years old that wanted to learn to read her Bible for herself; she went to one of these schools, and got so that she could read her Bible. More than one hundred were brought into the truth in this way. There is quite a large company there

GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

133

yet. Four or five schools had to be kept up, and they have had the greatest struggle to get the money to keep these schools going.

There has been some misunderstanding, some lack of information, and I think some wrong feeling in regard to the work of the Southern Missionary Society. But I believe that the Southern Missionary Society has done a great deal of good. I will say it fearlessly before this whole Conference that there never has been made an effort in this cause for the colored people that accomplished as much as that work has done for them.

Now, my brethren, I do not propose to go back to that kind of work. I would to God there was a good deal more of it,—more men who would risk their lives, and go there. Why, they have got just as good missionary fields there as you have in the central part of Africa. Our brethren are working to get laborers over into Africa, and all right, but, for the Lord's sake, help us to reach that class of people right here, under far more favoring circumstances.

The Southern Society has kept up a legal existence. It is really a legal society, and it has had its officers elected. Those officers have consulted together, and I have the honor to be one of the members of that official committee of the Southern Missionary Society. Brother Horton, of Louisiana, is another. I do not believe he is ashamed of it; I am not.

A large number of colored people among our laborers came forth from that missionary society. I believe, brethren, that it has been the means of bringing in the most hopeful body of colored people we have down there today: and if there is any reason in trying to reach the colored people, and save the colored people in Africa, there can be no reason why this effort, made at such great risks, is not to be endorsed and accepted by this denomination. Perhaps this is all I will say on that subject. I think Sister White will have something more to say on it; I hope so, and others, perhaps, who are more fully acquainted with all the workings of the society. I am heartily in favor of the good work that has been done by this society, and I am sure that those who have labored so intensely hard are worthy of our respect.

THE SOUTHERN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Now I wish to speak of our publish-

ing association. We have a little publishing association that is properly organized under the law of Tennessee, in Nashville. It is a small affair, comparatively, and we have been under great embarrassment. We have had great difficulty to keep it going at all. If it had not been for the strenuous efforts of a few of us to raise money for it, I think it would had to close up last summer. It was kept running with some losses. It never has paid its way. When the building was put up, efforts were made to raise money for it all through the North, and money enough was contributed to erect it without running it in debt. But a building put up does not make a printing office. You have got to have presses and various other facilities,—all those things that enter into the printing work,—and you know they are not a few; and they all cost money. We did not have money enough raised to meet those expenses; hence we have been limping along, like a person on one leg, just barely able to keep going, laboring under the greatest difficulties. With such a lack of facilities, we could not do our work in the way that was economical, but had to do it in the hardest way possible, and we have not got out of our difficulties yet.

I have in my hands here a communication from Brother J. N. Nelson, who is now our business manager, which I desire to read:—

LETTER FROM MANAGER SOUTHERN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

"Elder George I. Butler—

"Dear Brother: According to your suggestion, that I make a statement of the situation here as it now appears to me, I desire to submit the following:—

"In the first place, I wish to say that, in harmony with the light given us, I fully believe that this institution has been established here in Nashville for a purpose, and that it has a special work to do in carrying the message to the people of this large and needy Southern field. To advocate the plan of abandoning this office would simply mean to turn our backs on the light given, and also plainly acknowledge that, while other denominations, notably the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, maintain large and successful central houses of publication in this place, we, Seventh-day Adventists, with a special truth to proclaim, are not competent to

discharge the trust committed unto us, and that we can not successfully compete with people of other denominations along business lines.

"We believe the Lord stands ready to bless every legitimate effort in connection with this publishing house. Yet, at the same time, it would seem presumption on our part to neglect to plan for the work which it is intended to do and to equip our plant properly, and then expect that, in spite of our neglect, the Lord is going to work a miracle in our behalf.

"We are fully convinced that the brethren who have borne the burden in connection with the management of this office in its incipency have labored hard and under many trying and discouraging circumstances. Being handicapped for lack of means, and yet anxious to get the work started, they commenced operations while unprepared by proper equipment, capital, and general support, and were naturally unable to meet the situation successfully. It is readily seen that with a very limited amount of work to do, and without proper or necessary machinery and capital, a printing plant can be operated only to a disadvantage and at a loss.

"Aside from the forces of the business office and of the editorial department, a certain amount of help is absolutely necessary to set, print, and bind our periodicals; yet with the small edition required by our present list of subscribers, this is, comparatively speaking, but a small task, and the same is the case with the few books that we have been printing and binding here. To lay off the help the moment it is not required does not seem feasible, as no one could live by working two or three days a week.

"Again, what might be termed the general factory expense, like the general superintendence, clerical force, editorial department, taxes, fuel, light, power, insurance, repairs, etc., are practically the same whether the plant is running to its full capacity or its facilities are only utilized in part, not to speak of the discouraging and demoralizing effect on the whole force when there is but little or nothing to do and it is evident to all that the business is carried on at a loss.

"The only remedy, seemingly, would therefore be to provide more work from some source; and, so far as we can see, this can be brought about

only by receiving it from the outside, or else by enlarging our own work so that it will demand our entire facilities. Of course, it is the hope and aim of every one connected with our institution that we may soon be able to adopt this latter alternative, and the force be employed fully and wholly in the bringing out of our own books and papers; but, until such a time shall come, it would appear to us to be perfectly proper, in harmony with the Testimonies, for this office to do a sufficient amount of commercial work, at a fair rate of profit, to keep our plant fully employed, and as speedily as possible endeavor to attain to a self-supporting basis.

"Yet, when it comes to doing our own work, as well as catering to the outside work, we find ourselves very much handicapped on account of a lack of proper equipment. We have no printing press that will register accurately, or that is capable of doing a good grade of work. The presses that we do have, even with the most careful handling, will spoil a set of plates in a short time, and it would seem that we must have a first-class press, by all means.

"Other items of machinery that are just as urgently needed are a folder, a sewing-machine, and a press that will enable us to stamp our book covers. Of course, we can fold by hand, as we have been doing, but in this way it costs us three times as much as by machine, besides being a very slow process. We can hire our book covers stamped and our books sewed, but the prices charged for this class of work are seemingly exorbitant, or about twice as much as the work ought to be done for at a good and reasonable profit, not to speak of the inconvenience, the loss of time, and the expense incurred in carting back and forth the signatures and other work a couple of miles to the center of the city, to wait the convenience of the establishments there. If we could have a very small electrotype plant, there is no doubt it could be made a paying factor, and would prove a great convenience.

"Besides the equipment of machinery, we shall need a certain amount of money to carry on our business in a proper way. Since coming here, we have been under the necessity of placing every dollar that we could get hold of to the liquidation of old in-

debtedness, and we still have large payments to make on machinery, stock, note at bank, etc.

"It will be readily understood that it takes money to purchase material for an edition of our books, or for any other work in progress, also that labor has to be paid for weekly, and that, on the other hand, it is rather a slow process to wait for the returns from the sale of our publications.

"We believe that with the plant reasonably well equipped for the work it is intended to do, and with a proper share of our publishing work in hand, this institution, instead of being a dependency and a burden upon the denomination, may, under the providence of God, be made a great source of strength and encouragement to the work here, and be able to fulfil the mission to which it has been ordained in the dissemination of the truth. We are not in favor of building up a great overgrown plant, like the old Review & Herald, but we do think there is a possibility of erring in either direction. We simply desire to be in a position to do our own work in a manner that will be for the best interests of all concerned.

"We sincerely hope and pray that the brethren will carefully consider the wants and needs of the Southern Publishing Association, and the demands made upon it as a representative of the cause which is dear to all our hearts.

"Your brother in the work,
"J. N. Nelson."

I think, brethren, this statement by Brother Nelson is a very fair presentation of our situation in the Southern Publishing Association. As I have said, the money we received last year has been largely used to pay some debts and to meet the losses sustained in publishing our denominational papers. We now desire to place the office on a self-supporting basis.

We are very thankful to have connected with the office a man of ability, and with whom we can entrust the management of business details. All outgoes are carefully watched, and every discovered leakage is stopped. We believe that with a little help the work can be made self-sustaining.

We all acknowledge that the Nashville Publishing House was established in God's providence. Every one who believes the statements of the spirit of

prophecy must believe that this office in the South has a definite mission, and that it is the duty and the privilege of our brethren and sisters in the North to help establish it on a firm basis. Our office is to be helped, just as the "Signs" Office and the "Review and Herald" Office were helped years ago. I have the utmost confidence to believe that we shall yet see the Nashville publishing institution in a flourishing condition.

I well remember how we struggled in order to start the "Signs" Office. Before a beginning had been made, I came to California with Brother and Sister White, in the early seventies, to attend the second camp-meeting ever held in this state. Elder Loughborough, who was present, will never forget the occasion. While here in that early day, I did what little I could to help raise money with which to establish a printing office on the Pacific Coast. I do not think I ever saw money given so liberally as it was given at that meeting. Some \$19,000 was pledged by probably less than seventy-five persons. Some who had not the slightest idea of giving more than \$50 decided, after hearing the appeal, to give \$500. One sister gave \$1,000.

But the early history of the establishment of the "Signs" Office does not end with the raising of the original fund with which to begin the work. Any one who is familiar with this history knows that appeals for assistance were afterwards made in the East. Sister White urged Brother Haskell and myself to make a general call to all our churches in the East to subscribe for the "Signs," and to give of their means to establish more firmly the Oakland office. I believe our brethren will now manifest the same liberal spirit toward the Nashville office, in order that we may be placed in a position to publish literature for the millions living in the Southern states.

In our field efforts are being made to strengthen the Nashville office by selling as many books as possible. We are endeavoring to develop canvassers. During the year 1902 there were employed 52 canvassers. Throughout the year the number averaged about 35. At present there are about 30 in the field, with the prospect of a much larger number at the close of our schools. Thirty-four Grays-

GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

ville students have been studying the canvass for various works, with the expectation of engaging in this line of work more or less during the summer vacation. Several from the Huntsville school will be added to our force of canvassers during the summer months.

Brethren, I thank you for this privilege of speaking to you in regard to the Southern Union Conference. May the Lord give us wisdom to lay right plans for the advancement of the work in this field is my prayer.

RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING SOUTHERN FIELD

C. P. Bollman: I would like to ask the privilege of introducing the following resolutions, in order that they may be printed in the "Bulletin":—

Whereas, We have been told that there should be a publishing house in the South, with facilities adequate to produce the literature for that field; and,

Whereas, The plant of the Southern Publishing Association is not, as it now stands, adequate to do the work economically; and,—

Whereas, That association also labors under the embarrassment of being without necessary working capital; therefore,—

Resolved, That we give the Southern Union Conference our moral support and active cooperation in making an appeal to our people in America to raise a fund of \$10,000 to complete the equipment of the Nashville office, and to provide that office necessary working capital.

Whereas, The Southern Publishing Association was brought into existence for the express purpose of publishing tracts, papers, and books especially adapted to the needs of the Southern field; therefore,—

Resolved, That the influence of the General Conference be and is hereby given toward securing to the said publishing association the entire denominational printing and publishing work of the Southern field, so that the Southern Publishing Association shall produce practically all the publications circulated in the South through denominational agencies

Whereas, Our constituency in the Southern field is comparatively small, and the number of canvassers there entirely inadequate to do the work that ought to be done; therefore,—

Resolved, That an earnest and continued effort be made to secure to the Southern field a large number of successful canvassers, and that to this end we solicit the active cooperation of the presidents and canvassing agents of all our Northern and Western conferences.

C. P. Bollman: I move the adoption of these resolutions.

W. J. Stone: I second the motion.

The motion prevailed.

A. G. Daniells: I move that their consideration be deferred until they are printed.

C. P. Bollman: I second that.

Carried.

FURTHER PARTIAL REPORT

The secretary of the Committee on Plans and Constitution rendered a further partial report, as follows:—

Your committee herewith submits the following further propositions for your consideration:—

15. *We recommend*, That five thousand dollars (\$5,000) of the General Conference Association indebtedness apportioned to the Southwestern Union Conference, on account of Keene Academy, be remitted, leaving five thousand dollars as the amount to be paid to the General Conference Association.

Whereas, The tithe is the Lord's for the support of the gospel ministry; and,—

Whereas, There is no well-defined general plan in operation for the support of aged or sick conference laborers, and the widows and orphans of deceased laborers; therefore,—

16. *We recommend*, That all conferences and mission fields recognize the tithe as the inheritance of God's ministers, and that an allowance be granted from the tithe to properly support sick or aged laborers, also the widows and orphans of those removed by death:—

The Chair: This report will be published with the others.

Upon motion of W. H. Thurston, it was voted to adjourn.

G. A. IRWIN,
Chairman.

H. E. OSBORNE,
Secretary.

"He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

Report of Southern Missionary Society

BY J. E. WHITE, THURSDAY, APRIL 9,
8 A. M.

I am here this morning to speak of the work of the Southern Missionary Society among the colored people of the South. I shall make my remarks just as brief as possible, as mother has some things to present to you also.

First, as to the extent of the field. There are about 8,000,000 colored people in the Southern states. If we should indulge in comparisons, we could say that there are more than twice as many colored people in the South as the whole population of Australia and adjacent islands.

The condition of this people is deplorable. The larger proportion of them are helpless and hopeless, so far as the betterment of their condition is concerned. There is no need of our going down there and merely talking to them. We must open up some avenue by which they can work and use their hands.

I might say just a word in regard to trades. Booker T. Washington, the leader of education among the colored people in the South, states that before the war nearly all the trades were carried on by the colored people. They were educated as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and in all the trades. But when slavery was abolished, the growing generation preferred a small wage which they could spend, rather than to take the time to learn a trade. So the trades have been dying out among the colored people, and they are

reduced to a starvation life upon a farm in the interior, or perhaps worse starvation in the cities.

Eight years ago the tenth of last January, the "Morning Star" tied up at Vicksburg, Mississippi, according to instruction from the General Conference. It was perhaps the hardest spot in the South for the opening of the work, but aggressive work was begun, and has been pressed forward in that state ever since.

Our society has built up and is now operating five schools in Mississippi, four colored and one white. The recommendation of the Southern Union Conference was that the Southern Union Missionary Society should give their attention to the colored work. Then how is it we are conducting a white school? Our superintendent of schools in Mississippi is Brother Rogers, a white man. He was teaching the colored school in Vicksburg. But the time came when it became imperative that colored teachers should teach the colored schools in Mississippi. Hence Brother Rogers withdrew from this colored school, and colored teachers took his place. Then, by the earnest request of the white people of Vicksburg, he started an effort among them, and we therefore have a well-conducted white school of thirty or forty scholars there. He can superintend the colored schools just the same, and still work for the white people in this way.

The membership of these schools is nearly double the membership of Huntsville and Graysville together. I do not draw these comparisons for the sake of belittling any work, but that you may see the comparative amount of the work being done.

These schools are located at Vicksburg, Yazoo City, Columbus, and Jackson. We also undertook to carry forward the school at Hildebran, but, owing to certain circumstances, the management of this school has been placed in the hands of the Carolina Conference.

A few months ago the president of the Mississippi Conference united with Brother Rogers in organizing a colored church at Vicksburg, and one at Yazoo City. There are also companies at Calmar, Columbus, and Jackson. Our laborers have also carried forward efforts in Nashville, Memphis, and Edgefield Junction, in Tennessee, and in Louisville and Bowling Green, in Kentucky.

Now I want to read briefly in regard to workers who have been developed by this work in the South: "In a recent letter from Sister White, the statement was made, 'The Lord is hungry for fruit.'

"In the little book 'The Southern Work,' from the same pen, is the statement, 'The South is the most needy field, the most neglected field, and the most fruitful field.'

"The Southern Missionary Society has been operating in this field for several years. What 'fruit' has it to show? Does it bear out the statement that this is a 'fruitful field'? What has the society to show for its work, and the means it has used?

"At the start, it is only fair to state that those who pioneered this work were beginners. They were not workers in the cause in any capacity. They came to the South to engage in this special work, and developed in the work on the ground.

"Never since this beginning has any regular worker of the denomination connected with the society in its work. All the workers have been *developed in the work and by the work.*

"At the present time there are twenty-seven workers in the different departments of the society.

"Five ordained ministers have been developed in the work of the Southern Missionary Society. None of these were workers for any conference when they were taken up by the society. And in the work of the society they became so well fitted for their work that they were ordained as ministers, two of them by the General Conference and three by the Southern Union Conference. All these ministers are now doing efficient ministerial work in the South.

"Two public speakers are also doing good work, and it is expected they will soon be ready for ordination.

"Thirteen school-teachers have in different ways been fitted for their work. Some have been brought from the North; some who were qualified have been converted to the truth; and some have been educated to work, beginning in the mission schools and finishing in the Huntsville Training School. Some of these are holding positions as principals of our important mission schools, and some are filling positions as intermediate and primary teachers. Several

teachers of special ability and sterling worth are among this number.

"Medical Missionary Workers.—The superintendent and matron of the Nashville Colored Sanitarium were brought from private home life in the North. Two nurses are in training, and others are soon expected to begin a course of study in this department. One young man is being educated by the society as a physician, at the Meharry Medical College, of Nashville, and another is being assisted in his course at the same school. Both are intelligent, well-educated young men. One will graduate in eighteen months, and the other one year later.

"Bible-workers.—Some good Bible-workers have been developed. Some of the teachers are also becoming proficient workers in this department."

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

This approximate statement includes all received from Restitution Fund, gifts, legacies, and from all other outside sources. It covers a period of eight years, with the exception of something over \$300 assistance received for the building of the first church in Vicksburg. It is given to Jan. 1, 1903.

Total rec'd from donations, appropriations, etc.	\$19,448 59
Profit on sales and business enterprises	2,193 92
Total receipts	\$21,642 51

RESOURCES

Vicksburg property	\$5,000 00
Hildebran school property....	3,400 00
Yazoo City school property....	800 00
Columbus school property....	500 00
Yazoo City lot.....	300 00
Wilsonia lot	100 00
Total real estate.....	\$10,100 00
Invested in Nashville Colored Sanitarium	2,109 50
School and industrial equipments, est.	400 00
Office fixtures	160 25
Stock in business enterprises	54 69
Bills and accounts receivable	815 33
Cash in bank.....	135 64
Total	\$13,775 41

LIABILITIES

Bills payable	\$1,768 00
Accounts payable	1,060 73
	<hr/>
	\$2,828 73
Leaving a present worth of..	\$10,946 68

It will be seen that the present worth of the society represents more than half the entire receipts for eight years. The remainder has been paid out in the necessary expenses of the work. Out of these running expenses we would mention the following:—

Aid given to the needy.....	\$2,299 35
Headquarters expense	2,210 37

The remainder of all receipts have been expended in the field work of the society.

This includes several hundred dollars given by the society to different schools not under its control. When a school was in need, even though carried on by private individuals, we would send them help if we could.

Now, one point I want to correct right here. The statement has been afloat that no proper account has been kept of the donations to this work. I will say that we have the records showing the names of the donors, and accounting for every cent that has come to this society for eight years. They have all been published in the "Gospel Herald," except the latest report now in preparation. There is no Seventh-day Adventist who could not have received publications which would have shown him how every cent had been received by the society and how it was expended.

Another point. We have been met with the statement that the "Morning Star" was built with funds donated by the poor people of the denomination. That is a mistake, brethren and sisters. The "Morning Star" is my personal property, built with my own money. Further than this, the running expenses have all been paid from my own income. I will also say that the living expenses on the boat were always met by myself. Often the company numbered from ten to eighteen hands, and, as a general thing, living is quite expensive in the South. Even the salaries of all the workers employed by the society for years were taken not from donations, but from my own personal income. But as the work became so large that this income would not carry it, the donations were then used to pay these salaried expenses. I ask that these things be understood. I state these things for the sole purpose that you may know where your donations have gone. For years donations were taken religiously to build schoolhouses and

GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

201

equip them. These statements are all susceptible of proof.

The question may be raised, Where did you get this money? The Lord gave it to us.

Some little books were brought out. First was the "Gospel Primer," the original design of which was for use in teaching the colored people. The sale of a few thousand copies was expected, but to our astonishment it has reached nearly a million.

Mother helped us with the book "Christ Our Saviour," which has had a sale of three or four hundred thousand. Two or three hundred thousand copies of "Best Stories" have been sold. It is estimated that a sufficient number of copies of "Coming King" have been circulated to make a column four miles high. With the royalties from these books, besides carrying many other enterprises and lines of work, we built the "Morning Star."

One thing I now ask, please do not call this J. E. White's work. It is God's work. It is God's plan, and what He has been telling us to do for ten years. It is in no sense a private enterprise. We have desired that everything that appears like individual enterprise might be taken out of the work, and that it might be placed beside other lines of denominational work. It is an accepted branch of the Southern Union Conference. The following action was taken at the recent committee meeting at Nashville:—

"Your committee appointed to outline the work of the Southern Missionary Society and its relation to other branches of work in the Southern Union Conference submit the following:—

"That the principal work of the society shall be the establishing and maintaining of mission schools among the colored people, this work to include Bible work, colporter work, house-to-house teaching, day schools, night schools, building of schoolhouses, and such other labors as may be essential to Christian education.

"That, in order that its energies and resources may accomplish the most in the work, the ministers now in its employ be recommended to the care and support of the conferences in which they labor.

"That, in order to maintain the most perfect cooperation and harmony with the other lines of the work, the plan of the organization and membership of

the board, as outlined at the organization of the Southern Union Conference, be adhered to, as follows: That the Board of the Southern Missionary Society include the president of the Southern Union Conference and at least two of the other members of the Executive Committee of that conference."

We have gone beyond the requirements, and four members of the Southern Union Conference Committee are upon the board; the other three are especially active workers of the society. No action is taken in regard to the location of a worker, the plan of a school, or extending it, unless the board has acted upon it, and every action is spread upon the records of the society. There is most careful consultation and prayer over every step that is taken. We have been determined that no action should be taken without the most thorough consultation. The funds of the society are handled by the regularly-appointed treasurer of the society, and paid out by him as ordered by the board.

In May there is to be a meeting of the Southern Union Conference Committee at Nashville, and at that time we are asking for a general consultation with them in regard to the work among the colored people in the South. We desire the greatest union of action possible.

For two years no advanced work has been done by the society. All that we have been able to do is to continue the work previously established. Sometimes it has seemed absolutely impossible to pay even the mere pittance that we are paying to our workers. Some of our teachers and ordained ministers, with families, are receiving but five dollars a week, where the expenses are higher than is usually met in the North.

Now what must we have?—We must have something firm and definite to stand upon. Some definite plan must be substituted for the present haphazard means of support. There must be some definite income. We have appealed to the Conference, through its committee, to vote us \$600 every quarter. Is that too much? The California Conference has over ten thousand dollars every quarter, with only about one-third the membership of the South. In these Northern states you have facilities and education. Down there we have to bring everything into the field. It is

impossible to develop the work in the field, for they have nothing to give.

Then for advanced work, brethren, we want to have you throw open the doors of your conferences, and give us your hearty support in some little enterprise, like the "Story of Joseph." At the previously-mentioned meeting of the Southern Union Conference these resolutions were passed:—

"That the Southern Union Conference Committee unite with the officers of the Southern Missionary Society in the formation of plans for raising means and in presenting them to the people.

"That we approve the plans of the society for raising means, by interesting individuals in the sale of books and other useful articles, and donating their commission to the society, as done by Brother C. W. Smouse and his coworkers.

"That we recommend the use of the little book, 'Story of Joseph,' for this purpose, recommending the enterprise especially to the women and children throughout the land. That we invite Christian workers of all denominations to take part in this effort."

Some states have already fallen into line on this. Just before we started for this place, the Pacific Press undertook to handle the "Story of Joseph." So also have the California, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan Conferences. Many of the others have not yet responded. We hope that all will take hold of this work.

There was a thought suggested by Brother Butler yesterday; that is that the colored problem is a legacy to the whole of the United States. It is not simply a legacy to the Southern field.

Sister White: That is true. That is the way it was presented to me.

J. E. White: It is a legacy to the United States. California, Michigan, Iowa, and all the states are just as much responsible for that work as are the poor people down there.

I think there is another serious misunderstanding in regard to what has come to us in the Testimonies in regard to the Southern work. In speaking of the work for the colored people, in order that it may not create sectional prejudice, she has called it "the Southern work." Instruction has come to us that "the work of the South is being sinfully neglected by us as a people." Our brethren say, "We are working for

that field." The Testimonies say, "We are not doing our duty for that field." The difficulty lies in the fact that we have not taken in the real meaning of what she says. The Mission Board has sent thousands of dollars to the South, but it does not go to the colored work. This money goes to the white work. If you will take the trouble to notice, you will find that nearly all these articles turn directly to the colored work. If we had studied these things carefully, we need not have made this mistake.

Now one other suggestion, and I do not think this session should pass without acting on it. We need an institute which will continue for ten weeks, where the colored workers in the South, and those whom we think can be developed into workers, both North and South, can receive the training necessary to fit them for intelligent and efficient work. We do not want our colored workers sent to the North for their education. It is the worst thing you can do for them. The greatest trouble we have had in the South is with those who have gone to the North to receive education, who have then come back with a desire to do down there just as they did in the North. It is not possible to do this, and their work is generally wrecked before they see their mistake. Do not think you are going to reform the customs of the South. You might just as well attempt to change the course of the Mississippi River. If you can not come down there with the simple object in mind, to work for souls, and take the conditions just as they are, in the name of our Master, stay away. We do not want reformers on social equality to come down into our Southern field.

What we now need is a colored institute. There is no class of workers in the whole field who need special instruction and contact with good educational men so much as the colored workers. This summer we want to have an institute where we can collect from twenty to forty of the colored workers, and give them ten weeks of thorough instruction, so they can all come into order, and in line, and know how their work shall be carried forward. Is it not right? If we do not do it, I fear much for the work down there.

But it is going to cost money to do that. They can not pay their own expenses. Our best teachers are receiv-

ing five dollars a week. We want to get in some place where they can work a part of the time for their board. But there are the transportation charges to be met, and workers must be paid to go there and instruct them. It will cost \$1,000 to carry this through. I ask the presidents of Union Conferences if they will not take hold and help us. I wish that you could see the letters that some of our intelligent workers have written, begging for such an institute, where the workers can be brought together, in contact with our leading minds, so that they can get in step with the other workers.

Brethren, pray for us in our work. God has been our only salvation. We have many times gone to Him when it seemed we could go no farther, and He has never turned us away.

Sister White then read and commented upon the following article, written by her some time in 1902:—

THE SOUTHERN WORK

"NASHVILLE AS A CENTER"

"Many have asked the question, Why did our brethren select Nashville as a center for work? I answer, Because the Lord in His wisdom directed them to this place. It is His purpose that light shall shine forth from memorials established for Him in and near Nashville.

"There is no place in the South better suited than Nashville for the carrying forward of the publishing work. It is the best place in which to do the work that has been started there.

"There is not in Nashville the bitter opposition to the work for the uplifting of the downtrodden colored race that exists in many other cities of the South. Much work is being done there to uplift the colored people, and the sentiment in favor of these efforts will be a security to our people in their work.

"There are in Nashville large educational institutions for the colored people. In these institutions much excellent work has been done and is being done. The teachers and students in these institutions are to be given the privilege of hearing the message of present truth. It is for this reason that God directed that different interests for the advancement of our work should be established in Nashville.

"The truth is also to be brought be-

fore those who have given of their means and influence for the benefit of the colored race. Some have taken a noble stand for the uplifting of this people. Their efforts put to shame the efforts made by Seventh-day Adventists. They should be put in possession of the most valuable truth ever given to mortals. We are to do all that we can to remove the prejudice that exists in their minds against our work and against the Bible Sabbath. If the efforts that we put forth are in accordance with God's will, if we move under the Holy Spirit's guidance, many among them will be converted. The Lord causes light to shine on the pathway of those who are seeking for light."

We must try to remove their prejudice against the Bible Sabbath. And never must we say to them, "You must work on Sunday." At one time, while I was in Australia, those in charge of our school at Avondale came to me, saying: "What shall we do? The officers of the law have been commissioned to arrest those working on Sunday." I said: "It will be very easy to avoid that difficulty. Give Sunday to the Lord as a day for doing missionary work. Take the students out to hold meetings in different places, and to do medical missionary work. They will find the people at home, and will have a splendid opportunity to present the truth. This way of spending Sunday is always acceptable to the Lord."

I wish to say that it is necessary to use the greatest caution in working for the colored people. The efforts put forth must be such as will not arouse the prejudice of the white people. By the work of the steamer "Morning Star" much has been accomplished that otherwise could not have been done. Thus the workers have been enabled to reach places that otherwise they could not have reached. The boat served as a home for them, and as a place to which to invite those interested in the truth.

In writing in regard to the Southern field, I have said, "The Southern work," supposing that our people would certainly understand that I meant especially the work for the colored people. I wish it now to be understood that this is what I have meant.

Let families settle in the South, and work on the land, at the same time becoming acquainted with the people and

GENERAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

203

the field. Thus real advancement will be made. Those who go to the South must be very careful of what they say. Let them not criticize the white people in regard to the way in which the colored people have been treated.

Many, many years during which we ought to have been working for the colored people have passed into eternity, and now the field, in all its barrenness, stands before the world as an open rebuke to those who could have helped. When the children of Israel were in bondage in Egypt, their cry of suffering came up to God, and He delivered them with a strong hand and with an outstretched arm. He delivered the colored people from slavery, and then He placed upon the people of this nation the responsibility of uplifting them, of placing them in a position where they could help themselves.

You say that the colored people are deprived and wicked, that their standard of morality is very low. Who made them wicked? Who spoiled their morals? I want you to think of this, and of the burden that rests upon the white people to help the colored people.

Few realize how difficult is the work for the colored people, and how greatly they need help. My heart has been made sick and sore as I have seen the situation. Why do not our people take hold of the work? Why do they find fault and criticize the laborers there, because they do not work just as they think they ought to? Why do they, when mistakes are made, make a mountain out of a mole-hill? Why do not those who find fault go themselves to some unworked portion of the field, and there demonstrate how much better they can do than those whom they criticize?

"The Lord has a great work to be done in the Southern states of America. It was in accordance with God's purpose that the publishing work was started in Nashville. In His providence, He has brought together in this place a company of workers who are to act their respective parts in the publishing house, standing as representatives of Christianity.

"A sanitarium should be established in a favorable location outside the city of Nashville. A school for colored people should be established outside the city, on land that can be utilized for industrial purposes. These institutions will give character to our work in the

South. They will be instrumental in establishing the faith of many in Bible truth. God Himself has wrought to bring together in Nashville workers who are especially fitted to reach the colored people, and raise them from their degradation. This He will help them to do if the work is not hindered and blocked by ministers and workers in other places.

"In every place those who accept the truth are to be a light to those around them. The Lord says to us: 'Ye are the light of the world. . . . Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.'

"THE WORK IN GRAYSVILLE AND HUNTSVILLE

"Nashville is within easy access of Graysville and Huntsville, where a beginning of great value to the work in the South has been made. God has answered the many prayers offered in behalf of these two places. By the work in Nashville, the work in Graysville and Huntsville is to be confirmed, strengthened, and settled. Graysville and Huntsville are near enough to Nashville to strengthen the work there and to be strengthened by it. But it must be understood that we are to put forth special efforts to help the colored people. No longer is our indifference in this respect to continue.

"The schools in Graysville and Huntsville were established in the order of God. They are to do a work for Him. They are to become self-supporting, by making the best use of their land, by raising those products best suited to the climate and soil of their locality. Various industries are to be established. The Lord will greatly bless these industries if the workers will walk in His counsel. If they will look to Him, He will be their wisdom and their righteousness. His wisdom will be seen in the work of those who follow His directions. He will teach all who will learn of Him His meekness and lowliness."

The workers in the school at Huntsville are to have our tender sympathy and our practical aid. Do not let them suffer for the lack of facilities, for they are trying to educate the colored people. The school at Huntsville is in positive need of our care and our donations.

"The interests in Graysville and

Huntsville will grow into usefulness, if the believers there will do their very best in the Lord's way. Let each one connected with the schools in these places remember that on him rests the responsibility of reflecting light to those in darkness.

"A CALL TO OUR PUBLISHING HOUSES AND SANITARIUMS

"God has given our publishing houses opportunity to cooperate with Him by assisting the newly-established publishing house at Nashville.

"When a publishing plant is established in a new field, it must receive help and encouragement from the various plants already in operation, that it may develop into a strong, influential institution. Every new institution is to be regarded as a sister-helper in the great work of proclaiming the third angel's message.

"The publishing house in Nashville is now in need of several thousand dollars to establish its business on a firm basis, and to enable it to do without delay the work that is to be done in its territory. We are instructed by the Lord to call upon the long-established houses to favor the Nashville publishing house as they were favored years ago when in straitened circumstances. They are to act toward the Nashville institution the same part that was acted toward them in their early history. God expects them to help their sister institution by gifts and offerings. They now have opportunity to show their repentance for past neglect."

My husband and myself, under the direction of God, established the publishing houses in Battle Creek and Oakland, and I know how we worked. God instructed me that I must go to the camp-meetings, and ask for means, and I went, just as He told me. I went alone, for my husband was sick. I went from camp-meeting to camp-meeting, calling for means; and I feel that I now have a right to call upon these publishing houses to help in establishing similar institutions.

"God has given our sanitariums an opportunity to set in operation a work that would be as a stone instinct with life, growing as it is moved by an invisible hand. Let this mystic stone be set in operation. If ever a place needed medical missionary work, it is the

Southern field. Had this work been done for the colored people immediately after the proclamation of freedom, how different would be the condition of the Southern states to-day! Medical missionary work has not yet been done as God requires it to be done in this needy field. Sanitariums should have been established in many places. This would have opened doors for the entrance of Bible truth. It would have removed much of the prejudice existing against those who look upon the colored people as having souls as well as the white people.

"To many of the colored people God has given rare and precious talents. Many will be brought to a knowledge of present truth. But it will take untiring effort and God-given wisdom to break down the barriers that have been erected against the education of the colored race,—barriers that for years have been growing stronger.

"THE WORK BEFORE US

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is the commission Christ has given us. This is our great missionary charter, and the Saviour has declared: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach *all nations*." Success will reward obedience to this command. Go just where the Lord sends you, to bear His message and do His work. Souls are to be saved. How?—By being brought to a knowledge of the truth. "Sanctify them through Thy truth," the Saviour prayed. Acquaintance with God's truth is the only means of sanctification.

"During the time of the end the activity of Satan's servants will greatly increase. The activity of God's servants is to increase proportionately. Christian is to unite with Christian, church with church, in the accomplishment of God's work, and all are to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

"Angels are ascending and descending the ladder of shining brightness, arrayed for the defense of God's people. They are commissioned to draw nearer and still nearer to those who are fighting in defense of their faith. Will you seek to pull the weapons out of the hands of those who are fighting in the warfare? Will you hinder them

because they are not doing just exactly what you think they ought to be doing?

"A good beginning has been made in the Southern field. Impressions favorable to the truth have been made, and prejudice has been removed. In the forward march of events, the Lord has wrought wonderfully for the advancement of this work. Battles have been fought and victories won. The work is to be supported and vindicated, for God is in it. By His blessing many will see that it is being done in fulfilment of His purpose, and will say, It is of God. Let us not be found fighting against Him.

"When God's people are willing to follow the path of providence where Christ leads the way, their numbers will increase and their boundaries will be greatly enlarged. But as yet the reformation that God requires has not taken place. The Lord has gone before His people, but unbelief has pressed in on every side. Not one-thousandth part of the work has been done that should have been done for the colored people, who need help more than any other people in America.

"What excuse can be given to God for the awful condition of the colored race! God asks, 'Why are those living in this part of My vineyard left to become the sport of Satan's temptations?' He calls for united action. But no blind zeal is to be shown. Nothing is to be done in defiance of law; but the truth is to be proclaimed and lived.

"Angels have hushed the music of their harps as they have looked upon a people unable, because of their past slavery, to help themselves. And yet those who have the torch of truth kindled from the divine altar have not carried the light to this sin-darkened field. There are those who have turned from the work of rescuing the downtrodden and degraded, refusing to help the helpless. Let the servants of Christ begin at once to redeem their neglect, that the dark stain on their record may be wiped out.

"Let the work in the Southern field go forward. Let no one say: 'Money is not needed in this field. It is needed more in my part of the vineyard.' Let God's people begin at once to redeem their neglect. Let the gospel message ring through our churches, summoning them to universal action. Let no one look upon the work that has been done

for the colored people as of no account, for the Lord has said, 'I accept it.'

"Those who place themselves under God's control, to be guided and controlled by Him, will catch the steady tread of the events ordained by Him to take place. A holy, consuming emulation will take possession of them. Let the church have increased faith, catching zeal from their unseen, heavenly allies, from the knowledge of their exhaustless resources, from the greatness of the enterprise in which they are engaged, and from the power of their Leader. Let them gain from God strength for the accomplishment of the great work to be done for the most needy people in this Christian nation. Let no man lay his hand upon the means and resources, saying, 'They are more needed somewhere else.'

"When God's people heed a 'Thus saith the Lord,' the dearth of means brought about by transactions that do not bear the stamp of divine approval will be removed. When they catch the Spirit of Him who gave His life for the life of the world, they will no longer stand still in impotency, pointing to what they can not do, and forbidding others to work. Putting on the armor of Christ's righteousness, they will go forth into the warfare, willing to do and dare for God, knowing that in His omnipotence He will supply their need."

Brethren, shall not the work for the colored people go forward? Will you not say, "Amen," to this? (Congregation: Amen.) When my son Edson has written to me about the difficulties that the workers had to meet, I have written back to him, over and over again: "Do not fail or become discouraged. Hold fast to the work." And his reply has been: "We are doing it. But it seems sometimes as if the work would slip out of our hands."

The Lord has put His approval upon the work done in the Southern field. Mistakes have been made; but have not mistakes been made in every field where work has been started? When you watch for mistakes, and put out your hand to discourage where God approves, you are working and talking against the Master. God is very much displeased with every one who has placed any hindrance in the way of the advancement of the work for the colored people.

Let us take hold of the work in the

Southern states intelligently. I rejoice that Brother Butler is with us in this work. I have known that the time would come when he would again take his place in the work. I want you to appreciate the trials that he has passed through, and to help him all you can. God desires the gray-haired pioneers, the men who acted a part in the work when the first, second and third angels' messages were first given, to stand in their place in His work to-day. They are not to drop out of sight. We commit Brother Butler to you, in the name of the God of Israel, asking you to help him all you can. And Elder Butler must plan to have others share his burdens.

I commit my son, James Edson White, to you. He has nearly lost his life in trying to bring the work in the South to its present point of advancement. How little some appreciate the efforts that he has put forth! But God knows the work that has been done. He knows of the struggles and the sacrifices of the workers, and of their attempts to accomplish something for the Lord. Brethren, do not do anything to weaken Edson White's hands. There is enough in the work itself to distress his soul and to wear him out.

I have felt reluctant to have Edson stay in the South, fearing that he would lose his health, and perhaps his life. Christ said, If they receive you not in one place, go into another. He was referring to the persecution that would come. But His words would apply also to a worker whose health was breaking down under labor in an unhealthy climate. Brother Butler should have periods of rest, and Edson White should have an occasional rest. And the other workers in the field must guard their health carefully. God is jealous of His servants. He desires that they shall place themselves where they can best preserve their mental and physical powers, because if these are not preserved, the spiritual powers will be so weakened that the work will suffer much.

I have said to my son, "Come to us, and help me to get out books for the people." But he has always answered: "No; I can not come. I can not leave my work."

I have tried to help him. He has written to me, saying: "People are coming into the truth, but they are in need

of food and clothing. What shall we do?" I have sent him help from time to time, as I could.

God lives and reigns, and if you take hold of His work cheerfully and willingly, He will bless and sustain you. When you are tempted to murmur and complain, keep your mouth closed. Remember that at such times silence is eloquence. Speak no words that you will not be willing to meet in the judgment. And remember that, when God sends His servants to do a hard work in a hard field. He does not want you to make their work harder by criticism and faultfinding.

The Southern work is before you, as it has been presented to you this morning. A good work has been done, and it has been done in the face of the most trying circumstances. The Lord calls upon us to come up to His help in this needy field. You remember the words, "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Christ loved us so much that He gave His life for us. He died on the cross to give us an opportunity to gain the crown of eternal life. Shall we allow those around us to perish in their sins without making an effort to help them? Shall we try to hinder the workers who are seeking to save souls? We want you to help in the Lord's work, that God may not be disappointed in you. We want you to have hearts that are sensitive to others' needs, hearts that are tender, full of pity for the infirmities of those around you.

The Lord is good. He is merciful and tender-hearted. He is acquainted with every one of His children. He knows just what each one of us is doing. He knows just how much credit to give to each one. Will you not lay down your credit list and your condemnation list, and leave God to do His own work? You will be given the crown of glory if you will attend to the work that God has given you.

Let us help one another all we can. Let us speak words of kindness, words that will be a blessing, not a curse. We are living in the great day of atonement. We are now to confess and forsake our sins, that we may be saved. Let us humble our hearts before God, that we may go from this meeting shoulder

to shoulder, full of faith and confidence. The lives of many have been filled with talk and doubt and suspicion. There is hardly a brother who has confidence in a brother, or a brother who has the confidence of the members of the church. My brethren, clear away the rubbish from the door of the heart, and let Jesus come in and talk with you. Let Him sit upon the throne of the heart. If ever a people needed the purifying, sanctifying influence of the truth of the living God, it is the Seventh-day Adventists. I pray that we may all be found in the kingdom of God. But in order to be there, we must here below sit together in heavenly places in Christ. May God help us so to live that we may sing the song of triumph in the city of God.

SECTION 2: TELLING THE STORY . . .

About Regional Conferences

"For who has despised the day of small things?"

Zechariah 4:10 (NKJV)

This period (1995-97) marks the 50th anniversary since the beginning of Regional Conferences (1945-47). The purpose of Regional Conferences was to enhance the opportunities of the Church to spread the Gospel and nurture believers among Black people in the United States. It was a bold move on the part of the Church to try this new form of governance. Prior to Regional Conferences it was clear that the system in operation for work among Black people wasn't working—the Church had to do something! God has blessed the Regional Conference system, and it succeeded beyond the expectations of most of the leaders who helped to initiate it. Dramatic progress has characterized the Black work since the introduction of Regional Conferences. Progress has been made in every area of ministry—evangelism, training, leadership, role modeling, and participation in church governance at all levels. The writings in this section emphasize some of the dynamics that have gone into the development and progress of Regional Conferences.

CONTENT

"Regional Conferences: 50 Years of Progress," Delbert W. Baker.	2/2
"Events Leading to the Establishment of Regional Conferences" Delbert W. Baker	2/7
"C.M. Kinney's Statement on the Concept of Regional Conferences."	2/8
"Shall the Four Freedoms Function Among Seventh-day Adventists?" Joseph T. Dodson.	2/10
"G.E. Peters' Statement on Organization of Negro Conferences."	2/17
"Regional Affairs, Office of, and Regional Conferences," <i>SDA Encyclopedia</i>	2/18
"Seventh-Day Adventist Historical Highlights," <i>Adventist Review</i>	2/24
"The First Steps in Black Leadership," Walter W. Fordham.	2/25
"They Without Us Shall Not Be Made Perfect," Calvin B. Rock.	2/29
"A Celebration of Regional Conferences," D. W. Baker and C.E. Dudley.	2/33
"Regional Conferences," Jacob Justiss.	2/37
"Do We Still Need Regional (Black) Conferences?" Helvius L. Thompson.	2/49
"Separate Conferences--A Road to Fellowship," Louis B. Reynolds	2/57
Spiritual: "Roll Jordan, Roll."	2/72
"Historic Meeting in Chicago--Organization of Regional Conferences," W. W. Fordham.	2/73
Negro Anthem: "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing."	2/76

HERITAGE

FIFTY YEARS AGO WORLD WAR II ended. The United Nations was formed. And a sea of change took place in the Adventist Church in North America. That year the church voted to organize regional conferences.

This year represents, therefore, a special time of celebration for Adventists in North

ences have positively changed the face of Adventism, making a notable contribution to every facet of the church's ministry, and engendering a new sense of identity, participation, and spiritual ownership among constituent members. As we reflect on how God has blessed the Black work in the United States through this means, His providence confronts us on every hand.

on boards, councils, and committees.

Membership in Black conferences is now approaching a quarter million, tithes is more than \$90 million, and workers trained in regional conferences have made an inestimable contribution to the world church by serving at every level of the denomination, in North America and around the world.

Innovative programs and outreach plans of regional conferences annually add vitality and strength to the world church program (see sidebar "Looking to the Future"). Regional presidents and leaders have demonstrated administrative acumen that has matched, and in many cases surpassed, that considered to be the norm in the general church. Further, through regular councils, meetings, and boards, there have been ongoing network-

REGIONAL

by Delbert W. Baker

50

Years of Progress

CONFERENCES

America, heralding as it does the fiftieth anniversary of that historic development. It is historic—and pivotal—because it established a new area of governance in the Adventist Church. As intended, regional conferences have dramatically expanded the Adventist work among Black people in the United States. Membership in these conferences is open to all people, and the term *regional* merely describes the distinctive geographic territories they cover.

During the past 50 years these confer-

ences have positively changed the face of Adventism, making a notable contribution to every facet of the church's ministry, and engendering a new sense of identity, participation, and spiritual ownership among constituent members. As we reflect on how God has blessed the Black work in the United States through this means, His providence confronts us on every hand.

Formed to achieve greater soul-winning results among Black Adventists in a "shorter space of time than would be achieved under the previously existing organization," regional conferences have brought about the following results, among others, in the Black sectors of the church:¹

- Dramatic increases in evangelistic outreach.
- New opportunities for training and experience in ministry.
- Increased opportunities for leadership, service, and participation in church governance.
- Normal eligibility for elected offices, and ex officio representation

ing and support for all aspects of the world church program. Clearly, the hope of those leaders who supported the establishment of such conferences has become a reality.

This article is not written to recount the entire history of regional conferences. There are several histories that already do so.² Instead it will provide the story of why and how church leadership came to establish Black conferences.³

The Way Things Were

The decade of the 1940s was a turbulent one for the United States. Change and conflict were constants. The country was still recovering from the Great Depression. Morale was low. And, perhaps most traumatic, the nation was struggling in the aftermath of the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entrance of

the United States into World War II.

All this was compounded by unrelenting racial tension in the nation. The Roosevelt presidential order, issued in 1941, began to address the problem. "There shall be no discrimination," it said, "in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Conditions in the Adventist Church, however, were not reflective of the government position. White Adventist congregations and administrative leadership positions were rarely accessible to Blacks prior to the 1940s. The first Black person to work at the General Conference was the director of the Negro Department. Neither he nor Black visitors to the General Conference were permitted to eat in the Review and Herald cafeteria (the eating place for the General Conference workers at the time). Segregation was the norm for the first half of the 1900s. Across the United States the denomination's schools and institutions did not yet have an equitable admissions policy.⁴

From the late 1800s, when Charles Kinney, the first Black minister to be ordained, was faced with segregation on the day of his ordination, the church struggled with what to do about race relations between Blacks and Whites.⁵ Educator and author A. W. Spalding recorded that in 1890, R. M. Kilgore, the first denominationally assigned director of the Adventist work in the South, "advocated the separation of white and colored churches" to the church leadership; and "in the end this view prevailed."⁶

As the situation between Whites and Blacks went from bad to worse, Ellen White was forced to confront the church about its unjust treatment of Black people in general and Black Adventists in particular.⁷ Following the turn of the century, though the overwhelming majority of Black Adventists remained faithful to Adventism, a number of prominent Black Adventist ministers and laypersons gave up their affiliation with the Adventist Church because of its treatment of Blacks.⁸ Conditions deteriorated as the confrontations between Whites and Blacks became more frequent, resulting in Black (and some White) Adventists speaking out against the discriminatory practices of the church through the printed

page, through demonstrations, and through lay organizations.

An event that has come to be known as the Byard incident personified the tragic conditions in the church and the frustration and disquieted mood of Black Adventist believers. Perhaps more than any other, this incident highlighted the need for a change in the church's attitude toward race relations and the need for a new way of administering the Black work.

Shortly before the 1944 Spring Council, in which the decision was made to establish regional conferences, Lucy Byard, a fair-skinned Black female who was a longtime member of the Brooklyn Seventh-day Adventist Church, was visiting relatives in the Washington, D.C., area. She became seriously ill and was taken to the nearby Washington Adventist Hospital, then a segregated facility. When the staff realized that Lucy Byard was a Negro, they refused to treat her and discharged her from the hospital. Before she could receive treatment at the Freedmen's Hospital across town, her condition worsened, and she died. The effect of this incident was profoundly disturbing to Black Adventists. Numerous solutions were proposed—including total integration. But none were accepted as feasible by denominational leadership.⁹

Grieving but resolute, Black ministers and laypersons pressed church leadership for immediate redress. Emotions were stirred. The mood was tense, resulting in an uneasy standoff. It was a dark and tenuous period in the history of Adventism. Resolution was badly needed.¹⁰

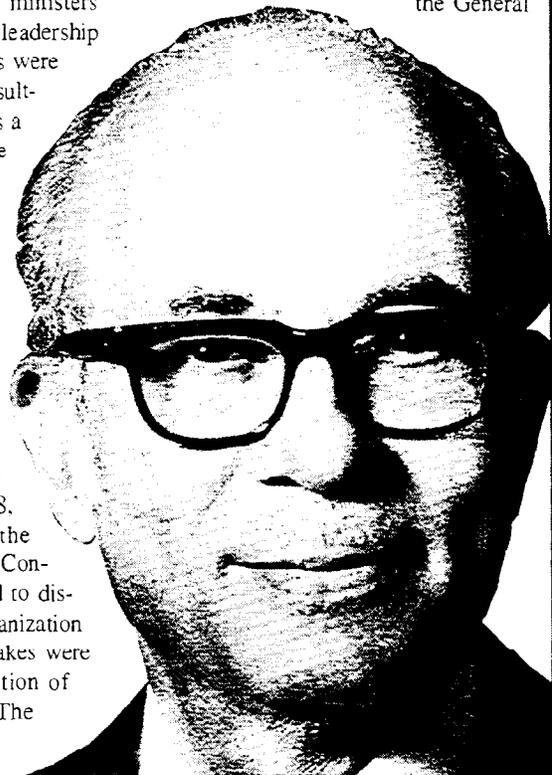
A Time for Action

In the wake of the racial tensions, an apprehensive and troubled group of workers convened at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago on Saturday evening, April 8, 1944. These premeetings of the Spring Council of the General Conference were specifically called to discuss the advisability of the organization of regional conferences. The stakes were high. The reputation and direction of the church were on the line. The

racial dilemma and the grievous misfortunes of the recent past challenged the very unity of the movement.

As the premeeting got under way, it was apparent that there were differences of opinion as to what was the proper solution to the racial impasse. Some advocated the status quo approach, which would essentially leave conditions as they were—hoping that the situation would evolve into a more acceptable state. Others wanted full and complete integration, regardless of the mind-set of the White Adventist membership. Then there was the group that believed that the regional conference arrangement would resolve the tensions without compromising the essential unity of the body. Still others advocated more radical solutions.

Ideological differences crossed racial and collegial lines. There was a diversity of opinion among Whites, among Blacks, and between Whites and Blacks. Then there were differences between administrators and pastors and laypersons. To further complicate matters, as the time for the crucial discussions arrived, James L. McElhany, president of the General Conference and the facilitator for the discussions, lay in his hotel room sick. When he did not appear as scheduled, George E. Peters, director of the Regional Office of the General



Conference, delayed the discussions until he could go and talk with the president.¹¹

Peters impressed McElhany with the need to speak to the issue one way or another. Clearly the dilemma would not be resolved unless and until the General Conference president articulated his position. Peters insisted that if the crisis wasn't addressed, he didn't know how he or McElhany "could ever face the colored constituency again."¹² The problems would not just go away.

Upon arriving at the meeting, McElhany started the discussion by recounting the evolution of the Black conference concept. He indicated that much thought and discussion had been given to the topic not only on an administrative but also on a pastoral and lay level among Whites and Blacks. He further spoke of his keen concern for Blacks as a people and how he had developed "a deep interest in their welfare."

Rejoicing over the progress of the Black work in the Adventist Church, McElhany spoke of his belief that now was the time to "lay wise and adequate plans" for the development of work among Blacks. "Self-interest ought to be laid aside," he commented, as he invited discussion. Concluding his remarks, McElhany added: "I have known conferences to be organized with only 800 members which have proved to be successful."¹³

During the ensuing discussion, White and Black leaders openly expressed their views. William A. Spicer, former missionary and editor, and a former president of the General Conference, spoke in favor of the organization of Black conferences. "In Europe," he said, "we have

German conferences, French conferences, Swedish and Polish conferences; why not Black conferences?"¹⁴

Jay J. Nethery, president of the Lake Union Conference and later a vice president of the General Conference, gave an

inspirational presentation and expressed strong support for Black conferences. He highlighted his remarks with the thought that he had confidence in the Black leaders; that just as it had worked when they had formed conferences some years earlier, so it could work now. Most important, by having conferences they would "be able to save more souls in their territory."¹⁵ This statement was particularly meaningful in that it focused on the major objectives for forming Black conferences—the saving of souls and the building up of the work of God.

Of the several Black persons who spoke, Peters sought to direct attention to the big picture of the work in the future. He reminisced that Blacks had been patient and had not forced the issue of Black conferences, even though they had raised the issue some years earlier. But he was quick to add that as invited guests of the premeetings, they were ready to support the recommendation, to move beyond the "status quo," "avoid confusion," and accept "some organization [structure] that will give us a future."¹⁶

F. L. Peterson, another prominent Black minister, forcefully spoke in support of Black conferences. He felt it was "one of the most outstanding moves that [has] ever been made for us" and that it would "have a wholesome effect on all our people throughout North America." He indicated

further that Black conferences would inspire leadership by giving "the young people courage and something to look forward to in the denomination." This, he added, would be a means of helping to finish the work.¹⁷

As the discussion progressed there was a coalescing of views, and a consensus began to emerge. Of the 22 speakers on record, 17 spoke in favor of Black conferences, three spoke against it, and two asked questions of clarification. The overwhelming majority of leaders present, White and Black, voiced their support of Black conferences. Those who did not favor the idea ended by saying they would support "whatever organization is selected."¹⁸

Of all the speeches made, the most influential was that by the General Conference president on the second day of the meetings. Not only did McElhany support the wisdom of Black conferences, but he also went on to affirm the capabilities of Black leadership, expressing confidence in them as leaders. "To say a man could be a pastor of a thousand members, but couldn't direct a thousand members if they were divided into conferences seems to me to be inconsistent in reasoning," he said.

Sensitive to the diverse views concerning Black conferences, McElhany expressed his intent both to help Blacks take leadership responsibilities and preserve unity. "If I thought anybody was proposing a conference organization that would drive a wedge between the races I would oppose it. I do feel anxious for us to develop every resource. . . . We must keep together and maintain the spirit of counsel and helpfulness." He reminded the meeting that resistance to new ideas was something that had been experienced before, and that during the early days of the Adventist Church when the denomination "first organized churches [and conferences] people looked upon it as dangerous . . . [and] wrong."¹⁹

The Enabling Action

After the premeetings, the discussion, and the debate, the moment came. Walter W. Fordham, retired regional conference president and former director of the General Conference Office of Regional Affairs, attended the meeting and later

Regional
conferences have
positively changed
the face of
Adventism, and
made notable
contributions to
every facet
of the church's
ministry.

summarized the event: "Finally the inevitable happened. . . . The discussion finally came to a head. Pros and cons were examined. There were heated discussions. And in the end there was a vote to establish Regional conferences."²⁰

After the recommendation was voted in the premeeting, the action was passed on to the Spring Council in session the next day. Though Blacks (as invited, nonvoting guests) did not participate in the vote on the pending recommendation, the records indicate that the "recommendations were submitted to the delegations at the April 1944 Spring Council and were unanimously adopted." Thus, it is recorded:

WHEREAS, The present development of the work among the colored people in North America has resulted, under the signal blessing of God, in the establishment of some 233 churches with some 17,000 members; and, **WHEREAS**, It appears that a different plan of organization for our colored membership would bring further great advance in soul-winning endeavors; therefore

WE RECOMMEND, That in unions where the colored constituency is considered by the union conference committee to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant, colored conferences be organized.²¹

Organizing Regional Conferences

Thus, regional conferences came to be. Following the enabling action of the General Conference, the unions quickly scheduled and convened constituency meetings across the country for the organization of regional conferences. In rapid succession regional conferences were formed:

- Allegheny (1945—J. H. Wagner, president; in 1967 Allegheny Conference divided into the Allegheny East Conference—W. A. Thompson, president; and the Allegheny West Conference—W. M. Starks, president).
- Central States (1947—T. M. Rowe, president).

- Lake Region (1945—J. G. Dasent, president).
- Northeastern (1945—L. H. Bland, president).
- South Atlantic (1946—H. D. Singleton, president; in 1981 South Atlantic divided into South Atlantic Conference—R. B. Hairston, president; and Southeastern Conference—J. A. Edgcombe, president).
- South Central (1946—H. R. Murphy, president).
- Southwest Region (1947—W. W. Fordham, president).

To date, the nine regional conferences, located in six of the nine unions of the NAD, cover 39 of the 50 states.²² H. D. Singleton and W. W. Fordham, both retired, are the only two of the original presidents alive. At the time of the forming of regional conferences, the West Coast territory, which included the Pacific Union Conference and the North Pacific Union Conference, chose to administer the Black work through Regional Affairs offices.²³ Bermuda Mission, a Black-administered field, was officially organized as a conference in 1984.

The Black work has made quantum leaps since the establishment of Regional conferences. The membership increased from 17,000 in 1944 to 23,000 in 1950, to 37,000 in 1960, to 70,000 in 1970, to 193,000 in 1990, and to more than 220,000 in 1995. In 1944 Black Adventists constituted 9 percent of the membership in the U.S. By 1977 it was 20 percent; then 23 percent in 1985; and more than 25 percent in 1995. In 1944 the tithe from the Black constituency was \$511,000. It grew to \$18 million in 1977, \$40 million in 1984, \$69 million in 1990, and to more than \$90 million in 1995. Currently, tithe returns from regional conferences exceed the annual tithe returns of every world division, except the North American Division.²⁴

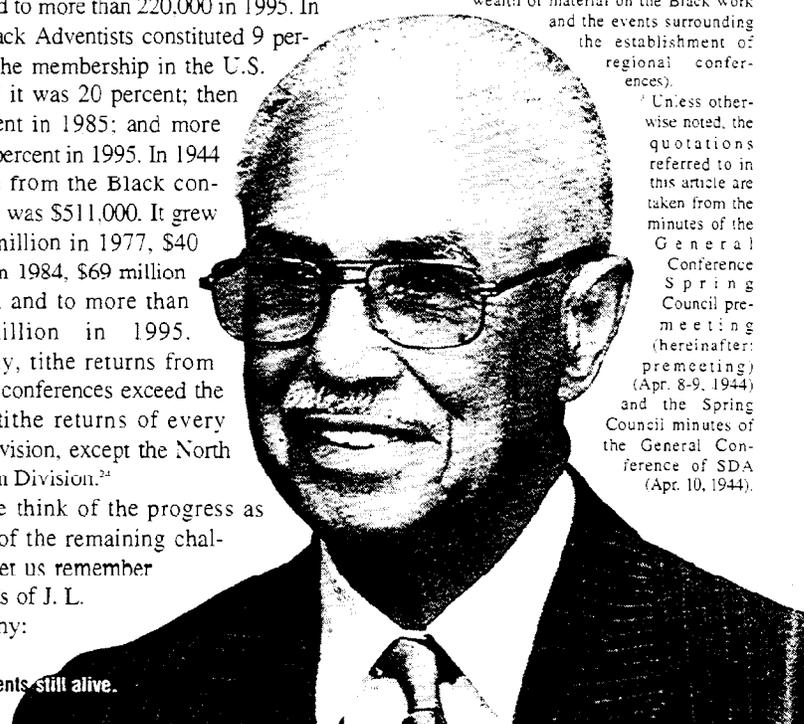
As we think of the progress as well as of the remaining challenges, let us remember the words of J. L. McElhany:

"The thing for us to do is to get this work finished just as soon as we can and go to our eternal home where these racial conditions do not exist. . . . It will be a glorious thing when we can go to our eternal home. We will forget all the things that have troubled us in this world."²⁵

²⁰ Today there are nine such conferences in the North American Division that have a largely African-American leadership and constituency. Most of them were organized between 1945 and 1947. (The terms *regional conference* and *Black conferences* are used interchangeably in this article.) Each regional conference is organized within the existing administrative structure of a union conference, and covers not merely one portion of the union area, but generally all the Black churches in the whole region of the union. The Pacific and North Pacific unions currently have no regional conferences, but instead have union and conference regional departments that serve in an advisory capacity for the Black constituency in their areas. In Canada there are churches that are predominantly White, churches that are predominantly Black, and churches that are fully integrated—but no separate conferences. In Bermuda most of the churches have a majority of Black members and the current president is Black. (See *SDA Encyclopedia* [1976], p. 1191.)

²¹ See, for example, D. W. Baker, *The Unknown Prophet* (1987); *Make Us One* (1995). (The latter has a chapter by Roy Branson entitled "Adventism's Rainbow Coalition" that traces the roots of the different ethnic groups that make up the SDA Church and includes a section on Black Adventists; W. W. Fordham, *Righteous Rebel, an Autobiography* (1990); Ronald Graybill, *Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations* (1970) and *Mission to Black America* (1971); Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975); L. B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow* (1984); Calvin B. Rock, "They Without Us Shall Not Be Made Perfect," in *Go On: Vital Messages for Today's Christian* (1984); R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (1979); Ellen G. White, *The Southern Work* (1966 reprint); *A Star Gives Light, Seventh-day Adventist Heritage* (a teacher's resource guide), produced by the Office of Education, Southern Union Conference (1989); *SDA Encyclopedia* (has a wealth of material on the Black work and the events surrounding the establishment of regional conferences).

²² Unless otherwise noted, the quotations referred to in this article are taken from the minutes of the General Conference Spring Council premeeting (hereinafter: premeeting) (Apr. 8-9, 1944) and the Spring Council minutes of the General Conference of SDA (Apr. 10, 1944).



14 (1374) W. W. Fordham, one of the two original Regional presidents still alive.

Louis B. Reynolds, in *We Have Tomorrow*, discusses the conditions in the SDA Church and cites illustrative examples. See chapters 16-18.

It was on this occasion in 1889 that Kinney first proposed the idea of the regional conference concept ("C. M. Kinney's Statement" [Nashville: Oct. 2, 1889]); James Edson White also intimated the merits of Blacks providing leadership for their own people in a letter to his mother, Ellen White, on June 28, 1900.

A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), vol. 2, p. 188; see also Spalding's unpublished manuscript "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt" (1924) p. 142; see also *Review and Herald* report by Kilgore (Oct. 29, 1889).

See Delbert W. Baker's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Dynamics of Communication and African-American Progress in the Seventh-day Adventist Organization: A Historical Descriptive Analysis" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1992), for an examination of Ellen G. White's role in the progress of Black Adventism.

One of the most well-known cases is that of Pastor J. K. Humphrey. For more information, see Joe Messar and Tom Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*, January 1974.

See the November (1943) General Conference Executive Committee minutes where it is noted that a committee was appointed to study "the future development of our colored work in North America" (Nov. 3, 1943).

See Calvin B. Rock's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Institutional Loyalty versus Racial Freedom: The Dilemma of Black Seventh-day Adventist Leadership" (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1984), for an examination of various protest methods to effect positive change in race relations in the Adventist Church. For information on the rationale of Black conferences, see also Frank W. Hale, Jr., "Commitment versus Capitulation," *Spectrum*, Spring 1970.

Reynolds, pp. 294, 295.

Ibid., p. 295; Fordham, p. 78; Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony*.

Premeeting minutes—Apr. 8, 1944.

Fordham, p. 79.

Ibid.: Premeeting minutes—Apr. 9, 1944.

Premeeting minutes—Apr. 9, 1944.

Ibid.

Premeeting minutes—Apr. 8, 9, 1944.

Premeeting minutes—Apr. 9, 1944; Reynolds, p.

295.

Fordham, p. 76.

General Conference Spring Council minutes, Apr. 10, 1944.

See *SDA Encyclopedia*, pp. 1190-1196.

Currently, there is a movement on the West Coast among Black laypersons and pastors to establish regional conferences. Most notable in this connection is WURK (Westerners United for Regional Conferences).

See statistics from the NAD Office of Human Relations; Harold Lee's "A Comparison and Analysis of the Title of North American Regional Conferences With Other Segments of the World Church, 1992" (updated, 1995); Rock, *Go On!*, p. 103.

Premeeting minutes—Apr. 8, 1944.



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Future

Regional conference presidents share their vision for ministry

My vision for ministry is:

"To integrate the wellness concept into all aspects of ministry in my conference—spiritual, social, physical, and mental. Thus we can equip our constituents to make a greater difference in their communities."

*Alvin M. Kibble, Allegheny East Conference
(original membership: 6,745; current: 24,396)*

"To facilitate a massive conference-wide sense of urgency on the part of pastors, administrators, and laypersons as we approach the year 2000—to unite together to spread the gospel and to prepare for the coming of Christ."

*Willie J. Lewis, Allegheny West Conference
(original membership: 4,624; current: 11,206)*

"To educate every member as to the soul-winning benefits of developing a Christlike character. A plan to help accomplish this goal is Project 100 for 1, by which every member is personally challenged to get involved in a specific ministry of the church."

*J. Alfred Johnson II, Central States Conference
(original membership: 798; current: 8,700)*

"To help people in the Black community—inside and outside of the church—to realize the tremendous potential of Adventism to address and provide solutions for the challenges facing them. In so doing, we help people prepare for the temporal as well as the eternal."

*Norman K. Miles, Lake Region Conference
(original membership: 2,500; current: 22,117)*

"To use our resources as one of the largest conferences to assist other regional conferences in such projects as Ebony Evangelism, with the aim of spreading the three angels' messages to urban centers and training workers and educators to train others."

*Stennett H. Brooks, Northeastern Conference
(original membership: 2,208; current: 39,561)*

"Besides the charge to evangelize and keep the unity of the faith, there remains the challenge to do something to minister to the Black male—not only in regard to his future destiny but also for the sake of his self-esteem and self-worth in this present life."

*Ralph P. Peay, South Atlantic Conference
(original membership: 3,523; current: 25,122)*

"To constantly develop creative and innovative forms of ministry to finish the work of God, and to keep the history and vitality of the Black work alive so that it will be a means of inspiration and motivation for future generations."

*Joseph W. McCoy, South Central Conference
(original membership: 2,235; current: 24,804)*

"To focus on the mission of the church in our schools, our churches, and in everything we do. Evangelism should be the golden strand, clearly seen as our reason for existence and the purpose of our being."

*Roy R. Brown, Southeastern Conference
(original membership: 8,511; current: 21,420)*

"To so dynamically multiply members, churches, and resources by the year 2000 that we will have to divide the conference in order to adequately administer the work. We want explosive church growth to lead to explosive conference growth and expansion."

*Robert L. Lister, Southwest Region Conference
(original membership: 1,939; current: 15,821)*

EVENTS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL CONFERENCES

The following 15 events were catalysts that directly or indirectly provided impetus for the establishment of Regional conferences. The threads running through these incidents were a deep desire for evangelistic empowerment, Christian fairness, and administrative parity:

1889—The Kinny Proposal

Charles M. Kinny, when faced with segregation on the day of his ordination at the Nashville campmeeting, first proposed the idea of Regional conferences.

1890—The Kilgore Policy

Segregation policy proposed by Robert M. Kilgore is accepted by the General Conference and facilitates segregation in majority of White SDA Churches until the 1950s.

1891—The Prophetic Challenge

Ellen White delivered a historic message at General Conference session relative to how the SDA Church should relate to Blacks and the race question.

1909—The Shaefe Stand-off

Lewis C. Shaefe, prominent minister, appeals to the leadership for integration and parity in the Church. He leaves the Church after repeated rejections and other unfortunate events.

1910—The Negro Department

Arthur G. Daniells, president of the General Conference, establishes the North American Negro Department. Racial sensitivities are aroused when first three leaders are White.

1918—The Black Director

William H. Green, attorney and minister, is appointed the first Black to lead the Negro Department and the first Black in the General Conference.

1920s and 1930s—The Unfortunate Schisms

Several leading Black ministers leave the Church primarily because of racial policies toward Blacks. Most notably was James K. Humphrey, John W. Mann and M. G. Nunez.

1926—The “No Authority” Policy

Church takes action to allow Black ministers to be appointed as leaders of Black union work. Blacks jolted by clause “[Black] union [leader] has no administrative authority.”

1929/30—The Formal Resolution

At General Conference council Black leaders presented a formal resolution for Black conferences to facilitate better development of churches, schools and institutions. A committee is appointed (11 Whites; five Blacks) to study advisability/make recommendation. After recommendation, request is categorically denied. Blacks told to drop issue.

1932—The Oakwood Strike

Students implemented a campus-wide strike. General Conference eventually agrees to all points. J. L. Moran, became the first Black President of Oakwood College.

1937—The Barnett Confrontation

Charles Barnett, Black SDA publisher of the Associated Negro Press publicizes discriminatory practices of the SDA churches, schools, and institutions.

1943—The Byard Incident

Lucy Byard dies as a result of being refused treatment at the Washington Adventist Hospital. There is widespread other inhumane and destructive racial practices of Church.

1943—The Layperson’s Organization

Group of Washington, D.C. laypersons form *National Association for the Advancement for Worldwide Work Among Seventh-day Adventists* to address racial wrongs and equity.

1944—The Freedom Appeal

Lay person and ministers draft and circulate protest document addressing the Church entitled “Shall the Four Freedoms Function Among the Seventh-day Adventists?”

1944—The Regional Decision

J. L. McElheny, General Conference president, calls Spring Council Pre-Meetings to discuss and vote on recommendation for Regional Conferences. *Recommendation voted.*

C. M. KINNEY'S STATEMENT ON THE CONCEPT OF REGIONAL CONFERENCES
October 2, 1889 SDA Campground Nashville, TN,

Elder R. M. Kilgore: Now, Bro. Kinney, we are ready for your statement.

Elder C. M. Kinney: It is probable that my ideas may be a little different from what has been expressed by some. But they are mere suggestions, and I would be extremely glad if there were no necessity to carry them out.

In the first place, a separation of the colored people from the white people is a great sacrifice upon our part; we lose the blessing of learning the truth--I have reference especially to general meetings. The colored people as a class are in need--

* * *

Elder R. M. Kilgore: What kind of separation do you refer to?

Elder C. M. Kinney: I refer to the separation in the general meeting; that is, for them to have a different campmeeting. It would be a great sacrifice upon the part of my people to miss the information that these general meetings would give them; and another thing, it seems to me that a separation in the general meetings would have a tendency to destroy the unity of the Third Angel's message. Now, then, this question to me is one of *great embarrassment and humiliation, and not only to me, but to my people also.*

There are four thoughts that suggest themselves to mind that should be considered in the solution of this question: the *first* is that the course that shall be taken shall be pleasing to God; *second*, that a position will be taken that will not compromise the denomination; *third*, that the position that is to be taken will be to the best interest of the cause; *fourth*, that a position will be taken that will commend itself to the good judgment of the colored people, that they may not be driven from the truth by our position on this question. Now, these are questions that seem to me should be considered in the solution of this matter, I am glad to state first that the Third Angel's message has the power in it to eliminate or remove this race prejudice upon the part of those who get hold of the truth.

* * *

Elder R. M. Kilgore: That is clearly demonstrated, at least to a great extent, as I learned on the camp-ground here.

Elder C. M. Kinney: Second, that the Third Angel's message is to go to all nations of people; that it cannot take hold of them if there is some obstacle in the way, and that the truth of the Third Angel's message will enable us to remove that obstacle. The colored-line question is an obstacle; in other words, the very presence of the colored people in church relations and in our general meetings is an obstacle, is a barrier that hinders the progress of the Third Angel's message from reaching many of the white people.

Now, I wish to present twelve propositions, which, to my mind, would be a complete or perfect solution to the difficulty:

- (1) A frank understanding between the two races on all questions affecting each. This would avoid much trouble that would otherwise occur.
- (2) That colored laborers shall have no special desire to labor among white people, except an occasional invitation where to accept would cause no trouble.

- (3) That the colored brethren do not interfere with the outside interest among the white people; the minister in charge of such work to be judge of such interference.
- (4) Where the two races cannot meet together without limitation in the church, it is better to separate.
- (5) That missions be established among them, thus raising up separate churches. White laborers giving their time exclusively to this work.

I realize the difficulty of white laborers attempting to labor for both classes in the South, for if they labor for the colored people they will lose their influence among the white people, but in laboring among the colored people exclusively that difficulty is obviated.

- (6) That in view of the outside feeling on the race question, and the hindrance it makes in accomplishing the work desired among the whites, the attendance of the colored brethren at the general meetings should not be encouraged, yet not positively forbidden. If they do attend let there be a private, mutual understanding as to the position they should assume on every phase of the meeting.

I would say in this connection that in my judgment a separate meeting for the colored people to be held in connection with the general meetings, or a clear-cut distinction, by having them occupy the back seats, etc., would not meet with as much favor from my people as a total separation. I am willing, however, to abide by whatever the General Conference may recommend in the matter, and advise my people to do the same.

- (7) In those churches where there are two or more let them remain until an effort can be made to raise up a church among them; then have them to unite with it.
- (8) Until there is enough to form a conference of colored people, let the colored churches, companies or individuals pay their tithes and other contributions to the regular state officers, and be considered a part of the state conference.
- (9) That the General Conference do what it can in educating worthy colored laborers to engage in various branches of the work among them, when such can be found.
- (10) That Christian feeling between the two races be zealously *inculcated everywhere*, so that the cause of separation may not be because of the existence of prejudice within, but because of those on the outside whom you hope to reach.
- (11) That when colored conferences are formed they bear the same relation to the General Conference that white conferences do.
- (12) That these principles be applied only where this prejudice exists to the injury of the cause.

* * * * *

SHALL THE FOUR FREEDOMS FUNCTION
AMONG SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS?

Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Jesus.
Southern Work, p. 9.

- I. Result of neglect of the colored people--the curse of sin on the church. *Southern Work*, p. 12.
- II. Estimate of the colored people as being
 - A. Brethren. *Southern Work*, p. 4.
 - B. Men capable of attaining eternal life as the white man. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
 - C. Travelers to the same heaven to sit down at the same table as the whites. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 - D. Worshipers of the same God as the whites. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- III. Capabilities of the colored people: talent, T 9:202; ability, 9:202; quick perception and bright minds, T 7:229; reasoning power. *Southern Work*, p. 27.
- IV. Duty of the white Adventists
 - A. To repair as far as in their power past injury done to the colored people, 7:230.
 - B. To show "exact and impartial" justice to the Negro race.
 - C. To increase the force of colored workers, T 9:207.
 - D. To throw their influence against the customs and practices of the world.
Southern Work. 2 34
- V. Solution: the love of Jesus a "dissipater of hereditary and cultivated prejudices. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

THE OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF WORLD-WIDE WORK AMONG
COLORED SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

THESIS: The present policy of the white Adventists in responsible positions will not stand the acid test of the Judgment.

- I. The policy in the educational and medical work is discriminatory and un-Christ-like.
 - A. Colored people are not admitted generally to our institutions as patients, students, and nurses.

1. The Washington Sanitarium refuses to admit colored people: The Byard case, Gaither case, the Clark case.
 2. Colored girls are denied admittance to the Washington Sanitarium School of Nursing and some other schools open to the whites. As a result, they are forced to travel long distances to such schools as will accept them or undergo inconveniences at the risk of their souls at non-Adventist schools.
- B. No academies like the Shenandoah Academy are available in the East for our colored youth.
- C. Academies that might accept colored students are not easily accessible.
- D. There is no standard satisfactory creditable academy for our colored youth.
- E. A notorious example of injustice was the policy of Emmanuel Missionary College.
1. Colored students were assigned to the rear seat during worship at chapel.
 2. Colored students were subjected to an unwarranted and humiliating form of segregation in having to wait for their meals until there might be a "quota" of colored students to fill a table.
- F. The "quota" Policy of our institutions of higher learning with its limitations of equal opportunities for our colored youth to obtain a Christian education is indefensible.
- G. There is inadequate supervision of our educational work by those who should be interested.
- H. In contrast to the policy of the Adventists, many non-Adventist institutions admit colored applicants.
1. A SDA colored girl is pursuing nursing at Bellevue in New York City with no discrimination.
 2. Catholic University accepts colored students.
- I. There are no Negroes so far as we know on staffs of Adventist institutions. In contrast:
1. City College of New York City employs a full-time Negro psychologist who is a director of the Evening School.
 2. Hunter College of New York City employs a full-time Negro professor.
 3. The University of Chicago employs at least five full-time Negro professors as well as visiting professors.

4. Harvard, Boston, Northwestern, New York, De Paul and Toledo employ Negro instructors.
- J. There is a policy of evasion and futile appeasement relative to our work.
1. It is said, for example, that it is against public policy to have Negro and white patients in the Washington Sanitarium.
 2. It is said that colored patients would be objectionable to white patients, especially those from the Southern States.
 3. Non-Adventist institutions in Maryland use no such subterfuges.
 - a. John Hopkins Hospital in Maryland accepts Negro patients.
 - b. Sandy Spring Hospital in Maryland accepts Negro patients.
- II. The policy in the administrative sphere is discriminatory and un-Christlike.
- A. Negroes do not have adequate representation on committees at all levels--local, union, and general conferences.
1. The Potomac Conference Legal Association (as well as the Union and General Associations) has no representation for the 16,000 colored constituents of Seventh-day Adventists.
 2. Deeds of churches and other properties are held by the Conference Legal Associations--deeds to institutions occupied by colored Adventists; yet no colored Adventist is a member of these associations.
 3. Appropriations made by many committees are proportionally inadequate to the needs of the colored work.
 4. There is not even one General Conference office filled by a colored person.
 5. Even the General Conference stationery (there may be another type) "unwittingly shows discrimination in the caption about the Colored Department and its Secretary is shunted down to the bottom of the letterhead and to the left. "Left" and "bottom" often have sinister connotations.
 6. The fact that there is a colored constituency should entitle it to at least one general conference administrative officer and colored supervisory officers with proper office personnel, equipment, and power.
 7. The financial contributions of the colored constituency warrants the carrying out of the statement under "6" above.

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8. The present disinterestedness on the part of the General Conference Committee as a unit calls for the presence of a General Conference officer who can sympathize with the plight of 16,000 colored Adventists.
- B. Funds are allocated so that monies from the colored constituency finance institutions where we derive no direct financial and economic benefits; in other words, our money is not used enough for our advancement.
 1. There is an over-emphasis and dramatization of "deficits" in the colored work.
 2. The reports of those continual deficits in the colored work are too vague and lacking in detailed information for unqualified acceptance on the part of the colored laity.
 - C. We have no representative connected with the disbursement of funds from the colored constituency.
 - D. The office of the Secretary of the Colored Department does not carry with it enough administrative authority, jurisdiction, and equipment. In the eyes of the laity, it seems to be in matters pertaining to the impartial progress of the colored group powerless to function adequately.
 - E. There is no definite, detailed report of Negro funds and their disbursement.
 1. The colored people know nothing of the business organization, loss, profits, and expenses connected with the *Message Magazine*.
 2. There are no colored editor, circulation manager, and business manager of the only Adventist periodical devoted exclusively to the interest of the 13,000,000 colored people in the United States.
 - F. The personnel in the administration of the colored work is not proportionate to the needs, demands, and interest of such work. For example, the colored work at large consists of evangelizing, teaching, and selling books.
- III. The policy in the field of employment is unfair, partial and un-Christlike.
- A. Negroes are not employed as stenographers in all divisions of work (local, union, and general), printers, linotype setters, shipping clerks, camp directors, secretaries over such departments as Missionary Volunteer Department, Army, etc., editors and members of editorial staffs.
 - B. Negroes are not encouraged to find employment in the "work."
- IV. The policy in spiritual matters is too one-sided and narrow.
- A. Conference officials (general, union, and local) neglect to lay plans for the improvement of

the colored Adventists as a group.

- B. Conference officials do not initiate, encourage, and foster dignified programs for the up-life of the colored constituency.
- C. Conference officials visiting colored churches on the Sabbath preach sermons fostering conference objectives, e.g., Harvest Ingathering, Sabbath School, Big Week, etc.
- D. Conference officials foster only institutes which have to do with bringing in money to the general treasury.
 - 1. Colporteurs enrich the treasury. (We admit they help to save souls).
 - 2. Lay workers' institutes emphasize the bringing in of souls, but these souls will bring in more tithes, more Harvest Ingathering funds, etc.
- E. No dignified programs are offered, suggested, encouraged, emphasized for the improvement of our only sanitarium and college, or for the building of new academies, sanitariums, or colleges.
- F. There are according to our knowledge no recreational camps for our many boys and girls.
- G. Whites and coloreds do not worship together, although:
 - 1. The Bahais worship together.
 - 2. The Friends have a common meeting place.
- H. Since white and colored eat without friction daily in the cafeterias of the Library of Congress, Union Station, National Art Gallery, Interior Department, and other government buildings, it is illegal to segregate the Secretary of the Colored Department for his meals.
- V. These unfair practices embarrass the colored laity, form a definite obstacle to the spread of the message among colored people in the highways and byways, and also if we may paraphrase 2 Samuel 12:14 give occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme.

Recommendations:

Educational and Medical

- 1. That Seventh-day Adventist sanitariums, hospitals, and educational institutions discontinue the unchristian policy of discrimination towards colored people.
- 2. That the "quota" policy of our institutions of higher learning be discontinued.

3. That a standard satisfactory academy be opened for our colored youth.
4. That qualified colored people be given opportunity to serve on faculties of our institutions of learning.

Administrative and Supervisory

1. That colored people be given adequate representation on committees, at all levels--local, union, and general.
2. That adequate appropriations be made to meet the demands and needs of the colored people.
3. That at least one General Conference Office be filled by a colored person.
4. That funds from the colored constituency be allocated so that the colored people may derive direct financial and economic benefit.
5. That colored people be appointed to supervise various phases of the work.
6. That conference officials encourage our ministers and workers to be frank in declaring the needs of their own people. Otherwise, those who should be like Elijah, Esther, and Moses will become craven cowards.
7. That the office of the Secretary of the Colored Department be given administrative authority, jurisdiction, and equipment.
8. That the colored people be given detailed reports of the colored funds and their disbursement.
9. That there be appointed a colored editor of the Message Magazine, with associate editors of either group, and a business manager so the colored people can be informed of the profits or losses of this magazine.

Occupational

1. That the number of colored people employed by the conferences be determined by some fixed ratio in all types of positions.
2. That colored secretaries be appointed to foster the educational, social, and welfare work in all departments.
3. That colored people be appointed as editors and on editorial staffs of Adventist periodicals.

G. E. PETERS' STATEMENT ON ORGANIZATION OF NEGRO CONFERENCES

I am not in favor of maintaining a status quo form of organization. I haven't got wisdom enough to decide while on the floor the kind of organization that we should have. Any one person's ability is not sufficient to decide this matter. I have studied my people. I wrote the General Conference and mentioned that we should come with something definite in mind so that we could avoid confusion. I did this because I know my people from infancy. We ought to decide on a policy that spells progress and give it to our friends. This is a serious matter. I don't believe that this is a time for office seeking. The salvation of the 13,000,000 colored souls in the United States is at stake.

In 1930 I listened to more speeches against the progress of the colored people than we have had today. Fortunately the speakers today are sincere. We have confidence in them. In 1930 several of the men who fought against the advanced step of the colored work are not in the work today. Those same men were not bringing in souls. They were doing a very small work. They were not in touch with the Negro to a great extent. They thought if they would say something to the white folk, they would then be sure of a job for life. Everyone is present today, of those who stood for progress in 1930.

I am not a radical. I am not an agitator. Nothing is accomplished without God. Pardon my personal reference, but I have through the help of God, brought in about 3,000 souls. In one meeting I baptized 145 without stopping. At the close of the meeting 250 souls were won to Christ. God has given me the ability to lead. I suppose that I have erected more churches than any of the brethren, but yet I am standing for progress TODAY.

I maintain that it stands out very clearly, if we continue to maintain the status quo form of organization, that we need something for the colored people in the Southwestern. This is shown very definitely. It is also quite evident that something new is needed where my good friend, Clarks, is located. For example, in the Southern New England Conference there are only 349 colored Adventists, this shows that something is needed to propel the work to our colored people.

Who am I to say that we should have colored conferences? Whatever it is that takes to bring classes of Negroes into this message, that is the thing that I am after. We must have greater evangelism. It is not a matter to insure one's bread and butter as the years go by. We should have some organization that will give us a future. It is not a matter of simply pleasing public sentiment. That does not ring with God's people.

God gave Elder Blunden a vision for his publishing department. LOOK how under this plan our colored men have advanced. This shows that colored people can lead. Today is a high day for our men in the publishing department. We can also look at Oakwood and see what God has done with colored leadership. We are proud of Oakwood.

I remembered how the colored people cried when they were taken out of the white church here in Chicago. Now the colored church is the largest we have in Lake Union. It shows how God can bless under your own leadership.

We should decide whether we should have a colored conference. It ought to be very carefully considered. I don't believe that we should try it in the whole field at the same time. I believe our people have leadership. We aren't ashamed of our progress. I don't believe that we should continue under the present plan of the status quo.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF, AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES. The North American Office of Regional Affairs is a branch of the General Conference that, with its director and associate director and its advisory committee, is concerned chiefly with the development of churches and institutions among Americans of Negro ancestry (who constitute more than one tenth of the United States population).

The Office of Regional Affairs, like other General Conference departments, has an

advisory function through the General Conference Executive Committee, and it also offers leadership to the field. Unlike the others, each of which fosters certain specific activities and deals with union and local conference departments promoting the same activities, the Office of Regional Affairs fosters the work of one specific group of churches and conferences in North America. It deals (1) with the eight Regional conferences, (2) with a union Regional department in the Pacific Union Conference, and (3) with certain local congregations in the North Pacific Union Conference.

These churches and conferences are, organizationally, constituents of their respective conferences and unions, in which they are represented on the same basis as the other churches and conferences. Yet they have also the counsel and guidance from their leaders in the Office of Regional Affairs. The office issues a bimonthly paper, *The North American Informant*.

The following statistics cover not only the Regional conferences but also all the churches that are largely Negro in membership in the North American Division area, except in Canada and Bermuda.

Statistics. The following statistics were compiled by the Office of Regional Affairs in 1973. In the North American Division area (total population about 230 million) the black population is 24 million; churches and companies, 487; members, 87,342; church schools, 52; ordained ministers, 253; licensed ministers, 75; Bible instructors, 50; teachers, 269. The tithe income from churches in 1973 was \$13,611,459.67 and they also raised \$877,030.41 for Ingathering, \$1,226,121.98 in other mission offerings, and \$6,875,494.73 for payments on new buildings, maintenance, improvements, and other local projects.

Institutions. See Northeastern Academy; Oakwood College; Pine Forge Academy; Riverside Hospital. There are junior academies in the following cities: Baltimore, Maryland; Cleveland, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Washington, D.C.; Kansas City, Missouri; Chicago, Illinois; Detroit and Inkster, Michigan; Atlanta, Georgia; Miami and Orlando, Florida; Wilmington and Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; Baton Rouge, Hammond, and New Orleans, Louisiana; Dallas and Houston, Texas.

Regional Conferences. There are eight North American Regional conferences, most of them organized in 1945 or 1946, that have a leadership and constituency largely

Negro. These are called Regional because of their distinctive geographical arrangement: Each Regional conference is organized within the existing administrative structure of a union conference, and covers not merely one portion of the union area but all the Negro churches in the whole region of the union, except in the Southern and Columbia unions, which contain two Regional conferences.

The eight Regional conferences in six of the nine union conferences in North America are: the *Allegheny East Conference*, embracing the black congregations in the territory of New Jersey, Delaware, District of Columbia, and eastern portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia (offices at Pine Forge, Pennsylvania); the *Allegheny West Conference*, embracing the black congregations in the territory of Ohio, West Virginia, West Pennsylvania, and Southwest Virginia (offices at Columbus, Ohio); the *Central States Conference* in the Central Union Conference and in Iowa (offices in Kansas City, Missouri), with churches in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado; the *Lake Region Conference* in the Lake Union Conference (offices in Chicago, Illinois), with churches in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Minnesota; the *Northeastern Conference* in the Atlantic Union Conference (offices in New York City), with churches in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts; the *South Atlantic Conference* in the eastern half of the Southern Union (offices in Atlanta, Georgia), with churches in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida; the *South Central Conference* also in the Southern Union (offices in Nashville, Tennessee), with churches in Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, and the northwestern tip of Florida; the *Southwest Region Conference* in the Southwestern Union Conference (offices in Dallas, Texas), with churches in Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, and New Mexico.

The Northern, Pacific, and North Pacific unions have no Regional conferences, but the Pacific Union Conference has a Regional Department serving in an advisory capacity to all the conferences in which there is a considerable black membership (the black constituencies in Iowa and Minnesota in the Northern Union are attached to the Central States and Lake Region conferences respectively). In Canada there are separate black congregations as well as churches with black constituents in their memberships; in Bermuda most of the churches have a majority of blacks. The president is a black man.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF, AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES

Missionaries called from responsibilities in the Regional conferences have gone to India, South America, Africa, the Far East, and the West Indies.

The Regional conferences were formed in the hope that the new organizations might, with concentration on work within a specific ethnic group, achieve greater results in a shorter space of time than would be achieved under the previously existing organizations (in some cases under a departmental or mission arrangement). The plan has been responsible for an evangelistic penetration into the Negro community that had not been possible under the organizations that formerly administered the work among the nation's Negro membership. The Regional conferences also have created more opportunities for leadership and other participation by gifted and trained Negro young people of the church, whose selection in the same or similar capacities had not worked out in the years prior to the formation of the Regional conferences. Another practical result has been that colored members of the SDA Church have been more readily and more naturally represented in elected offices and on boards and committees outside the Regional conferences than appears to have been true formerly.

History. *Origin of Work Among Negro Americans.* Before SDA's existed as a group, there were Negro adherents of the Adventist (*Millerite) movement. Even though most free Negroes of the time could scarcely read, some of them had a grasp of the pertinent doctrines taught by the Adventists.

SDA leaders in the beginning were identified as antislavery in sentiment. Some of them had actively aided the Negro in his struggle against the severe system of slavery: Both John P. Kellogg (father of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg) and John Byington, who was later the first president of the General Conference, had operated stations of the Underground Railroad on their farms in Michigan and New York, respectively, and thus aided fleeing Negroes to reach freedom in Canada. Byington was well acquainted with Sojourner *Truth.

The first Negro SDA's were probably in the North, where the church originated, but they are not noted separately in the early accounts, since they would naturally be members of the same churches with the white people, according to the social pattern in that region. Not until the SDA's began to move into the South did they encounter Negroes in any number and in a social pattern of segregation. In trying to fulfill the

primary objective of the church—to preach the message “to every creature”—these newcomers made converts from both white and colored and carried on work in some places especially for the latter.

For the work for Negroes in the South, begun in Tennessee as early as 1871, see South Central Conference; in Texas and Georgia as early as 1876, see Southwest Region Conference and South Atlantic Conference. In North Carolina the work was begun in 1877 by papers sent through the mail.

In the West, C. M. Kinney, reputed to be the first Negro ordained as an SDA minister, was won in 1878 by J. N. Loughborough in Nevada, and became a charter member of the Reno church. Later he preached in the South.

No Negro Churches at First. In entering the South the white evangelists encountered a social system based on the separation of the races, though at that early time (the 1870's) the separation was less complete than later. C. O. Taylor, the first SDA minister to go into Georgia, preached in a rural Baptist church where he found Negroes attending along with the whites, though seated separately (*Review and Herald*, 49: 8 [i.e. 7], Jan. 4, 1877). D. M. Canright, preaching in Kentucky, reported three colored Sabbathkeepers “members of the church with the others” (*ibid.*, 47:174, June 1, 1876).

James Edson White, apostle to the Negro communities along the lower Mississippi River, remarked that for Negroes to be members of white churches had been the custom in pre-Civil War days when slave church members had belonged to their masters' congregations (*ibid.*, 78:265, April 23, 1901), and it was after the war that the freedmen formed their own churches and employed their own ministers (*Gospel Herald*, February, 1906, p. 6).

But by the time White reached the South, in the 1890's, he noted that a separation in terms of race was on the increase and that because of opposition—both by local whites who opposed the education of Negroes and by Negroes who did not trust whites and feared exploitation—the work of the *Southern Missionary Society became increasingly difficult (*ibid.*). In one place in 1899 his work was practically closed, and the society had to man its Mississippi schools with Negro teachers because of local opposition to whites teaching Negroes (*ibid.*, October, 1899, p. 87; July, 1900, p. 63).

In Texas, in 1876, D. M. Canright reported that there was no objection to his working for the colored people so long as he

REGIONAL AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF, AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES

worked among them only (*Review and Herald*, 47:166, May 25, 1876). In 1887 J. M. Rees, in Tennessee, reported that there was no trouble regarding white and Negro members in the Adventist Church, but that if a minister tried to preach to both races in his meetings for the general public, he would have no white people to speak to (*General Conference Bulletin*, Nov. 14, 1887, p. 2). When O. C. Godsmark and his brother attempted to preach to both in Georgia, their evangelistic meetings were deserted by both white and Negro listeners. On the other hand, even many years later, Negro evangelists sometimes preached successfully to white and Negro congregations. J. G. Thomas reports such meetings in Jackson, Mississippi; Gainesville, Florida; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Columbus, Georgia, where 90 Negroes and 37 whites were baptized from his meetings. F. S. Keitts, in Nashville, W. W. Fordham, in Jacksonville, and L. B. Baker, in El Paso, report similar experiences.

Increasing Opposition in the Nineties. The early attempts at interracial churches in the South were abandoned in the face of opposition from outside. J. E. White, in explaining why the Southern Missionary Society conducted work for white and colored people separately, declared that they had been forced by necessity to adopt that policy. "We preferred to live and work in such lines as we could than to force the issue and be cut off from the work" (*Gospel Herald*, January, 1901, supplement, p. 4). He added that SDA's, who teach an unpopular doctrine, "cannot do work in many lines that would be tolerated in others," and remarked that racial feeling was deepening (*ibid.*). It may be assumed that much of the problem encountered by White and others stemmed from the fact that they were Northerners coming South to work for Negroes, but it is also a matter of record in American history that in the 1890's, in a period of economic and political unrest, segregation increased sharply, and many legal restrictions date from that time.

Increased opposition to the work in the South was noted by Ellen G. White, who for many years had urged the evangelism and education of the colored people. In 1891 she read a manuscript, "Our Duty to the Colored People" (released March 20, 1891, and later printed as a pamphlet by J. E. White), to the General Conference Committee at Battle Creek. In this she said that colored members should be received into the white churches (pamphlet, p. 11). Speaking of the white members, she said

that "if a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him"; for they are journeying to the same heaven (*ibid.*, p. 9). "If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the colored man who has the same Saviour abiding in his heart" (*ibid.*).

But by 1895 she urged caution in the South, saying that in the future the missionary work among colored people "would have to be carried on along lines different from those followed in some sections of the country in former years" (9T 206).

The reason given repeatedly by Mrs. White for the change of method was the strengthening opposition (*ibid.*, 205) from outside the church. She used phrases such as, "danger of closing the door" to the work (*ibid.*, 214); "we shall find our way blocked completely" (*ibid.*); "do nothing that will unnecessarily arouse opposition" (*ibid.*, 208).

Separate Churches a Concession to Necessity. On the one hand, she laid down the principle of brotherhood in Christ, who—laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God (7T 225).

The religion of the Bible recognizes no caste or color. It ignores rank, wealth, worldly honor. God estimates men as men. With Him, character decides their worth. And we are to recognize the Spirit of Christ in whomsoever it is revealed. . . . He who is living in the atmosphere in which Christ lives will be taught of God and will learn to put His estimate on men (9T 223).

She looked forward to a time "when the Holy Spirit is poured out," when—human hearts will love as Christ loved. And the color line will be regarded by many very differently from the way in which it is now regarded. To love as Christ loves, lifts the mind into a pure, heavenly, unselfish atmosphere. He who is closely connected with Christ is lifted above the prejudice of color or caste (*ibid.*, 209).

On the other hand, in the face of an increasing racial feeling, she also warned that discretion is the better part of valor. She cautioned against contention or inviting opposition unnecessarily, for SDA workers would have enough opposition from other sources (*ibid.*, 211).

The time has not come for us to work as if there were no prejudice. . . . If you see that by doing certain things which you have a perfect right to do, you hinder the advancement of God's work, refrain from doing these things (*ibid.*, 215).

REGIONAL AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF, AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES

She counseled that, on account of the changed situation, the colored believers should have their own houses of worship, "not to exclude them from worshiping with white people," but "that the progress of the truth may be advanced" (*ibid.*, 206, 207). She advised providing separate churches as "the course of wisdom," "where demanded by custom or where greater efficiency is to be gained" (*ibid.*, 208), and "until the Lord shows us a better way" (*ibid.*, 207).

A. W. Spalding reported that the method of dealing with the evangelism of Negroes had been debated in General Conference sessions from time to time, "most speakers maintaining that as God is no respecter of persons, Christians should not allow social questions to affect their church polity" (*Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 2, p. 188), though no action was taken. In fact, the 1877 session voted not to take action on the subject. Spalding records that when R. M. Kilgore (an Iowan who had preached some years in Texas) was made head of the SDA work in the South, about 1890, "though brought up with the Northern conception of the problem," he "advocated the separation of white and colored churches. In the end this view prevailed" (*ibid.*).

Spalding wrote, around 1924 (in an unpublished manuscript, *Lights and Shades in the Black Belt*, p. 142), that the church had taken the position that it should "recognize and conform to existing conditions which do not involve transgression of God's law." This attitude, he explained, though apparently "shaped by policy instead of principle," was "built upon the principle of policy" that the church in its social relations should defer to public opinion, "that the gospel may not be hindered."

The policy of separation, at first adopted for the sake of advancing the gospel, eventually came to be so taken for granted that probably a majority of SDA members in areas where segregation was the custom believed it to be a fundamental teaching of the church. The carrying out of this "principle of policy" over a period of years was not always understood by Negro members. As a consequence, some individuals and groups (see United Sabbath Day Adventists) gave up their affiliation with the church, although many of those who went out returned to the original body.

Because, as Mrs. White pointed out, "in different places and under varying circumstances, the subject will need to be handled differently" (9T 213), the practice of

separate Negro congregations has not been uniformly followed. In many parts of the country there are no separate churches, and even in areas where the Regional conferences operate, not all colored members are in the Regional churches. In some places the colored congregations were established by members who chose to withdraw from white congregations in order to have their own groups and work better for Negro evangelism; in other places, "where demanded by custom," the separation was the result of local necessity.

Development of Negro Churches. The first Negro churches originated in the 1880's, and the next few in the 1890's, in the period of increased separation that resulted in the change of SDA method.

The first congregation of colored SDA believers was organized as a company in November, 1883, and as a church in 1886, at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee. Its pastor was Harry Lowe, formerly a Baptist preacher. The second church of colored believers, with ten charter members, was established in Louisville, Kentucky, Feb. 16, 1890, where the work had been begun by A. Barry, who had accepted SDA teachings through reading the *Review and Herald*. The third was organized at Bowling Green, Kentucky, in June, 1891. These first three, and also the fifth one, which was organized at Nashville, Tennessee, in September, 1894, were in what is now the *South Central Conference. The fourth, established by C. M. Kinney in New Orleans (organized June, 1892), was the first in the present Southwest Region Conference.

Southern Missionary Society. The work of the Southern Missionary Society (incorporated in 1898) began in 1895, in Mississippi. It was founded by James Edson White, who went South in his Mississippi steamer **Morning Star* with a group of dedicated colporteurs, teachers, physicians, and Bible instructors from churches in the North, to bring the SDA message to colored people along the Mississippi River. They were successful in establishing small churches and schools in Mississippi, and other States. For the story, see *Gospel Herald: Morning Star*; Southern Missionary Society. White's printing firm was a forerunner of the Southern Publishing Association, which still produces books and magazines for the general population, as well as those beamed to a Negro reading audience.

Other developments in the South included the establishing in 1895 of a school (see Oakwood College) and, for a time

REGIONAL AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF, AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES

(1906-1923), a sanitarium, at Huntsville, Alabama, and two attempts at the establishment of a sanitarium in Nashville, Tennessee, between 1901 and 1909 (see Riverside Hospital).

Meantime work was beginning in earnest in cities of the East, beginning in New York City in 1902 (see Allegheny East Conference; Northeastern Conference).

Work in the West began in Los Angeles in 1906, when Jennie Ireland, a member of the white congregation in the city, began missionary work among the Negro population, and gave Bible studies to interested people, with the result that in 1908 was formed the first colored church west of Ohio (see Southern California Conference). Among those interested by Miss Ireland's work was the Temple family, whose daughter Ruth later attended medical school at Loma Linda and became noted as the original promoter of the idea of Health Week in the Los Angeles municipality's health department. Another was the Troy family, whose son, Dr. Owen A. Troy, became a pastor and evangelist in the West and Midwest, then associate secretary of the General Conference Sabbath School Department.

Departmental Organization. In 1894 there were about 50 colored SDA's in the United States. When the membership reached 900 in 1909, it was felt that to make a more noticeable impact on the growing Negro population some form of organization should be effected. Hence, at the General Conference held that year the North American Negro Department was organized. J. W. Christian, A. J. Haysmer, and C. B. Stephenson, in that order, were the first departmental secretaries. In 1918 the secretary reported that there were a total of 3,500 Negro members in the United States.

When the General Conference department was set up, union and local departments or missions were organized also. In the Southern Conference the Southern Missionary Society formed the nucleus for the organization of a Southern Union Mission. The Southeastern Union set up a union Negro Mission Department, and for a time the Southwestern Union had a Southwestern Union Mission for colored. Most local conferences in these unions had a Negro department or a committee.

The first colored minister to head the General Conference department was W. H. Green, formerly a lawyer in the District of Columbia who had argued cases before the United States Supreme Court. He held the position from 1918 until his sudden death

in October of 1928. To fill the vacancy the Autumn Council of 1929 appointed George E. Peters as departmental secretary. After serving briefly, Peters went to New York City to stabilize the work there because of the grave situation after the *United Sabbath Day Adventist apostasy. Peters was succeeded by Frank L. Peterson, a pastor in Boston, Massachusetts. Peters was again elected to the position in 1941, and in 1951 was made a field secretary of the General Conference, the first Negro to serve thus.

The name of the department was changed at the Autumn Council of 1942 from Negro Department to Colored Department, as the nation grew more concerned over integrating its Negro minority into the main current of American life. The term "colored" somehow appeared less harsh, less divisive. To help with the medical needs of the various schools served by the department, Geneva Bryan, R.N., was made an assistant secretary of the department in 1942 and served until 1947.

Regional Conferences Organized. In 1944 came the recommendation to organize full-fledged conferences of the colored churches, a plan that had been requested some years earlier by Negro leaders but had not then been considered feasible. The General Conference Committee in its Spring Meeting voted:

We recommend, 1. That in unions where the colored constituency is considered by the union conference committee to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant, colored conferences be organized.

2. That these colored conferences be administered by colored officers and committees.

3. That in the organization of these conferences the present conference boundaries within each union need not be recognized.

4. That colored conferences sustain the same relation to their respective union conferences as do the white conferences (*Actions of the Spring Meeting of the General Conference Committee, April 10-16, 1944, pp. 15, 16.*)

The first to act was the Lake Union Conference, which called a meeting of the colored constituency in September to organize the Lake Region Conference (began Jan. 1, 1945). Others followed, until in 1946 there were five such conferences. Two missions (Central States and Southwestern), which soon became conferences also, each with a full staff of officers and departmental secretaries, started in 1947.

In 1951 the North American Colored Department was enlarged by the addition of

REGIONAL AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF, AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES

an associate secretary, Calvin E. Moseley, Jr., who succeeded G. E. Peters in 1953, both as secretary of the department and as a field secretary of the General Conference.

In 1954 Frank L. Peterson became secretary of the department and also associate secretary of the General Conference. Moseley was named associate secretary. The same year the name was changed from Colored Department to Regional Department as a further attempt to soften the term that seemed primarily to designate members on the basis of color.

In 1962 Frank L. Peterson was made a general vice-president of the General Conference and Harold D. Singleton, former president of the Northeastern Conference, became the Regional Department secretary, with Frank L. Bland, former president of the South Central Conference, as associate secretary.

In 1966 when Frank L. Bland succeeded the retiring Frank L. Peterson as vice-president, Walter W. Fordham, president of the Central States Conference, was elected associate secretary of the Regional Department.

Recent Events. In many places where the social pressures have lessened, previously all-white congregations have opened their membership in recent years. In the 1961 Autumn Council the General Conference Committee voted a statement on human relations, quoting three of the extracts that appear on page 1061 above (7T 225; 9T 223, 209); and in the Spring Meeting of 1965 voted recommendations as follows:

We recommend, That the following principles and practices be adopted and carried out in our churches and institutions:

1. Membership and office in all churches and on all levels must be available to anyone who qualifies, without regard to race.

2. In our educational institutions there should be no racial bias in the employment of teachers or other personnel, nor in the admission of students.

3. Hospitals and rest homes should make no racial distinction in admitting patients or in making their facilities available to physicians, interns, residents, nurses, and administrators who meet the professional standards of the institution.

It is further recommended that these recommendations be given very serious consideration and that every effort be put forth to implement them as rapidly as is consistently possible (Actions of Spring Meeting of the General Conference Committee, April 13, 14, 1965, in *Review and Herald*, 142:8, April 29, 1965).

Recent Events. In 1970 the General Conference Committee, at its Spring session, in

response to the desire among black SDA's for a fuller involvement in leadership, passed what is generally referred to as the "16 points." Among these is an action stating:

"8. On the union conference level positive steps should be taken to open doors in the area of administrative and departmental leadership for those who have demonstrated their ability and qualifications to serve all segments of the church. In unions where there are Regional conferences or where there is an organized Regional department, the administrative officer level should include black leadership."

As a result the seven unions with large black memberships have elected officers and departmental secretaries from among their black constituencies.

Another of the "16 points" provided for a Regional Presidents' Council, which meets twice a year under North American leadership and deals with problems distinctive to the Regional work.

In 1975 the General Conference staff in Washington, D.C., included 17 persons elected to their positions from the black constituency of North America, including two vice-presidents and an associate secretary. There were also two persons in appointed positions.

Departmental Secretaries: J. W. Christian, 1909-1910; A. J. Haysmer, 1910-1914; C. B. Stephenson, 1914-1918; W. H. Green, 1918-1928; G. E. Peters, 1929-1930, 1941-1953; F. L. Peterson, 1930-1941, 1954-1962; C. E. Moseley, Jr., 1953-1954; H. D. Singleton, 1962-1975. *Director of the Office of Regional Affairs:* W. W. Fordham, 1975-

Seventh-day Adventist historical highlights

- 1831—William Miller begins to preach.
- 1844—First company of Sabbathkeeping Adventists, Washington, New Hampshire.
—The great Disappointment.
—Ellen G. Harmon's first vision.
- 1848—First general meeting of Sabbathkeepers, Rocky Hill, Connecticut.
- 1849—*The Present Truth* published, Middletown, Connecticut.
- 1850—*Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (now called *Adventist Review*) published, Paris, Maine.
- 1852—Washington hand press purchased, Rochester, New York.
—*The Youth's Instructor* published.
- 1853—First regular Sabbath school, Rochester, New York.
—First Adventist elementary school, Buck's Bridge, New York.
- 1855—Publishing office moves to Battle Creek, Michigan.
- 1859—"Systematic benevolence" adopted
- 1860—"Seventh-day Adventist" adopted as church name.
- 1861—Michigan organized as first State conference.
- 1863—General Conference organized, Battle Creek, Michigan.
- 1864—Seventh-day Adventist soldiers given noncombatant status by government.
- 1866—Publication of *Health Reformer* journal.
—Health Reform Institute (Battle Creek Sanitarium) opened.
- 1868—First general camp meeting, Wright, Michigan.
- 1874—Battle Creek College established.
—*Signs of the Times* published, Oakland, California.
—J. N. Andrews, first foreign missionary, sails from Boston to Europe.
- 1875—Pacific Press Publishing Association incorporated, Oakland, California.
- 1879—First local Young People's Society, Hazelton, Michigan.
- 1881—James White dies, age 60.
- 1882—First Seventh-day Adventist book (*Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*) published for sale to public.
- 1884—Adventist training school for nurses opened, Battle Creek, Michigan.
- 1885—Seventh-day Adventist work begun in Australia.
—Ellen White goes to Europe (1885-1887).
- 1887—First Adventist mission opened in Africa.
- 1888—General Conference session at Minneapolis studies doctrine of righteousness by faith.
- 1889—National Religious Liberty Association organized.
- 1890—Missionary ship *Pitcairn* sails to South Pacific.
- 1891—Ellen White goes to Australia (1891-1900).
- 1901—General Conference reorganized with union conferences, budget financing.
—Southern Publishing Association established, Nashville, Tennessee.
- 1902—Review and Herald Publishing House destroyed by fire.
- 1903—General Conference world headquarters moved to Washington, D.C., with Review and Herald Publishing House.
—Jasper Wayne begins "Ingathering" public solicitation program.
- 1906—College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University) opened, Loma Linda, California.
- 1913—General Conference organized into world divisions.
- 1915—Ellen White dies, age 87.
- 1924—J. N. Loughborough, last of the pioneers, dies age 92.
- 1934—SDA Theological Seminary established, Washington, D.C.
- 1935—Loma Linda Foods established, California.
- 1939—First Bible correspondence school, Williamsport, Pennsylvania.
- 1942—Voice of Prophecy radiobroadcast goes nationwide on 89 stations.
- 1945—Black conferences organized in the United States.
- 1950—Faith for Today TV program inaugurated.
- 1953—Publication of seven-volume *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* begun (completed 1957).
—School of Dentistry opens at Loma Linda, California.
- 1955—Seventh-day Adventist Church world membership passes one million.
- 1957—Potomac University founded, Washington, D.C.
—First Seventh-day Adventist licensed college radio station begins operations, Washington, D.C.
- 1959—Five-Day Plan to Stop Smoking initiated.
—Student missionary program inaugurated.
- 1960—Potomac University moves to Berrien Springs, Michigan; becomes Andrews University.
- 1961—Loma Linda University formed, California.
- 1966—*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* published.
- 1970—World membership passes 2 million.
- 1971—Adventist World Radio begins operation from Portugal.
—Radio, TV, and Film Center established, California.
- 1975—First General Conference session outside North America, Vienna, Austria.
- 1978—World membership passes 3 million.
- 1983—World membership passes 4 million.

For further reading on Seventh-day Adventist history:

- The Great Advent Movement*, by Emma Howell Cooper, \$3.95
- Light Bearers to the Remnant*, by R. W. Schwarz, \$11.95
- Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, by Arthur W. Spalding (4 vols.), \$28.95
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The First Steps in BLACK LEADERSHIP

Message given during Black History Week at Andrews University in the 1960s, condensed.

In 1894 there were approximately 50 Colored Seventh-day Adventists in the United States. With additional Colored leadership, the work began to develop under the strong evangelistic preaching of such men as L. C. Sheafe, John Manns, Sidney Scott, J. K. Humphrey, J. H. Lawrence, G. E. Peters, P. C. Rogers, M. C. Strong, T. B. Buckner, J. M. Campbell, M. G. Nunez, B. W. Abney, H. D. Green, J. G. Dasent, and John Allison.

In 1909 the membership had reached 900, and it was felt that for a greater advancement of the work, a different form of organization should be effected. Consequently, at the General Conference session in 1909, the North American Negro Department was organized, and A. J. Haysmer was elected as the first secretary of the department. Elder A. G. Daniells, president of the General Conference, gave the following explanation as the basis or the reasoning for the creation of this department. I am quoting from the *Review and Herald*, June 9, 1909, page 13:

"I believe that under this direct effort, we shall see the work in behalf of the Colored people of this country go forward with greater success than we have ever seen it before. Now, how will this be changed? The department will have a secretary, an executive committee, or a departmental committee, the same as the other departments, and on this committee there will be a fair representation of the field. The committee will then meet and plan its work, and outline its policy for

the future the same as do the other departmental committees. Their work will be to carry forward the evangelical work among the Colored people. They will take up the question of mission schools, church schools, and the higher schools, such as Huntsville, and will look after them. They will look after the publishing of such literature as will be best adapted to the people. In fact, they will take into consideration all branches of the work.

"I have felt to make this explanation here in order to answer the queries that may arise as to why this department is brought on. Some may [ask] 'Aren't we creating too many departments, and getting too much machinery?' Well, I do not think so. I want to ask how much the Education Department hinders or impedes the work of the Publishing Department? We had the Publishing Department first, and we created the Education and the Medical departments since. Now, have these departments hindered the work of the Publishing Department? The voices, 'They have helped it!'"

The first meeting of the North American Negro Department of the General Conference was held at Oakwood Manual Training School in Huntsville, Alabama, 8:00 a.m., Tuesday, September 28, 1909.

In 1918 the membership among America's greatest minority had reached 3,000, and at the General Conference session the first Black ever elected to the General Conference staff was W. H. Green, who became the secretary of the Regional Department. Elder Green was a former lawyer who had argued many cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. However, even though he was elected as the first Black member of the General Conference staff, because of racial segregation in the United States as well as in the church, it was impossible for him to carry out his duties from the General Conference office.

In 1927 there was a joint committee meeting of the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern unions' Black leaders, which was held in Nashville, Tennessee. This was the first effort in the Southland to recognize Black leadership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and to structure an organization that would enable these leaders to utilize their talents in working among Black people, particularly in the South.

At this meeting Elder J. L. McElhany, vice president of the General Conference, recommended that the unions should separate and formulate specific actions that could be voted upon.

May I just refer to the minutes of that historic meeting, which I feel will be

of interest to you. It was voted unanimously by all rising to their feet that the name of all three unions be changed to read "the Colored department." There was also quite a discussion as to the title of the leading ministers for the Black work; the name of evangelist, secretary, and superintendent were discussed. After considering the names and responsibilities from most every angle, it was finally voted unanimously by standing that the title for the leading minister of the Colored department of the union and each local conference be "evangelist"; that he would carry the secretarial work of the Colored department.

In 1926, therefore, the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination took this action:

"We recommend the adoption and principle of the recommendations regarding the organization of the Colored work as passed by the General Conference [session] of 1926, adapting them to fit the conditions of the three Southern unions, recognizing the need of stressing evangelism in our fields for the Colored population, and in view of the fact that our resources both in men and money are very limited, and believing that the life and growth of our work among our Colored believers depend upon emphasizing evangelism, therefore,

"Resolved, That we urge our Colored laborers to use their utmost efforts to carry the message to all Colored people.

"Then adapting the plan of our Colored departmental work in our union and local conferences as suggested by the General Conference resolution in Milwaukee, the work of the union and local departmental committees be to study and provide for the needs of the work for the Colored people in harmony with established policy. When new policies are suggested, they must be brought before the executive committee that the work of the said union or local conference evangelist be outlined and directed by the president and committee of the respective conferences the same as other laborers; that we recognize the work of this department to be the same as it is understood to be the work of any other department; that full counsel be had with our Colored laborers in planning their work, it being distinctly understood that the union or local evangelist has no administrative authority. We recommend that General Conference recommendation No. 80, as appears in the *Review and Herald* of June 14, 1926, page 5, shall be understood to apply to Colored departmental work, and to be carried out only as finances permit, and the recommendation referred to reads, 'Where the developing and better prosecution of the work for our people requires better

attention, there should be appointed such assistant secretaries and helpers of the various departments of the several union conferences in the South as are required to look after and care for the development of the Colored work.' "

These recommendations were considered separately, and quite a favorable discussion followed. Finally, it was submitted for a vote that was unanimous, several expressing themselves as certain this was the beginning of a great work in the Southland.

Now, the irony of this whole situation is the fact that many of these recommendations were never fully implemented. In 1929 at the Fall Council held at Columbus, Ohio, September 24 to October 2, the first major recommendation relative to the organization of the Black work in America was voted, and I would like to refer to the minutes of that council:

"Recommended, 1. That in each union conference where there are as many as 500 Colored believers, except in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern [unions], a Negro secretary be elected, the secretary to be a member of the union conference committee.

"2. That the union secretary together with the secretaries of the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern union conferences be invited to attend such Autumn Councils as the local conference presidents may be called to attend, thus they would receive the encouragement to be gained by contact with the leaders of our worldwide work, and would carry it back to the Colored churches in their fields, the appeals on all our activities throughout the field the world around.

"3. That these secretaries together with the union secretaries of the Southeast, Southern, and Southwestern unions, and such other persons that the General Conference may appoint, would form the General Conference Negro Department Advisory Committee. The General Conference Negro Department Advisory Committee will counsel over matters pertaining to the Colored work, and at this Annual Council the primary responsibilities of these secretaries were outlined as follows:

- A. Holding evangelistic efforts when advisable.
- B. By assisting evangelists with the efforts when advisable.
- C. By helping to train young preachers and workers.
- D. By helping to foster real soul-winning work in each of the churches and conferences.
- E. By cooperating in all lines of departmental and church activities.

RIGHTEOUS REBEL

F. That where the Colored constituency in a local conference is sufficiently strong, and is represented by a Colored minister of experience, we recommend that he be made a member of the local conference committee."

Now, this applied more or less to the Black constituency in the northern sections of our country. At this annual conference consideration was given to the previous recommendations that were made by the joint committees of the Southern, Southeastern, and Southwestern unions, which met in 1927, and this is the action that was approved by the Annual Council: "That the Negro work in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern union conferences be organized on the following basis:

"1. That the Negro Committee of the union conference be composed as follows: the president of the union conference; the secretary-treasurer of the union; the president of each local conference; the union Negro secretary; the Negro missionary volunteer, education, and home missionary secretary, where there is such a secretary; and the Negro evangelist of each local conference, said committee to have full administrative charge of the Colored work.

"2. That the Negro Committee of the local conference be composed as follows: the president of the conference, the secretary-treasurer of the conference, the Colored evangelist of the conference, and two Negro members to be elected.

"3. We recommend that in conferences receiving appropriations for their Colored work the proportionate share of local conference administration expense be on a ratio of one third to the Colored and two thirds to the White work, this calculation to be based on practically equal constituency of White and Colored membership, and where the proportion of constituency varies from that of equality, either up or down, the proportion of administrative expense be carried on the same ratio, up or down."

You will recall that I referred to the first Black man ever elected to the General Conference staff—Elder W. H. Green, who served from 1918 until his rather sudden death in 1928. In 1929 G. E. Peters, a gifted evangelist and one of the outstanding Black pioneers of this church—indeed, one of the most progressive leaders that we have ever had—was elected to the office. In 1930 under his leadership the following recommendations were made at the General Conference session, June 12, 1930, in San Francisco:

"1. That the General Conference Committee select one of our representative Colored ministers to fill the office of secretary of the Negro Department, that this

secretary locate in Washington, D.C., having his headquarters at the General Conference office.

"2. That in giving general supervision to the Colored work throughout North America, he work under the counsel of the General Conference Committee as do all other General Conference departmental secretaries."

Then again, there were the reiterations of the actions that had been taken previously concerning the organization of the Colored work in the Southland, and the recommendations for the northern sections of our country. Now let us review briefly before we come to another historic period, which was 1940.

For the organization of the work in the Southland, the committees referred to as "Colored committees" were more or less rubber stamp committees. For example, as a Black evangelist in the state of Florida representing the Black work, I recall that whenever we met (the Colored committee), it was on the same day as the conference executive committee, and that committee was composed only of Whites. Generally, they met in the morning and made their decisions then. Decisions that pertained to the White as well as the Black work. Then in the afternoon, when our Black committee met, we considered and accepted the recommendations of the White committee, generally accepting and approving their decisions made prior to our meeting.

In 1930 the General Conference Committee, meeting in San Francisco, recommended that one of our Black leaders be selected to fill the office of secretary of the department. A sad crisis developed within our Black ranks when J. K. Humphrey, a leader in the eastern U.S., left the mainstream of Adventism, taking a large number of members with him.

Elder G. E. Peters had been serving in this capacity; he resigned over the unpleasant episode, and Elder F. L. Peterson, who later became a vice president of the General Conference, was elected to succeed him. The General Conference had stated previously that the secretary for the Black work should have his office at the GC headquarters. Yet when Elder Green was elected in 1918, prejudice was still so strong that this decision was not carried out. In 1930 it was recommended that the Negro Department head have his office at the General Conference in Washington, D.C. Yet even then there was strong resistance to having a Black person serve at headquarters.

At the Autumn Council of 1941 Elder G. E. Peters was back again, serving

as departmental secretary for the General Conference. I quote from his historic remarks made that year:

“Brother Chairman, I believe that we are all convinced that the Negro Department has made wonderful advances and achievements through the years. We have grown from 900 believers in 1909 to 14,537 at the close of 1940. In 1912 the receipts were \$16,323 from our Colored constituency; during the past five years [1936-1940] the tithe paid was \$112,000. In this same period mission offerings amounted to \$703,000, as compared with \$3,000 in 1912. Would you not agree that the Colored Seventh-day Adventist is more an asset than a liability!

“Looking over records from foreign mission work, we find conclusively that larger dividends are realized by the body when leadership roles are entrusted to the native workers. It is obvious from these statistics that the Colored work has made greater advances in souls won and money gained since the work has been shouldered by Colored workers.

“I believe that more will be accomplished and the scope still be broadened more when confidence is placed in Colored leadership.

“Some years ago study was given to development of the Colored work. The idea of Negro conferences was introduced in 1929. The proposal intended that these conferences would operate under the guidance of the union and General conferences as all other local conferences did.

“This movement, acceptable to Colored leaders, never got off the ground. Brother Chairman, the plan I refer to has been carried out in full in certain union conferences, but carried out only in part by other union territories. In places where the plan is not utilized, I am sure failure to carry out the resolution is not due to lack of interest in the Colored work, but due sometimes to changes of leadership, when new leaders may not have appraised themselves of the opportunity to learn about previous resolutions and decisions, the background and merits of such.”

Pleading for understanding of the restrictive climate under which Black leaders worked, he continued: “Our Colored brethren have waited for years for the fulfilling of this plan in total. Both workers and laity in Colored areas ask, ‘Why has this vote not been carried out?’ Thirty-one years have passed since the department was first organized with the employment of a full-time general secretary. As already stated, we numbered only 900 members then, but with a vision and a sense of mission, we now number 15,000—the advancement merits

a full-time secretary in each union conference who will spend his entire time in the duties outlined by the Autumn Council of 1929.”

Elder Peters continued: “My plea for the perfecting and strengthening of the department for Colored work includes a Negro advisory committee to be called together in 1942 and every two years thereafter. Sufficient time should be given to discuss plans and recommendations for the development of the Colored work with its own particular problems. I believe the present organization known as the Negro Department can be made a more ideal system for Negro work of North America if it is fully carried out and broadened. The plan is in harmony with the Spirit of Prophecy, and every conference where it has been put into full operation will experience larger and greater yield for the cause of God. We are doing well; we can do better. To put this organization into operation will cost some money, but even from a business viewpoint, we must ‘spend money to make money.’ Can it be that the ‘children of this world’ are wiser than ‘the children of light’?”

Elder Peters closed on a positive note: “Brother Chairman, I ask for continued confidence in the consecrated ability of Negro leaders. Give us a fair chance, a greater responsibility with our own people, and I assure you there will be yet greater results in the building up of the work of God as related to the great Advent movement, where all races should stand together, united and true, for the completion of the task committed to us by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.”

Elder Peters made three very significant statements in his discourse:

1. He requested that the establishment have confidence in the ability of Negro leaders.
2. He requested the establishment to give these Black leaders a share in the responsibility of leading their own.
3. He predicted greater results in building up the work of God as related to the great Advent movement.

THEY WITHOUT US SHALL NOT BE MADE PERFECT

"And all these, while winning divine approval through their faith, did not receive the promised blessing, for God had in view something better for us, so that without us they would not be made perfect" (Heb. 11:39, 40, M.L.B.).

The history of Adventism provides clear evidence of God's genuine concern for the place of Black Americans in His last-day redemption endeavors.

An analysis of our journey from 1844 shows that in the bringing together of believers from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people predicted in Revelation 14:6 as the cultural mix of Adventism, God Himself determined that "they without us should not be made perfect."

I wish to propose that we can best understand the phenomenon of our growth and participation by examining three major segments of our church's history: (1) 1844-1894, (2) 1894-1944, and (3) 1944 to present. I ask you now to join me in this study.

Since Adventism had its birth in the North some 20 years before slavery ended, we are not surprised that the Black presence was scarce among the early pioneers. In the first place, 95 percent of Blacks lived in the South in those days, and in the second place Adventism, then as now, proclaimed a message best understood by those able to search the Scriptures, and most of the slaves were illiterate.

A second reason is that most of the free northern Blacks joined one of the several all-Black denominations—which came to be called the independence movements—that already flourished in the North.

In spite these facts, however, pioneer Adventism was blessed with several Afro-American personalities who helped swell the midnight cry.

L. E. Froom, famous Adventist historian, writes:

"One of the unusual characters in the roster of Millerite preachers was a Colored minister, Charles Bowles (1810-1843). He was born in Boston, his father being an

Go On!

African servant, and his mother the daughter of the celebrated American Colonel Morgan. . . . Though he often met with bitter opposition because of his color and the fact that he was preaching to large White congregations, he became a successful evangelist. His was the standard Millerite exposition of prophecy" (LeRoy Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 4, p. 705).

Other early Blacks connected with this movement were John W. Lewis of Providence, Rhode Island, who too was a preacher, and William Foy, best remembered as the first Adventist to receive the gift of prophecy. The *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* describes Foy as a tall, light-skinned Colored man and eloquent speaker. Though a Millerite, when preaching he wore the robes of the Episcopal clergy. This source also states that his successor, Ellen White, regarded Foy's prophetic call as genuine.

O. O. Farnsworth, early Adventist historian, informs us further that Blacks were on board when the first SDA church organized in Washington New Hampshire, in 1844. History is silent about their names, as well as of others who embraced the faith immediately after the 1844 experience.

However, in the middle 1870s the trail becomes distinct again. It was at this time that a trio of Whites (D. M. Canright, C. O. Taylor, and J. N. Loughborough) conducted separate but similar efforts to add Blacks to the fledgling denomination. As a result of their evangelistic efforts, Canright, who went to Kentucky in 1876; Taylor, who worked in Georgia in 1878; and Loughborough, who preached in Nevada in the same year, all wrote back to headquarters the good news of having baptized members of the Colored race.

Taylor was particularly thrilled to have baptized a Colored minister named Killen, and Loughborough was especially proud of a similar catch—a young man named C. M. Kinney.

In fact, J. O. Crliss, another early missionary to the South, reported to the General Conference in 1883 that the South contained 267 White and 20 Colored believers—thus roughly one out of 13 Southern Adventists was Black. Not a bad start!

During the 1880s the tempo accelerated, and a number of distinguished Black personalities accepted the truth. Sojourner Truth was baptized November 26, 1883, by Uriah Smith. Rosetta S. Douglass, daughter of the great Frederick Douglass, was baptized about the same time in Washington, D.C., and the first all-Black congregation was formed at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, in 1883. That church service brought together the sum total of 10 cents during its first Sabbath collection. It was a small but significant beginning. In February 1889 a former slave by the name of A. Barry,

They Without Us Shall Not Be Made Perfect

as a result of reading the *Review and Herald*, became a Sabbathkeeper and evangelized Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky.

Shortly thereafter in June 1891 the Greensboro, North Carolina, church began. The Bowling Green, Kentucky, church started in September 1891, and the Nashville, Tennessee, church in 1894. The New Orleans, Louisiana, congregation was established in June 1892, and the Catchings, Texas, church in 1893. All of these, coupled with C. M. Kinney's ordination as the first Black pastor (October 1899) served as sure evidences of greater things to come and that even in our church's very beginnings, God had us in mind.

As this first 50-year segment of our church history ended, the organized body was itself solidifying its doctrinal positions and rapidly developing its institutional programs. The presses were rolling and the *Review and Herald*, *Signs of the Times*, and *Youth Instructor* were being printed. Missionaries left by the scores for overseas duty, and schools and hospitals sprang up around the world.

Thank God, we as Blacks were already affiliated in those foundation days—a small but faithful number. While our participation in leadership was still future, we were there, and it was clear that in spite of the paucity of our numbers, "They without us should not be made perfect."

The next major segment of Black Adventist history began in 1894, the year in which James Edson White, the son of the prophetess, built and launched the *Morning Star*. A year earlier James Edson had read a pamphlet entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People," written by his mother.

Inspired by Ellen White's concern for the neglected children of slavery, James Edson gathered about him a cadre of teachers and nurses, who, with the boat serving as a floating school and church, sailed down Lake Michigan onto the Mississippi River, where he docked at dozens of cities. Within the next 15 years, armed with two publications, *The Gospel Herald* and *The Gospel Premier*, as texts, James and his crew established 60 schools within six Southern states.

And speaking of schools, it was at the urging of Ellen White in 1895 that the church purchased 368 acres in northern Alabama for the sum of \$6,700 and named the place Oakwood Industrial Training School. I am proud to report that one of the original 16 who comprised the first student body, Etta Littlejohn from Vicksburg, Mississippi, was my maternal grandmother. It was from the decks of the *Morning Star* that she first learned of the Sabbath.

But the most obviously portentous event in the 1890s was the mushrooming of Colored congregations—especially in the South: Lexington and Memphis in 1894;

Go On!

Birmingham in 1895; Coriscana in 1896; Chattanooga and Charleston in 1898, and Orlando, Montgomery, and Winston Salem in 1899. And, as the twentieth century began, the phenomenon continued—Atlanta, Georgia, in 1900; Washington, D.C., and St. Louis in 1901; New York City and Kansas City, Kansas, in 1901; Kansas City, Missouri, in 1903; Mobile in 1904; Jacksonville, Florida, and Berkeley, California, in 1906; and Philadelphia and Los Angeles in 1908. The tide of the three angels' messages was rising to high proportions. Whereas in 1894 only some 50 Colored members lived in the entire United States, by 1900 there were 100, 1,000 by 1909, and 3,500 by 1918.

In 1883 the offering had totaled 10 cents at Edgely Junction. Tithe had swollen to \$50 by 1893 and \$5,000 by 1900. By 1909 it was approximately \$25,000. The General Conference session in 1918 saw Black membership total 3,500. What had been Oakwood Industrial School in 1896 had been renamed Oakwood Manual Training School in 1911 and Oakwood Junior College in 1917. We were growing within the church. The gospel story was finding a healthy reception among our people, and our response and development then in terms of membership, money, and budding organizational patterns again made it clear that "They without us should not be made perfect."

The period between the two world wars saw a number of events important to the continued development of Black Adventism. The first was a remarkable display of loyalty by its Black constituency when several of its leading ministers defected during the 1920s and the early 1930s. Chief among them were J. K. Humphrey of New York City and Charles and John Manns of Florida. They and a number of others left the Seventh-day Adventist Church because of disenchantment with what they saw as the group's racist posture. Their defection led to several independent Sabbatarian movements, some of which still exist, but the vast majority of Black members remained faithful in spite of obvious prejudice. Their love for God and truth superseded their concern, and Black churches continued to proliferate. There were 7,000 members in 1922; 12,000 in 1937; 17,000 by 1944.

Other major developments during these decades were the establishment of *Message* magazine in 1935, Riverside Hospital in 1936, and the coming of age of Oakwood as a senior college in 1943.

Fast on the heels of these events came the formation of regional (Black) conferences in 1944. By that time Black tithe income had grown to \$511,000, and Black membership, which had been 3,500 in 1918, had now swollen to 17,000.

And with the development of Black conferences, Black Adventism took quan-

They Without Us Shall Not Be Made Perfect

tum leaps. Whereas there were 17,000 in 1944, there were 23,000 in 1950; 29,000 in 1955; 37,000 in 1960; 57,000 in 1965; 70,000 in 1970; 80,000 in 1973; 100,000 in 1977; 130,000 in 1983; and 193,000 in 1990. The 10 cents given in 1885 had become \$18 million in 1977, \$40 million by 1984, and \$69 million in 1990. The 9 percent of American Adventism in 1944 became 20 percent in 1977 and 23 percent in 1985.

What more should I say, for time would fail me to tell of Ahney and Allison, of Buckner and Branch of Coopwood and Cox, of Dasent and Dillett, of Ewing and Edwards, of Ford and Follette, of Kimbrough and Knight, of Laurence and Lowe, of Manor and Moran, of Nunez and North, of Peters and Peterson, of Strachan and Scott, of Thomas and Troy, and of Warnick and Wagner.

All these and their colleagues through faith braved animosities, suffered prejudice, and sacrificed bravely to build schools. They constructed health centers and treatment rooms, wrote articles, and distributed books. Such men and women wandered about on bicycles and buses and lived in barns and tenement houses. Lied about and misunderstood, they often died at early ages. But all died in faith, not having received the promise. God, though, provided some better thing for us, "That they without us should not be made perfect."

Having this grand history and heritage, however, is not enough. The burning question is Where do we go from here? We are proud of the past, but we must also be stimulated by the present and challenged by the future.

And the question is Can we, in whose hands the torch has been placed, find victory in our day? Can we, building upon the foundations of our predecessors, contribute a quality of service sufficient for Pentecost? Or must this generation also lie down in death and leave to some succeeding group the thrill of the Apocalypse?

I firmly believe that Black Adventism is uniquely equipped to help the church reach ultimate victory, and that we can do so in the following ways. The primary contribution that we can make to our church is an infusion of the zeal and religiosity so common to our culture. It is no secret that Black people are highly expressive (unless spoiled by erudition), and more religiously inclined than most other groups—and for good reason.

First, we were already deeply religious when they found us in Africa. Our religious fervor, you might say, is genetically transmitted.

Second, our trials have driven us closer to Christ than we would have been had we not suffered the indignities of slavery, Jim Crow, and discrimination.

Being so long on the bottom of the sociological heap, we've had to depend upon Jesus for our sustenance. Ours is a living relationship—a daily bread experience—and

Go On!

that's the real reason our preaching is demonstrative and our testimonies so audible.

It is said of Christ while He was on earth that the poor heard Him gladly. The rich don't sense their need of divine assistance as easily as the poor. The advantaged don't have to pray for rent, and food, and clothing, as our parents did—and as we still do, in many cases.

In slavery we sang and prayed for deliverance. We cried for another world—a world of peace and rest and freedom.

After slavery we prayed for protection from the Klan and from injustice. Many thousands of mothers, scrubbing floors and washing clothes, watered their rags and brushes with the warm, briny tears of broken hearts, begging God for strength to keep on toiling.

We've come this far by faith, "leaning on the Lord," and that's why our forebears, bent with unbearable suffering, sang with deep meaning "Precious Lord, take my hand, lead me on, help me stand, I am tired, I am weak, I am worn; thru the storm, thru the night, lead me on to the light; take my hand, Precious Lord, lead me home."

However, the more affluent we become, the more educated and successful we are, the greater the danger that we shall lose that fervor, that we shall grow fat in the land of plenty and forget our God.

Isaiah cautions us to remain focused on "the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged" (Isa. 51:1).

We must look beyond earthly prosperity to heavenly reward.

Rather than lose our zeal, we must allow it to serve as a catalyst to the other ethnic groups in our church. Our church needs a strong dose of Black enthusiasm. We have come to the kingdom for such a time as this. "They without us shall not be, *cannot be*, made perfect!"

The second contribution that we can make is a vivid demonstration of love and fraternity. One of Black America's most enviable traits is its magnanimity. In spite of all we've suffered, we find it hard to hate. I know of no other race as prone to forgiveness as ours. Despite oppression, we have remained, for the most part, a kind and openhearted people.

That doesn't mean we shouldn't stand up for our rights. There's a time to fight for freedom. Christians, too, are mandated to use legitimate weapons in obtaining release from social oppression. We too must work for justice in our communities, for better sanitation, better jobs, better education, recreation, housing, etc.

True, we'll never make a perfect society, but neither should we capitulate to

They Without Us Shall Not Be Made Perfect

evil. Each of us must by voice and by vote combat injustice—within and without the church.

But we must do so with a quality of love that evidences our Christlikeness, a love that binds us together here in our Jerusalem of fellowship but which at the same time establishes our place in the wider family of God—a love that allows us to fight for justice without and within the church as we remain always mindful that “they without us shall not be made perfect.”

The third and perhaps most challenging contribution that I wish to propose is that of family solidarity. I realize that studies of family patterns are not usually kind to the Black community. In fact, if we are to believe them, our communities lead the way in illegitimacy, one-parent families, juvenile delinquency, joblessness, homelessness, and a lot of other characteristics of which we are not proud.

Our family reputation is not good. Oriental families, Jewish families, Indian families, Caucasian families, and others have, on the whole, a much healthier image.

But that is just the point! The very weakness associated with the broader Black American family makes the triumph of the gospel in our homes all the more impressive.

That gospel has redeemed us. The instructions of the Bible and the writings of Ellen White have delivered us from the clutches of superstition and ignorance that grip so many of our neighbors. Because of what the Bible has done for us and our children, we are living exhibits of the revolutionary power of the Word. We are proof that monogamy does work, that Christian education does pay, that endogamous marriage is right, and that those little red books—particularly *Child Guidance* and *The Adventist Home*—do make a difference. Our communities need this witness, and our church needs this testimony.

The evils of divorce and disease that inundate the larger society have brought great pain to the Adventist family system as well. We hear it at our college and academy campuses. One senses it in the alarming apostasy rate of our youth and in the escalating numbers of emotionally ill among our membership.

And that is where you and I come in. We, as no other group in America, know the value of family solidarity to group prosperity. It was destruction of valid family structures that initiated our descent into intellectual and moral poverty, and it was the restoration of family structures, sired by religious values, that has taken Black Seventh-day Adventists to new heights of social and economic strength.

And is this not a primary feature of the three angels' work? Did not Malachi promise that God would turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, lest He smite the earth with a curse (Mal. 4:5, 6)? Did not John

Go On!

see the remnant keeping the commandments of God—most of which have direct reference to the home?

By observing the Sabbath we *have* ascended to the high places of the earth (Isa. 58:14). By returning tithes we have had the windows of heaven opened upon us (Mal. 3:10). By caring for our bodies we do enjoy superior health and longevity (3 John 2). We are redeemed not only spiritually but socially, and for that we thank God. And we can, if we will, use this miracle of grace to inspire our children, to invigorate our church, and to guide our witness as we individually and collectively go forward in contemporary fulfillment of God's design that “they without us shall not be made perfect.”

ALLEGHANY EAST CONFERENCE • ALLEGHANY WEST CONFERENCE • BERMUDA CONFERENCE • CENTRAL STATES CONFERENCE • LAKE REGION CONFERENCE
 NORTHEASTERN CONFERENCE • SOUTH ATLANTIC CONFERENCE • SOUTH CENTRAL CONFERENCE • SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE • SOUTHWEST REGION CONFERENCE

Jubilee

*A Celebration of the Pioneering and
 Progress of Regional Conferences*

1878

Charles Kinney, born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, accepts Seventh-day Adventist teachings from the preaching of Ellen G. White and John Loughborough in Reno, Nevada. He attends Healdsburg College and is the first Black SDA to become an ordained minister in the SDA Church. He suggests the concept of Black conferences when confronted by efforts to segregate him and his members at camp meeting on the day of his ordination. He suggests Black conferences as a way to work more effectively among Black people and to help deal with the racial tensions in the church.



C. M. KINNEY

1885

The first Black SDA church, at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, is established by Harry Lowe, a former Baptist preacher.

1894

Edson White, son of James and Ellen White, and Will Palmer begin to evangelize Black people via the steamship *Morning Star*. They land in Vicksburg, Mississippi.



EDSON WHITE

1896

Oakwood Industrial School begins operations. Oakwood becomes a junior college in 1917 and a senior college in 1943. It is estimated that 85 percent of the Black SDA leaders have spent some time at Oakwood College during their educational careers. J. L. Moran becomes the first Black president in 1932. Benjamin F. Reeves is the current president.



1898

The *Gospel Herald* is published by Edson White at Yazoo City, Mississippi. He tailors it to be an evangelistic journal for Black people. *Message* magazine, its successor, and staple of literature evangelist programs, begins in 1934.



1901

Riverside Sanitarium, the first Black SDA medical facility, is founded in Nashville, Tennessee. Under the direction of Nellie Drullard, the sanitarium expands to a hospital in 1927. Many famous, wealthy African-Americans visit for treatments. The hospital is placed under General

Conference management in 1935. Further expansion includes the purchase of 46 acres adjacent to the property. In 1947 a modern hospital building is constructed. Riverside Hospital is sold in 1983.

1909

The Negro Department of the General Conference is formed. The department is created by the General Conference to deal with the growing issues of the Black work. W. H. Green becomes first Black head of the department. His successors are G. E. Peters, F. L. Peterson, C. E. Moseley, H. D. Singleton, and W. W. Fordham. The name changed to North American Colored Department in 1941, and changed to North American Regional Department in 1954; the department is discontinued in 1978.



W. H. GREEN

1941

North American Informant first published; ceases in 1978. Charles E. Dudley, Lee A. Peshcal, and Richard C. Drown found *North American Regional Voice*, its successor, in 1979.

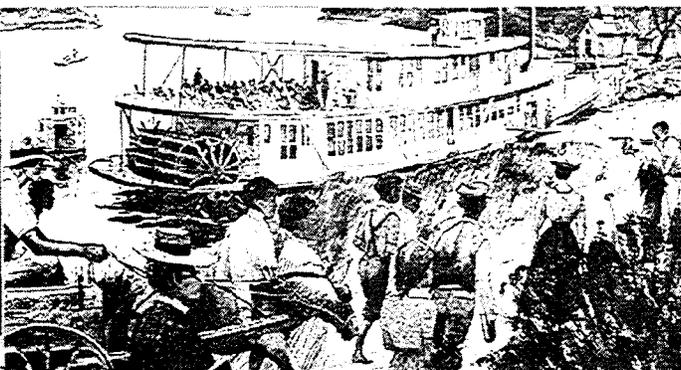
1942

Office of Regional Affairs in the Pacific Union Conference created, with F. L. Peterson as its first secretary; 1,300 Black members in the union at this time. Ezra Mendinghall is the current director.



1945

Lucy Byard, an Adventist from Brooklyn, New York, is admitted to Washington Adventist Sanitarium and Hospital during an emergency.



ALLEGHENY EAST CONFERENCE - ALLEGHENY WEST CONFERENCE - BERMU DA CONFERENCE - CENTRAL STATES CONFERENCE - LAKE REGION CONFERENCE
 NORTHEASTERN CONFERENCE - SOUTH ATLANTIC CONFERENCE - SOUTH CENTRAL CONFERENCE - SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE - SOUTHWEST REGION CONFERENCE



Although gravely ill, she is discharged when it is discovered that

she is Black. Transferred to Freedman's Hospital, she is pronounced dead on arrival. This incident, along with others, stirs Black leadership and laypersons to press the General Conference to act to ensure that such discrimination and inhumane treatment does not occur again in church institutions.

The incident galvanizes the cause of the Committee for the Advancement of Worldwide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists. Among the prominent Black laity signing an eight-page set of demands from the committee to the General

Conference is Eva B. Dykes, the first Black woman in the United States to complete the requirements for a Ph.D.



EVA B. DYKES

Three principal demands are: integration of Adventist institutions, greater Black representation at all levels of denominational administration, and greater accountability from denomination leadership of Black members' financial contributions to the church.

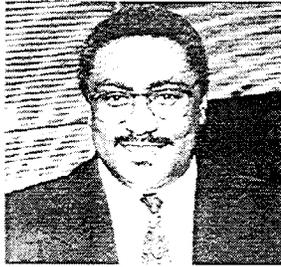
1945

Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church climbs to 20,000.

The General Conference Committee approves Regional (Black) self-governing conferences. C. L. McElhenny, then General Conference President, informs representatives of the committee that integration of the SDA Church on the scale outlined by the committee of Black laity was impossible to achieve.



J. G. DASENT



NORMAN MILES

▲ Lake Region Conference becomes the first Regional conference, with 2,320 members; J. G. Dasent elected first president.

Current membership: 21,776
 President: Norman Miles
 Churches: 84



L. H. BLAND



STENNETT BROOKS

▲ Northeastern Conference is organized, with 2,400 members; L. H. Bland elected first president.

Current membership: 40,181
 President: Stennett Brooks
 Churches: 116

1945

▲ Allegheny Conference is organized with 4,000 members. J. H. Wagner elected first president.

Divided into Allegheny East and West in 1967.



J. H. WAGNER

1946

▲ South Atlantic Conference is organized with 3,523 members. H. D. Singleton is elected first president.

Current membership: 24,906
 President: Ralph Peay
 Churches: 104



H. D. SINGLETON



RALPH PEAY



H. R. MURPHY



JOSEPH MCCOY

▲ South Central Conference is organized with 2,235 members. H. R. Murphy is elected first president.

Current membership: 24,353
 President: Joseph McCoy
 Churches: 139

1957

▲ Southwest Region Conference is organized, with 2,939 members; W. W. Fordham elected first president.

Current membership: 15,243
 President: Robert Lister
 Churches: 89



W. W. FORDHAM



ROBERT LISTER

Central States Mission is organized with 298 members. J. M. Rowe elected first president. Mission becomes conference in 1952. Council membership 8,700. President: Alfred Johnson (Churches: 8)



W. A. ERIMPSKI



W. A. ERIMPSKI



T. M. ROHC



VERNON JOHNSON

1967
 An Allegheny East Conference is organized with 1,200 members. W. A. Erimpski is elected first president. Council membership 24,143. President: Vernon Johnson (Churches: 8)

Allegheny West Conference is organized with 4,777 members. W. M. Starks is elected first president. Council membership 11,113. President: Willie Lewis (Churches: 8)



W. H. STRICK



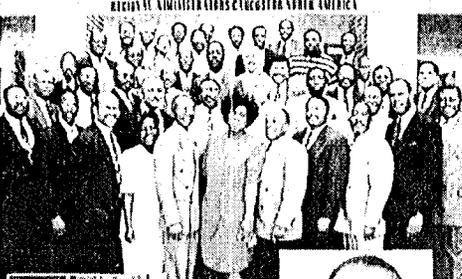
WILLIE LEWIS

1968
 The South Central Regional Conference is organized with 1,000 members. J. M. Rowe is elected first president. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)

1970
 The historic, watershed resolution is passed, outlining the General Conference's role and commitment to equality of the gospel in the regional conferences. This resolution is passed. Included in the document is a commitment to support Black leaders to enter and continue in the ministry, including the right to the church at large concerning the creative and multi-cultural aspects of Adventism, setting aside funds for the strengthening of the Black church and relationships for Black professionals working in the field of the Black church. This resolution is passed.

1975
 W. Ralph Thompson becomes first Black to hold the office of General Conference secretary. Robert Carter becomes the first Black president of North America.

1978
 The Black Caucus of North America is organized. It is established to coordinate the Black Caucus. The Black Caucus is organized to coordinate the Black Caucus. The Black Caucus is organized to coordinate the Black Caucus.



L. H. MOORE

1979
 The first Eastern European Conference is organized with 1,000 members. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)



ROBERT CARTER

1980
 The first Black pastor of the North America is elected. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)



EZRA MENDONCEL

1981
 Southeastern Conference is organized with 5,011 members. James Edwards is elected first president. Council membership 20,806. President: Ray Brown (Churches: 10)

1980
 The first Eastern European Conference is organized with 1,000 members. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)



ROBERT CARTER



JAMES EDGCOMBE



ROBERT BROWN

1981
 Southeastern Conference is organized with 5,011 members. James Edwards is elected first president. Council membership 20,806. President: Ray Brown (Churches: 10)

1981
 Bermuda Conference is organized with 2,235 members. E. Scott Wilson is elected first president. Council membership 2,917. President: E. Scott Wilson (Churches: 8)



ROSALYN WILLIAMS

1989
 The first Black woman is elected first president of the General Conference. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)

1991
 WIRE (Western United for Regional Conferences) is founded in the Southwestern California Conference. WIRE is a lay organization dedicated to self-education in the establishment of Regional conferences for Black Adventists in the West. The organization is predominantly supported by Black Adventist ministers from California and the surrounding states.

1991
 The first Black woman is elected first president of the General Conference. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)

1993
 The first Black woman is elected first president of the General Conference. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)



Deborah Harris organizes the first woman's retreat in the South Atlantic Conference, in which more than 1,000 women attend.

1994
 The first Black woman is elected first president of the General Conference. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)



PHYLLIS WARR

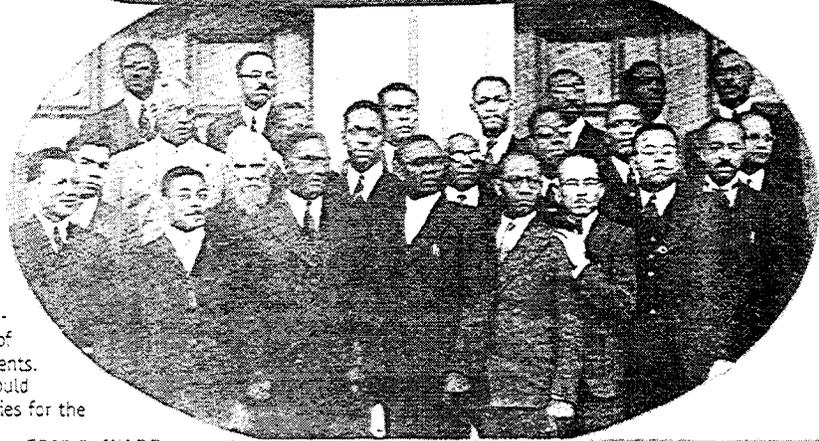
1995
 The first Black woman is elected first president of the General Conference. Council membership 24,143. President: J. M. Rowe (Churches: 8)

ADVENTIST PREACHERS ON BLACK MINISTRY:

Truth, relevance, and sincerity are keys to success.

Black Regional Conferences came to life and power in the need to evangelize 30 million Afro-Americans. They have permitted the expansion of the abilities and exposed the genius of dormant talents. If we were just confined to pulpit preaching, we would never know how to balance budgets and set strategies for the finishing of the work among Blacks.

ERIC C. WARD
Pastor



Pioneer Black pastors in the early SDA Church, including C. M. Kinney (with beard).

There is a tremendous need and interest in Blacks working for Blacks. There is very little that people of other races can do for us because of the current social climate. We have a special way of presenting the truth, different than other people. We can get closer to our own folks. However, where there is not a Black evangelist, people who are looking for truth will still seek for it.

COLERIDGE D. HENRI
Former Missionary to Ghana, Veteran Evangelist

Black preaching is warm, dynamic, and sincere. It starts from a base of faith. Black preachers have a God-given gift of imagery. They can paint a picture while maintaining the substance that satisfies hungry, longing hearts.

Because this is the everlasting gospel, I almost fear innovation. Truth does not change. I would like to see us use the fresh, illustrative material from the news of the day. I would like to see us keep our message positive and Christcentric.

CHARLES D. BROOKS
Evangelist; Director, *Breath of Life*

Black theology is very practical because it has had to deal with the suffering and oppression of its people. Adventist ministers have taken concepts that were clearly developed in the minds of Caucasian males and made them exciting, even palatable, to their listeners while they are in the midst of suffering.

The system that necessitated formation of the regional conferences still exists today. I wholeheartedly believe in an inclusive ministry, however. Our church is making a big mistake in not drawing upon the talents and abilities of all people. The greatest innovation would be to become one church and one conference.

HYVETH WILLIAMS
Pastor; Boston Temple SDA Church

The Black work will and must continue. The evidence of our continued growth proves that we have found the formula. Our function is simply to make every man and woman a "Harriet Tubman." Like her, our burden should be to free the oppressed and rescue our people from slavery, whether it be spiritual, physical, or mental. We have to lead them to the Promised Land.

CALVIN WATKINS
Personal Ministries Director, South Atlantic Conference

African-American preachers are true descendants of the Old Testament prophets, who thundered millennia ago against injustice. He or she features a this-worldly and an other-worldly salvation synthesis that brings deliverance to captives. They energize lifeless theology and dead dogma with a powerful electrical charges that surges between pulpit and pew. The African-American preacher arouses congregants from lethargy, purges despair, drains anguish, and revitalizes spirits with the gospel's intoxicating elixir.

BARRY C. BLACK
First Black SDA Fleet Chaplain, United States Navy

Leadership roles are not volunteered to Black folks in the SDA Church, and unfortunately, I see a surrendering, a losing, of the things we've fought for the past 30 to 40 years. Our folks are selling out, not thinking of those who come behind us, and that's bad. We're giving up our historically Black institutions—Riverside Hospital, Hadley Memorial Hospital. In doing away with those institutions, we're doing away with leadership roles for Blacks.

CHARLES E. DUDLEY
Former president, South Central Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

The Black experience in North America leads Black people to identify more fully with Christ's experience. Having gone through what Christ went through in a measure, our preaching takes on the color of crucifixion and resurrection, of oppression and suppression, and resiliency.

E. EARLE CLEVELAND
Veteran Evangelist

The system of Regional conferences allows the conference to focus on their own target group. But we cannot zero in on our responsibility to the exclusion of others. The church is a single body. There is no part of the church that operates without reference to the total church. The African-American regional leaders in the church have had this unusual experience and this heavy responsibility; it is a pity when their expertise is denied the rest of the body.

CHARLES E. BRADFORD
Former president, NAD; Evangelist

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

For your Information:

This chapter will introduce you to great laymen who loved their church and how working within constituted authority with great leaders within the church, they helped effect a great change. You will know more about them and their work if you look up these terms.

United Sabbath Day Adventists: George Edward Peters, J.H. Wagner, J.L. Moran, F.L. Peterson, James O. Montgomery.

James O. Montgomery usually wore a little smile; he saw the humor in life; his wit was quick and his laughter stimulating. But he was not smiling this Sabbath morning October 16, 1943, as he stood in front of the pulpit of the Ephesus (now Du Pont Park) Church in Washington D.C. As Elder T.M. Fountain stood to dismiss, Montgomery declared, "Think it not strange? Yes, I think it very strange that there is an adventist college (Washington Missionary, now Columbia Union) nearby to which I cannot send my children. Yes, I think it is strange! A denominational cafeteria in which I cannot be served, and now this incident - I think it mighty strange!" (1)

The strange event to which Montgomery referred was that Brother Eyard long time member of the Linden Boulevard Church of Springfield Gardens, New York City, a light skinned mulatto had taken his wife, Lucy, also very light skinned to the denomination's Washington Sanitarium and Hospital, Takoma Park, Maryland, to which she was being admitted. When Byard's true racial identity was secured by writing rather than by appearance, he was told a mistake had been made and his wife wheeled into a hallway. Calls were placed to various hospitals and Mark Cox, native Washingtonian, Loma Linda graduate interning at Freedman's Hospital remembers with chagrin welcoming Sister Byard to Freedman's. (2) She died shortly thereafter of pneumonia, whether contracted while waiting in the hallway of the Sanitarium, as hasty rumor put it, eternity alone can tell. (3) To quiet the Ephesus Church, upset by her removal from the sanitarium, Elder W.G. Turner, Australian, and President of the North American Division, although forewarned by G.E. Peters of the Calibre of the membership, came to attempt pacification. He chose his text 1 Peter 4:12, "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you." He had hardly sat down when Montgomery placed his violin in the seat he occupied near the organ, faced the



*Angels in Ebony
Justiss, Jacob*

About Regional Conferences

congregation, delivered his speech saying among other things, "I am not prepared to hear you say Servants obey your masters, meaning the General Conference is our master."

After service a select group gathered around him. Ephesus, New York, has long been known as the largest Negro church, but Ephesus, Washington D.C., as the sophisticated one; it was proven by the composition of the committee formed by this group. Joseph T. Dodson, chairman, operated his own funeral limosine service and at one time, with Union conference approval, pastored the church for one year. Alma James Scott vice-chairman, was founder of the first social settlement house among Negroes in the entire world. Willie, Dodson's wife, was working toward her Ph.D. in psychology and principal of a Washington, D.C. Junior High School. Mrs. L.B.D. Cox was critic teacher in the public schools, but she quit the next day so as not to jeopardize her son, Mark, who was planning a denominational career. Helen Sugland grew up under the pastorate of Louis C. Shaefe, who sought Negro conferences in the teens and was public school teacher par excellence. Eva B. Dykes was the first Seventh-Day Adventist Negro and Negro woman in the world to receive a Ph.D. and Valarie Justiss, corresponding secretary would soon be the second Negro Seventh-Day Adventist to receive a Ph. D. Alan A. Anderson was just beginning his career as systems engineer which would lead him to Division Chief in the government. Brother Daniels represented the laity of the First Church as recording secretary. Later, Laertes Gillis joined him as treasurer. It was Alma J. Scott, Settlement House founder of international repute, who gave the immediate direction to the committee. As president of Howard University Alumni, when Mordecai Johnson was under attack, she had organized the alumni world-wide overnight. She proposed the Black constituency be done likewise.

The group by strange coincidence met that same night in the back room of Dodson's Book Store that was destined to be the first office of the Allegheny Conference. They passed the hat to help on the telephone bill and began calling various persons to apprise them of their actions, viz; J.G. Dasent, New Orleans, Arna Bontemps, Nashville, Tennessee, O.A. Troy, Pasadena, California, and I.H. Bland, Baltimore.

These agreed to have their names placed on a letter head. Because several persons outside the United States were contacted the committee named itself "The National Association for the Advancement of World - Wide Work Among Colored Seventh - Day Adventists. Elder J.H. Wagner, colored secretary of the Columbia Union, accepted the position as Advisor and the meeting closed

officially after Elder J.L. McElhaney, President of the General Conference agreed to meet the Committee at the General Conference Office Building the next day, Sunday, October 17, 1943. Dodson was chosen to present the work of the committee.

Doctor Valarie Justiss Vance remembers that Mrs. Dodson could find only twenty sheets of bond paper. Albert Burgess was aroused out of bed past midnight and asked to print the letter heads. It was almost meeting time the next day before Dr. Vance had completed and mailed out letters to a chosen list of individuals. W.G. Turner noted the absence of certain names and inquired concerning them. Dr. Cherry of Pittsburgh even came to town shortly saying he had been called and asked what he knew about it. Because of Elder McElhaney's promise to report all the proceedings to the General Conference Committee and the very pointed discussion, the Committee counted the visit a success, as also was a longer one Sunday, October 31, 1943.

The Committee for the Advancement of World Wide Work among Colored Seventh-Day Adventists had joined counter to its stated objective of complete integration and certainly without the historical intent, that group of Negro Churchmen who through the years had thought a separate organization the answer to the color question. There was one difference, they were laymen; the others had been ministers.

On the 3rd of May, 1922, Elder J.K. Humphrey was invited to preach at the General Conference session. At one part of his sermon he said:

In 1905 a brother came to my house and urged me to cut loose from the Seventh-Day Adventist denomination.

That man was about twenty years my senior. I flatly refused to do it ... That brother went away and the next thing I heard of him, he had written a letter to the General Conference, withdrawing from this denomination. There is nothing to his movement today. Since that time others, white and black, have apostatized and come to New York City and endeavored to split that large church in two.

No doubt, the first person he mentioned was Louis C. Shaefe, who pastored at 10th and V Streets in North West Washington D.C. In 1907, Shaefe turned in his credentials to A.G. Daniels, President of the General Conference, and the church went with him. Elder Shaefe returned bringing the church back with him and almost immediately was sent to pastor in Los Angeles. By 1917, he had returned East and was preaching in "first day churches" in Kansas City. John Manns visited J.K. Humphrey after he and the conference differed in Savannah, but the two came to no agreement.

Elder J.H. Wagner, Colored Secretary for the Columbia Union Conference, apprized the Committee of the most recent attempt to secure Negro conferences with which he quite correctly equated their ultimate end from the very beginning. When W.H. Green died suddenly in October of 1928 his position as Colored Secretary was not filled immediately, partly due to a memorial from the colored ministers "that the only way to improve the work among Negroes of the country is to organize colored conferences, whereby the colored people may handle their own money, employ their own workers and so develop administrative ability and all cultural lines of work ... to organize Negro conferences that would function in exactly the same relation to the General Conference as the white conferences." (9) After a thorough discussion it was decided to appoint a Negro commission of eleven whites and five Negroes to study the financial income, numerical strength, and territorial division. J.K. Humphrey alleged that the commission met without Negro members and then asked them in a meeting just prior to the Autumn Council in Columbus, Ohio to rubber stamp the actions of the whites who had decided it was not time for a colored conference. The commission alleged that it had sent Humphrey letters, and he had feigned illness. As many of the discussions concerning the Negro work occurred in ad hoc committees it is difficult at times to find the records.

When the report was given to the Colored brethren at the 1930 General Conference session in San Francisco, a young minister was heard from for the first time. C.E. Mosely, later a field secretary of the General Conference, remonstrated against the report but was silenced by older ministers. (10) But J.H. Wagner was referring to more than this when he counseled the committee March 7, 1944. He told them they were following the right tact that of allowing everyone, students, ministers, workers, to know what was happening. The mistake of 1930 had been that the involvement had not been broad enough. At that time the General Brethren had taken the ministerial memorial to the leading laity who had said that they didn't know a thing about it and that it was the program of a few men who wanted to sit behind swivel chairs. "So keep the ministers with you," was his counsel. (11)

This corroborated an earlier talk to the committee by G.E. Peters, who had felt the need for a stronger organization since 1929. From his office, however, he was getting several points of view. Some ministers were writing in against the organization mainly, he thought, because it was new to have laity lead out. One secretary in the Southern Union had even written his opposition in to the General Conference. California didn't go along with the idea either. He felt that Elder McElhaney was fair, but be careful for he felt that the committee might be forcing its way. (12)

G.E. Peters was right; it certainly was the Committee and much of the forcing was done by the Secretary, Valarie Justiss Vance. This brilliant young woman called by Lucy D. Slowe, Dean of Women at Howard University one of the brainiest black students produced by the University, worked all night that first memorable Saturday night, put through calls, wrote the letters, and helped shape the agenda. It was her assiduousness as corresponding and recording secretary that activated the cohesive momentum that pressed home the issue. Her kineticism coupled with the sagacity of Alma J. Scott, planning ability of J.T. and Willie Dodson was just the right combination for just such a task.

The General Conference Committee voted to call in the Negro Union Departmental men and pastors of leading churches from all over America in order to discuss the problem at a special meeting during the Spring Council April 8 - 19, 1944. J.T. Dodson and A.V. Pinckney because of bareness of the committee treasury paid their own train fare to Chicago taking a supply of their "Agenca," an eight page pamphlet entitled, "Shall the Four Freedoms Function Among Seventh-Day Adventists?" Its flawless printing was again the work of Albert Burgess, brother to Monroe Burgess. A. Pinkney school teacher and NAACP leader had been added after his stand had been ascertained by Dodson, his wife and Miss Justiss.

During Sabbath School, while Dodson was sitting with the delegates in Shiloh Church, it occurred to him that he and Pinckney were not authorized to attend the meetings. Finding Pinckney, Dodson with him braved the blustery winds to the Stevens Hotel roof auditorium and called Elder McElhaney from the rostrum of the white delegates. They were told to check with Elder W.H. Robbins, President of the Columbia Union. They found Elder Robbins in his room, and he suggested they meet him fifteen minutes before the 7:30 p.m. meeting. When they arrived on time he said, "You'll have to let someone else represent you." He had been unable to secure entrance into the meeting for them. Dodson asked if he might see Elder McElhaney before the meeting began and with Robbins' affirmation they approached Elder McElhaney, who received them warmly and asked pointed questions about the agenda they presented to him. Finally he said, "Well, we've been talking a half-hour, and if you wish to stay to the meeting I'll convene a General Conference Committee meeting and take a vote on it. Pinckney recounts that to his amazement he saw it was 7:55 p.m. and the room filled with delegates. Feeling they might lose the vote and that McElhaney held the key to their success, they demurred, thanked him profusely, quickly passed agenda to members of the committee, and left. As they passed out of the door, F.L. Peterson spoke out, "Those two influential men ought to be allowed to stay to the meeting." (13)

In the meeting that followed Elder McElhaney was so successful in fielding questions with answers that Dodson and Pinckney and the agenda furnished that the basic need of a different type organization for the Negro work, that of Negro conferences was evolved and not the integration of white conferences asked for by the agenda. The General Conference Committee, of course, would have the final recommendation.

G.E. Peters remembered his consternation the next morning to find Elder McElhaney absent and someone else in the chair. He was told the president was ill. Peters asked the song leader to sing an extra song or two until he returned and went at once to Elder McElhaney's room. The Elder was in bed; nevertheless, Peters informed him that if anything should go wrong in this meeting, and no program made for the colored work, he didn't see how Elder McElhaney could ever face the colored constituency again and he was sure that he, G.E. Peters, never would. Elder McElhaney said very earnestly, "If you feel that strongly, then ill as I am, I'll chair the meeting." They walked down the stairs together.

The Secretary of the Colored Work had not been overacting in the foregoing drama. Many pressures were bearing down upon him the least of which was a movement among young people northeast and northwest called the National Association for the Advancement of Advent Youth. It resulted from the pooling of three distinct movements in Chicago, Detroit and Pittsburgh. The central uniting theme was the acceleration among the conferences in the renting and purchasing of jr. camp sites during the late '30's and '40's and the segregated policy that denied access to these camps and their facilities to Negro youth in the conferences.

In the Chicago area Elder Thomas Allison fielded the tricky problem by purchasing a farm near Cassopolis Michigan. There near the shores of Paradise Lake he set up a jr. camp that for several years was the gathering place for Negro youth from around the country. While it partially satisfied the recreational and social needs its primitiveness pointed up the discrepancies between it and the conference sponsored Illinois Youth Camp. Responsible young people in the Shiloh Church, Herman Clayton, Michael Blanchard, Avis Graham, Valarie Justiss, Roland Barton and John Green, Jr. were quick to point this out. They argued the pros and cons time and again at Marvene Joneses home which was the common meeting place.

At the other end of Michigan Ave. at the Hartford Church in Detroit, J.E. Johnson, fresh from Washington, D.C., where he had established a "Y" program for the Ephesus Church and a name for himself as a young people's

man, wrestled with the same problem. Under the leadership of Don W. Hunter the Michigan Conference had rented an island camp site, but there was a "restricted covenant." The Pioneer Club of the Hartford Church reacted. The president, Jonathan Roache, members Bert Williams, Addison Prince, Rothaker Childs Smith, the Cantrells, E.Z. Watts and V.B. Watts, Clarence Benjamin, Henry Hammonc, and I, remonstrated with Elder Johnson to the effect that he approached Taylor G. Bunch, president of the Michigan Conference. A campsite near Ann Arbor, Michigan, Camp Norcom was rented for the Detroit area Negro youth with Elder Johnson as Camp Director and I as his assistant.

Perhaps these groups and their endeavours might have remained isolated incidents had it not been for the penchant of Adventist youth to travel. Jonathon Roache was called to principalship of the Baltimore Berea Academy by L.H. Bland. Roache meeting with the other church school teachers found that a group in Pittsburgh was deeply concerned over the youth-educational plight and discussing the feasibility of a Negro educational secretary in the Negro Department. Their leader was none other than fiery, progressive W.W. Fordham who a decade earlier had helped effect a far-reaching change in the educational policies of Oakwood College. More recently he had won national notice in the drive to build the Center Ave. Branch of the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A. Now, he, his wife Maybelle, the church school teacher, Mildred Evelyn, Celeste Joy, the Mosbys - Ruth, Simon, Lillian and the ever-militant John Green, Jr., began constructive thinking about a national youth organization.

Through letters and phone calls a meeting was set up in Detroit in the summer of 1941. Elder Monroe A. Burgess fresh from his evangelism in Petersburg Virginia where he had won many converts and the beautiful Willa Mae Herbin as a wife was the speaker. Elder A.W. Peterson MV Secretary of the General Conference was asked to attend as was G.E. Peters of the Colored Department. Herman Clayton was elected president and Mildred Evelyn, sec'y. of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Adventist Youth. Then and in the future meetings in New York, A.W. Petersen, speaker; Pittsburgh, W.W. Fordham, speaker; Baltimore, T.M. Fountain, speaker, and under the new president Jonathan Roache they pressed toward the training of a person to fill a new General Conference office as Youth Secretary of the Colored Work.

This was one group the Secretary of the Colored work knew he dare not face unless he could report progress in some quarter.

Jay J. Nethery, President of the Lake Union Conference, had persuaded the brethren it was time for colored conferences in a separate meeting. On April 10, 1944, the General Conference Committee voted:

We recommend

1. That in unions where the colored constituency is considered by the Union Conference Committee to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant colored conferences be organized.

2. That these colored conferences be administered by colored officers and committees,

3. That in the organization of these conferences the present boundaries within each union need not be recognized,

4. That colored conferences sustain the same relationship to their respective Union Conference as do white conferences.

(Action of the Spring Meeting of the General Conference Committee, April 10-16, 1944 pp 15-16). (16)

J.L. McElhaney asked Dodson to disband his committee which he did with reluctance.

Perhaps it was due to Jay J. Nethery's faith in his own program that the Lake Union Conference piloted the way, voting to adopt the General Conference recommendation July 17, 1944. A special meeting of the colored constituency was called to meet in the Shiloh Church in Chicago, Illinois. W.H. Branson chaired the spirited meeting with the laity offering many challenges. Brother Aberthnot, businessman and soul winner in Chicago, argued that Negroes were not like Europeans and needed no conferences. Avis Graham and I answered with the argument for job opportunity and experience. The ayes carried, and the conference was accepted. The General Conference proposal for president was J.L. Moran, but Avis Graham and other young folks, apparently not enamored with his college administration, met the committee and his name was replaced by Peterson, Troy, and others. At last a committee was sent out to select all personnel except a conference president, it still being hoped that this delaying tactic would forestall the formation of the conference.

From the extreme left rear of the auditorium what happened next as viewed from the Michigan delegation there appeared in this wise. The secretary of the committee began to read his report in a normal clear voice, "Charles E. Galley, Secretary - Treasurer, Virgil Gibbons, Publishing Secretary, W.J. Kisack, Missionary Volunteer and Educational Secretary, L.B. Baker, Book and Bible House," then in an almost inaudible voice, "and J. Gershon Dasent, President." The Indiana delegation had moved and seconded it from the front row while those in the rear were still calling, "Mr. Secretary, we didn't hear you." The ayes again carried and Elder Dasent was ushered to the platform to make a

few remarks. Order never was completely restored, and the meeting ended in confusion. (17) W.H. Branson, Jay J. Nethery, T.G. Bunch, and H.J. Klooster left almost immediately, and J.G. Dasent, first Negro Conference President, was left with certainly an uncertain constituency. Fred N. Crowe was selected Sec'ry.-Tres. temporarily, but served 1945-1960. Miriam Christian was appointed first office secretary of a colored conference.

On October 3, 1944, the Negro constituency of the Atlantic Union Conference met in New York City to organize the Northeastern Conference. L.H. Bland, President; Lionel Irons, Secretary-Treasurer; Jonathon E. Roache, Missionary Volunteer and Educational Secretary; James J. North, Home Missionary and Sabbath School. They moved into temporary quarters on 127th Street until a building was purchased at 560 West 150th Street, off Broadway. Here a group from Ephesus formed a new church, City Tabernacle. The building also housed the Book and Bible House and the church school. (18)

A camp ground near Ellentown, New York, and also near one of Father Divine's areas proved too rocky and was released in favor of another near Hyde Park, New York. Here in later years Elder Leon Davis maintained with the help of a diversified staff one of the finest youth camps in North America. Here also later was built the camp meeting pavillion, and now a nursing home is being operated.

Elder Irons died, and then Elder Bland began to suffer from a crippling illness. As did Moses, he took Willie Lee for his Aaron and carried on. Strange diseases were no stranger to him. He had often recounted how his oldest daughter, when a child, had caught spinal meningitis just about incurable at that time and had begun to bend with its progression; and how he knelt in prayer at her bedside praying far into the night to be awakened at bird song by the healed child playing with his hair.

The constituency voted their confidence by re-electing him until the end. So passed one whom W.E. Straw, when head of the Theological Department at Emmanuel Missionary College, termed a most logical craftsman and master preacher. (19) One of the handsomest, gentle and understanding, beloved and charismatic ministers, evangelist and administrator the denomination has ever produced. He was followed by H.D. Singleton, a literal workhorse, quiet, observant, and administratively responsible for much of the large scale evangelism in the South. R.T. Hudson with imaginative programs and a voice just as big passed while preaching a funeral sermon. George Earle, present incumbent well-known and liked by all is over the fastest growing of all Negro conferences.



Who would think of Northeastern Conference without first thinking of the Ephesus Church? It was the outgrowth of company and church number 2 in Harlem. In 1904, it met in 134th Street with twelve members. Unlike Harlem Church Number One, which grew rapidly in the 20's under J.K. Humphrey, Number Two was not given a strong boost until about the time Elder Humphrey had founded the United Sabbath Day Adventists.

A little before the misunderstanding, the Greater New York Conference had called in Matthew C. Strachan to pastor the church now on 127th Street and help stem the tide. After the storm broke, G.E. Peters, successful evangelist and Secretary of the Colored Department, was called. He almost immediately changed the name of the church to Ephesus and by his preaching drew such crowds into the newly purchased Harlem Academy Auditorium that the congregation rented a church and parsonage at 123rd and Lennox. Elder Peters set up the arrangements to purchase this edifice before he went to Philadelphia and subsequently returned to the Negro Department. Under T.M. Rowe the church was purchased. (20) It had grown to 1600 members by the mid 1950's, when R.T. Hudson, the pastor, began a series on historical perspective. He invited in United Nation representatives and the church membership swelled to 2200 then to reportedly 2500 in 1969, when a fire gutted it. Symbolic of how Adventists could carry the gospel is that George Earle, Conference President, was notified of the fire via long distance telephone from California, and he still arrived on the scene in New York simultaneously with much of the fire-fighting equipment. With Pastor Calvin B. Rock, recently called to the presidency of Oakwood College, the church enters the pastorate of Edwin Humphrey with a building program a necessity.

Northeastern Conference Statistics 1970:

Membership 13,695, Ministers, Churches 46. Tithe \$2,705,532.33, Offerings \$365,620.68, Institutions.

The Allegheny Conference was the third to be formed. At a meeting in Philadelphia the General and Union brethren again met decided resistance from those who viewed separation as a forced segregation. Laymen especially from Pittsburgh, Elders T.M. Fountain, and Eric Dilleit made strong speeches against the conference idea. The motion carried, however, and the name Susquehanna Conference was chosen. When G.E. Peters suggested it was too hard to spell, F.D. Robbins reopened the floor, and "Allegheny" Conference was voted in. (21) J.H. Wagner, Columbia Union Conference Colored Secretary, was voted in as president. In ten years he was challenged only once and unsuccessfully by A.A. Arrington and the Cleveland delegation. J.L. Moran, still

at Oakwood College, was voted Secretary - Treasurer with C.H. Kelley of the Columbia Union serving until he arrived. W.R. Robinson was Home Missionary Secretary; Monroe A. Burgess, Missionary Volunteer and Temperance; H.D. Warner Publishing, and Juanita Jones, Book and Bible House.

The first office was located in J.T. Dodson's Book Store on Georgia Avenue across the street from the Miner Teachers' College. Elder Wagner's desk was the sink with a board across it so that during his travels Alta Williams and Florine Langford, the secretaries, could easily transfer his desk back to its original purpose. (22) The cause of this drastic poverty was that the Columbia Union had given a small sum to start the conference off and then taken back the major portion for bad debts, colporteur, Book and Bible House, etc. A home was shortly purchased at 1208 Irving Street North East, and it was here Moran joined the staff, and Juanita Jones left.

It was Brother Walter Caution, who notified his pastor F.L. Bland of the availability of the Rutter Farm near Pottstown, Pennsylvania that the E. Pa. Conf. had already passed by as a possible educational site. J.T. Dodson drove Elder Wagner and Elder Warner up for a look and later a committee of Brothers Burgess, Dobbins, Dodson, Laurence, Robinson, Warner, and Wagner voted to purchase it. Dr. Grace Kimbrough, Battle Creek physician who had helped young struggling Marian Anderson with money for music lessons, now helped the struggling conference by lending the money to bind the deal. Elder Wagner toured the churches of the young conference injecting what he called the "Allegheny Spirit," borrowing from them much of the purchase price repayable as the conference treasury dictated. (23) In 1946 as the Pine Forge Institute teachers arrived, they found not only a new school being set up but a new conference as well. Joe Davidson level eyed brick mason (level-eyed meant that most rare ability to go into a field and without surveying instruments set up a square, squared up building!) sighted J.H. Wagner pegged and I stretched the string to lay out the first local conference office building in North America to be constructed from the ground up. Previously Elders Wagner and G.E. Peters had assisted Elder W.A. Thompson in dedicating the Huntington West Virginia Church, the first church to be dedicated under complete Black supervision. (24)

One of the attractions of the new grounds was a hill adjacent to the property sheer Elysian in its projection. Unwittingly some have called it Elder Wagner's hill because he mentioned it so often. But "Wagner's Hill" was a name given to a long grade on the trail of the Great Minguas, Pennsylvania Route 202, that Elder Wagner's 1942 Pontiac at times refused to climb in no other way than to be backed up!



H.T. Saulter replaced Prof. M. Harvey and A.V. Pinckney, Monroe Burgess as Educational and M.V. and with this team Allegheny Conference began to lead the other regional conferences as when Monroe Burgess working with the Home Missionary Department was the first to surpass the \$100,000.00 mark in Ingathering. The literature evangelists with such men as L.C. Brantley, H.D. Warner, Virgil Gibbons, J. R. Britt, A.A. Arrington, George Anderson, C.D. Morris, Samuel Barber and C.N. Willis led not only the Columbia Union out the World Field.

Wagner leaned heavily upon the popularity, tremendous capacity for hard work, and extremely good mind of W.R. Robinson to help build up the conference. Robinson, a staccato evangelistic type preacher, sometimes traveled with Monroe A. Burgess, fluid, philosophic and spellbinding, and the two were unbeatable as ambassadors of good will. Sometimes H.D. Warner immaculately attired, driving the latest model Lincoln or Cadillac trouble shot in his suave and homey way. By this time the membership of near 13,000 was crowding it into the upper ten largest conferences in the North American Division. This successful growth during less than one-quarter century led to the division of the conference into East and West Allegheny.

It had been decided during the organization of the conference that because of the size of the territory when 10,000 population was reached to divide it. In 1962, when I became Missionary Volunteer and Temperance Secretary and realized the tremendous administrative burden, I began comparing the monthly reports and saw that Allegheny, west of the mountains, was capable of maintaining itself. I showed my break-downs to Donald Simons, Home Missionary Secretary, and Alan Anderson, who confirmed my findings. W.L. Cheatham, who had succeeded J.H. Wagner as president, and remembered the organizational pronouncement, took it under advisement and on trips into Ohio explained the idea to the membership who found it acceptable. (25)

The Allegheny West Conference as it was called might well have chosen Cheatham as president as he was then dean of the black conference presidents, an able administrator. They elected Walter Starks, experienced departmental man and evangelist, but he was shortly called to head the new stewardship program in the General Conference. Donald B. Simons was elected in his place and served until 1972 when Harold Cleveland was elected. Secretary Treasurers have been Aaron Brogden and James Washington; Home Missionary, Samuel Thomas; Missionary Volunteer and Temperance, C. Lewis; Publishing Henry Freeman; Stewardship, Nelson Bliss.

Conference Statistics 1970: Combined Allegheny East and West Membership 15,361, Ministers, Churches 84, Tithe \$2,273,589.87, Offerings \$263,319.74, Institutions.

Quite a bit of detail has been given of the development of the three above mentioned conferences, for the work was new ground. The next two conferences were the cradle of the Negro work and have been and will be covered in various other ways so that mere set-ups will be mentioned here.

In December, 1945, the Southern Union met to organize its mission department into Negro Conferences. The South Atlantic Conference included the eastern section of the mission field, i.e. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida east of the Apalachicola River. There were 398 regular delegates and 19 at large. The officers elected were: H.D. Singleton, President, Home Missionary and Religious Liberty; L.S. Follette, Secretary - Treasurer; F. H. Jenkins, Educational and Missionary Volunteer; Richard Robinson, Publishing Secretary. (26)

When H.D. Singleton, was called to Northeastern Conference, J.H. Wagner came to South Atlantic. The Hawthorne Camp ground became a challenger of the Allegheny camp meeting, a new office building was erected and the building of modern churches given priority. Elder Wagner succumbed at Riverside just following the 1962 General Conference Session. Many ministers traveled cross-country to be at his funeral. His successor W.S. Banfield, continued an aggressive policy until called into the union in 1971.

The South Central Conference territory of North West Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Kentucky and Tennessee, which had seen the birth of four of the first five Negro churches was organized in December, 1945. Herman R. Murphy was President, V. Lindsay, Secretary - Treasurer.

The office was first located at 1410 Hawkins Street in Nashville, Tennessee, later in a renovated house at 1914 Charlotte Avenue, then in its present modern office building opposite the Riverside Sanitarium and Hospital. (27)

So much of the work of the conference has been and will be discussed further that only mention will be made that the denomination's only two Negro institutions, Oakwood College and Riverside Sanitarium are in this conference. Its early financial difficulties were straightened out by F.L. Bland, who was earning quite a name as a financier. W.W. Fordham increased evangelism. Fate then called C.E. Dudley to the presidency and under his leadership almost phenomenal progress has been made.

On January 1, 1947, in the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri the Central States Mission was organized with 798 colored members of the Central Union Conference forming the constituency. T.M. Rowe was elected president and J.H. Jones, Secretary-Treasurer with Robert E. White Publishing Secretary. Organization added greatly in membership from 798 to 1,408 in 1952. The state of Iowa with Des Moines Church had been added in 1948. When financial difficulties struck F.L. Bland was called in. J.H. Jones went off to Union College and H.F. Saulter was called in as Secretary-Treasurer. On November 9, 1952 a constituency meeting held in the Beacon Light Church in Kansas City, Missouri, organized the Central States Conference with F.L. Bland, President. H.T. Saulter, Secretary-Treasurer. Monroe Burgess was called in for Home Missionary; Xavier Butler for Missionary Volunteer. Churches established since then include those at Kinlock, a St. Louis suburb, Sikeston, Missouri, Junction City, Kansas; Kirkwood Missouri and Springfield, Missouri. Membership rose from 1408 in 1952 to 2,326 in 1961, the proportionate gain by profession of faith and baptism being second largest in North America. During practically the same period eight new church buildings were acquired or constructed including a \$250,000.00 church in St. Louis, a modern stone structure in Omaha, and on May 25, 1968, the dedication of the Denver Colorado Park Hill Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Because of greater concentration of population the pattern of church school integration was not followed in St. Louis and an intermediate school was built there. In 1965 a new church building and a new elementary school building were erected in St. Louis and church homes purchased in Wichita, Kansas and Pueblo, Colorado.

There have been two memorable crusades in recent years. One was the "Contacts for Christ" program whereby laymen of St. Louis averaged 1,000 enlistments a month in Bible correspondence courses preparatory to "Voice of Prophecy" meetings. One hundred baptisms resulted. The 1964 summer Field School of Evangelism conducted by E.E. Cleveland. One-hundred-fifty were added to the Shreve Avenue Church.

On December 16, 1946, the colored constituency of the Arkansas - Louisiana, - Oklahoma - Texas and Texico Conferences were combined and organized into the Southwestern Mission. The headquarters was at 3711 Oakland Avenue, Dallas, Texas with W.W. Fordham, President, V.L. Roberts

Secretary - Treasurer and Home Missionary Secretary; J.H. Jones, Publishing Secretary; Helen Wiggins Beckett, Sabbath School Secretary. At the close of the biennial the membership was 1989.

On January 17, 1950, the Southwestern Mission constituency met in the Friendship Baptist Church in Dallas, Texas to hold its first bi-ennial session. W.W. Fordham's report was so splendid that J.C. Kazel Secretary - Treasurer of the South Western Union Conference, chairman of the meeting, took back to the Union Conference a motion to convert the organization to conference status. The officers were W.W. Fordham, President and Religious Liberty Secretary; V.L. Roberts, Secretary - Treasurer and Book and Bible House Manager and Press Secretary; C. C. Cunningham, Educational; Missionary Volunteer and Sabbath School and Temperance Secretary; and O. Dunn, assisted by his assiduous wife, publishing secretary.

Southwestern Conference Statistics 1970:

Membership 5,506, Ministers, Churches 56, Tithe \$494,354.81, Offerings \$61,264.36

In 1945, T.M. Fountain, pastor of the Ephesus Church in Washington D.C. advertised as his Sabbath morning message a question deep in the hearts of many Negro laymen, "Negro Conferences, are they of God?" Although as he was taking his text, J.H. Wagner, newly elected president of the recently organized Allegheny Conference, calmly took a seat on the rostrum Fountain did not allow the high drama of the moment to distract him but continued his theme.

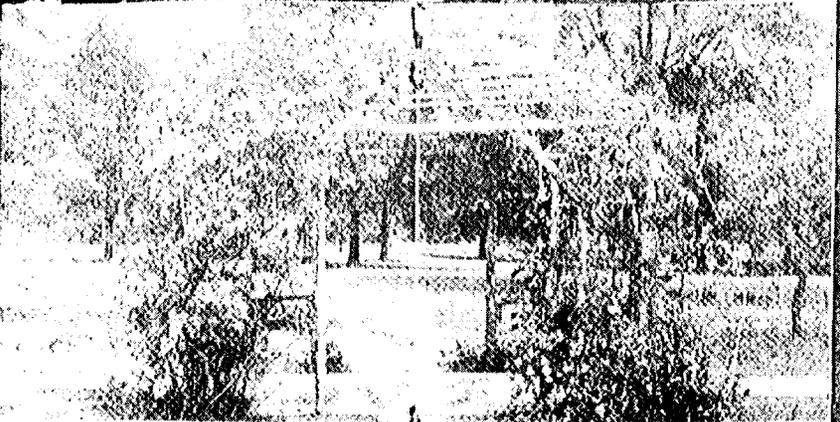
There is nothing as powerful as a great truth that has reached its maturity. The National Association for the Advancement of World - Wide Work Among Colored Seventh-Day Adventists did not ask for Negro conferences either in their original presentation or in their agenda. They asked for complete integration. The time for what the Shaefes, Manns, Humphreys, and ministerial memorials had asked for had finally come. J.T. Dodson framed it in these words to a Washington Post reporter twenty-seven years later:

They gave us our conferences instead of integration. We didn't have a choice. In the end it was better to have segregation with power, than segregation without power.

Regardless as to how one views the change from "principle of policy" to in J.T. Dodson's words, "segregation with power," the Negro work in North America has made great strides since 1944.

Negro Department Statistics, 1971:

Churches 459, Tithe \$10,499,331.09, Ingath. \$802,685.48, Members 77,517, Offering \$1,198,033.92, Local Church Funds \$5,301,399.97.



OAKWOOD JR. COLLEGE

Department of Music
presented
Dorothy Louise Coppening
in
Piano Recital for Graduation
Assisted by Professor O. A. Troy, violinist
and
Elizabeth Jackson, Soprano
Wednesday Evening, May 19, 1937
College Chapel
O. Bernard Edwards at second piano

How Do You Feel About It?

1. J.T. Dodson's statement that Regional Conferences were "segregation with Power."
2. The work among Negroes has grown. What lesson is there in this for the church?
3. Should the next logical step to be taken, Black Unions? Is it the logical step?
4. Do Negro Conference officials have anywhere to go - "upward mobility" - when conference positions end?

Project

Secure from the White Estates the pamphlet "J.K. Humphries" also "?", about the same person. What do you think he had in mind?

LIST OF REGIONAL PRESIDENTS

- Allegheny — J.H. Wagner, W.L. Cheatham, W.A. Thompson, Edward Dorsey,
- East — W.M. Starks, D.B. Simons, H.L. Cleveland, West.
- Central States — T.M. Rowe, F.L. Bland, W.W. Fordham, W.S. Lee, D.L. Crowder, S. Meyers.
- Lake Region — J.G. Dasent, T. M. Fountain, H.W. Kibble, C.E. Bradford, J.R. Wagner.
- Northeastern — L.H. Bland, H.D. Singleton, R.T. Hudson, G.R. Earle.
- Southwest Region — W.W. Fordham, H.R. Murphy, V.L. Roberts, W.J. Cleveland.
- South Atlantic — H.D. Singleton, J.H. Wagner, W.S. Banfield, R.L. Woodfork.
- South Central — H.R. Murphy, W.W. Fordham, F.L. Bland, C.E. Dudley.



DO WE STILL NEED REGIONAL (BLACK) CONFERENCES?

by Helvius L. Thompson

Matthew 28:19 "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Mark 16:15 "And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

1995 stands as a powerful, prodigious, and pivotal year for the 50-year commemoration and celebration of many important historical events that occurred in 1945.

This year marks the 50th commemoration of the end of the catastrophic Second World War on both the European theater, with the surrender of Germany in May of '45, and the Pacific theater, with the surrender of Japan in August of '45.

This year marks the sad 50th remembrance of the beginning of the atomic and nuclear age and the atomic bombing of Japan.

This year marks the 50th year celebration of the official establishment of the United Nations with its charter member-nations.

But 1995 is also a significant year of celebration for African American Seventh-day Adventists. For this year marks the 50th-year, golden anniversary of the establishment of Regional or Black Conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist Church back in 1945. At this coming General Conference Session in Utrecht, Netherlands, there will be a commemoration and a booth display of the 50-year history and progress of Regional (Black) Conferences.

And so, in light of this important milestone for Regional Conferences and with the theme of Black History month, I raise the question, Do we still need Regional or Black Conferences?

Now the question may seem absurd, unnecessary, and uncalled for, especially since there are currently nine Black Conferences that are well established in the United States and the North American Division. Only in the Pacific Union and the North Pacific Union are without Regional (Black) Conferences.

My sermonic question does not nearly have the impact or drama that it had in 1945 when Elder T.M. Fountain, then Pastor of the Ephesus S.D.A. Church in Washington D.C., who was opposed to the establishment of Regional Conferences, announced his subject one Sabbath morning, which was entitled, "Negro Conferences, Are They

Of God?" What made this moment more tense and dramatic was that when he took his text and began his sermon Elder J.H. Wagner, the newly elected President of the recently organized Black Allegheny Conference, calmly entered the sanctuary and took a seat on the rostrum.

But why would we need to examine the question or explore this issue? It is because, recently, there are voices that are questioning the need for the continued existence of Regional Conferences. Some of these voices are heard from some of our highest leaders in the General conference. And some of these voices are heard from Adventists, White and Black. Many Adventists today are embarrassed that in 1995 we still seem to be a segregated church, with Black and White conferences.

When the General Conference brethren tried to unite the racially divided church in South Africa, it was pointed out to the brethren that they still have Black and White Conferences in America.

One Black Adventist said that, "It seems strange that Martin Luther King worked all his life for integration, and Seventh-day Adventist Blacks have undone what he has accomplished and promote segregation against their White brethren."

Someone in California drew a silly cartoon that pictured a little Black boy coming home with a little white dog. When his mother saw him at the door with the white dog, she said, "Take that white dog back where you got him from, because we are in a Black Conference."

What has recently added fuel to the fire is the development in Southeastern California. A number of Black Pastors, laymen, and Black churches voted to request of the Southeastern California conference and the Pacific Union Conference to be allowed to form the first Regional (Black) Conference in California and the Pacific Union. They have met all kind of opposition from the brethren of the local, the Union, the Division, and the General Conference.

Voices Black and White have been raised condemning such an act. A few years ago, a White Adventist wrote in the Review and Herald, "A Regional Conference in the Pacific Union would be an embarrassing great leap backward for our church. We should be phasing out Regional conferences, not establishing new ones."

And that is the whole point. If it is wrong or inadvisable to establish a new Regional conference in California, then it is wrong to have Regional conferences anywhere else. Therefore, as the uncertain future of California Black Adventists hangs in the balance, and voices are being raised questioning the viability of the established Regional conferences, I think it is quite appropriate to ask, in 1995, do we still need Regional (Black)

Conferences?

First, I think it would be helpful to review how and why Regional conferences were established in the first place. The reports of early Adventist history reveals that Black people were there in the very beginning of the Adventist movement.

Negroes such as Charles Bowls, John Lewis, William Still, and William Foy not only accepted William Miller's teaching on the coming of Christ, but they also helped to preach and spread the Millerite message. Later, when Adventists embraced the Sabbath truth in New Hampshire, Adventist pioneer O. Farnsworth said that negroes were among the first believers.

Sojourner Truth, famous outspoken Negro woman Abolitionist, attended the Millerite campmeetings and was associated with many well-known Adventist pioneer leaders. It was reported that she later joined the newly-organized Seventh-day Church in Battle Creek, Michigan and was baptized by Elder Uriah Smith.

In 1886, the first Black Adventist church was formed in Edgefield Junction, Tennessee from the preaching of Elder Elbert Lane in a segregated railway station. Later, in 1901, this little church hosted the first Black Adventist campmeeting.

In 1878, a young ex-slave was baptized into the church by John Loughborough. This bright, young man was named Charles Kinney, and, after attending Heraldsburg College, he became the first African American to be ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister in 1889. Elder Kinney was the first person to suggest the concept of Regional conferences when he was confronted by efforts to segregate him and his members at campmeeting on the very day of his ordination.

By 1890, there were about 50 Black Adventists in the south. That same year, a second Black Adventist church was organized in Louisville, Kentucky by Black Evangelist A. Berry.

In 1891, Ellen White, the Prophetic Messenger, challenged the church to send missionaries to the south with her impassioned presentation to the General Conference Session, "Our Duty to the Colored People."

It was her own son Edson White who answered the call. He and Will Palmer built a steamship named "the Morning Star," and began to evangelize Black people along the banks of the Mississippi. Finally, in 1894, they landed at Vicksburg, Mississippi, where they established a school.

A third Black Adventist church was organized in Bowling Green, Kentucky in 1891, and a fourth was established by Elder Charles Kinney in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1892. The fifth Black

Adventist Church was formed in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1894.

As a result of Edson White's fruitful work and the urging of Ellen White, a school for Negroes was opened in 1896, in Huntsville, Alabama. It was named Oakwood Industrial School, and, by the 1940's, it became Oakwood College.

In 1904, the first Black Adventist church in New York City came into being. Two years later, in 1906, the first Black Adventist church in Los Angeles, California was organized, that later became the University S.D.A. Church.

By 1909, the Black work had grown to the extent that the General conference decided to organize the Negro Department, although strangely the first elected secretary was White. It was not until 1918 that the first Black man, Elder W.H. Green, was elected to head the Negro Department.

When Elder Green died suddenly on one of his trips due to overwork, Black Adventist pastors proposed to the General Conference that the Negro Department be replaced with Regional (Black) Conferences. But the White leadership would not support the concept and voted it down.

By 1910, the Black membership in the Adventist church had reached a thousand. But as the Black membership began to increase, with a more educated clergy and laity, Black adventists began to demand equality, integration, and leadership positions in the church. There were two important incidents that led directly to the establishment of Regional (Black) Conferences.

1. In 1929, Elder J.K. Humphrey, outstanding pastor of the large First Harlem S.D.A. Church in New York City, began to formulate plans for the creation of Utopia Park. This grand facility was designed to serve the needs of Black people of that area, with plans for the construction of an orphanage, a nursing home, a training school, an industrial area, and a health care facility.

The Greater New York Conference and its White president reprimanded Elder Humphrey for purchasing property without conference approval. When Elder Humphrey refused to discontinue his Utopia Park Project, he was defrocked from the Adventist ministry and his entire congregation was disfellowshipped from the conference. They later formed the United Sabbath-day Adventist Church.

Elder Humphrey was not the only Black minister who was dropped from the ministry for trying to fight for equity and expand the ministry for Black people. Elder Louis Shaefe and Elder John Manns were among many others

who left the church or were dropped from the ministry because of racism and injustice.

2. However, the main, tragic event that brought the final push for Regional conferences occurred in 1943, due to an unfortunate racial incident that happened at the Adventist Washington Sanitarium and Hospital in Takoma Park, Maryland.

Lucy Byard, a longtime Adventist member of the Linden Boulevard S.D.A. Church in Springfield Gardens, New York, became ill and was taken to the Washington Sanitarium, where she was admitted and placed in a hospital room.

However, Mrs. Byard was very light complected, being a fair mulatto. When it was discovered that she was really a negro, she was taken out of the room and wheeled into a hallway, waiting to be transferred to the Black Freedman's Hospital. Shortly, after being there, she died of pneumonia. But it was believed that her condition became worse, and may have caused her death, when she was placed in the drafty hallway of the Washington Sanitarium.

Understandably, Black Adventists were appalled and enraged. This had not been the only incident like this one at this hospital. Not only that, but Black Adventists were upset about the whole gamut of inequities in the church; the racial quotas in White Adventist schools, the policy of segregation in the dining room of the Review and Herald, the lack of employment of Black people in church institutions, and the inequity of pay for Black ministers.

However, this time they were determined to do something about it. A group of well-educated laymen formed an organization called, "the National Association of World-wide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists." Interestingly, what they demanded was not Regional Conferences, but full integration in the church. To the General Conference President, they sent three principal demands:

1. The integration of all Adventist institutions.
2. Greater Black representation at all levels of denominational administration.
3. Greater accountability from denominational leadership in regards to the financial contributions of Black people to the church.

By now, the Black Adventist membership was nearly 20,000, and the tithe base had reached over \$200,000.00.

Finally, these Black concerns were introduced at the spring council of the General Conference, held on April 8-19, 1944, in Chicago, Illinois. The General Conference President, Elder J.L. McElhenny, recognizing that integration of the Adventist Church on the scale outlined by this Black laity organization was impossible to achieve, proposed that Black conferences be organized and given jurisdiction over Black churches that were then in White dominated conferences, for increased self-determination.

Elder G.E. Peters, the Secretary of the North American Colored Department, still had to strongly urge for the endorsement and vote of the plan for Regional Conferences. At the final crucial meeting, Elder Peters had to get Elder McElhenny out of his sick bed for support of this historic decision. After it was presented, the White Lake Union President gave a speech in support of it, and the historic resolution for the establishment of Regional (Black) conferences was finally voted into being.

It authorized union committees that where colored constituency is considered to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warranted it, the Union Conference could organize separate conferences for the colored membership. These Regional conferences were to be administered by colored officers and committees.

And so, it came to pass. The Lake Region Conference was the first Regional (Black) Conference established. It was voted into being on September 26, 1944 in Chicago, Illinois, with Elder J. Gershom Dasent being elected the first President. The new Regional conference began operation in the beginning of 1945.

On October 3, 1944, the Second Regional conference was the Northeastern Conference, which became the largest Regional Conference. It was organized in New York City, with Elder Louis H. Bland being elected its first President, and it too began operation in 1945.

The Allegheny Conference became the third Regional conference organized in 1945, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Elder J.H. Wagner was elected its first President.

The South Atlantic Conference was the fourth Regional conference organized in 1945, in Atlanta, Georgia. Elder H.D. Singleton was chosen as its first President.

The fifth and last Regional conference organized between 1944 and 1945 was the South Central Conference in Nashville, Tennessee. This was the historic territory where the Black work had begun over fifty years before. Elder H.R. Murphy was elected its first President.

After only one year of the operation of Regional conferences, the Black membership had grown to over 20,000, and the Black tithe reached over a million dollars.

In 1947, the Southwest Region Conference came into being at Dallas, Texas, becoming the sixth Regional conference. Elder W.W. Fordham was elected to be its first President.

The last Regional conference organized in the 1940's was the Central States Mission in 1947, at Kansas City, Missouri. Elder T.M. Rowe was chosen to be the First President.

These seven Regional (Black) conferences continued to grow, until, in 1967, the Allegheny Conference split into two separate conferences; the Allegheny East Conference at Pine Forge, Pennsylvania, with Elder W.A. Thompson as its first President, and the Allegheny West Conference, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio and Elder Walter Starks as the first President.

Fourteen years later, in 1981, the South Atlantic Conference gave birth to a new conference as it split. The Florida area of the South Atlantic Conference became the Southeastern Conference, with headquarters in Orlando, Florida. Elder James Edgecomb became its first President.

God has indeed blessed the growth of these Regional conferences with new churches, schools, housing projects, campgrounds, and nursing homes. While some White conferences have had to merge to remain viable and financially stable because of lack of growth, two Regional conferences have split and given birth to two new conferences because of the phenomenal growth. The future is yet to reveal if there will be further Regional conference splits, or if the Pacific or North Pacific Union will establish new Regional (Black) conferences.

When Regional conferences were first organized in 1945, there were 19,008 members, and a tithe base of \$1,384,543.00. In only five years, the membership more than doubled to 44,000, and the tithe tripled to over three million dollars. At the end of 1994 the Black membership of Regional Conferences was over 220,000, and the tithe was over ninety million dollars.

African Americans in Regional Conferences give more in tithe than any World Division, with the exception of the North American Division. In the North American Division, the tithe of Regional conferences represents 19.37% of the total tithe of the Division. And this does not include the tithe of Black members in integrated churches, or the tithe of Black Churches in White or integrated conferences. In fact, Regional conferences give more tithe than eight World Divisions combined. Indeed, God has blessed the work of Regional conferences, Black churches, and Black Adventists.

However, we must come back and answer the important question, do we still need Regional conferences? Are Regional conferences still viable and valuable to the church today? Have conditions and circumstances changed enough to make Regional Conferences obsolete? Does the existence of Regional conferences diminish the portrait and prospect of a united church? In 1995, with all the improvements to try and make the church racially balanced, do we still need the Regional conferences of the 1940's?

The affirming answer is, not only do we still need them, but they provide a unique and important role and function that the church still needs. They have been signally blessed of God with tremendous growth and expansion. And it would be disastrous to destroy something that is prosperous and blessed of God. Let me list seven important reasons why Regional conferences are still relevant and needed today.

1. We still need Regional conferences because of the special posture and position of the Black Church. As long as we have the Black church and Black churches, we will need Regional conferences. A Regional (Black) conference is merely an executive, administrative extension of the Black church. Because we have a representative church government and organization, the needs, plans, and direction of the local church are delegated to the local conference administration. Regional conferences have the freedom, authority, and empowerment to organize, unify, strengthen, plan, coordinate, and give directions for advancing the mission and the ministry of the of the Black church.

The Black church has always been a haven of hope for Black people suffering from the cruel injustice of racism and the residual scars of slavery and segregation. For years, it was the only place where Black people were accepted, respected, recognized, and encouraged. It was the place of comforting fellowship and expressive celebration for them to endure the oppressive storms of hate and hardship.

The African American Church of all denominations played a significant role in the progress, advancement, and accomplishment of Black people down through the centuries. It would not be an exaggeration to say that African American culture was, to a great degree, developed and nurtured in the Black church. Social and economic solidarity was developed in the Black church. Political unity and empowerment began in the Black church. The unique art forms of Black music and the arts were developed in the Black church. Black leaders in many different fields emerged from the Black church. Even the birth of the civil and human rights movement began in the Black church with a Black preacher named Martin Luther King.

Out of the Black church came schools, hospitals, senior citizens homes, benevolent societies, welfare centers, youth centers and camps, inner city programs, housing projects, feeding programs, drug abuse programs, prison ministry, child care centers, and many other Black institutions and help centers that minister to the unique needs of the Black community. If Regional conferences are removed, what would be put in their place to direct, guide, sustain, strengthen, and coordinate the mission and ministry of Black Adventist churches? As long as we have Black churches operating in and ministering to Black communities, we will need Regional (Black) conferences.

2. We still need Regional conferences because the monster of racism is not dead, not even in the Adventist Church in 1995. Regional conferences began as a channel around racism in the church.

The emergence of the Black church was the product of exclusion and experience. Black Christians of all denominations have always desired to be included and integrated with their White brothers and sisters in the church. But they were not always admitted, welcomed, or treated as equals. There were shameful times when they were physically thrown out of White churches, such as Absalom Jones and Richard Allen of the Methodist Church, students from Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama, and yours truly in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. So, the Black Church and Regional (Black) conferences, as we have seen in its history, were born from the womb of exclusion, inequality, and experience.

In these trying times when racism is more covert than overt, the Black Church, with its Regional conference, has an important role and function of ministering to Black communities and Black people who are still suffering with the problems of systemic racism that still exists in our country. And as long as racism exists, there will be a need for the Black church and Regional conferences. Ellen White said, "Some act as if slavery had never been abolished. This spirit is growing stronger as the Spirit of God is being withdrawn from the world. ... The time has not come for us to work as if there were no prejudice" (Testimonies, Vol. 9, pp. 205, 215).

Racism has even shown its ugly head in the Adventist Church in recent times. Integrated churches have become all or predominately Black, when Whites moved away because there were either too many Black members or too many Black church officers. At La Sierra Academy, it was reported that a White Bible teacher said about the Rodney King trial in Los Angeles, that he deserved that beating by the police, because he was Black. At Southwestern Adventist College a White Associate Professor wrote in the school's paper that Black History month is a symbol of a new segregation. And there have been other racial incidents in predominately White Adventist churches and schools.

Some misguided Adventists, Black and White, have called Regional conferences "church-structured segregation." However, they fail to realize that there is a big difference between segregation and separation. Segregation is forced separation and degrading isolation. But voluntary separation is the freedom to choose or decide where you want to go and who you want to be with. Black conferences are no more segregation than your choice of which church you attend and hold membership in.

Though there are Regional conferences, there are White members in Black churches and Black members in White churches. There are Black students and teachers in predominately White Adventist colleges and White students and teachers at Oakwood College. And even more significantly, there are White churches in Black conferences and Black churches in White conferences. You have a choice. And by simply having that choice, you are not segregated by being in a Regional or predominately White conference, any more than you are segregated by joining a Black or a White church.

It would be wonderfully ideal if all Adventist churches were racially mixed and balanced without any racial, cultural, or language divisions; without any trace of racism, just as it would be wonderfully ideal if there were no sin in the church. But we do not have racially idealistic churches, with idealistic, perfect people. We do not have completely righteous churches, and neither do we have churches with a complete absence of racism.

It would also be wonderfully ideal if Adventist pastors could be assigned to churches, regardless of their race or the racial dominance of the church. Our General Conference leaders and others must recognize and understand that as long as we have Black churches that minister in Black communities and Black ghettos, and as long as we cannot move pastors around regardless of the racial composition of the church, we still need Regional (Black) conferences, and we cannot do without them. Ellen White said, "The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem. ... The time has not come for us to work as if there were no prejudice." (Testimonies, Vol. 9, pp. 214, 215)

3. Regional conferences, however, provide integration in the church on a substantive level. Regional conferences are in the same Union conference and Division as are their fellow White conferences. But the absence of Regional conferences does not insure integration. In the Pacific Union, where there are no Regional conferences, there is no more integration and fellowship between Black and White churches than there is where there are Regional conferences. Many Black Adventists in the Pacific Union have complained that the only thing that is really integrated is their money. Brotherhood, fellowship, and love is not caused by the administrative structure of the church, but by the condition of

the heart.

Integration is not fair or adequate when it occurs in an unequal, inferior, and subordinate level. That is not integration; it's tokenism. In order for integration to be fair and just, it must occur with individuals recognizing each other as equals. Just because Black people are the minority in the North American church does not mean that the majority should take advantage of the minority, to impose the will of the majority.

Just to be integrated does not have real, substantive meaning if one side is subject and controlled by the other side, without due leadership representation and voice. One veteran Black Adventist leader said, "If you put a lamb in the same room with a lion, and tell them to integrate, when you come back later, you will find that the lamb is gone, but they are integrated."

Regional conferences provide credible, elected, Black church leaders and administrators, who can sit at the same table with the same authority as White church leaders. Black church leaders can represent and speak on issues for their Black churches and Black constituents at church councils. They can request funds for evangelistic and educational programs for their conferences. If Regional conferences did not exist, there could be no elected Black leaders to solely represent Black churches and Black people. Hence the Black Adventist work would be leaderless.

In fact, more than 90% of all Black Administrative leaders in the Adventist Church, on the local conference, union, Division, and General Conference levels, are products of Regional conferences. This is where they had the opportunity and privilege to hone their skills in administrative leadership. They would not be where they are, if it had not been for the opportunity to be an administrator, a conference departmental director, a conference treasurer, or a conference president. If they were in a predominately White or integrated conference, they would not have the same number of opportunities.

4. We need Regional conferences with the freedom of self determination. Self determination allows Black Adventists to focus on the needs and problems of African Americans living in poverty, crime, and racism. Self determination allows for Black Adventists to manage and control the financial resources of Black churches, which determines the direction of ministry, and allows them the opportunity to direct their own future, progress, and growth. This gives Black Adventists a greater ownership and voice in the Adventist Church. It provides more employment opportunities for Black Adventists in the church. And most importantly, it initiates programs to meet the needs of Black youth, who must deal with the vices of their inner-city environment.

The freedom of self determination gives Regional conferences the united ability to support Black institutions of the church, and develop new ones that can aid in the ministry to Black people. Oakwood College, Message Magazine, and the Breath-of-Life Telecast have proven to be invaluable assets to the Educational, youth ministry, and evangelistic outreach of the Black church. Without Regional conferences, the support, strength, and maintenance of these historic Black institutions would be minimal or non-existent.

5. Regional conferences reflect what the Apostle Paul calls "unity in diversity." He declared in I Corinthians 12:1,4-7,

"Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are DIFFERENCES OF ADMINISTRATION, but the same Lord. And there are DIVERSITIES OF OPERATIONS, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal."

In this profound passage, the Apostle Paul establishes the Divine principle of unity in diversity. He first confirms the fact that there is a oneness of unity in the Lord's Church. It is a oneness of the Spirit; a oneness of the word; a oneness in Christ. This oneness is the essential unity of the church. But there is diversity in this unity and variation in this oneness. There can be differences without disunity and variety without variance. The unified body can have connected divisions and still be unified.

Paul has established here a case for church organization that allows for different administrations and different operations in the church, to achieve the same mission and purpose of fulfilling the Gospel commission of Christ. The ministry of Black churches and Regional conferences reflect this difference of administration, variety of ministry, and diversity of operation that is still within the unity and oneness of the church.

Many believe that Regional conferences bring unnecessary separation. But Regional Conferences are not separation from the main body of the church. They are merely an important extension of the church. They do not reflect a distinct disconnection from the unity of the church. Regional conferences embody that difference of administration and diversity of ministry given by the Holy Spirit, as outlined by the Apostle Paul.

Unity does not mean uniformity. God has given a diversity of gifts and differences of administrations for the spreading of the Gospel and the unity of the church. This unity in diversity is

often seen in nature. For example, the beautiful glory of rainbow is a united band of different colors of light. Each different color adds variety and diversity to the unity of the rainbow.

The Bible has many examples of this principle of unity in diversity. The Godhead is composed of three Divine, distinct personages; Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and these Three are one. God established Israel as twelve distinct tribes that formed one united nation. Jesus chose twelve disciples as the foundation of His church. The early Christian Church chose seven deacons to assist the Apostles with a unique ministry for the church. Even in heaven, we will see this unity in diversity. There are twelve gates to the Heavenly city. The Tree of Life bears twelve different kinds of fruits. God has created and ordained this principle of unity in diversity as a part of His perfect will. It operates in the church as His way of making sure that the Gospel reaches all people.

6. Finally, the greatest reason why we still need Regional (Black) conferences is because of God's plan for effective, world evangelism. It is a plan to reach all the different nations, tongues, races, and peoples of the earth with the saving Gospel of Jesus Christ. However, it is the plan of God for every race, every tongue, and every people to primarily work to reach their own people, race, or tongue with the Gospel.

The Apostle Paul said in Romans 1:16,

"For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the JEW FIRST, and also the Greek."

Now the Apostle Paul was the Apostle sent to the Gentiles. But Paul said that the gospel should go to the Jew first. Why did he say to the Jew first, when he was the Apostle to the Gentiles? It was because he was a Jew. And though he was the Apostle to the Gentiles, He was still deeply concerned about his own race and people receiving the gospel first. He was first concerned about his own people and his own race. Paul is implying here that we should all be concerned about our own people and race receiving the gospel from us first.

Even our Lord Jesus had this same perspective and purpose. It says of Him in John 1:11,

"He came to HIS OWN, and His own received Him not."

When our Lord came to this world, He came to His own people. He was born a Jew, in a little Jewish village, to Jewish parents, and ministered, for the most part, to Jewish people. And even though

they rejected Him, He still came to His own and was identified with them. If Jesus went to His own to minister, then we should go to our own with the saving gospel of Christ.

Christ even gave the early church a specific, priority plan for world evangelism. He said in Acts 1:8,

"But ye shall receive power, after the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in JERUSALEM, and in all JUDEA, and in SAMARIA, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."

Notice that Christ instructed His followers to begin their evangelistic activities in Jerusalem, not in China or India or Africa. Start at home first, with your own people. Then go to nearby Judea, and keep working with your Jewish brethren. And only after you have evangelized your own Jewish people in Jerusalem and Judea, then cross the tracks and go over to Samaria and witness to those of a different race and ethnic identity. Then, finally, go to every part of the earth and preach to all the people of the earth. But first start with your own race and people.

This is the plan and procedure that Christ has outlined for the spreading of the gospel to all the world. This is the same plan for the Adventist church to follow, whether we be Black or White; Red, Brown, or Yellow; Negro, Caucasian, Hispanic, or Oriental. Start to evangelize your own people first; start with your own kindred and race; start with your own family and friends; start with your own!

I believe the wise admonition of Ellen White, the Inspired Messenger to the church, still applies today, when she said,

"Let the colored people work chiefly for those of their own race.

Let our colored brethren and sisters devote themselves to missionary work among the colored people.

Let colored workers labor for their people.
Let each company be zealous to do genuine missionary work for its own people."
(Testimonies, Vol. 9, pp. 206, 199, 210)

In Mark 5:1-19, there is the remarkable story of Jesus casting out the demons from a possessed man among the tombs. On the morning after Christ and His disciples had crossed the Sea of Galilee, having come through a shattering storm that was calmed by the Master, a demon-possessed man rushed frantically upon them, screaming and shrieking, with broken chains on his arms and legs.

The fearful disciples ran from him like little, frightened children before a barking dog. But Jesus stood calmly, unmoved before this menacing madman. With commanding power, He cast out the demons and set the demoniac free. After the man had been set peacefully in his right mind, he bowed humbly before the Lord, thanking Him for his demonic release and complete restoration.

Then he made an unusual request of Jesus. He said, "Lord, you mean so much to me that I want to go wherever you go and be with you all the time. I want to witness the miracles of your ministry and hear your message of truth. I want to be one of your disciples. Since you already have twelve disciples, Lord let me be your thirteenth disciple?" Jesus looked him in the eye and said, "No, I don't want you to go with me. I love you and would like to have you with me. I would be happy to have you as my thirteenth disciple, but I have something bigger and better I need you to do for me. What I need you to do is to,

"Go home to thy friends and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee." (Mark 5:19)

Jesus was saying to him, "I want you to go home to your own people; go back to your own race; find the people of your own ethnic heritage and tell them what great things I have done for you. Show them that you are now clothed in your right mind. Let them see that you are now drug-free, alcohol-free, and crime-free. Let them see that you are now cleansed, changed, and converted. Let them see what a wonderful change in your life has been wrought, since Jesus came into your heart. Let them see that you belong to Me, and even though you will not be with Me physically, you will still be following Me. Don't worry about being with Me; just go back and witness about Me to your own people, and I will be with you. Son, go home to your own people."

Until we have done the job of taking the gospel to our own people, we need the Black church, Black schools, Black church institutions. We need Oakwood College, the Message Magazine, and the Breath-of-Life, and we need Regional conferences. We need them all, until we have made an impact with our own people. There are too many Black people who are in darkness, looking for the light. There are too many in error, who are looking for the truth. There are too many trapped in sin, who are looking for salvation. We must lead them to Jesus before time ends.

But the good news is, before the end comes, God's people will be united, and there will be no racial or ethnic barriers. The Inspired Messenger said about the near future of race relations in the church, "When the Holy Spirit is poured out, there will be a triumph of humanity over prejudice in seeking the salvation of the souls of human beings. God will control minds. Human hearts will

love as Christ loved. And the color line will be regarded by many very differently from the way in which it is now regarded." (Testimonies, Vol. 9, p. 209)

One day, when the latter rain falls and the saints of God are sealed with the seal of the living God, it will not matter what race or color we are. Then, we will all love one another, share with each other, and care for each other as Christ loves and cares for us all. And when persecution breaks out upon the church, all racial barriers will fall and the church will be perfected. Then Christ will gather and unite His people, and they will be without spot, wrinkle, or blemish, but holy and blameless before God, ready for translation to heaven.

But until then, God is calling for us to finish His work in the world and hasten His coming. I wonder can He count on you and me, to go to our own, minister to our own, and reach them with the saving gospel of a dying, risen, and soon-coming Saviour before the final end? If we will start with our own, He will empower and equip us to carry the gospel to all races, all nations, all tongues, and all people, and Christ will come.

Separate Conferences— A Road to Fellowship

For America in the early 1940s, the news seemed all bad. At Pearl Harbor the Pacific fleet had been severely crippled, and Wake Island and Guam had fallen to the Japanese. Then came the agonizing defeat of U.S. forces in the Philippines.

On the domestic front, black districts in the large cities were seething with discontent six months before the Pearl Harbor attack. This was reflected by outspoken statements of ordinarily conservative black leaders, by editorials in the Negro press, and by inflammatory letters to the editors. Political observers were manifestly worried, fearing the resentment would burst into a social holocaust, perhaps to rival any ghetto riot the nation had known.

Typical of the anguished editorials was this statement in Harlem's *Amsterdam-Star News*:

"Where there was once tolerance and acceptance of a position believed to be gradually changing for the better, now the Negro is showing a 'democratic upsurge of rebellion,' bordering on open hostility."

This unrest had been brought to a head by, among other things,

the frustration blacks experienced when they were routinely denied jobs in defense industries. One million and more Negroes were unemployed—but no longer did the black man have the cold comfort of the Depression, when white men too were unemployed. His had become a black fate. According to the 1940 census, there were 5,389,000 blacks in the labor force, 3,582,000 of whom were men. A government survey found that of 29,215 employees in ten war plants in the New York area, only 142 were blacks.¹ In fifty-six war-contract factories in St. Louis, each employed an average of three blacks. Outside the National Youth Administration and Works Progress Administration programs, there were practically no provisions for blacks in the program of defense-employment training, despite the need for manpower and the increasing number of blacks on the WPA rolls. The United States Employment Service sent out an inquiry to a selected number of defense industries seeking information about the number of job openings and whether they would employ blacks. More than 50 percent stated flatly that they would not. In Texas, of 17,435 defense jobs, 9,117 were barred to blacks—and in Michigan the figure was 22,042 out of 26,904. Moreover, contrary to the assumption that blacks were barred only when they sought skilled work, no less than thirty-five thousand out of eighty-three thousand unskilled jobs were declared closed to black applicants.

Against this national backdrop of discrimination—with blacks being shuttled between employer and union, each claiming that the other discriminated—an unfortunate racial incident occurred at an Adventist hospital in Takoma Park, Maryland. Lucy Byard, a gravely ill black woman and a longtime Adventist from Brooklyn, New York, was brought to the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital (now Washington Adventist Hospital) for treatment. Fair-skinned, at first she was admitted, but later when admittance forms were scrutinized and her racial identity discovered, she was told a mistake had been made. Without examination or treatment she was wheeled out into the corridor and transferred across the State line to Freedmen's

Hospital, where she later died of pneumonia. This incident, along with another similar case where no death was involved, stirred the black constituency in Washington to demand that the General Conference act to ensure that such discriminatory and inhumane treatment of blacks would not occur again. Not only were black members concerned about admittance to hospitals, but the whole question of quotas in schools, lack of employment in church institutions, and a general absence of solicitude for them in the church were subjects of their protest. Press and pulpit played decisive roles, whipping up sentiment in their favor.

As an outcome, a group of laymen from Ephesus church (now Du Pont church, in Washington, D.C.) met Saturday night, October 16, 1943, in the back room of Joseph Dodson's bookstore and hastily organized the National Association for the Advancement of Worldwide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists. Joseph Dodson was elected as chairman and Alma J. Scott as vice-chairman. To arouse black members throughout the country, they made telephone calls and, after a quick printing of stationery, dispatched scores of letters. John H. Wagner, secretary of the colored department in the Columbia Union, acted as adviser. The group asked the General Conference president, J. Lamar McElhany, to act immediately in addressing the issue of separate conferences for blacks. In the hope of preserving unity in the church, McElhany introduced the issue at the General Conference Committee's Spring Council held April 8-19, 1944, in Chicago.

At the hour appointed for the crucial session, McElhany was in his hotel room, sick in bed. When he did not appear as scheduled, George E. Peters, spokesman for the black membership, arranged to delay the meeting while he talked with the president in his room. In spite of McElhany's illness, Peters urged him to get out of bed and make his appearance before the committee. Peters warned that it would be disastrous to fail the black constituency at such a crucial moment. He also convinced McElhany that the black conference idea

would be more acceptable to all—black and white—if it came from him. On the other hand, Peters said, if no solution to the problem emerged from this Spring Council, he didn't see how McElhany "could ever face the colored constituency again," and he was sure that he, George E. Peters, never would.³

Of all speeches made by white leaders in attendance that year, McElhany's statement represented perhaps the most forthright on the issue of separate conferences for blacks: "To me it is wonderful to see that the colored have large churches efficiently led and directed by colored men. We have some colored churches with more members than we have in some conferences. I think our colored men do a very good job. This gives me confidence in their being leaders. To say that a man could be a pastor of a thousand membership [church] but couldn't direct a thousand membership if they were divided into conferences seems to me to be inconsistent in reasoning."³

Understandably, there were many fears associated with the introduction of a second church administration within the same geographic territory. Only the chief officer could allay those fears. McElhany's speech was followed by a strong supporting speech by Jay J. Nethery, Lake Union president, and the historic resolution passed. It authorized union committees "when the colored constituency is considered . . . to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant" the organization of separate conferences for the black membership. These conferences were to be administered by black officers and committees.⁴

The plans were referred to the respective fields whose delegates composed the general meeting, and in a majority of cases the constituencies agreed to accept the decision recommended by Spring Council leaders. Plans were modified in the Pacific Union because local black leaders felt regional conferences would not be acceptable to the membership in the Far West. The Pacific Union was thus the only union with large black congregations that did not organize a separate administration for its minority membership.

Although it took the church nearly thirty years to accumulate three thousand black members, it took less than four years after reorganization to show an increase of more than 3,500 additional members. From 1944 to 1982 approximately 120,000 black American converts entered the Adventist Church by baptism or profession of faith.⁵

The *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, referring to the Regional Conference success story, commented that this separate administration, "though church leaders admit it is not ideal, has been responsible for an evangelistic penetration into the Negro community that had not been possible under the organization that formerly administered the work among the nation's Negro membership. The Regional conferences also have created more opportunities for leadership and other participation by gifted and trained Negro young people of the church, whose selection in the same or similar capacities had not worked out in the years prior to the formation of the Regional conferences. Another practical result has been that colored members of the SDA Church have been more readily and more naturally represented in elected offices and on boards and committees outside the Regional conferences than appears to have been true formerly."⁶

The idea of a separate church jurisdiction composed exclusively of black converts within the territory of a predominantly white membership, was not new. Charles M. Kinny, the first black minister to be ordained in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, when confronted by efforts to segregate him and his members at camp meeting on the day of his ordination, suggested the black conference as a solution to this embarrassing encounter. The year was 1889, and Robert M. Kilgore, leader of the Southern district, had officiated in the ordination ceremony, which he said set aside Kinny "to the work of the ministry among his own people."⁷

In a report to the *Review and Herald* Kilgore noted that the camp meeting had not been as well attended as he had expected. He gave

several reasons for the poor turnout, but the main cause centered upon objections to the presence of black worshipers: "Another reason offered was the race question (the mingling of the colored brethren and sisters with those on the ground), the prejudices of the people keeping many away."⁸

Kilgore suggested at a workers' meeting at the camp that blacks be separated from the rest of the audience. Kinny responded that such an arrangement "in the general meetings would have a tendency to destroy the unity of the third angel's message." He further declared the proposal to be one "of great embarrassment and humiliation."⁹

Anxious that his members and future converts "not be driven from the truth" by an unofficial position of the church on this question, Kinny discussed the matter at length with Kilgore and those gathered for the workers' meeting. Declaring his faith that the Advent message could remove all prejudice, Kinny, perhaps foreseeing the inevitable, made this recommendation, among others:

"Until there is enough to form a conference of colored people, let the colored churches, companies, or individuals pay their tithes and other contributions to the regular state officers, . . . that when colored conferences are formed, they bear the same relation to the General Conference that white conferences do."¹⁰

Stirred by the provocative discussions and uneasy because Adventists had no definitive position on race relations, Kilgore brought the issue before the General Conference Committee in 1890 and led out in a resolution to establish a policy of segregated churches.

Ellen White chose what she considered to be the best platform to comment on this questionable arrangement. In 1891 she issued her appeal entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People," referred to in chapter 3. In this appeal she made reference to the 1889 meeting and the matter that she said had been presented to her a year before "as if written with a pen of fire."¹¹ She gave these reasons for opposing the plan of action voted by church leaders:

“At the General Conference of 1889, resolutions were presented in regard to the color line. Such action is not called for. Let not men take the place of God, but stand aside in awe, and let God work upon human hearts, both white and black, in His own way. . . . We need not prescribe a definite plan of working. Leave an opportunity for God to do something. We should be careful not to strengthen prejudices that ought to have died just as soon as Christ redeemed the soul from the bondage of sin. . . .

“We need not expect that all will be accomplished in the South that God would do until in our missionary efforts we place this question on the ground of principle, and let those who accept the truth be educated to be Bible Christians. . . . You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. . . . They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. . . .

“Is it not time for us to live so fully in the light of God’s countenance that we who receive so many favors and blessings from Him may know how to treat those less favored, not working from the world’s standpoint, but from the Bible standpoint? . . . Is it not here that our influence should be brought to bear against the customs and practices of the world?”¹²

“Men have thought it necessary to plan in such a way as to meet the prejudice of the white people; and a wall of separation in religious worship has been built up between the colored people and the white people.”¹³

About this time there was beginning in the South a resurgence of racial antagonism that quickly spread across the nation. C. Vann Woodward, commenting on this phenomenon, wrote: “At the dawn of the new century the wave of Southern racism came in as a swell upon amounting tide of national sentiment and was very much a part of that sentiment.”¹⁴

The black citizen was being systematically disenfranchised throughout the country, but by 1908 the hatred and violence had

swollen to fever pitch. Booker T. Washington reported that year that within a sixty-day period twenty-five blacks had been lynched in the United States. Ellen White wrote words of caution calculated to save white Adventists from the raids of night riders and black members from Klan lynchings. Compared to her earlier statements it seemed an about-face position:

“In regard to white and colored people worshipping in the same building, this cannot be followed as a general custom with profit to either party—especially in the South. The best thing will be to provide the colored people who accept the truth, with places of worship of their own, in which they can carry on their services by themselves. That is particularly necessary in the South in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hindrance.”¹⁵

This drastic turnaround was partly a result of her awareness of the tense racial climate that existed and that threatened to get worse for the newly emancipated Negro. In 1898 Edson White had organized the Southern Missionary Society, with headquarters first in Yazoo City and then in Nashville. By 1902 it was necessary to replace white teachers with black teachers in the schools he had established. That Mrs. White and other Adventist leaders were sensitive to this situation is clear from a publication by the church’s Pacific Press entitled *An Agitation and an Opportunity*, in which the author describes how God was “staying the progress of the ‘reactionary movement’” in the South that the Adventist message might be presented to the vast population of blacks. The writer fully expected this “reactionary movement” to take “complete control” of the Negro’s destiny, thrusting him back into bondage. He refers to a threatened “semislavery,” and it was no doubt out of such a pervading attitude of urgency and expediency that Mrs. White gave her counsel of separate work “until the Lord shows us a better way.”¹⁶

In his book *Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations*, Ron Graybill

makes a case for the wisdom of Mrs. White's counsel offered in the midst of an unprecedented upsurge in racial hostility. He shows a correlation between the rise of racist violence and the necessity for prudence in approaching the work in the South. Graybill also points out that the year 1895, the very year James Edson White arrived in Vicksburg, Mississippi, was the year of Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition speech. Washington and Mrs. White both died in 1915, ending what Graybill has called an era of compromise against a backdrop of overwhelming bigotry and violence.¹⁷

In 1895 Booker T. Washington was winning the heart of white America, and as far as this majority group was concerned, he spoke for black America when he said: "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremists' folly and that progress and the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing."¹⁸

Commenting on this speech, Dr. Rayford W. Logan wrote some years afterward: "The national fame that Washington achieved overnight by his Atlanta speech constitutes an excellent yardstick for measuring the victory of the 'new South' since he accepted a subordinate place for Negroes in American life."¹⁹

While Washington was giving his Atlanta speech Ellen White was putting together material for volume 9 of *Testimonies for the Church*. Her words suggest a plaintive cry for God's special guidance through that trying period: "Let the colored believers be provided with neat, tasteful houses of worship. Let them be shown that this is done not to exclude them from worshiping with white people, because they are black, but in order that the progress of the truth may be advanced. Let them understand that this plan is to be followed *until the Lord shows us a better way.*"²⁰

Another event that brought the black conference idea to the forefront was the Utopian Park affair, involving James K. Humphrey, pastor of First Harlem church, in New York City. In seeking relief for

those of his members who were old and infirm and had no place to go, he began to formulate a benevolent association to provide health, educational, and recreational facilities. In order to finance "Utopia Park," Humphrey proposed to sell lots to any black person "of good moral standing." The Greater New York Conference president, Louis K. Dickson, apparently unaware of the pressures to which Humphrey was subjected, had called him to task for making a purchase of property for this purpose without conference approval.

The matter reached a serious impasse when Humphrey applied at the city public welfare office for special Ingathering solicitation permits. When municipal authorities questioned Dickson about the project Humphrey was promoting, he had to confess ignorance. Later, when Dickson approached Humphrey about the matter, the latter thanked the president for his "kindly interest" and "desire to cooperate in this good work," but he said Utopia Park was "not a denominational effort" and was "absolutely a problem for the colored people." That was as much information as he chose to give.

Dickson interpreted this as an act of insubordination and summoned Humphrey to appear before the local conference committee, and eventually before the union committee, to defend his actions. When Humphrey failed to appear before them, the union committee counseled Greater New York Conference "to revoke his credentials until such time as he shall straighten out this situation in a way that will remove the reproach that his course has brought upon the cause." Within four days Humphrey was told he could no longer serve as pastor of First Harlem church and that his membership on local and union conference committees had been revoked.

The Harlem congregation, however, stood almost solidly behind Humphrey. Dickson then sought the help of General Conference president W. A. Spicer. The two attended a business meeting at Harlem First church to explain the pastor's dismissal. One witness who was present at the stormy five-hour session said the presence of white leaders, appearing in what many took to be an adversary role,

nearly precipitated a riot.

Prior to this confrontation, a member of Humphrey's church had inquired at the Greater New York Conference office about securing a title to the church property. Dickson is said to have told him that by policy the local church did not own property. When this was reported at Harlem First church, a local elder stated they would fight for their deed through the courts, and if they failed there, they would burn the building down! At some point Humphrey proposed the organization of separate conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, but the idea was turned down.

Eventually the Greater New York Conference committee voted to drop the First Harlem congregation from its fellowship of churches. Humphrey proceeded to organize his congregation into what he called the United Sabbath Day Adventist Church. Although Humphrey died out of the church, there are reports that he came back to apologize for his earlier actions. However, when he talked of rejoining the Seventh-day Adventists, leaders in his offshoot movement threatened to withdraw monthly retirement benefits, which would, presumably, have left him without financial support.

Since the Adventist Church was made up largely of white people from mainline denominations where blacks traditionally had been denied membership, and since most white communicants appeared to be comfortable with a segregated worship, its congregations were not likely to be greatly different from other religious groups in regard to the color line. H. Richard Niebuhr, on the religion faculty at Harvard University, at one time addressed the question of segregated churches in America. He concluded that his own research had pointed to a certain pattern: "Complete fellowship without any racial discriminations has been very rare in the history of American Christianity. It has existed only where the number of Negroes belonging to the church was exceptionally small in proportion to the total membership, where the cultural status of the racial groups in the church was essentially similar, or where, as among some Quakers,

racial consciousness was consciously overcome."²¹

Niebuhr also discussed a church situation that in many respects paralleled the difficulty faced earlier by black members in the Adventist Church. One primary factor in any integration, he said, was "equal privileges of participation in the government of the particular unit of church organization."²² Since in 1944 Adventist leaders were not disposed either to "consciously overcome" racial consciousness—in light of what seemed to be a hopelessly segregated society—or to provide "equal privileges of participation in the government," it was clearly necessary for black communicants to take the route of separate conferences. Therefore, at its 1944 Spring Meeting, held in Chicago's Stevens Hotel, the General Conference Committee formally voted approval of this new and distinct governing entity.

LAKE REGION CONFERENCE

Lake Region, formally organized September 26, 1944, was the first regional conference to be set up. Today it comprises Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. In 1982 its membership stood at 16,784, with sixty-six churches, fifty-one ministers, seven Bible instructors, and eighteen literature evangelists. All conferences in the Lake Union, except Lake Region, date their beginnings back more than a hundred years, with the oldest having been established in 1861, the year the Civil War began. Yet Lake Region, after only thirty-seven years of existence, is the second-largest conference in the union and shows the fastest rate of growth in the area. Its first president was J. Gershom Dasent, for years a successful pastor and State evangelist in the Southwest. Fred N. Crowe was installed as the first treasurer; Walter J. Kisack, educational and youth director; J. E. Johnson, home missionary and Sabbath school; and Virgil Gibbons, publishing director. L. B. Baker took over Book and Bible House responsibilities.

Their campground at Cassopolis, Michigan, intended first as the

site of a boarding academy, has been a gathering point almost year-round for conference events, including a large annual camp meeting. Lake Region fosters one housing project in East Chicago Heights and another in Detroit, and a hospital in Southside Chicago.

Charles Joseph, elected to the presidency in 1977, is a native of Birmingham, Alabama, and an Oakwood graduate. He holds a Master of Divinity degree from Andrews University and a Doctor of Ministry degree from Vanderbilt University. The secretary is Richard E. Brown, a native of Kansas City, Missouri, and also an Oakwood graduate. The treasurer is Dennis Keith, formerly a missionary to Africa and Korea and more recently an auditor with the General Conference Treasury Department.

Sabbath school director and personal ministries director is James Wray. The educational director is R. D. Barnes; youth, Conrad L. Gill; stewardship, Samuel Flagg; and communication and trust services, Harold L. Lindsey.

Thomas M. Fountain, an intense and provocative revivalist, served as president for two years. He was followed by Harvey W. Kibble, who carried the banner forward for ten years, evangelizing and building churches.

Charles E. Bradford, at the helm for nine years, came from New York to lead the conference in 1961. He demonstrated wise church management, focusing on select goals and objectives. Membership grew, the campground was upgraded to receive larger annual crowds, and education and publishing efforts were given a new emphasis.

Jesse R. Wagner, elected in 1970, brought to the office a remarkable sense of organization and detail. His conference reports demonstrated executive planning and good taste, and he received excellent cooperation from the churches and their pastors. His ministry was cut short by sudden death in the summer of 1977. The camp, which he greatly improved, is named in his honor.

In a two-month period during 1982, Lake Region's literature

evangelists sold more than \$250,000 worth of small books and magazines. Under the leadership of T. S. Barber, conference publishing director, and Mrs. Barber, a new church of seventy-two members was established in Champaign, Illinois, as a result of the small-literature program. In his publishing rallies involving church school children, Barber reported one 6-year-old who delivered more than \$2,000 worth of literature over a ten-week period.

In 1979 the Shiloh Academy administration, told by Chicago's board of accreditation that its physical facility would have to be totally renovated or a new building erected, was on the horns of a serious dilemma. Renovation costs alone would exceed \$2 million, and the school property would still fall short of required playground and parking space.

Three years later an almost miraculous development provided Shiloh Academy with a practically new building having a market value of \$5.2 million and a replacement value of \$10 million. Kitchen equipment already installed was estimated at \$250,000. Some twenty-four acres of housing development, sponsored by Lake Region, had made possible the amortization of a building that could easily be altered to meet the needs of Shiloh Academy.

The tithe reported by Lake Region Conference for 1981 stood at \$3,939,469, and baptisms for that year totaled 1,056.

NORTHEASTERN CONFERENCE

After thirty-seven years of intensive evangelism, Northeastern is the largest conference in the Atlantic Union and one of the five largest conferences in the North American Division. Its membership of about twenty-five thousand exceeds the combined total of all other conferences in the northeastern corridor, historic cradle of nineteenth-century Adventism. Three of the other conferences have been organized for more than a hundred years, and the remaining two have functioned for more than eighty years.

Comprising the States of New York, Connecticut, Maine, New

Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont, Northeastern owns a modern office building on a main thoroughfare of St. Albans, New York. The new structure has been the subject of wide acclaim from neighborhood clubs, and the conference received an award of excellence from the local chamber of commerce. Organized in 1945 with 2,400 members, it had a 1982 tally of 24,042 in seventy-nine congregations. There were eighty-four ministers, 123 teachers, and twelve literature evangelists in the field. The conference has four churches of Spanish-speaking communicants and five congregations composed of French-speaking members. Northeastern Academy, a continuation of the old Harlem Academy, has an enrollment of 230, with sixteen teachers besides custodial staff and other personnel. The academy is housed in a fully equipped building on 179th Street.

On October 3, 1944, the black constituency meeting in New York City elected Louis H. Bland as its first president; Lionel H. Irons, secretary-treasurer; Jonathan E. Roache, director for the educational and youth departments; and James J. North, director of home missionary and Sabbath school departments.

Commencing its operations January 1, 1945, the conference occupied temporary quarters on 127th Street until it could purchase a building at 560 West 150th Street. This former church and parish office thereafter housed the conference staff, book center, church school, and a newly organized congregation known as City Tabernacle.

When L. H. Bland died in 1953 he was succeeded by H. D. Singleton. The latter served as president until 1962, when he was called to the General Conference as director of the North American Regional Department. During this period V. L. Roberts and F. L. Jones served as secretary-treasurer. Evangelism was strongly promoted.

Membership at the close of 1945 was 2,468, with a working force of twenty-one, plus twenty-seven literature evangelists. At the close of 1961 it was 7,179, with a working force of approximately forty-five. In

1952 there were 163 baptisms; in 1973 there were 1,437. From 1963 to 1973 membership doubled, from 8,097 to 16,328, and statistics seemed to build dramatically every year.

George R. Earle, an Oakwood graduate, president since 1966, has spent nearly all his ministerial career in New York and New England. He understands the people, and his evangelistic preaching to large audiences has met with outstanding success. Earle succeeded R. T. Hudson, a pastor-evangelist who for many years served congregations in Washington, D.C.; Cleveland, Ohio; and New York City. His ministry in Ephesus church reached many important people, including foreign diplomats who frequented his Sunday night meetings. The secretary, H. W. Baptiste, has also spent many years in the New York area. Stennett Brooks, treasurer since 1962, is a graduate of Oakwood College, with most of his undergraduate education at West Indies College in Jamaica. Present departmental leaders are Lee A. Paschal, communication; Sandra Herndon, education; Samuel W. Stovall, health; Clarence Richardson, publishing; R. L. Lister, personal ministries; James P. Willis, Sabbath school and religious liberty; and Leonard G. Newton, stewardship and development. Northeastern reported a tithe for 1981 of \$7,662,809 and 1,585 baptisms.

ALLEGHENY EAST CONFERENCE

Allegheny Conference, begun in the rear of a bookstore near Howard University, was reorganized in 1966 (effective January 1, 1967) to form Allegheny East and Allegheny West. In 1982 the two conferences represented one third the total membership of Columbia Union. In less than fifteen years Allegheny East Conference has added enough members to bring its total to the 1967 predivision figure.

The conference includes part of Pennsylvania, all of New Jersey, all of Delaware, most of Maryland, the District of Columbia, and eastern Virginia. With offices at Pine Forge, Pennsylvania, the

organization continues its operation in most major cities of the original Allegheny Conference. Its 1982 membership was 15,276; there were sixty-nine congregations with forty-four ministers and eleven Bible instructors. Tithe reported for 1981 was \$4,976,152, and there were 966 baptisms.

Pine Forge, the conference academy, begun two years after office quarters were established, has an enrollment of 135, with seventeen faculty and staff members. Facilities of the institution are used for annual Pathfinder and youth camps, as well as for summer camp meetings.

Meade C. Van Putten, conference president, is the son of an Adventist minister whose career was spent largely in Barbados and the Virgin Islands. Van Putten is a graduate of Andrews University, having acquired his early education in Caribbean Island schools. He served as treasurer of Lake Region Conference and Allegheny East Conference before his election to the presidency. The conference secretary is Paul Cantrell, Jr., and the treasurer is Bennie W. Mann. Departmental leaders include Ulysses L. Willis, Sabbath school; Alfred R. Jones, personal ministries; Daniel L. Davis, youth; Robert Booker, education; Noah Beasley, publishing; Harold Lee, stewardship; and Roland Newman, trust services.

The administration at Pine Forge began with John H. Wagner as president and James L. Moran as secretary-treasurer. Associated with him was a staff of departmental leaders, all new to their jobs but all eager to establish records in their respective fields. The publishing department, under Howard D. Warner, took to the streets with such zest that shortly its sales amounted to more than all the other conferences in the union combined.

Other departmental leaders were William R. Robinson, director of lay activities and Sabbath school; Jacob Justiss, educational and youth; and Gertrude Jones, Book and Bible House. William L. Cheatham followed as president of Allegheny; he was the one who recommended the division of the conference. W. Albert Thompson

was the first president of the new Allegheny East, succeeded by Edward Dorsey, Luther R. Palmer, Jr., and Meade C. Van Putten.

ALLEGHENY WEST CONFERENCE

Claiming a membership well over ten thousand, Allegheny West, even with a late start, is the fourth-largest conference in Columbia Union. This conference covers Ohio, western Pennsylvania, part of Maryland, part of Virginia, and the entire State of West Virginia. It was organized in 1967 at Columbus, Ohio, with Walter M. Starks as president and Aaron N. Brogden as secretary-treasurer. A. T. Westney directed education and youth; Donald B. Simons, Sabbath school and lay activities; and Henry S. Freeman, publishing.

Within a short time Starks was elected director of the new stewardship department in the General Conference, and Donald B. Simons was chosen to succeed him as conference president. Thus a major share of organizational details in setting up the new conference fell to Simons. Membership in 1982 was 18,703 in forty-four congregations, served by twenty-four ministers, two Bible instructors, thirteen teachers, and forty-seven literature evangelists. Tithe reported for 1981 was \$2,438,905, and for that year there were 540 baptisms. In an arrangement with the Ohio Conference, Allegheny West uses its camp facilities and the Mount Vernon Academy cafeteria and dormitory accommodations for summer camp meetings.

Harold L. Cleveland, conference president from 1972 to 1983, is a native of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and a graduate of Oakwood College. As a pastor and evangelist, he held large campaigns in Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia, and in Cleveland, Ohio, before assuming his duties with Allegheny West. The current president, Henry Wright, was an associate professor of religion at Oakwood College. K. S. Smallwood is the secretary, and W. G. McDonald is treasurer.

Departmental leaders include Walter Wright, Sabbath school,

James O. Best, personal ministries; Carl R. Rogers, youth; Beverly McDonald, education; Robert C. Lewis, publishing; and Willie Lewis, stewardship and trust services.

Despite strikes and unemployment affecting every large city of Allegheny West, Harold Cleveland managed to keep alive a constant evangelism program involving both laymen and ministers. Members, aware of the Lord's special blessing in their abundant soil and their plentiful supply of fresh water, do not take such riches for granted, but accept a responsibility to use them in trust. Harold Cleveland's calls for financial backing for his broad plans, therefore, did not go unheeded. Members living in farm communities were especially generous. Hopelessness is alien to the people of Allegheny West. They are a rugged lot, and they work and persevere and then they work some more.

SOUTH ATLANTIC CONFERENCE

South Atlantic Conference, organized in 1946 with Harold D. Singleton as president and Lysle S. Follette as secretary-treasurer, covers South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and most of Florida. Since its founding, offices of the conference have been located in Atlanta. At the time of its organization South Atlantic Conference consisted of sixty-two churches, with a membership of 3,614. Departmental leaders were Norman G. Simons, lay activities and Sabbath school; Fitzgerald H. Jenkins, education and youth; and Richard P. Robinson, publishing.

As first president, Singleton moved cautiously with finances but boldly with soul winning, and his efforts paid off handsomely. Everywhere there was enthusiasm for the new conference and its goals. Membership rose steadily. John H. Wagner, who followed, had had experience as president of Allegheny Conference, and he too was strong on evangelism. Under his administration a new office was erected in an upper-class suburb. Upon his death, Warren S. Banfield came into office, engendering the same loyalties, following the same

hectic pace. He was followed by Robert L. Woodfork, who pushed for annual offerings to be devoted to conference evangelism. Woodfork also led out in the construction of a larger and more contemporary office building.

Ralph B. Hairston, the present conference president, was formerly conference secretary. He had been a pastor and evangelist in the South Atlantic territory. A veteran of World War II, he completed college studies at Oakwood and entered the ministry in Macon, Georgia. The secretary-treasurer is John A. Simons, also a veteran of World War II. After graduation from Oakwood he spent a few years as contractor for housing projects in Atlanta. He was later elected treasurer in South Central and Central States conferences. C. Dunbar Henri is the administrative assistant. Departmental leaders in South Atlantic include Joseph T. Hinson, personal ministries; G. Herfin Taylor, Sabbath school and trust services; V. J. Mendinghall, education and youth; Samuel Gooden, communication and religious liberty; Fred W. Parker, stewardship; Robert T. Smith, publishing; Earl W. Moore, director of the Bible school; and Olice Brown, manager of the Adventist Book Center.

South Atlantic's campsite at Hawthorne, Florida, where camp meetings and junior, senior, and friendship camps are held annually, was acquired in 1949 at a total purchase and development cost approaching \$250,000. Its present value would easily exceed a million dollars.

In 1981 membership had grown to 21,541. In that year the conference was divided to form the Southeastern Conference. The new organization had a membership of 8,210, which left 13,331 members for South Atlantic. The yearly tithe before separation had climbed to \$4.5 million, and an evangelism and development offering had reached an annual total of more than \$100,000. The conference had also built a spacious office complex on Hightower Road. The contractor was Jonathan Walker, whose membership is in the Atlanta Berean church.

SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE

Southeastern Conference includes most of Florida and a part of Georgia. Temporary office quarters are at Altamonte Springs, near Orlando, heart of the fruit belt. Membership at the beginning of 1982 was 9,112, and tithe for 1981 was \$2,549,010. There were 918 baptisms for its first year of operation and more than 1,100 for its second. Projected baptisms for 1983 were 2,300.

James Edgecombe, president, was born in Miami and spent several years as a missionary in Port of Spain, Trinidad. He is a graduate of Oakwood College and has completed a Master's degree at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. Donald A. Walker, formerly an Army captain in the Korean War, with treasury experience in the Columbia Union and South Central conferences, is secretary-treasurer. Departmental leaders include Ira L. Harrell, Sabbath school and personal ministries; Keith Dennis, education and youth; Roy Brown, communication and stewardship; and Robert T. Smith, serving both South Atlantic and Southeastern as publishing director.

A big event for the young conference was the opening of a headquarters church in Orlando, pastored by Oster Paul.

SOUTH CENTRAL CONFERENCE

South Central Conference, including the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and that portion of Florida lying west of the Apalachicola River, was organized in 1946 with 2,235 members. At the close of 1981 membership stood at 14,626. Its offices, first set up in a private dwelling, were shortly moved to Charlotte Avenue, in Nashville, and later to the present building, constructed for the purpose on Young's Lane, opposite Riverside Adventist Hospital.

The first president of South Central was Herman R. Murphy, an Oakwood graduate who later earned a Bachelor's degree and a

Master's degree from New York University. The secretary-treasurer was Vongøethe Lindsay, formerly a high school instructor in Birmingham, who became a minister in the early forties. Departmental leaders included Walter M. Starks, Sabbath school and lay activities; Frederick B. Slater, education and youth; M. G. Cato, publishing, and Paul C. Winley, Adventist Book Center.

South Central has sponsored three low-rent housing projects with a total of 352 apartments: Haynes Gardens in Nashville, with 208; Abel Courts in Bowling Green, Kentucky, with forty-six; and Dudley Apartments in Paducah, Kentucky, with ninety-six. More recently it has sponsored two apartment buildings for senior citizens, both bearing the name "South Central Village." One is in Cleveland, Mississippi, with sixty units; and the other in Clarksville, Tennessee, with 134 units.

Charles E. Dudley, president for twenty-one years, is a native of South Bend, Indiana, and a ministerial graduate of Oakwood College. His half brother, A. Gaynes Thompson, who died in 1938, was also a minister; he pioneered Adventist congregations in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. Dudley has worked to ensure representative church buildings throughout South Central and has continually emphasized membership growth. In a program to recruit physicians, aided by Dr. Carl A. Dent, he has attracted six new doctors to the field. The "dark county" evangelism fostered by these professional men has resulted in seven new churches. Tithe reported for 1981 was \$3,073,672; there were 1,261 baptisms for the same period. At least twenty-five ministerial graduates without official assignments are working in South Central to raise up churches in places where none have been established.

Fred N. Crowe, conference secretary-treasurer, is a native of California, with years of experience as treasurer in the early development of Lake Region Conference. Departmental leaders include Murray E. Joiner, Sabbath school and personal ministries; Nathaniel Higgs, education; Joseph W. McCoy, youth and temper-

ance; Stephen Ruff, publishing; George I. Pearson, manager, Adventist Book Center; and Isaac J. Johnson, field representative.

Other presidents of South Central have been Herman R. Murphy, Walter W. Fordham, and Frank L. Bland

A demographic study of Southern Union members, completed in 1982 by the staff of *Southern Tidings*, shows the three predominantly black conferences with a total membership of 40,288 and the five predominantly white conferences with 63,307 members. The ratio of black members to black population was 1 to 195, while the ratio of white members to white population was 1 to 467. The white conferences had been organized from eighty to a hundred years previous to the study, while the black conferences had been in existence only thirty-six years. In that relatively brief time they had accounted for more than one third of the union membership.

SOUTHWEST REGION CONFERENCE

Southwest Region Conference, which includes congregations in Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas, is one of five conferences that make up the Southwestern Union. In 1982 the conference had seventy churches and a membership of 8,796, with thirty-one ministers, eight church schools, and forty teachers. Title for 1981 was \$2,237,956, and baptisms totaled 627. Begun as a mission January 1, 1947, its first officers were Walter W. Fordham, president; Vincent L. Roberts, secretary-treasurer and lay activities director; Helen Wiggans Beckett, Sabbath school director; and J. H. Jones, publishing director. At the end of two years as a mission, the membership was organized into a conference with 1,939 members.

Herman R. Murphy served as president in Southwest Region shortly after its organization as a conference. He was followed in office by Vincent L. Roberts, who served thirteen years. Under his administration the conference office was moved from Oakland Avenue to 1900 South Boulevard, in Dallas, and many churches were added to the Southwest Region fellowship. William J. Cleveland,

who served many years in the Northwest as well as in the Southwest, became president in 1969. A gifted pulpit orator himself, he inspired good preaching in the entire working force.

William C. Jones, the president in 1982, grew up in Detroit, Michigan, attended church school there, and was later graduated from Oakwood College. He has pastored large churches, including Bethel in Brooklyn and the City Temple congregation in Dallas. The secretary and director of stewardship is Milton M. Young, son of an Adventist minister, who also served congregations in the Southwest. Helen Turner, Southwest's treasurer, is the first woman to hold this key position in a regional conference. She holds a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in business administration and has begun work on a doctoral program. Departmental leaders include James Ford, Sabbath school and education; Rawdon Brown, personal ministries; James Marshall, publishing; and Billy E. Wright, youth director.

CENTRAL STATES CONFERENCE

Central States Conference comprises the black constituency of Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Wyoming, San Juan County of New Mexico, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In 1982 there were thirty-two churches, 6,304 members, two church schools, twenty ministers, two Bible instructors, and five church school teachers. The conference is included in the newly formed Mid-America Union, which combines the old Central and Northern unions.

Central States was organized as a mission in a meeting at Jefferson Hotel, in St. Louis, Missouri, January 1, 1947. Thomas M. Rowe, a veteran preacher who had pastored New York's Ephesus congregation and Chicago's Shiloh congregation, was elected president. James H. Jones was elected secretary-treasurer. The membership, including small and widely scattered congregations, numbered a modest 798. A converted house at 2528 Benton Boulevard provided office quarters for the new organization.

Within five years membership increased 76 percent—from 798 in 1947 to 1408 in 1952, with baptisms averaging more than a hundred a year. In 1948 the State of Iowa, of the former Northern Union Conference, was added to the territory of the mission, thereby including the Des Moines church in the membership total.

Frank L. Bland was elected president in 1952 when the Central States became a conference. Henry T. Saulter was elected secretary-treasurer. Membership increased from 1408 in 1952 to 2,326 at the end of 1961. The proportional gain by baptism and profession of faith was the second-largest in North America.

Walter W. Fordham, who became president in 1959, brought a fresh emphasis to evangelism. This was reflected in the erection of a new church building and a new elementary school in St. Louis, also new churches in Wichita, Kansas, and Pueblo, Colorado.

In St. Louis a 1963 soul-winning program called "Contacts for Christ" involved laymen in Bible correspondence course enrollments preparatory to a Voice of Prophecy evangelistic campaign. Enlistments averaged a thousand a month, and members were delighted at campaign's end when a hundred converts were baptized. The next year, 1964, E. Earl Cleveland, of the General Conference Ministerial Association, joined with Andrews University Seminary faculty and students to conduct a field school of evangelism in St. Louis. The campaign, blessed with 150 converts, resulted in the organization of the Shreve Avenue church.

Willie S. Lee became the fourth president of Central States in 1966. For several years he had been director of the office of Regional Affairs in Pacific Union Conference; he also had wide experience as pastor of some of the largest churches in the denomination. Lee continued the aggressive evangelism in Central States and led out in the construction of a new office complex.

Donald L. Crowder, who followed as fifth president, saw a dramatic rise in membership, to 4,246 at the end of 1974. During that year the Central States title income amounted to more than \$500,000,

with \$100,000 of this amount coming from the Denver Park Hill church.

Samuel D. Meyers came from California to be the sixth president; he found much he could do. The Shady Hill campground needed refurbishing—the shuttering of cabin windows, the erection of a chain-link fence, the reroofing of the pavilion. Having cared for these, Meyers led out in the construction of a two-story book center, snack bar, and registration complex. He and his staff also built a new camp dormitory with bathroom facilities for each room.

Sherman H. Cox, who became the seventh president, emphasized more large-scale evangelism in big cities of Mid-America, where large populations of black citizens needed the gospel of hope. Cox is a native of Baltimore and a graduate of Oakwood College. He served Central States as a departmental director prior to taking up duties as conference president.

LeRoy B. Hampton, who served for many years in the finance department of Oakwood College, is secretary-treasurer. Leaders of the departments are Eugene F. Carter, stewardship, Sabbath school, and personal ministries; Nathaniel Miller, education and youth.

Because of these separate church administrations, black administrators have been quickly added to union and institutional boards, thus increasing minority participation in high-level decisions of the church. Prior to 1951 there was only one elected black leader on the General Conference staff—George E. Peters, secretary of the Colored Department. The name of Calvin E. Moseley, Jr., was later added as an associate secretary of the department, and eventually both Peters and Moseley were elected to the office of general field secretary.

To aid further the integration of black leaders into the church structure, the 1961 Autumn Council established a biracial committee on human relations to frame appropriate resolutions. With the specific aim of eliminating discrimination against blacks in churches, the 1965 Spring Council of the General Conference Committee voted that "membership and office in all churches and on all levels must be

available to anyone who qualifies, without regard to race.”²³ This included hospitals, schools, and every facility operated by the church.

When this proved insufficient, and black Adventists found themselves still unwelcome in some Seventh-day Adventist churches and schools, regional conference administrators suggested that perhaps the organization of two union conferences with a predominantly black membership might add weight and substance to what, up to now, were only resolutions. There would be union presidents, advocates said, who could talk from the advantage of a constituency, and they could more easily make themselves heard in the higher echelons of church government. This, they said, would also give Adventists a better image in communities where they lived and worked. A recommendation was made that the annual Autumn Council study the feasibility of forming black unions.

Meanwhile, North American Division president Neal C. Wilson urged union officers to place black men in responsible positions on their staffs. Eventually nearly every union placed black representatives in office. Aaron Brogden is the secretary in Atlantic Union, Earl Parchment is Sabbath school director, and Leon H. Davis is editor of the *Gleaner*. In Columbia Union, Luther R. Palmer, Jr., is secretary, Adrian T. Westney is associate in education, and Samuel Thomas is Sabbath school director. The president in Lake Union is Robert H. Carter, and Charles Woods is assistant treasurer. The Mid-America Union elected George Timpson associate secretary. During the final illness of R. H. Nightingale, Willie S. Lee was acting president of Central Union Conference. North Pacific Union elected Edward A. White to its office, and Pacific Union named Major C. White secretary. John E. Collins serves in Pacific as associate personal ministries secretary, Joseph W. Hutchinson as associate in publishing, and Earl Canson, director of regional affairs. In Southwestern Union Vincent L. Roberts was the first black leader in North America to be elected union treasurer. In 1982, Elbert W. Shepperd was

elected director of youth programs in the same union. In Southern Union, Ward Sumpter was associate secretary, and Ralph P. Peay was youth director. For many years M. G. Cato and Odell Mackey were associate directors of the union publishing department. The list changes almost every year.

The black union proposal was debated for ten years and presented formally before two sessions of the General Conference Autumn Council. However, it failed to attract sufficient votes to be inaugurated into the system of Adventist church government. Perhaps an approaching recession, reminiscent of the prolonged depression in the 1930s, had its influence. But black observers declare that the very discussion of separate unions undoubtedly improved opportunities for black members to hold meaningful offices in union conferences of North America and in many other parts of the world.

Membership gain was always a lever in discussions of black unions because with increased membership came increased tithes and other offerings. Public evangelism was usually considered the primary key to church growth, but it is known that door-to-door efforts of literature evangelists has had a steady influence in bringing new converts into the church. Many Adventists today declare that they read themselves into church fellowship, that they found periodicals and books decisive in their choice to be Seventh-day Adventists. At one point in the late forties, Allegheny Conference amassed sales greater than the combined totals of all other conferences in the union. Persons who have made outstanding records have been Howard D. Warner, J. R. Britt, Matthew Dennis, Mary Morrison Dennis, Paul C. Winley, T. S. Barber, Mabel Barber, Odell W. Mackey, Richard P. Robinson, Joe Hutchinson, T. R. Smith, Robert Smith, George Anderson, and M. G. Cato.

Message magazine, introduced as a trial number in 1934, was an immediate success, with students seeking money to meet academy or college expenses acting as a sales force. Regularly scheduled publication, first as a quarterly, was inaugurated in 1935; in 1943 it

became a monthly. Circulation has exceeded 260,000 for one issue; in the fifties a large New York advertising agency listed *Message* as one of the leading religious publications in America. It has featured as writers many outstanding leaders in the Seventh-day Adventist Church and other denominations.

J. Paul Monk, Jr., editor since early 1981, and his assistant editor, Kyna Hinson, produce a thirty-two-page magazine on coated paper with a four-color treatment possible throughout. Louis B. Reynolds, first black editor of this major denominational publication, was also for thirteen years editor of senior Sabbath school publications in the General Conference. Other editors of *Message* have been Robert Bruce Thurber, James E. Shultz, Frank A. Coffin (acting), Robert L. Odom, James E. Dykes, Garland J. Millet, William R. Robinson, and Ted T. Jones, an associate.

Garland J. Millet and Victor Griffiths have been editors for the *Journal of Adventist Education*, and Natelkka E. Burrell coedited a series of sixty-one basic readers and guidebooks for the Adventist Basic Reading Series.

Bible instructors have also laid a broad base of support for large city evangelism. In the vanguard of career people in this field have been E. Van Nockay Porter, Rosa Lee Jones, Zilda Forde, Celia Cleveland, Rawline Troxler, Vivian Boyce, Jessie Gulley, Maude Masters, Edith Young Rice, Alice Terrell Valentine, Elizabeth Coleman, Margaret Daniels Humphrey, Ola Mae Harris, Lillie Todd Evans, Alice Bowden, Elizabeth Carter Cleveland, Billie Rowe, Bonnie Dobbins Stewart, Josephine Flowers, Sadie Richardson, Ella Lee Wiley, Ruth Strother, Dorothy Smith, Bertha Bailey Leatores, Charles Miller, Ella Miller, Eva Jeltz, Beatrice Hampton, Nina Addison, Beulah Cross, Birdie McCluster, Jessie Bentley, and Rosa Pugh.

Elementary school teachers who have earned General Conference life certificates have included Jessie Wagner, Trula Wade, Vernon H. Jenkins, Myrtle Gates Murphy, Eda Lett Williamson, Hattie Thomp-

son, Emith Giddings Gaines, Bernice Johnson Reynolds, Alice Blake Brantley, Maxine Hamilton Brantley, Devolia Fowler Cantrell, Inez Jackson Shelton, Charles Gray, Wilhelmina Galley, L. Henrietta Emmanuel, and Christine Thompson.

Amid winds of doctrinal dispute and what has been termed the "Omega" of apostasy, black Adventists seem largely unshaken. They are not inclined to cast away anchors and moorings, or to drift idly about on the sea of doctrine, moving in no particular direction, arriving at no port. Bemused by a past both tragic and disastrous, this pious people accept the existing situation and move with confidence into the future. As they believe in love—which is to say, as they have love—they do not have fear.

If all Seventh-day Adventists could rise to the level of loving passionately not only their academies, colleges, medical institutions, and their missions installations, as they do, but also the rich and varied configuration of people—brown, black, and white—who dwell therein, with the untold possibilities for achievement that lie in such association, they not only would solve their greatest problem but also would be prepared with gallantry and courage to face the difficult circumstances of the future. When "the heirs of God . . . come from garrets, from hovels, from dungeons, from scaffolds, from mountains, from deserts, from the caves of the earth, from the caverns of the sea,"²⁴ there will be no caste or color distinctions. The people of the covenant will love much because they have been forgiven much. "The rebuke of his people shall he take away" (Isa. 25:8). "They shall call them, The holy people, The redeemed of the Lord" (chap. 62:12). For the disadvantaged, the disinherited God has appointed "to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness" (chap. 61:3).

NOTES

¹ Census Bureau figures for 1940. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

² See Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony*.

³ Minutes of Spring Council meeting of General Conference Committee, held at Stevens Hotel, Chicago, April 8-19, 1944.

⁴ Minutes of the first meeting of black delegates at a special meeting of Lake Union Conference held in Shiloh church, Chicago, Illinois, September 26, 1944.

⁵ Statistical report of North American Conferences General Conference (Washington, D.C.: 1981).

⁶ *SDA Encyclopedia* (1966), pp. 1059, 1060.

⁷ Robert M. Kilgore, in *Review and Herald*, Oct. 29, 1889, p. 683.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Minutes of district workers' meeting, Nashville, Tennessee, Seventh-day Adventist campground, Oct. 2, 1889.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ E. G. White, *The Southern Work*, p. 11.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, second revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 72.

¹⁵ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 206.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹⁷ Ronald D. Graybill, *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1970), p. 37.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁹ Rayford W. Logan, *Betrayal of the Negro* (New York: Collier Books, 1967), p. 280.

²⁰ White, *Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 206, 207. (Italics supplied.)

²¹ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: World Pub. Co., Meridian Books, 1957), p. 254.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²³ *Review and Herald*, April 29, 1965, p. 8.

²⁴ Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1911), p. 650.

Roll Jordan, Roll

Roll Jordan, roll,
Roll Jordan, roll,
I wanter go to heav'n when I die,
To hear ol' Jordan roll.

O, bretheren,
Roll Jordan, roll,
Roll Jordan, roll,
I wanter go to heav'n when I die,
To hear ol' Jordan roll.

Oh, brothers you oughter been dere,
Yes my Lord a sittin' up in de kingdom,
To hear ol' Jordan roll,
Sing it ovah,

Oh, sinner you oughter been dere,
Yes my Lord a sittin' up in de kingdom,
To hear ol' Jordan roll.

O, Roll Jordan, roll,
Roll Jordan, roll,
I wanter go to heav'n when I die,
To hear ol' Jordan roll.

Historic Meeting in Chicago— Organization of Regional Conferences— BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW

I was a delegate to the historic meeting in Chicago, called by the General Conference to discuss the advisability of the organization of Regional conferences. In 1929, Black leaders had received the bitter response "Blacks should never again mention the desire for the organization of Colored conferences." Now 15 years later here we are in Chicago to consider the recommendation of the General Conference for the organization of Regional conferences.

I was representing the Black constituency of the Florida Conference. Our workers and laity in that state were already convinced that this was a wise step. Elder W. S. Lee, one of our senior pastors, also attended this meeting. We checked into the Stevens Hotel the night before the meeting and had time to participate in discussions with those advocating the new form of administration.

We knew in advance that some of our Black pastors were opposed to the idea of a separate organization. They remembered the "Humphrey defection" and were fearful that the decision for the organization of Black conferences might lead ultimately to a complete separation from the Adventist Church. Furthermore, some of our Black brethren were suspicious that some of the leaders had ulterior motives. So as a strategy move, Elder G. E. Peters proposed to Elder McElhany that he present the request. "Black leaders who oppose the idea of a separate administrative organization will readily accept the proposal if it comes from the General Conference president," Peters pointed out. "It will receive support from the White leadership as well."

The fears of some of our Black brethren were put to rest by the unequivocal

HISTORIC MEETING IN CHICAGO

support subsequently voiced by the General Conference president for the organization of Black conferences. In his speech he stated, "There are some Black churches that have a much larger membership than some [entire] White conferences." Elder W. A. Spicer, former president of the General Conference, spoke also in favor of separate conferences under the leadership of Blacks. "Brethren," he said, "in Europe we have German conferences, French conferences, Swedish and Polish conferences; why not Black conferences?"

Elder J. J. Nethery, president of the Lake Union Conference, delivered a powerful speech in support of the resolution. He stated, "There are Black leaders who are qualified to become administrators."

There were a number of speeches, both pro and con. Among those who spoke were Thomas Coopwood, J. G. Dasent, Eric Dilleit, J. G. Thomas, L. H. Bland, Monroe Burgess, J. H. Wagner, T. M. Fountain, T. M. Rowe, and G. E. Peters. In his remarks F. L. Peterson referred back to the Annual Council of 1929 when Black leaders last requested the organization of Black conferences. He reminded the brethren, "We were told, 'Never ask again for a Black conference.' And we didn't ask."

Nevertheless, now the time had come to ask again—the question was presented to the floor for the vote: "Shall Regional conferences be organized?" The vote to accept and implement the proposal was almost unanimous.

The following plan was adopted: "In union conferences, when the Colored constituency is considered to be sufficiently large enough, and when the income and territory warrant, separate conferences for the Colored membership shall be organized. Such conferences are to be administered by Colored officials and Colored committees."

Constituency meetings were immediately scheduled in the following unions for the organization of Black conferences: Lake, Atlantic, Columbia, Southern, Central, and Southwestern. The Black brethren from the Pacific Union felt the Black constituency from their territory was not prepared to accept a Black conference.

The organizational particulars of the Regional conferences are as follows: The Lake Region Conference held its constituency meeting in 1944 in the city of Chicago, Illinois; elected were J. G. Dasent, president, and F. N. Crowe, secretary-treasurer. (F. N. Crowe and A. R. Carethers are the only two of the original secretary-treasurers who are still living. As of this writing, Elder Crowe

RIGHTEOUS REBEL

is serving as treasurer of the South Central Conference.) The Northeastern Conference held its constituency meeting in New York City in 1944; elected were L. H. Bland, president, and Lionel Irons, secretary-treasurer. The Allegheny Conference held its constituency meeting in Pine Forge, Pennsylvania, in 1945; elected were J. H. Wagner, president, and J. L. Moran, secretary-treasurer. The South Atlantic Conference held its constituency meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1945; elected were H. D. Singleton, president, and L. S. Follette, secretary-treasurer. The South Central Conference held its constituency meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1945; elected were H. R. Murphy, president, and Vongoethe Lindsay, secretary-treasurer. The Southwest Region Conference held its constituency meeting in Dallas, Texas, in 1946; elected were W. W. Fordham, president, and A. R. Carothers, secretary-treasurer. The Central States Conference held its constituency meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1947; elected were T. M. Rowe, president, and J. H. Jones, secretary-treasurer. (Elder Rowe served as president for only one year. F. L. Bland was elected as president in 1948.)

These men were pioneers; they helped lay the foundation and initiate the administrative structure for the Regional conferences as we know them today. Eighteen of the original group are now sleeping, waiting for Jesus to come to awaken them to everlasting life. We owe them a debt of gratitude. Of the original group of presidents, the following still live in retirement as of 1990: H. D. Singleton, H. R. Murphy, and W. W. Fordham.

From the 1989 Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook we find these encouraging reports of those who continue to follow in the footprints of the pioneers:

Conference President Membership

Bermuda.....	E. L. Richardson.....	2,455
Northeastern.....	Stennett Brooks.....	31,196
Allegheny East.....	Alvin Kibble.....	19,036
Allegheny West.....	W. S. Lewis.....	9,586
Lake Region.....	L. R. Palmer.....	19,528
Central States.....	J. Paul Monk, Jr.....	7,495
South Central.....	C. E. Dudley.....	18,907
Southeastern.....	Jackson Doggette.....	14,008
South Atlantic.....	Ralph Peay.....	20,907
Southwest Region.....	Richard Barron.....	12,367

HISTORIC MEETING IN CHICAGO

In 1989 the membership of the Regional conferences in North America, including the Pacific Union, totaled 179,960. That same year the tithe income was more than \$60 million. Baptisms were 8,457. This is a record of outstanding success.

However, the account of how the Israelites had to find their own straw to make bricks, recorded in Exodus 5:6-13, reminds me of the difficulties we faced in trying to operate those newborn conferences back in the mid-1940s. We were forced to cope without necessary funds. Doubters and critics said, "You will never make it. You will come back begging."

However, by the constant help and intervention of the Holy Spirit, we beat the odds. It was a time of sacrifice. It was a time of blood, sweat, and tears. I believe it is safe to say, though, that we succeeded in laying solid foundations for those who followed us.

It was rough going for those of us who first filled the administrative offices of the new Regional conferences. The financial plan outlined by the unions and the General Conference for "the support of the newly organized conferences" was as follows: "The union conference will make an appropriation based on the tithe income from the Colored membership of each conference in that particular union." In the Southwestern Union there were four conferences; the Regional conference would make five. In addition to the financial plan, each local conference would contribute such equipment as office furniture and supplies, tents, chairs, etc., in order to get the work of the new conference off the ground.

Unfortunately, the Southwest Region Conference had a very small Black membership, and the appropriation based on the tithe income was inadequate. We were poor, even when the union and the General Conference made their appropriations. In spite of having to make use of raggedy tents and rickety chairs, most hardly usable, the Lord blessed us with success. These handicaps failed to deter our progress in winning souls.

The work force of the conference, composed mainly of young men, agreed that if we were going to survive, our first priority must be to increase the membership of the conference. Evangelism was the answer. As president I decided to set the pace for evangelism. I conducted major efforts in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Dallas and Houston, Texas; and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Lord blessed in a marvelous way. Hundreds were added to the church. I challenged all of our pastors to conduct meetings in their districts.

RIGHTEOUS REBEL

Church memberships began to swell remarkably throughout the field. Though we were forced by circumstances to "make bricks without straw," the Lord made up for our deficiencies in an astonishing way. The record shows that the conference membership doubled in the very first year.

Here let me pay tribute to some of the men whom I challenged to make bricks without straw: W. S. Lee, Vincent Roberts, Charles Bradford, Samuel Meyers, Jessie Wagner, Jeter Cox, William Jones, Henry Fordham, Charles Cunningham, Frank Jones, Leon Cox, R. F. Warnick, Milton Young, Clayton Pritchard, W. J. Cleveland, John Smith, Hilliard Pettway, Fred Parker, D. J. Dixon, Van Runnels, R. E. Tottress, and others whom I may not recollect as I write.

Today the Southwest Region Conference is one of the strongest of the Regional conferences. V. L. Roberts, W. J. Cleveland, and W. C. Jones, three of those young men who served under me, later served as presidents of the conference.

In less than half a century God's faithful Black workers have brought the light of God's Word to thousands of precious souls. However, millions still grope in darkness. They too must be reached by the gospel before Jesus comes, and time is running out!

The organization of Regional conferences opened the doors of opportunity. For the first time in Seventh-day Adventist Church history it was possible for Black workers to sit where the action is. They now serve where decisions are made, where policies are framed for the Seventh-day Adventist Church worldwide. They sit there, not as observers, but as participants.

With the organization of Regional conferences in 1945-1947, Black administrators were added to union conference committees. They were made members of institutional boards. Today Black leaders now serve on all administrative levels, including the North American Division and the General Conference, as evidenced by the presence and labor of such leaders as G. Ralph Thompson, secretary of the General Conference, and Charles Bradford, former president of the North American Division.

At one General Conference session alone (1975) 17 Black leaders were elected as members of the General Conference staff. What a contrast with the action of the 1954 General Conference session in San Francisco, in which only three Black leaders were chosen. F. L. Peterson was elected associate secretary, the first Black ever chosen to serve as an officer of the General Conference. (In

HISTORIC MEETING IN CHICAGO

1962 F. L. Peterson was elected vice president of the General Conference.) E. E. Cleveland was elected as an associate secretary of the Ministerial Association, and C. E. Moseley became field secretary of the General Conference.

Among the men responsible for "oiling the hinges" of the door so they could swing open for Black leaders to enter, special recognition should go to Robert Pierson, late president of the General Conference, and Neal Wilson, former president of the North American Division, who succeeded Elder Pierson as president of the General Conference.

Indeed, we have come a long way since 1929, when the leadership roles for Blacks in the Seventh-day Adventist Church could best be illustrated as mere "crumbs from the Master's table."

Poet, novelist, lyricist, essayist, critic and anthologist, Johnson remains one of the preeminent figures in African-American letters. He was born James Williams Johnson in Jacksonville, Florida, into a family with a deep appreciation of the arts. He attended the Stanton Public School for Blacks, where his mother taught, and later Atlanta University. He returned to Jacksonville in 1894 as a teacher and principal and began "reading law," becoming the first black lawyer to pass the Florida bar examination. With his brother John Rosamond Johnson (1873-1954), who had studied music and worked in the theater in Boston, he wrote "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" for a Lincoln's birthday celebration in 1900. Sung by schoolchildren throughout the country, it became known as the "Negro National Anthem."

In 1901 Johnson went to New York, where he studied drama and literature at Columbia University from 1903 to 1906, and, together with his brother and Bob Cole, wrote a number of highly successful songs for black musicals. Proposed by Booker T. Washington (the source of most political patronage at the time) for the post, from 1906 to 1913 Johnson served as consul to Venezuela and Nicaragua, where he wrote the novel *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, which was published anonymously in 1912.

If the early narratives of the Middle Passage form the literary bridge between the Old World and the New, Johnson's novel represents a similar leap from African-American writing of the nineteenth century to the modern novel. Written as if it were an autobiography—the dominant African-American literary form up to that point—it is in fact an imaginative work of fiction, its unnamed protagonist a literary antecedent of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*.¹ And while Johnson's fair-skinned hero, who passes for white, feels a "sort of dual personality" that is reminiscent of the dichotomy expressed by Dunbar in "We Wear the Mask"² or Du Bois's statement that a black man "ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro," in his rootless migrations from the South, to New York, through Europe and

back, and in his entrapment in the materialism of the twentieth century, he is as well a thoroughly modern hero.

Johnson returned to New York in 1914, where he became the editor of the *New York Age* and embarked upon a lengthy career with the NAACP, serving as field secretary from 1916 to 1920 and General Secretary from 1920 to 1930. At the same time, he published numerous volumes of poetry and prose, including *Fifty Years and Other Poems* (1917); *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927); a survey of the African-American history and culture of New York, *Black Manhattan* (1930); *Saint Peter Relates an Incident* (1930). He also contributed the essay "The Making of Harlem" to the influential collection *The New Negro*, published in 1925. In 1930 Johnson became a professor of creative literature at Fisk University, publishing his autobiography, *Along This Way*, in 1933 and his last work, *Negro American, What Now?* in 1934.

In addition to his own creative works, as an anthologist and essayist, Johnson sought to establish a critical foundation for the recovery and study of African-American culture. In his two volumes of Negro spirituals (1925, 1926), he traced the history of what he called "America's only folk music and, up to this time, the finest distinctive artistic contribution she has to offer the world." And in his ground-breaking *Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922), he sought to establish a critical framework for the appreciation and discussion of African-American verse. In his preface, Johnson argues, "A people may become great through many means, but there is only one measure by which its greatness is recognized and acknowledged. The final measure of the greatness of all peoples is the amount and standard of the literature and art they have produced. . . . Because this is the first collection of its kind, I realized the absence of a starting-point and was led to provide one and to fill in with historical data what I felt to be a gap."

James Weldon Johnson (1871-1938)

James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing

Lift ev'ry voice and sing,
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past
has taught us
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has
brought us
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has
been watered
We have come, trading our path thro' the
blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past, till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might,
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.

Lest our feet stray from the places, our God,
where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the
world, we forget thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our native land.

1900

SECTION 3: *TELLING THE STORY . . .*

About Ellen White, Race Relations, and Black People

“The Spirit of the LORD is upon Me, because He has anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He has sent Me to heal the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed; to proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD.”

Luke 4:18, 19 (NKJV)

While it is perhaps little known and emphasized in the history of the SDA Church, Ellen White has the distinction of being the most staunch supporter of the establishment of the Black work. She gave her time, means, energy, and influence to building and sustaining the Black work. In fact, each of the White family members were supportive of the needs of Black people. Ellen White’s husband, James White, spoke out on behalf of the equality of Black people and the freeing of the slaves. Her son, James Edson via the *Morning Star*, was the premier pioneer to the South, successfully spearheading an SDA presence in the heart of the South. As secretary to his mother, son Willie White was supportive of the rights of Black SDAs. However, Ellen White excelled in her support. She spoke out against slavery and identified the Civil War as God’s judgment against the North for tolerating and the South for perpetuating slavery. She was indefatigable in her efforts to motivate the Church to aggressively begin work in the South and to assist the five million Black people freed from slavery. The record will bear out that she was clearly ahead of her time in support of the rights of Black people. It seems clear—if Ellen White had not supported the Black work in the manner that she did, it would not have progressed to the extent that it has today! This section examines writings that reveal some of the principles and strategies she advocated for building and maintaining the Black work.

CONTENT

“Tension Between the Races,” Norman K. Miles	3/2
Spiritual: “Swing Low Sweet Chariot.”	3/9
“Guiding Principles in Race Relations,” Arthur L. White.	3/10
“Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?” part I, Roy Branson.	3/22
“Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?” part II, Roy Branson.	3/24
Spiritual: “Many Thousand Gone.”	3/26
“Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?” part III, Roy Branson.	3/27
“A Plea for Objectivity” (editorial), Kenneth H. Wood.	3/30
“An Example in History,” Ellen G. White.	3/31
“Ellen White’s Communication Frequency on the Black Work, Delbert W. Baker	3/34
“Ellen White on Racial Equality,” Ronald Graybill	3/35
“Conclusions,” (<i>E.G. White and Church Race Relations</i>), Ronald Graybill.	3/38
“Possible Conflicts Over the Racial Situation,” Ellen G. White Estate.	3/40
“The Race War Question: Its Relevance Today,” part I, Delbert W. Baker	3/44
“Race War Predictions Reach Fulfillment” part II, Delbert W. Baker.	3/47
“A Statement on Ellen G. White’s Use of the Term Race War...,” Delbert W. Baker.	3/49
“Ellen G. White Statements Relative to the Revival of Slavery,” Ellen G. White Estate.	3/75
Spiritual: “Down in the Valley.”	3/86

Tension Between the Races

Norman K. Miles

God cares no less for the souls of the African race that might be won to serve Him than He cared for Israel. . . . Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them, forcing them to disregard the law of marriage, breaking up the family relation, tearing wife from husband, and husband from wife? If the race is degraded, if they are repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? The truth must be carried to them. They have souls to save as well as we.

—The Southern Work, pp. 14, 15.

Within the framework of American history, the nineteenth century was probably the most crucial period with regard to race relations. Racial issues headlined the newspapers as White Americans found themselves in positions of conflict and compromise with ethnic groups such as Blacks, Native Americans (Indians), Hispanics, Orientals, and European ethnics. In each encounter the Caucasian majority had to face its own fears of, and prejudices toward, the minority group. Often sheer, blind prejudice dictated the ways in which minority people were treated until greater contact modified the more extreme views. Some groups, such as Native Americans, though fought and discriminated against, were also romanticized as “noble savages.” In other cases, contact and exposure between the races did little to modify stereotypes held about the minority group. In such situations complex relationships both sociological and psychological mitigated against any real racial harmony or understanding. This was especially true in the case of Afro-Americans.

In order to clearly understand the relationship between Black and White people in America during the nineteenth century, it must be



The Ku Klux Klan epitomized prejudice against Blacks, Catholics, and Jews.

remembered that in the early 1800s the United States was a new nation struggling to establish itself as an independent power, a country with a frail economy supported largely by slave labor. At the end of the century America was a vibrant, highly developed nation with a strong economy, international interests, and rapidly expanding industry. No longer Europe's stepchild, it was now a land of refuge for the Old World's "huddled masses yearning to be free." The brutal Civil War had stripped it of its innocence and its slaves, and the brief Spanish-American War had added to its international prestige and possessions. During these years of significant transformations, Black Americans passed from slavery to freedom; but it was a freedom that many White Americans refused to acknowledge and sought to limit.

These White Americans were unwilling to accept any major change in the pattern of race relations that had become established by the 1830s. In the South at that time, Blacks were slaves, the property of their masters, bought and sold at will, with no rights, liberties, or opportunities. In the North, free Blacks were the victims of segregation and discrimination. Few Northern Whites, even those who were fighting heroically to end slavery, would associate with Blacks. The belief that Black people were subhuman or, at best, inferior humans was almost universal, even among the most enlightened people of the day.

From 1830 until 1860 the United States passed from one domestic crisis to another over the issue of slavery, lurching ever closer to the brink of civil war. During this 30-year period sectional differences involving slavery polarized the nation into two camps, one antislavery and one proslavery. White abolitionists spoke out publicly against slavery and urged that immediate steps be taken to abolish it.

Many of these abolitionists acted on the basis of religious ideals, for the 1830s and 1840s were years characterized by intense religious interest and revival, a period frequently called the Second Great Awakening. The revivals, led by men such as Charles G. Finney and Theodore Dwight Weld, often spoke to issues of social reform, as well as spiritual concerns. Finney, the most prominent evangelist of the day, organized his converts into abolition and temperance societies. Weld, who was once Finney's assistant evangelist, became a full-time abolitionist speaker. Many of Finney's followers became so outspoken in their belief that slavery was wrong that Americans regarded the

evangelical revival and the abolitionist movement as one and the same. In the South this attitude was so prevalent that Finney and his disciples made little headway in stimulating revivals there.

This is not to say that Southerners were solidly supportive of slavery. James G. Birney, a lawyer and son of a wealthy slaveholder, hated the system but could do nothing about it until his father died and he inherited the estate. Birney then freed the slaves, sold the plantation, and headed north. He became a prominent abolitionist writer and editor, and in 1840 ran for the presidency of the United States as the candidate of the antislavery Liberty Party.

The Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, born in South Carolina, were the children of a wealthy plantation owner. When they reached adulthood, they left the South and became antislavery and women's rights speakers. Angelina married Theodore Dwight Weld and joined his antislavery efforts. In 1836 she wrote a lengthy pamphlet, "Appeal to the Christian Women of the South," in which she urged women to use their influence to encourage the men to abandon slavery.

Some Southern churches spoke out against slavery as well. In 1837 the Thirteenth Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky issued a document that criticized slavery and urged its members to abandon the practice. For the most part, however, Southerners and Southern churches defended and supported slavery, while Northern churches generally opposed it. Between 1835 and 1858 the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches split into Northern and Southern sections over the slavery issue.

A number of writers defended slavery along theological, anthropological, and sociological lines. Thornton Stringfellow, a Virginia clergyman and theology professor, defended slavery by arguing that it was a biblical institution, practiced by the patriarchs and endorsed by the apostle Paul. He further argued that Black people should be slaves because their black skin was the mark of Cain.

Thomas Dew, another Southern scholar, defended slavery by arguing that Blacks were an intellectually and morally inferior race that belonged on the lowest level of human development, which he called the "mud sill." Other Southern writers, influenced by String-

fellow and Dew, even argued that Blacks were not part of the original Creation but were the products of illicit relations between men and animals in ancient days.

In contrast, Northerners usually attacked slavery on moral grounds, arguing that it was an institution that dehumanized both master and slave. Numerous incidences of master-slave sexual encounters and the large numbers of mulatto children on some plantations were eloquent evidence that the traditional moral code was often broken in the South. In New Orleans and a few other major Southern cities, concubinage of very light-complexioned Negro women to wealthy plantation owners was openly tolerated and practiced.

Other abolitionists argued that slavery was fundamentally inconsistent with the national ideals of liberty and justice. Some urged that slavery should be abolished because it was an inefficient labor system. In the Midwest a large number of independent farmers objected to slavery because they feared that it would spread and drive them out of business, since they could not compete with slave labor.

Few among those who opposed slavery were free of some racial prejudice themselves, and some were very overt in their aversion to Blacks. Most abolitionist societies did not permit Blacks to join. William Lloyd Garrison was often criticized by other abolitionists because he associated socially with Blacks. Many Whites in the abolitionist cause assumed that Blacks were inferior humans who could be worked for but not associated with. Abraham Lincoln, who opposed the extension of slavery into free territories, stated publicly that he found the idea of Black people being socially equal to White people reprehensible.

Though they could not agree on how Black people should be treated, few on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line believed that Blacks were or could become the intellectual, social, and political equals of Whites. So pervasive was this thought that after the Civil War began, both sides refused to accept Black volunteers, reasoning that the war was essentially a White man's war. Eventually, military necessity drove the Union government to enlist Black soldiers, and Abraham Lincoln declared a general emancipation of all slaves in states that were in rebellion against the United States.

On May 22, 1863, a Bureau of Colored Troops was established to organize Black military units in the Union Army. By December 1863, 20,830 Black volunteers had enlisted in the Union Army. During 1864 even more Black soldiers were enlisted. Men such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a White New England abolitionist who had supported John Brown's struggles to free slaves in Kansas, organized Black regiments from among former slaves. Though Black soldiers endured many hardships, including half the pay of White soldiers for a time, they proved to be effective fighters and fought in many of the key battles of the final two years of the war.

The end of the Civil War brought with it a new era of promise and challenge for America in the area of race relations. Formerly the relationships between Blacks and Whites were relatively simple. Blacks were most often in subservient positions; Whites were most often actual or potential masters. Now things were different. The Emancipation Proclamation had freed the Black masses, and in 1865 the Joint Committee on Reconstruction was established to lay out the guidelines for the establishment of the new social and political order that was to obtain. The committee sought to widen Reconstruction beyond President Andrew Johnson's narrow view and give Blacks significantly more civil and political protection. The Congress led the way in securing the rights and protection of Blacks in a swift series of constitutional amendments and congressional acts.

Between 1866 and 1870 the Constitution was amended to abolish slavery (Thirteenth Amendment), extend citizenship to Blacks (Fourteenth Amendment), and grant the right of suffrage (Fifteenth Amendment). In 1866 and 1875 Congress passed two civil rights acts; in 1865 and 1866 it established and continued the Freedman's Bureau, which sought to aid the freed slaves. Congress also enacted legislation to forbid Southern Whites from interfering with Reconstruction: the Force Act of 1870 and the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871. The immediate result of these political developments was the tremendous increase of Black voters and a significant number of Black elected officials in the South.

In 1870 there were 4.9 million Black people in the United States, 3.8 million of whom were still in the South. These people represented tremendous potential as a political force at the polls. Black leaders worked with the Republican Party to establish good relations with

White leaders and ensure that Black interests were looked after. The result of their work was tempered by the fact that few Blacks succeeded in making national political impact, although Southern states sent 17 Blacks, including two senators, to Congress before 1900.

It seems that Black participation was most significant on the state and local levels. It was on these levels that Blacks succeeded in significantly influencing the writing of constitutions, the establishment of public schools, and the abolition of lotteries and imprisonment for debt. In South Carolina the state legislature was for a time controlled by Blacks, and throughout the South hundreds of Blacks served as local officials.

For the masses of Black people in the South, the most immediate issues after the war were survival, work, family stability, and education. When the Civil War ended, thousands had been displaced by the conflict. Many plantations were deserted, and Blacks now had to find a way to make a living as free men in a free economy. Normally trained in only the basic agricultural skills, former field hands now had to do more than merely exist. What they really needed was land and assistance to develop as independent farmers. Most freedmen hoped that the government would redistribute abandoned land to them. The cry "Forty acres and a mule" was eloquent if quaint testimony to the freedman's understanding of his need for land as a basis of self-sufficiency. A few were able to obtain enough money to purchase land at public auctions, and the Freedman's Bureau supervised the distribution of some land to Black farmers, but the majority of Blacks were forced to work in the field much as they had during slavery, except that they were now paid wages or worked as dependent sharecroppers. As the *Arkansas State Gazette* said in an 1869 editorial, these "houseless, half-clad people" were an important element in the prosperity of the South but, like so many poor Whites, were unable to share in the wealth.

The freedmen's major asset was that they now had the freedom to move about at will to seek better employment, a course that White planters opposed. Immediately after the Civil War a number of "Black codes" were enacted in the South. Some of these laws made it difficult for Blacks to move freely from place to place. Although strong public opinion in the North caused the repeal of the Black codes, in 1867 there was still a desire on the part of some planters for

assurance that Black workers would be available in sufficient numbers. Within a few years that assurance was granted through the development of the crop lien system (sharecropping) and the convict lease system.

The sharecropping system grew out of two sets of desires. On the one hand, White planters wished to have a stable crop of workers who were tied to the land for at least one season. On the other hand, many Black freedmen desired work that would allow them to be independent and not constantly under the eye of an overseer. The sharecropping system seemed to be the perfect answer. Large sections of land were divided into smaller areas for each tenant farmer. The farmers were to work the land and share the profits of the crop with the landowner. Thus the tenant had a large amount of personal freedom but had to work very hard to make a living.

Undercapitalized and often required to provide their own seed, fertilizer, and agricultural equipment, most tenants were chronically in debt. Meanwhile, the owners enjoyed a sure work force, and the fluctuation of market prices was shared by both owner and tenant. Because of the steady decline in cotton prices during the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, few tenants were ever able to earn enough money to become landowners. Furthermore, by 1875 most states in the South had enacted peonage laws that made it illegal for indebted sharecroppers to leave the land. By then it was clear that most Black people in the South were to remain agricultural workers, with little hope of land ownership or financial security.

The convict lease system, developed during the turmoil immediately following the Civil War, also placed Blacks in a subordinate position. Sheriffs routinely leased convicts, mostly Blacks convicted of petty theft or vagrancy, to local planters. This relieved overcrowding in the jails and provided extra income for the sheriff's office. Large planters, as well as railroad, lumber, and mine operators, entered into profitable arrangements with local jails to obtain defenseless prisoners. Many were forced to work under brutal and dangerous conditions. It was reported in 1881 that in Arkansas the death rate among convict workers was 25 percent.

At the same time that society was placing these limits on the newly freed Blacks, a tremendous effort was under way to educate the freedmen. During the antebellum era, slaves had been denied access

to education; thus, educational opportunity was one of the most prized fruits of freedom. A number of church groups and concerned individuals sponsored "missionaries" from the North to go south and set up schools for Black children. Between 1866 and 1875 hundreds of such schools were established throughout the South. Some were multiple-staff schools with adequate supplies, but most were one-room, one-teacher schools with few supplies. Still, these modest schools contributed to the education of the freedmen. Some of the larger institutions, such as Howard (Washington, D.C.), Fisk (Nashville, Tennessee), Hampton (Hampton, Virginia), and Alcorn (Lorman, Mississippi), eventually became well-respected colleges.

The education of Black children following the Civil War was a problem in the North as well as in the South. Although most Northern states provided schools for Black children prior to the war, the quality of this education was uneven. Cities such as Indianapolis and New York were reluctant to move toward integrated education, while states such as Pennsylvania and Illinois had pockets in which segregation continued until well into the twentieth century.

In 1870 the Illinois legislature discussed a recommendation that allowed each local district to decide whether it wanted segregated or integrated schools as long as the decision did not require the additional outlay of funds to build schools only for Black children. In effect, the legislature supported segregated schools if the community had a large Black population, but not if a school had to be built to accommodate a small Black population. Such discussions were held in other places between 1865 and 1875, with lawmakers usually supporting either segregated schools or local autonomy in deciding the matter.

With the ending of Reconstruction in the South, there developed a concerted effort to strip Blacks of the political power they had gained. Beginning with Mississippi in 1890, every Southern state found a way to disfranchise Black voters legally. Three types of statutes proved especially effective in preventing Blacks from voting: the poll tax, literacy tests, and the grandfather clause.

The poll tax was a widely used form of voter discrimination and the easiest to implement. It involved a fee, usually \$1.50, that had to be paid for the privilege of voting. This was a real impediment for most Blacks, who were usually poor. The major problem with the tax

for Southerners was that it also discriminated against poor Whites. Some politicians avoided this problem by paying the tax for poor White voters if they agreed to vote for a particular candidate. In some cases, candidates also paid the tax for Black voters who agreed to vote for them. In order to head off this latter possibility, some states passed laws making it mandatory for the tax to be paid before the candidates were announced. Still, the poll tax proved so effective in neutralizing the Black vote that Tennessee, Florida, Arkansas, and Texas used the tax exclusively.

The literacy test was probably the most effective instrument for Black disfranchisement, and the most widespread. The mechanics of the test varied from place to place. In some places it was as simple as writing one's name and date of birth, although most districts required that a small section of the state constitution be read and interpreted. The successful completion of the test was determined by the person who administered the test. In many cases, Black professionals and college professors failed the test while White illiterates passed. Sometimes White persons and Black persons had virtually the same answers, but the Black persons failed the tests.

The most controversial of the efforts to control the Black vote was the "grandfather clause." The clause, usually a part of the revised state constitutions that were adopted during this period, stated that a person would be eligible to register and vote if his father or grandfather had been eligible to vote on January 1, 1860, or if he or an ancestor had served with either the United States or Confederate States military forces during the Civil War. Since most Blacks had been slaves in 1860, the clause eliminated almost all of the potential Black voters.

In 1915 the Supreme Court ruled the grandfather clauses unconstitutional, but by that time the Black electorate in the South had been almost completely decimated. In Louisiana there were 130,344 registered Black voters in 1896, but only 5,320 in 1900. In New Orleans there were 14,000 Black voters in 1896, but only 408 in 1908. In Alabama only 3,000 of the 181,471 previously registered Black voters were registered by 1900. In Virginia the ranks of Black voters shrank from 147,000 prior to 1902 to 21,000 after 1905.

In addition to disfranchising Blacks, Southern leaders established segregation. During the 1870s and 1880s the practice of segregation

appeared in such institutions as schools and hospitals, although trains and parks allowed some degree of integration. With racism increasing in the nation at large because of a new wave of immigration, Southern states in the 1890s were able to enforce and extend segregation through "Jim Crow" laws, which the Supreme Court judged constitutional in its 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. By the early twentieth century, segregation was fully established in both practice and law throughout the South.

The effort to take political power and social equality from Black citizens was often accompanied with violent words and deeds. Southern politicians running as White supremacists appealed openly to the racial divisions in Southern communities in an effort to become elected. Hoke Smith, editor of the *Atlanta Journal*, ran for governor of Georgia on a White supremacy platform that promised to disfranchise Blacks without disturbing the political power of White citizens. During his campaign he stirred up the crowds with allegations about Black atrocities. So great were the passions stirred by his speeches that following his election there was a lynching spree that lasted three days.

Such lynching was one of the most serious manifestations of the problems in race relations in America. The South had long had a tradition of dealing with social problems with a gun and a rope. Many parts of the South contained isolated communities with few facilities for the administration of impartial justice. Often accused felons were executed without a trial. The number of lynchings is not entirely clear, for it was not until the 1880s that data regarding lynchings were collected and published. Early reports indicated that more Whites than Blacks were being lynched. Between 1882 and 1888, for instance, 595 Whites were lynched as compared to 440 Blacks. By the 1890s the trend was completely reversed. The number of Black lynchings increased sharply between 1893 and 1904, averaging more than 100 annually as compared with a yearly average of 29 White lynchings. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier connected the increase in lynching with the drive for political domination and considered it a method used basically for political intimidation.

The mounting racial tensions, growing pessimism, and uncontrolled phobias of the 1880s and 1890s were hardly a favorable environment for the education of Black young people. Schools begun for

Blacks during the early years after the Civil War were struggling for survival in an atmosphere of diminished interest in the welfare and development of the Negro.

Into this situation stepped the young Black principal of Tuskegee Institute, a tiny school in south Alabama. A former slave and a graduate of Hampton Institute, Booker T. Washington was a great believer in the industrial education that he had received at Hampton. He advocated that the kind of education most useful to Blacks combined some academic education with the learning of a trade or handicraft. Convinced that such industrial education was the only way for Blacks to secure their proper place in the economic life of the nation, Washington urged them to concentrate on economic betterment rather than protesting their lack of civil rights. According to him, the best guarantee of civil rights was for the Black population to become indispensable to the economic life and health of the nation.

In 1895 Washington was invited to speak before a biracial audience gathered in Atlanta, Georgia, for the opening of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition. This exposition was designed to demonstrate to the world the great strides that the South had made in the areas of industry, education, and agriculture since the war.

On this critical occasion Washington decided to be frank, and yet not say anything that would give undue offense to White Southerners. His speech, later referred to as "the Atlanta compromise," suggested that the salvation of both races lay in their ability to put their differences aside and pursue mutual economic goals. He told Whites that by lessening their antagonism toward Black people, they could use Blacks profitably in getting rich. He told Blacks that political and social equality are less important as present goals than economic viability. Washington urged his Black brothers to make themselves useful to the White community in every manly way, and cease protesting for equality.

"The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privi-

leges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."

Washington concluded that in all things purely social Blacks and Whites could be as separate as the fingers of the hand, but in all things tending toward mutual economic benefit, united as the fist.

The speech proved sensational, and Washington was soon hailed as the wisest Black man in America. From 1885 until his death in 1915, he was considered by many as the foremost Black leader in America and certainly one of the most powerful men in America, regardless of race. This 30-year period is often referred to as the "age of Booker T. Washington." He came to have enormous influence upon politicians, philanthropists, and millions of common people, Black and White. Under his leadership, Tuskegee Institute became a world-famous school, and he, an equally famous educator.

Washington was not without his critics. William Monroe Trotter, editor of the *Boston Guardian*, and the first Black Phi Beta Kappa, sharply criticized Washington's compromise attitude on the subject of Black civil rights and his almost dictatorial control over philanthropic money that came into the Black community. W. E. B. DuBois, a leading Black scholar, publicly criticized Washington in an essay that appeared in *Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903. In a rhetorical denunciation of Washington's approach, DuBois asked:

"As a result of this tender of the palm branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disenfranchisement of the Negro.
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teaching; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment."

Despite the controversy that surrounded him, and the attacks of his critics, Washington enjoyed the support of the White community of politicians and philanthropists, and his leadership was never seriously challenged. Nonetheless, his emphasis on industrial education

did little to improve the lot of the educated Black person in the South. By 1900 many educated Southern Blacks, frustrated by the lack of opportunity for them in the South, began to move to Northern cities.

Carter G. Woodson called this movement the "migration of the talented tenth." Although the transformation went largely unnoticed at the time, it was important in that these highly trained people, with their great sense of racial pride and solidarity, were instrumental in building Black political and economic structures in Northern cities, greatly encouraging and stimulating the "great migration" of Blacks from the rural South to the urban North, which began in 1916.

By the time of World War I, relations between Blacks and Whites were at an all-time low. Segregation and harsh discrimination was legal throughout the South, and in some places in the North as well. Unfavorable stereotypes about Black people had taken on the air of reality, as many people were ready to believe anything that seemed to support their particular prejudices. Black people, as well as Orientals and some European minorities, were excluded regularly from meaningful participation in the mainstream of American social, political, and economic life. In the South, where most of the Black population lived, inflation, loss of jobs, and disastrous cotton seasons between 1914 and 1916 made survival for many Black farmers a tenuous affair.

During this critical period a sharp increase in the need for labor in Northern factories, brought on by the decrease in European immigration because of the outbreak of World War I, provided a way of escape for many Southern farmers on the verge of starvation. Not only did the North provide the promise of jobs; it promised a freer life than Blacks could expect in the South. That there was a quiet kind of racism in the North was rather insignificant to many Black Southerners when they compared it to the great indignities and dangers to which they were exposed in the South. It was not certain to anyone whether they would find prosperity in the unfamiliar surroundings of the large Northern cities, yet the opportunity to escape from the harsh social and political oppression inspired thousands to leave the South and seek a new life for themselves in the city. Without the guidance of any real leaders, these Blacks swarmed into the Chicago

packinghouses, the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Gary, the docks of New York, and the auto plants of Detroit, as well as the factories and plants of scores of smaller cities.

This attempt to escape the harsh problems that most Blacks faced was destined to change the complexion of Northern cities, and eventually resulted in another different set of racial problems and tensions. But that was in the future. In 1916 the future seemed bright for thousands of Afro-Americans who boarded trains headed North for a try at a new life and their share of the "American dream."

Bibliographical Note

Ellen White's major comments on slavery appear within the context of her discussions of the Civil War in *Testimonies to the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 254, 258, 259, and 264-268. The same work (vol. 7, pp. 220-230 and vol. 9, pp. 217-226) discusses the needs of Blacks in the South. Further writings from the *Review and Herald*, personal letters, and miscellaneous statements on race relations and missionary work among Southern Blacks are collected in *The Southern Work*.

Swing Low Sweet Chariot

Swing low sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home,
Swing low sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home,

O, swing low sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home,
Swing low sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home.

I look'd over Jordan, an' what did I see,
Comin' for to carry me home,
A band of angels comin' after me,
Comin' for to carry me home.
If you get-a dere befo' I do,
Tell all of my friends I'm comin' too,

O, swing low sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home,
Swing low sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home,
Comin' for to carry me home.

Reprinted from the *Review and Herald*

GUIDING PRINCIPLES IN RACE RELATIONS

A Review of Inspired Counsels

By Arthur L. White, Secretary, Ellen G. White Estate

THAT Tuesday, January 25, a storm threatened. For three weeks, in company with Elder and Mrs. J. N. Loughborough and their three-year-old daughter, Teresa, Ellen White had been itinerating among the churches in western Michigan. As they journeyed by carriage southward, her mind was of home, her three boys, and her husband who had expected to join her on this trip, but was prevented from doing so by urgent duties at Battle Creek. The snow was falling fast as they drove up at midday to the Hardy home some ten miles southwest of Grand Rapids. The travelers were invited in by this Adventist family. Of the reception given, Ellen White wrote in her diary that evening:

"We were heartily welcomed by the family. A good dinner was soon in readiness for us of which we thankfully partook. This is a colored family, but although the house is poor and old, everything is arranged with neatness and exact order. The children are well behaved, intelligent, and interesting."

And then spontaneously she expressed her heart feelings in words she never thought would be read by others:

"May I yet have a better acquaintance with this dear family."—Ellen G. White *Diary*, Jan. 25, 1859.

The people of the Negro community were ever close to the heart of Ellen G. White. These were days of ferment over the question of slavery in the United States. A few months before, as she depicted for publication what had been shown her in the Great Controversy vision, she had written of the slave and the slave master and how they stood in the sight of heaven. See *Early Writings*, pp. 275, 276.

Obey God Rather Than Man

In the first volume of the *Testimonies* is found a dramatic early presentation of the high level on which Sister White believed we should ever view the question of slavery. As the Sabbathkeeping Adventists in

those critical days just preceding the Civil War were confronted with the discussion of the courts that citizens of the North were duty bound to return a runaway slave to his master, a requirement thus making all United States citizens parties to the system of slavery, the Lord of heaven counseled His perplexed people. "The slave is not the property of any man," wrote Ellen White. "God is his rightful master," and "when the laws of men conflict with the word and law of God, we are to obey the latter, whatever the consequences may be."—See *Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 201, 202.

No one writing the history of the Advent Movement could ever be in doubt as to the fearless position of the movement in its earliest years in relation to a most grave and explosive moral issue.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, all Seventh-day Adventists resided in the Northern States, and they were united in their attitude against the inhuman traffic in slaves. While not a few other religious bodies endeavored to justify slavery, Seventh-day Adventists, from the outset, were opposed to it. And the light given to Ellen G. White unified and solidified the thinking and attitude of the emerging church.

When the war was over, there was great rejoicing in our ranks that the slaves were free. But Seventh-day Adventists, like other religious bodies, promptly forgot that a large work was yet to be done for the so recently freed slaves. Perhaps one reason for this was that the work of the church was very slow in its development in the South. Seventh-day Adventists, not being in direct contact with situations and conditions existing there in the first two decades following the Civil War, became quite unmindful of their responsibilities. As the evangelism of the church began in a limited way in Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas in the 1870's, some colored families were among the hearers and some took their stand for the message. But it is reported that in 1890 there were fewer

than 20 colored Seventh-day Adventists south of the Mason-Dixon line.

As church leaders assembled in Battle Creek for the General Conference session of 1891, Ellen White, near the close of the session, met with them in the committee room of the Battle Creek tabernacle and read to them a lengthy manuscript concerning our duty to the colored people. In this she clearly delineated the close ties of all mankind and called upon Seventh-day Adventists to take an active part in uplifting and educating these people so recently out of slavery. (See article, pages 10-12, for the major portion of this presentation, which was later issued in pamphlet form.)

This initial statement from the pen of Ellen G. White, touching on this important subject clearly laid down certain guidelines. She vividly portrayed the brotherhood of mankind, indicating that Christ died for the colored people as well as for the white people, and in Christ's sight it is not birth, station, nationality, or color that counts, but rather character. The manuscript from which she read made it clear that she was well aware that such statements would bring her into conflict. This she did not covet, but she would perform her duty regardless of the consequences. As she neared the close of her address, speaking of the conditions of those days, she declared, "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people."

The Heart of Her Message

In the heart of this presentation to the leaders of the church, Ellen White pointed out that when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and the Christian becomes one with Christ, he will have the same spirit that Christ had. She stated that if a colored brother sits by his side, he will not be offended or despise him. Both are journeying to the same heaven and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God.

The reading of the message made

a deep impression on the hearts of the leaders of the church. Copies of the document in manuscript form were sent to certain workers, and copies were circulated somewhat in Battle Creek; but little was actually done. Then it was that Ellen White's own son, Edson, who had been engaged in business in Chicago, found a copy of this appeal. He read it and it gripped his heart. He determined to do something. The task was challenging. It seemed to James Edson White to call for new and unique methods. With some river boat experience, his mind turned to a floating home and chapel. He moved ahead in constructing at Allegan, Michigan, a missionary boat, which he christened *The Morning Star*. With this mobile home, office, chapel, printing office, schoolroom, and living quarters for associate workers, he pioneered well-organized missionary endeavors for the Negro community along the Mississippi River in the Deep South.

He, with his company of workers, reached Vicksburg, Mississippi, January 10, 1895, ready to open up work. Now, in the practical setting of a response to her appeals for concerted work among Americans of Negro ancestry, Ellen White wrote again, this time a message for the whole church, which was published in the *Review and Herald* of April 2, 1895. The appeal was dual in nature, calling first for recognition that peoples of all races and nations were brothers in the sight of God, and second, that Seventh-day Adventists had a large responsibility to the colored population of the South.

The article entitled "Work Among the Colored People," opens with the words:

"I have a most earnest interest in the work to be done among the colored people. This is a branch of work that has been strangely neglected. The reason that this class of human beings who have souls to save or to

lose, have been so long neglected, is the prejudice that the white people have felt and manifested against mingling with them in religious worship. They have been despised, shunned, and treated with abhorrence, as though crime were upon them, when they were helpless and in need, when men should have labored most earnestly for their salvation. They have been treated without pity. The priests and the Levites have looked upon their wretchedness, and have passed by on the other side."

The article, in its clear-cut presentation, left no room in the hearts of a true Seventh-day Adventist for animosity or apathy toward the colored population. Ellen White declared that the religious bodies generally were agreed that the colored people should be converted.

"They [the religious bodies] have no objection to this. They were willing that they should be grafted into the same parent stock, Christ, and become branches with themselves of the living Vine; yet they were not willing to sit by the side of their colored brethren, and sing and pray and bear witness to the truth which they had in common. Not for a moment could they tolerate the idea that they should together bear the fruit that should be found on the Christian tree. The image of Christ might be stamped upon the soul; but it still would be necessary to have a separate church and a separate service. But the question is, Is this in harmony with the moving of the Spirit of God? Is it not after the manner in which the Jewish people acted in the days of Christ? Is not this prejudice against the colored people on the part of the white people similar to that which was cherished by the Jews against the Gentiles?"

Two Distinct Classes

Then Ellen White turns to a true

distinction in the two classes in our world, as those represented in the parable of the invitation to the marriage feast. "There are two distinct classes,—" she declares, "those who are saved through faith in Christ and through obedience to His law, and those who refuse the truth as it is in Jesus." She urged, "Let national and denominational distinctions be laid aside. Caste and rank are not recognized by God and should not be by His workers."

Knowing well that there were large problems in the matter of a recognition of the principles of the brotherhood of mankind, and that procedures must be different in different places, Ellen White further counseled:

"No human mind should seek to draw the line between the colored and the white people. Let circumstances indicate what shall be done; for the Lord has his hand on the lever of circumstances. As the truth is brought to bear upon the minds of both colored and white people, as souls are thoroughly converted, they will become new men and women in Christ Jesus. Christ says, 'A new heart also will I give you,' and that new heart bears the divine image. Those who are converted among the white people will experience a change in their sentiments. The prejudice which they have inherited and cultivated toward the colored race will die away. They will realize that there is no respect of persons with God. Those who are converted among the colored race will be cleansed from sin, will wear the white robe of Christ's righteousness, which has been woven in the loom of heaven. Both white and colored people must enter into the path of obedience through the same way."

Then she points out in this basic article, appealing to the church, that—"the test will come not as regards the outward complexion, but as regards the condition of the heart. Both the white and the colored people have the

Important Series Begins

Here reprinted is an editorial that appeared in the *Review* of March 24, 1900. The "series of articles" mentioned is the series by Arthur L. White that began on page 4 of the issue of March 24. It is here reproduced, beginning on page 1 of this reprint. This editorial mentions an article by Sister White, "The Bible Provides Guiding Principles on Race Relations." In this reprint her article appears on pages 10-12 under the title "Ellen G. White Speaks on Race Relations."¹

On page 4 of this issue we begin a series of articles on the general subject of human relations. This traces certain main points of the story of our work in the South, particularly in relation to the Negro American. This series presents in chronological order the record of the difficulties and the opportunities, the prejudices and the providences, that have marked our evangelizing activities in that area of the United States.

What distinguishes these articles is that they are woven around the many and stirring counsels Sister White gave in behalf of missionary work for a then sorely benighted

and neglected race who had so recently gained the status of free men. The spirit of temperateness, restraint, and balance marks her counsels on this subject as on all others. The writer of the series, Arthur L. White, has effectively placed Sister White's words in their historical context. The result, we believe, is that a harmonious line of inspired counsel on race relations is woven throughout this series.

It is in this setting that we can best call attention to an article by Ellen G. White on page 1 of this issue. The title of it well describes its range: "The Bible Provides Guiding Principles on Race Relations." This article originally was an address she gave to church leaders in 1891. It marks the real beginnings of Adventist labor for the colored race, particularly in the Southern States. This extended article, which will be concluded next week, provides the true background for many articles Sister White later wrote on this theme.

same Redeemer, who has paid the ransom money with his own life for every member of the human family."

Her closing words recognize that—"as a people we should do more for the colored race in America than we have yet done. In the work we shall need to move with carefulness, being endowed with wisdom from above."

The Notable Series of Nine Articles

This article of appeal was followed shortly by nine articles in the *Review and Herald* from November 26, 1895, to February 4, 1896. These bore such titles as "An Appeal for the Southern Field," "The Bible the Colored People's Hope," "Spirit and Life for the Colored People," "Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

In this series of articles Ellen White depicted the situation among the colored people in the middle 1890's as it was revealed to her in vision. This picture, drawn of conditions existing within 30 years of slavery, is not a nice one, for the Negro had been neglected, and efforts towards his education had been very largely ineffective. The appeals made by Ellen White to Seventh-day Adventist lay families who could do so, to go into the South, not to colonize, but to let

their light shine in various communities, brought a response that led to a strengthening of a work that was beginning for Americans of African descent.

One phase of the battle had been won. Seventh-day Adventists had come to recognize their responsibility to the colored citizens and the work among them in the Southern States was now begun. Ellen White's presentations of race relationships in the light of Bible principles made it clear to all Seventh-day Adventists that there was no place for prejudice or distinction that would bar the Negro from close association in worship and labor.

These guidelines were forever laid down in the clearest of terms. Work among these people had now become a clearly defined part of the work of the church.

It was one thing for Seventh-day Adventists to come to recognize these principles and to be motivated by them in their evangelism beamed toward the colored population in the South. It was another thing to know how to proceed with the work in the South in such a manner as to avoid creating prejudice that could lock the doors of the homes and the hearts of many against the third angel's message.

both presentations recognized that there was a certain risk involved, which might affect the possibility of the church's fulfilling its mission. She urged discretion and caution lest the cause of God be hindered. Her one concern was that no steps should be taken which would deter or block the heralding of the third angel's message. She closed her urgent appeal with these words:

"We shall need to move with carefulness, being endowed with wisdom from above."—*Review and Herald*, April 2, 1895, p. 210.

Ellen White understood the significance of these words better than did her readers. In vision she had received information and instruction concerning the caution which as the work developed we must exercise, but which for a time she was not at liberty to disclose.

A premature delineation of this advance instruction might blur in the minds of some the great principles that must be forever made clear—that, regardless of color or background, all men are brothers.

In 1895, as we were launching a concerted, well-organized missionary work for the colored people in the deep South, Seventh-day Adventists in the Southern States in their resistance to Sunday laws came to public attention. A number were imprisoned for the violation of local or State Sunday ordinances. Some were condemned to hard labor in chain gangs.

Many of our church members understood and applied literally the words of the fourth commandment, "Six days shalt thou labour" as requiring physical labor on Sunday that would be apparent to their neighbors. The public press carried the story. We too made the most of the persecution in our journals, confident that in this we were doing God service.

Now the third angel's message was beginning to reach the colored com-

Divine Guidance in a Sensitive Area

THE two Ellen G. White presentations, (1) "Our Duty to the Colored People," read as an appeal to the leaders of the church in March, 1891, and (2) an article in the *REVIEW AND HERALD*, April 2, 1895, entitled "Work Among the Colored People," established with clarity and for all time the Seventh-day Ad-

ventist recognition of the brotherhood of mankind. Both statements were also aimed at calling Seventh-day Adventists to accept the responsibility for a strong missionary "work among the colored people." These two points the church must not forget, nor can we at any time hedge on them.

At the same time, Ellen White in

Let us take heart that the God of the Advent Movement is leading, not a stray segment here or a racial group there, but a united body from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. Living as we do in a divided world where problems social, economic, religious, and racial threaten havoc and destruction, may we ever seek for unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. That kind of unity must ever distinguish the Advent Movement. We are nearly home. That we believe. Increasing unity can quicken our pace. The United Nations is constantly struggling to preserve a sufficient semblance of unity to prevent war. The people of God must provide the world and an onlooking universe with something this earth so sorely lacks, a unity and fellowship both genuine and joyous.

God has helped us hearteningly toward this heavenly goal. It is our devout hope and belief that Sister White's article and the series by Arthur White that we are start-

ing in these columns this week will bring us ever nearer to this radiant goal. We plan, in counsel with the leadership of the movement, to reprint in future months further articles on this subject from Sister White. The current articles will later be reprinted as a pamphlet.

All these endeavors in print reflect, in part, the plans worked out by a special committee set up by the General Conference to promote ever better human relations. We need hardly add that this committee, which represents both Caucasian and colored brethren in leadership, is wise, not in the ways of the world in seeking for unity—proper as some of those ways may be. But it is humbly wise concerning the power and the possibilities that reside in praying together, planning together and going forward together. The people of God always make their most rapid advances on their knees. That is why we commend that all of us read these current articles on race relations in a mood of prayer.

R. D. N.

munities of the deep South. What should we teach these people about Sunday work? The situation was freighted with danger to the cause.

At a council meeting in Australia, November 20, 1895, the matter was brought before Sister White, and she firmly drove in certain stakes that saved the church from moves that could lead to disaster, and in the enunciation of three basic principles provided safe guidance. These were:

1. No one set of rules could be established to govern in all places the work in such delicate matters. This was especially so in the South.

2. It was not essential for us to perform physical work publicly on Sunday as a sign of allegiance to God.

3. The hours of Sunday might well be spent in missionary work, thus literally foiling the enemy.

She wrote that day a statement that was hurried to the United States and soon appeared in a tract. In it she said, in part:

"The light that the Lord has given me at different times has been that the Southern field, where the greatest share of the population of the colored race is, cannot be worked after the same methods as other fields."—*Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers*, No. 6, pp. 47, 48; also in *The Southern Work*, p. 98.

Coming then to the question of working on Sunday, she counseled:

"Should the colored people in the Southern States be educated, as they receive the truth, that they should work on Sunday, there would be excited a most unreasonable and unjust prejudice. Judges and jurors, lawyers and citizens, would, if they had a chance, bring decisions which would bind about them rites which would cause much suffering, not only to the ones whom they term guilty of breaking the laws of their State, but all the colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance, and under cruel treatment by the white people, that would be no less than slavery."—*Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers*, No. 6, p. 48; also in *The Southern Work*, p. 98.

And then she warned:

"Everything of a character to set them in a position of opposition to authorities, as working on Sunday, would cause the colored people great suffering, and cut off the possibility of the white laborers' going among them; for the workers that intended to do them good, would be charged with raising insurrections.

"I do not want anything of this character to appear, for I know the result. Tell them they need not provoke their neighbors by doing work on Sunday; that this will not prevent

them from observing the Sabbath. . . .

"Punishment for any offense would be visited unsparingly and unmercifully upon the colored people."—*Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers*, No. 6, pp. 48, 49; also in *The Southern Work*, p. 99.

In the cautions she sounded, we find these:

"There is not to be one word uttered which would stir up the slumbering enmity and hatred of the [former] slaves against discipline and order, or to present before them the injustice that has been done them.

"Nothing can be done at first in making the Sabbath question prominent, and if the colored people are in any way educated to work on Sunday, there will be unsparing, merciless oppression brought upon them."—*Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers*, No. 6, p. 50; also in *The Southern Work*, p. 101.

Ellen White saw clearly that such ill-advised moves on the part of Seventh-day Adventists as counseling the colored people to engage publicly in physical work on Sunday would precipitate a time of crisis prematurely and close the way for the proclamation of the third angel's message to all classes of people. And she declared:

"The final issue of the Sabbath question has not yet come, and by imprudent actions we may bring on

a crisis before the time."—*The Southern Work*, p. 136.

Ellen White's counsels were accepted. The precious work was thus guarded and the way kept open to herald the message among both races in the South. Families moved into the South to respond to Ellen White's advice, given in 1895:

"The most successful methods are to encourage families who have a missionary spirit, to settle in the Southern States, and work with the people without making any noise. . . . Schools should be started by families coming into the South."—*Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers*, No. 6, p. 52; also in *The Southern Work*, pp. 103, 104.

"Not a word should be spoken to create prejudice, for if by any careless or impulsive speech to the colored people in regard to the whites any prejudice is created in their minds against the whites, or in the minds of the whites against them, the spirit of the enemy will work in the children of disobedience."—*The Southern Work*, p. 131.

Again and again Ellen White sounded cautions aimed at guarding against any moves that might lead prejudiced people to hinder the work of God in a field where the doors could be so easily closed. On June 5, 1899, she wrote:

"The Southern Work"

A question has been raised concerning the source and circulation of *The Southern Work*, a booklet of early years. All the materials appearing in its 147 pages were from the pen of Ellen G. White. The several articles comprising its content were assembled by her son J. E. White as he pioneered the work along the Mississippi River in the South, and were printed in 1898 on his missionary boat *The Morning Star*.

He issued this booklet as a means of appealing to Seventh-day Adventists to work among the large population of Negroes who were barely a generation out of America's shameful system of slavery. It sets forth certain counsels and cautions relating to that work. The heart of the booklet is constituted of the nine articles Mrs. White published as a series in the *REVIEW AND HERALD* in 1895 and 1896. About the year 1901 supplementary pages were added consisting of messages of counsel and caution to workers laboring in the Southern States.

As Ellen G. White set forth her appeals, within twenty-five or thirty years

of the proclamation of the emancipation of the slaves, she made frequent reference to the conditions among the colored population at the time she wrote. The depiction of the state of affairs then existing does not describe conditions as they are today. Great changes have taken place in the status of the Negro American.

Her statements as they appear in this booklet also present the neglect by the church up to that time of the work it should be doing for this our largest ethnic minority. These messages brought about a change and a well-organized, strong work has been done and continues to be done, as is attested to by the more than 50,000 members of Negro ancestry who are currently in numerous churches across the nation.

The booklet, *The Southern Work*, has its primary value today as a part of the historical record, and it should be read in its historical context with an understanding of the times in which it was published. This booklet has just been reprinted and is obtainable through your Book and Bible House.

"It is the prejudice of the white against the black race that makes this field hard, very hard. . . . The field is one that needs to be worked with the greatest discretion. . . . The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem."—*Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118.

And she reminded the church again in an article published in the REVIEW AND HERALD of October 24, 1899, page 677, that:

"In Christ Jesus we are one. By the utterance of one name, 'Our Father,' we are lifted to the same rank. We become members of the royal family, children of the heavenly King. His principles of truth bind heart to heart, be they rich or poor, high or low.

"When the Holy Spirit moves upon human minds, all petty complaints and accusations between man and his fellow man will be put away. The bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness will shine into the chambers of the mind and heart. In our worship of God there will be no distinction between rich and poor, white and black. All prejudice will be melted away. When we approach God, it will be as one brotherhood. We are pilgrims and strangers, bound for a better country, even a heavenly. There all pride, all accusation, all self-deception, will forever have an end. Every mask will be laid aside, and we shall 'see him as he is.' There our songs will catch the inspiring theme, and praise and thanksgiving will go up to God."

Testimonies for the Church, volume 7, was published in the year 1902. It contained counsels regarding the needs of the Southern field, and again the church was reminded of the common brotherhood of one segment of the human family to another segment. Note these words:

"The Lord has looked with sadness upon that most pitiful of all sights, the colored race in slavery. He desires us in our work for them, to remember their providential deliverance from slavery, their common relationship to us by creation and by redemption, and their right to the blessings of freedom."—Page 223.

Of the potentiality of these people, she observed:

"The colored people deserve more from the hands of the white people than they have received. There are thousands who have minds capable of cultivation and uplifting. With proper labor, many who have been looked upon as hopeless will become educators of their race. Through the grace of God the race that the enemy has for generations oppressed may rise to the dignity of God-given manhood and womanhood."—*Ibid.*, p. 229.

Great Prudence Through Critical Years

LATE in 1900 Ellen G. White returned from her sojourn of nine years in Australia, and took up residence at Elmhaven, in northern California. She lived there until her death in 1915. On arrival in the United States she was eager to visit the Deep South where the work was now well under way. When invited to attend the General Conference session to be held in April, 1901, she planned her journey to Battle Creek by the Southern route so she might see for herself the fruitage of six years of earnest labor among the area's colored population. Further trips through the South in the ensuing eight years kept her in touch with endeavors close to her heart.

Personal contact with the Southern field revealed substantial numbers of Negroes joining the ranks of the Adventist Movement. There were schools in operation and churches established. This personal contact led her to reiterate the principles of the brotherhood of mankind and at the same time it substantiated all that she had written concerning the cautions which Seventh-day Adventists must exercise if they were to succeed in proclaiming the third angel's message in areas made sensitive by race antagonism.

One of the most widely read statements on race relationships presented in the setting of the ministry of Christ she published in 1905. It reads:

Christ recognized no distinction of nationality or rank or creed. . . . Christ came to break down every wall of partition. He came to show that His gift of mercy and love is as unconfined as the air, the light, or the showers of rain that refresh the earth.

The life of Christ established a religion in which there is no caste, a religion by which Jew and Gentile, free and bond, are linked in a common brotherhood, equal before God. No question of policy influenced His movements. He made no difference between neighbors and strangers, friends and enemies. That which appealed to His heart was a soul thirsting for the waters of life. . . .

He sought to inspire with hope the roughest and most unpromising, setting before them the assurance that they might become blameless and harmless, attaining such a character as would make them manifest as the children of God.—*The Ministry of Healing*, pp. 23, 25.

The Course of Expediency

But Ellen White recognized that the prospect of a fruitful work among both the colored and white peoples of the South as she had personally seen it could easily be changed by ill-

advised moves, and she was led to declare:

The time has not come for us to work as if there were no prejudice. Christ said: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." Matthew 10:16. If you see that by doing certain things which you have a perfect right to do, you hinder the advancement of God's work, refrain from doing those things. Do nothing that will close the minds of others against the truth. There is a world to save, and we shall gain nothing by cutting loose from those we are trying to help. All things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient.—*Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 215. (Italics supplied.)

With no denial of the often enumerated principles of the brotherhood of mankind and ever calling upon the church for the most earnest endeavors for the neglected colored people, Ellen White, under the direction of the Spirit of God and in the phraseology of Holy Writ (1 Cor. 6:12), led the church into a course of expediency. Anything short of this would at the time have led to disaster and the loss of many souls.

This guidance, calling for an expedient course, that the cause of God be not hindered, she set forth in several articles, and embodied them in *Testimonies*, volume nine, published in the year 1909 in the section entitled "Among the Colored People." As these counsels are readily available to all they need not be quoted here at length. Some reference to their historical setting is in place, and a few key statements will be given:

Ellen White repeatedly referred to the racial prejudice which existed in the South and she reminded the church that "circumstances warn us that discretion is the better part of valor" (page 205). And she warned:

The powers of hell are working with all their ingenuity to prevent the proclamation of the last message of mercy among the colored people. Satan is working to make it most difficult for the gospel minister and teacher to ignore the prejudice that exists between the white and the colored people.—Page 208.

Then in words which surprised some who had not seen the instruction to workers laboring in the South but remembered her early counsel that our colored believers should hold membership in the church with the white brethren, she set before the church the only course which could be followed and keep doors open for the spread of the third angel's message.

Let us follow the course of wisdom. Let us do nothing that will unnecessarily arouse op-

position—nothing that will hinder the proclamation of the gospel message. Where demanded by custom or where greater efficiency is to be gained, let the white believers and the colored believers assemble in separate places of worship.—*Ibid.*

At the same time Ellen White made it clear that in that critical period no universal or timeless rules could be laid down. As we should forge ahead with the work of proclaiming the third angel's message and were confronted with the color line question, two points must be kept in mind:

In different places and under varying circumstances, the subject will need to be handled differently.—Page 213.

We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future.—Page 209.

With tenderness and concern Ellen White recognized the difficult position in which the colored believer would at times be placed in accepting the prudent course into which God was guiding us and she urged that

the matter is to be presented in such a way that the truly converted colored people will cling to the truth for Christ's sake, refusing to renounce one principle of sound Bible doctrine because they may think that the very best course is not being pursued toward the Negro race.—Page 215.

The church was counseled to

provide the colored people who accept the truth, with places of worship of their own, in which they can carry on their services by themselves. This is particularly necessary in the South in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hindrance.

Let the colored believers be provided with neat, tasteful houses of worship. Let them be shown that this is done not to exclude them from worshipping with white people, because they are black, but in order that the progress of the truth may be advanced. Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows us a better way.—Pages 206, 207.

The messenger of the Lord envisioned arising from the ranks of the colored people men and women of ability who would serve the church as capable evangelists, pastors, teachers, colporteurs, Bible instructors, et cetera, and she declared that "their voices are to be heard in the representative assemblies" of the church (page 207).

And she wrote:

Our colored ministers are to be treated with consideration. . . . These men are to be encouraged to obtain a thorough knowledge of the truth. They are to learn how to be efficient in teaching the truth to others.—Page 223.

Near the close of the series of articles on the colored work in volume 9 Ellen White restated the paramount truth which all must ever keep in mind:

The religion of the Bible recognizes no caste or color. It ignores rank, wealth, worldly honor. God estimates men as men. With Him, character decides their worth. And we are to recognize the Spirit of Christ in whomsoever it is revealed.—*Ibid.*

And she counseled:

No one need be ashamed to speak with an honest black man in any place or to shake him by the hand. He who is living in the atmosphere in which Christ lives will be taught of God and will learn to put His estimate on men.—*Ibid.*

One point gave Ellen White deep concern. That was the matter of controversy among brethren. She foresaw the possibility of difficulties arising that would consume much precious time to adjust (page 213). Agitation would not solve, but would intensify, these problems. And she urged:

Let every believer do his best to prepare the way for the gospel missionary work that is to be done. But let no one enter into controversy. It is Satan's object to keep Christians occupied in controversies among themselves. He knows that if they do not watch, the day of the Lord will come on them as a thief in the night. We have no time now to give place to the spirit of the enemy and to cherish prejudices that confuse the judgment and lead us away from Christ.

Should Jesus Bear the Cross Alone?

By FRANC STOCKTON PUMMILL

Should Jesus bear the cross alone?

It was our sins that nailed Him there;
He shed His blood that we might live
And in His heavenly glory share.

Shall Jesus bear the cross alone?

He suffered much for you and me;
To set us free from sin and shame,
He paid the awful penalty.

He said, "Take thy cross and follow Me,

Be neither faint nor lay it down,
Till in that city, bright and fair,
I'll place upon your head a crown."

He must not bear the cross alone,

For He has shown such wondrous love;
We all must daily bear our cross,
To wear a crown with Him above.

It will take money and earnest, persevering effort to do that which needs to be done among the colored people. Every man needs now to stand in his lot and place, confessing and forsaking his sins, and working in harmony with his brethren. God's workers are to be of one mind and one heart, praying for the impartation of the Spirit and believing that God will fulfill His word.—Page 216.

Thus Ellen White set before the church certain great principles and lines of counsel. She made clear the brotherhood of man. She made clear the responsibility of carrying the third angel's message to the growing population of colored Americans. From time to time, she set before us in words of caution the dangers which we faced and the course of action

which, in expediency, we should pursue so as to accomplish the work which must be done. She recognized that Seventh-day Adventists were in a very sensitive position. To sum up her counsel: As we go forth proclaiming the Sabbath truth, we are being closely watched by white and colored. This should ever lead us to exceptional caution, for ill-advised moves would lead to persecution and the Sunday issue.

The genuinely high regard she had for colored people she ever made clear in her statements, and constantly reminded the church of its responsibility.

Counsel Results in Strong Work

Following these counsels, a strong work in the South was developed. Inspired expediency—great prudence—was the watchword. There were large accessions to the church. Institutions of learning and for the care of the sick were developed, and are in good running order. Regional conferences were formed, providing maximum opportunities for numerous men and women from the rank and file of our colored congregations to fill responsible positions. Under this leadership growth has been very rapid so that at present the ratio of Seventh-day Adventist believers to population in the United States is greater among the colored constituency than among the whites. God indeed has blessed as men and women with confidence and with restraint, ever putting the interest of God's cause first, have walked in the light God has given to guide safely in this very sensitive area of race relations.

The heart of the counsels of volume 9 is the phrase, "until the Lord shows us a better way" (page 207). Coupled with this is the oft-repeated thought that though all things may be lawful, all things are not expedient. We are to go forward in a way to accomplish the greatest good with the least controversy, tumult, or opposition. It is evident that Sister White did not give rigid, timeless specifications for carrying on the work for the nation's largest ethnic minority. As she so wisely counseled, in another connection, time and circumstances must be taken into account in interpreting certain specific counsels. This we must ever keep in mind.

As always, the Spirit of Prophecy counsels give sound and constructive guidance. There is to be a readiness on the part of Seventh-day Adventists to move into new opportunities, to face new challenges, to move forward with new and better plans as the way opens, and indeed we as a church are so doing.

Building on a Strong Foundation

EXPRESSIONS appearing in the body of counsels published in 1909 regarding the work among the colored people and referred to in last week's article, make clear that no one rule can be made for all areas or for all times and people, but that a change in circumstances could lead to a modification in approach to the problems.

This plan is to be followed, until the Lord shows us a better way.—Testimonies, vol. 9, p. 207. (Italics supplied.)

We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future regarding the relation to be maintained between white and colored people.—*Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210. (Italics supplied.)

The counsels God gave for the work were safe counsels, and we, with surrendered hearts and wills, were to keep close to the Lord. It would be the Lord through His providences who, if a better way was to be found, would show it to us. This thought was implicit in the following admonition given at that time, which was more than 50 years ago:

Let white and colored people be labored for in separate, distinct lines, and let the Lord take care of the rest.—*Ibid.*, p. 210. (Italics supplied.)

Circumstances May Alter Cases

Two years later, but in an entirely different context, Ellen White wrote:

Regarding the testimonies, nothing is ignored; nothing is cast aside; but time and place must be considered.—*Selected Messages, book 1, p. 57.*

She also stated that at times in some matters, "circumstances alter cases" (Ellen G. White letter 267, 1905). And again she declared, "Circumstances and emergencies will arise for which the Lord must give special instruction. But if we begin to work, depending wholly upon the Lord, watching, praying, and walking in harmony with the light He sends us, we shall not be left to walk in darkness."—Ellen G. White letter 192, 1906.

If there was one dominant thought in the counsels given in 1895 and 1896—and quoted in this series—regarding work in the Southern States and among the colored people, it was that the approaches must be different from those made in other places and that we must be led by the Spirit of God in meeting the situations as we found them, changing as they may be.

The counsels of 1909, published in the *Testimonies*, volume nine, gave safe guidance for that time, and do today in so far as conditions may, in certain areas, be as they were then. The expressions quoted at the opening of this article indicate the possibility of adjustments in approaches as the Lord, through His Spirit, leads us in relating ourselves to changing conditions.

It has been most gratifying to observe the progress that has been made as the years have passed by. The church membership has increased. The plan for Regional conferences was developed in 1944, which drew men and women of varied skills and talents into administrative, financial, and secretarial lines. This greatly broadens the choice of denominational employment open to our colored young men and young women coming from the colleges of the church.

It may be added here that well-qualified colored personnel have been drawn into departmental and administrative work in such higher organizations as the union conferences and the General Conference. Colored teachers fill teaching positions in most North American senior colleges, and colored physicians and nurses help to staff Seventh-day Adventist medical institutions generally.

Steadily and consistently as progress is made in the United States toward better understanding between the races, the church has moved forward, keeping pace. Perhaps the progress has not been as rapid as some might desire, but church leaders representing both races have ever kept in mind the vital importance of avoiding a course that would jeopardize the proclamation of the message in any area. Added impetus was given to the movement for better race relations within the church with a series of formal declarations announcing the denomination's position on these matters. The progress is shown in the statements which follow.

R. R. Figuhr, in 1958, Reports Progress

From the report of the General Conference president, R. R. Figuhr, to the session of 1958, we give the following:

We are a universal church. We could not be otherwise. The divine mandate, to proclaim the gospel to every nation and people, makes us such. Consistent with this fact, we believe, is the universal brotherhood of man and that God "hath made of one blood all nations . . . to dwell on all the face of the earth," as the Scriptures say. We therefore deplore, as contrary to the spirit of the gospel, any effort to depreciate as inferior any nation or people, believing that all alike are precious in God's sight. We believe in the oneness that there is in Christ and as set forth by the apostle Paul, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." (Gal. 3:28).—*Review and Herald*, June 20, 1958, p. 1.

Formal 1961 Statement on Human Relations

On October 27, 1961, at the Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee the following formal statement setting forth human relations in the Seventh-day Adventist Church was adopted:

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is a world church. The task that Seventh-day Adventists have assumed is the preaching of the gospel to every tongue and nation. They believe that all men are of one blood and are equally destined for eternity in the heavenly kingdom.

The stand of our church on these basic principles involved in race and national relationships has been set forth clearly for many decades in many of our standard publications. The following quotations are representative of our belief and teaching:

"Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God. The Saviour has a boundless love for every human being. In each one He sees capacity for improvement. With divine energy and hope He greets those for whom He has given His life. In His strength they can live a life rich in good works, filled with the power of the Spirit."—*Testimonies, vol. 7, p. 227.*

"No distinction on account of nationality, race, or caste, is recognized by God. He is the Maker of all mankind. All men are of one family by creation, and all are one through redemption. Christ came to demolish every wall of partition, to throw open every compartment of the temple, that every soul may have free access to God. . . . In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free. All are brought nigh by His precious blood."—*Christ's Object Lessons, p. 386.*

"The religion of the Bible recognizes no caste or color. It ignores rank, wealth, worldly honor. God estimates men as men."—*Testimonies, vol. 9, p. 223.*

"Thus Christ sought to teach the disciples the truth that in God's Kingdom there are no territorial lines, no caste, no aristocracy; that they must go to all nations, hearing to them the message of a Saviour's love."—*The Acts of the Apostles, p. 20.*

"When the Holy Spirit is poured out, there will be a triumph of humanity over prejudice in seeking the salvation of the souls of human beings. God will control minds. Human hearts will love as Christ loved. And the color line will be regarded by many very differently from the way in which it is now regarded. To love as Christ loves, lifts the mind into a pure, heavenly, unselfish atmosphere."—*Testimonies, vol. 9, p. 269.*

These truths so clearly enunciated and supported by Holy Scripture, caused a new day to dawn upon our earth. They broke

down the partition walls between adversaries, between races, between men. No more was there to be a distinction of a race or caste of people. The elect of God became a universal race, a new humanity. The implication was love and pity and respect toward all men—total love, unrestricted duty. Christians moved with compassion would look upon a dying world with deep concern, for God is the father of mankind and all men are their brothers.

We believe that a denial in any form of this universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man would eat the heart out of a world movement and stifle as nothing else could the spirit of "Abba, Father."

We, therefore, rededicate our denominational purpose to these basic principles of God's universal church.—*Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee*, October 24-29, 1961, pp. 12, 13.

At this same 1961 council the following forward-looking action was taken to give substance to the general principles stated above:

In consideration of our denominational stand on human relations, and with a view

to better communication and understanding, we recommend the following:

1. That we continue to encourage the employment of workers in our institutions without regard to race, color, or national origin, and on the basis of qualification and merit.

2. That we continue the service of Regional workers in overseas fields, and that we explore the possibility of finding further overseas territories in which they can serve.

3. That when circumstances require, committees be set up within the union conferences to study the problems of human relations, and that workshops be conducted to give guidance and instruction in dealing with local racial problems.

4. That a representative standing committee in the General Conference be appointed on human relations.

5. That normal church channels be used in dealing with all racial and human relations problems.—*Actions of the Autumn Council Pertaining to the North American Division*, pp. 6, 7.

Next week we shall conclude this series by citing further actions taken on human relations.

Further General Conference Actions

IN his report to the quadrennial session in 1962 R. R. Figuhr, the president of the General Conference, declared:

"The Seventh-day Adventist Church is international in character, with its members scattered among all peoples of earth. They are bound together by enduring spiritual ties that in this age of divisions and growing nationalism must not weaken, but rather grow stronger.

"The area of nationalism and race is an extremely sensitive one, and the problems that develop in it often call for much patience, understanding, and calmness. We believe, however, that all problems can be resolved among Christians. Seventh-day Adventists have not waited until the very present day to set forth the basic principles that they believe should govern the Christian in this sometimes perplexing area. For long years we have had these principles on record to enlighten our thinking and to govern our actions. Let me quote some representative statements from the pen of Sister White, whose words we unflinchingly accept and whose counsel we seek ever to follow." [Then follow quotations from Ellen G. White already appearing in this series.—Ed.]

"To implement this counsel, we have set up, at the General Conference level, a committee on human relations. This committee meets from time to time to review and discuss international and race problems that arise within our work and to give constructive guidance. These meetings are productive of much good. Where deemed helpful, other organizations are encouraged to follow a similar plan."—*Review and Herald*, July 26, 1962, p. 8.

In a progress report at this 1962 session, F. L. Peterson, a general vice-president of the General Conference, declared:

"For at least three years the General Conference has had in operation a committee on

human relations to study race and national relationships. Some of the agenda items discussed have been the following:

"Ways and means of transmitting to the local conferences and to institutional heads and local church leaders the recommendations of the Human Relations Committee.

"The employment of workers in our various institutions on the basis of merit, regardless of color.

"The encouraging of our church schools and academies to open their doors to all Adventist children, regardless of race or nationality.

"The conducting of workshops on human relations on the union conference level, with study material for these workshops provided.

"The careful study of published articles and statements in our denominational publications that might create prejudice.

"Much progress has been made in our colleges, publishing houses, and in many other areas. We have members of our Regional group who are acting as clinical instructors in some of our sanitariums. All but two of our colleges accept our colored students, and these two are located in the South.* In some of these colleges our young people are enrolled in large numbers. The Southern Publishing Association in Nashville, Tennessee, in addition to the editor of *The Message Magazine* and his secretary, employs a member of our race as a filing clerk for *The Message Magazine* and the *MV Kit*. They have also one of our men employed as a shipping clerk. In several of our colleges there are integrated facilities.

"Wherever there are perplexing situations along racial lines found in Seventh-day Adventist circles these problems will be properly discussed and recommendation made by the appointed leaders of the church.

"Every department of the General Conference is careful not to hold their advisory councils in cities where the brethren from the Regional Department who are members of these councils cannot find equal accommodations."—*Review and Herald*, July 31, 1962, p. 24.

Position Again Restated

In matters of this kind, it is well for a church from time to time to reiterate its position. This was done at the Spring Meeting of the General Conference held in Washington, D.C., in April, 1965, when the following action was taken:

"WHEREAS, The Seventh-day Adventist Church in its Autumn Council of 1961 took action rededicating our denomination to the basic principles contained in the following representative statement by Ellen G. White: 'No distinction on account of nationality, race, or caste, is recognized by God. He is the Maker of all mankind. All men are of one family by creation, and all are one through redemption. Christ came to demolish every wall of partition, to throw open every compartment of the temple, that every soul may have free access to God. . . . In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free. All are brought nigh by His precious blood.'—*Christ's Object Lessons*, p. 386.

"WHEREAS, It is our belief and conviction that all persons should be given full and equal opportunity within the church to develop the knowledge and skills needed in the building up of that church, and that all service and positions of leadership on all levels of church activity should be open on the basis of qualifications without regard to race; therefore,

"We recommend, That the following principles and practices be adopted and carried out in our churches and institutions:

"1. *Membership and office in all churches* and on all levels must be available to anyone who qualifies without regard to race.

"2. In our educational institutions there should be no racial bias in the employment of teachers or other personnel nor in the admission of students.

"3. Hospitals and rest homes should make no racial distinction in admitting patients or in making their facilities available to physicians, interns, residents, nurses, and administrators who meet the professional standards of the institution.

"It is further recommended that these recommendations be given very serious consideration and that every effort be put forth to implement them as rapidly as is consistently possible."

The Church Paper Discusses Progress

The editor of the *REVIEW AND HERALD*, in the issue carrying the foregoing action, editorialized thus in part on the human relations action voted:

"Now our attitude toward the social gospel has not prevented us from a sympathetic concern for those underprivileged, either in body or in spirit, but it has led us to a more quiet and distinctively Adventist approach to the problem revealed by Freedom Marches and the like.

"Another feature of Adventism has also affected our course, and that is our noncombustant attitude—an attitude that has revealed itself not only in relation to outright war on the battlefield but also to labor wars, strikes, and the like. We have ever felt that we can best reveal true Christianity, and thus best advance the Advent cause, by taking the more quiet and perhaps indirect approach to problems that so often arouse human passions.

"We received a letter some time ago from a fervent reader who asked us where all the Adventist ministers were when a certain Freedom March was held—a march that in-

* These two now accept colored students.

cluded a number of clergy. We replied that we could not say just where *all* our ministers were at the time, but we did know that many of them were in the hard and dangerous places of the earth preaching the gospel to primitive, depressed peoples, seeking thus to lift them to higher levels. Other thousands of our ministers in the homeland were busy visiting the sick and afflicted and preaching the glad message of the soon coming of Christ. Preaching the 'everlasting gospel' is our great assignment from Heaven.

"At the same time we have been striving quietly and continuously within our own ranks to work toward unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, for the Advent Movement includes many races and peoples. And we truly believe that the good hand of our God has been upon us. Here at headquarters our representative committee on Human Relations has been busy for quite some time seeking to solve problems of race relations in terms of the gospel. The record clearly shows progress over the years, even though some may have sincerely felt that the progress has not been fast enough. But no one has ever yet found a better protection against explosion, a surer way to maintain unity, than to move measuredly in dealing with difficult matters, where sincere men may hold widely divergent views. Even the Advent people, preparing to meet their God, are sorely handicapped with the frailties of finite approaches to age-old problems.

"But the rate of speed is not so important as the direction in which one travels. And, we repeat, we believe all will agree that real and constructive progress has been made over the years, including right here in the homeland, birthplace of the Advent Movement. Perhaps more progress still remains to be made, for we have not yet reached Paradise. But we believe that the resolution voted at the recent spring meeting of the General Conference Committee in Washington, D.C., sets forth clearly and explicitly the principles on which can be built an increasing unity of the spirit in the bond of peace for all who call themselves Adventists, no matter of what race or color. We rejoice in this resolution, which was unanimously voted. We believe it crystallizes a viewpoint that has steadily been shaping itself in our ranks. And best of all, it is a crystallization reached without fanfare or without the too-often militant and passionate exchanges that have marked the attempts of so many people to resolve this difficult problem.

"As has been true in earlier times, when long-held, divergent viewpoints have created problems and tensions, even so today the way out of the problem has been by Christian patience and forbearance, and a sincere, sympathetic endeavor to understand differing viewpoints. A continued display of these rare Christian graces is vital to the full activation of this resolution, which we might add, was especially prepared for North America.

"If ever there was need for unity it is now when: the whole world is being shaken apart. Our only hope of finishing gloriously our work for God is by unity. Here may be applied the thrice-repeated words of Sister White: 'Press together, press together, press together.'—*Selected Messages*, book 2, p. 374.—*Review and Herald*, April 29, 1965.

1965 Recommendations From Human Relations Committee

We have already quoted certain actions of the General Conference Committee in Spring and Autumn councils on the matter of human relations. In its action in the autumn of 1965, it recommended the publication of articles in the REVIEW, and later in

pamphlet form, of certain Spirit of Prophecy statements on "the fundamental and abiding principles that should govern relationships between races," and also recommended "a campaign of education on the subject of race relations and a wider dissemination of information on the progress made in arriving at a better understanding between races. Further:

"The holding of more Human Relations meetings on the union and on the local conference level where necessary, in which such items as the following can be taken up:

"a. The encouragement of an exchange of pulpits between Regional and Caucasian churches.

"b. The notation of incidents that promote good relationships between races and the study of others that have been or could be prejudicial to good relationships.

"c. Dialogues on race relationships at workers' meetings, church officers' meetings, college faculties and other appropriate gatherings.

"[That] Our institutions and church organization not only open their doors for the employment of qualified personnel of any race or nationality but should seek to provide job training, experience, and guidance toward such achievement.

"A recommendation that the General Conference Officers study the advisability of including in the *Church Manual* appropriate statements setting forth our church's position on the question of Human Relations."—*Actions of the Autumn Council Pertaining to the North American Division*, p. 119, 1965.

Forward Steps in a World Church

In November, 1965, R. R. Figuhr, president of the General Conference, in his monthly letter to the church, reviewed the steps taken in the establishment of the Human Relations Committee and reported on its accomplishments. In part he said:

"Gratifying results have been seen as the suggestions of the committee have been implemented. Much has been accomplished, without fanfare or publicity, through the cooperation of our various organizations. Our members, with few exceptions, have been sympathetically understanding. It must be recognized that age-old feelings are not easily set aside.

"Today the doors of Seventh-day Adventist institutions are open to the employment of people irrespective of race or nationality. The only requirement is proper qualifications such as are required of all who apply. Our senior colleges in the United States now accept students of all races and nationalities.

"It is particularly gratifying to note that this has been accomplished without fracturing our church. A wonderful spirit of harmony and unity has been maintained. Patience, confidence, and loyalty to God's cause have kept us together.

"Another meeting of the Human Relations Committee of the General Conference has just convened. In addition to the regular members, a number of responsible laymen from various areas were invited. The committee has recommended certain courses of procedure that will be helpful in further promoting cordial relationships and better understanding between races in the United States. . . .

"From the very beginning, Seventh-day Adventists have stood for the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Dedicated as we are to the proclamation of God's message to every kindred,

tongue, and people, we can believe nothing less. God's message is to gather out of all nations people to become united as one. John, in vision, saw them finally redeemed and transported to heaven, 'a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues' (Rev. 7:9). If God's people are to be united in heaven, they must first attain unity and oneness here on earth."—*Review and Herald*, Nov. 4, 1965.

The Call for a Reasonable Approach

Now, to all we would say that while as a church and as individual church members we ever stand for the brotherhood of mankind and for the progress being made to wipe out the inequities in the relationships of the races, we must ever remind ourselves that our eyes are fixed on the eternal world and that we all must carefully guard against attitudes and feelings that could easily undermine our spiritual experiences or mar the cause of God.

Warned the messenger of the Lord:

"It is Satan's object to keep Christians occupied in controversies among themselves. He knows that if they do not watch, the day of the Lord will come on them as a thief in the night. We have no time now to give place to the spirit of the enemy and to cherish prejudices that confuse the judgment and lead us away from Christ."—*Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 216.

Our appeal is to our brethren white and colored. We must ever sense that it is the evil purpose of Satan to lead men to animosities, strivings, contentions, and confusion. There may be movements in the world, commendable and useful in themselves, and to which the Seventh-day Adventist feels sympathetic. But he remains apart, for he must ever guard every avenue to the heart and mind against anything that might make the soul insensible to the gentle movings of the Spirit of God.

Sister White had not been writing long on the subject of laboring for the colored people when she penned these lines of cheer:

"The walls of sectarianism and caste and race will fall down when the true missionary spirit enters the hearts of men. Prejudice is melted away by the love of God."—*Review and Herald*, Jan. 21, 1896. (*The Southern Work*, p. 76.)

"Walls of separation have been built up between the whites and the blacks. These walls of prejudice will tumble down of themselves as did the walls of Jericho, when Christians obey the Word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their Maker and impartial love to their neighbors."—*Review and Herald*, Dec. 17, 1895. Also *Christian Service*, p. 217. (*The Southern Work*, p. 54.)

However, as a unified church, our only hope is in putting self aside and closely uniting with Christ. These words penned by the messenger of the Lord in 1904 should be read anew today:

"It will be impossible to adjust all matters regarding the color question in accord-

ance with the Lord's order until those who believe the truth are so closely united with Christ that they are one with Him.

"Both the white and the colored members of our churches need to be converted. There are some of both classes who are unreasonable, and when the color question is agitated, they manifest unsanctified, unconverted traits of character. Quarrelsome elements are easily aroused in those who, because they have never learned to wear the yoke of Christ, are opinionated and obstinate. In such, self clamors with an unsanctified determination for the supremacy."—E. G. White, *Letter* 105, 1904.

One of the last statements Sister White wrote on this subject set forth these words of prophetic assurance:

"When the Holy Spirit is poured out,

there will be a triumph of humanity over prejudice in seeking the salvation of the souls of human beings. God will control minds. Human hearts will love as Christ loved. And the color line will be regarded by many very differently from the way in which it is now regarded. To love as Christ loves, lifts the mind into a pure, heavenly, unselfish atmosphere."—*Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 209 (1908).

We believe that Ellen White, were she among us today, would repeat to us what she said before the General Conference session of 1891:

"I have heard the angel voice saying, 'Press together, press together, press together. Do not let Satan cast his hellish shadow between brethren. Press together; in unity there is strength.'"—*Selected Messages*, book 2, p. 374.

PLEASE NOTE

You have just completed reading the series of five articles by Arthur L. White that appeared first in the REVIEW of March 24 and onward. The remainder of this reprint presents an article by Sister White that appeared in two parts, beginning with the issue of March 24. This article and others from her pen provide the inspired source from which Elder White draws.

ELLEN G. WHITE SPEAKS ON RACE RELATIONS*

THE Lord Jesus came to our world to save men and women of all nationalities. He died just as much for the colored people as for the white race. Jesus came to shed light over the whole world. At the beginning of His ministry He declared His mission: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent Me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

The Redeemer of the world was of humble parentage. He, the Majesty of heaven, the King of glory, humbled Himself to accept humanity, and then He chose a life of poverty and toil. "For our sakes, He became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich." When one came saying, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest," Jesus answered him, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head." He, the Majesty of heaven, depended upon the generosity of His followers.

Jesus did not seek the admiration or applause of the world. He commanded no army, He ruled no earthly kingdom. He passed by the wealthy and honored of the world. He did not associate with the leaders of the nation. He dwelt among the lowly of the earth. To all appearance He was merely a humble man, with few

friends. Thus He sought to correct the world's false standard of judging the value of men. He showed that they are not to be estimated by their outward appearance. Their moral worth is not determined by their worldly possessions, their real estate or bank stock. It is the humble, contrite heart that God values. With Him there is no respect of persons. The attributes that He prizes most are purity and love, and these are possessed only by the Christian. . . .

Jesus while in this world ate with publicans and sinners, and mingled with the common people, not to become low and earthly with them, but in order by precept and example to present to them right principles, to lift them up from their low habits and manners. In all this He set us an example, that we should follow in His steps.

Those who have a religious experience that opens their hearts to Jesus, will not cherish pride, but will feel that they are under obligation to God to be missionaries as was Jesus. They will seek to save that which is lost. They will not, in Pharisaical pride and haughtiness, withdraw themselves from any class of humanity, but will feel with the apostle Paul, "I am debtor both to the Greek and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise."

A Delicate Matter

After my severe illness one year ago, many things which the Lord had presented to me seemed lost to my mind, but they have since been repeated. I know that that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet, for the conflict has seemed to be continuous of late years; but I do not

mean to live a coward, or die a coward, leaving my work undone. I must follow in my Master's footsteps.

It has become fashionable to look down upon the poor, and upon the colored race in particular. But Jesus, the Master, was poor, and He sympathizes with the poor, the discarded, the oppressed, and declares that every insult shown to them is as if shown to Himself. I am more and more surprised as I see those who claim to be children of God possessing so little of the sympathy and tenderness and love which actuated Christ. Would that every church, North and South, were imbued with the spirit of our Lord's teaching. . . .

"If ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work, . . . see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently." "Ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all. Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering."

"Who," says Paul, "maketh thee to differ?" The God of the white man is the God of the black man, and the Lord declares that His love for the least of His children exceeds that of a mother for her beloved child. Look at that mother: the sick child, the one afflicted, the one born a cripple, or with some other physical infirmity.—how the mother labors to give him every advantage! The best food, the

* The essential portions of the basic appeal presented to church leaders March 20, 1891, which led to the beginning of earnest missionary activities among the colored people of the South. It was first printed as a pamphlet and later became the opening article of the booklet entitled *The Southern Work*.

softest pillow, and the tenderest nursing are for him. The love bestowed upon him is strong and deep,—a love such as is not given to beauty, talent, or any other natural gift. As soon as a mother sees reason for others to regard her child with aversion or contempt, does she not increase her tenderness as if to shield him from the world's rude touch? "Can a mother forget her sucking child? Yea, they may forget, yet I will not forget thee." O, what impartial love the Lord Jesus gives to those who love Him!

The Lord's eye is upon all His creatures; He loves them all, and makes no difference between white and black, except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others. Those who love God and believe on Christ as their Redeemer, while they must meet the trials and the difficulties that lie in their path, should yet with a cheerful spirit accept their life as it is, considering that God above regards these things, and for all that the world neglects to bestow, He will Himself make up to them in the best of favors. . . .

Christ Paid One Price for All

When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host. He is made a joint heir with Christ. Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ, whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family. The ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the heathen and the slave, white or black,—Jesus paid the purchase money for their souls. If they believe in Him, His cleansing blood is applied to them. The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. If a red man, a Chinaman, or an African gives his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for his color. He calls him His well beloved brother.

The day is coming when the kings and lordly men of the earth would be glad to exchange places with the humblest African who has laid hold on the hope of the gospel. To all who are overcomers through the blood of the Lamb, the invitation will be given: "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Arranged on the right and left of the throne of God are the long columns of the heavenly host, who touch the golden harps, and sing of welcome and of praise to God and the Lamb

ring through the heavenly courts. "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God."

Among what are called the higher classes, there is a demand for a form of Christianity suited to their fine tastes; but this class will not grow up to the full stature of men and women in Christ until they know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent.

The heavenly intelligences rejoice to do the will of God in preaching the gospel to the poor. In the announcement which the Saviour made in the synagogue at Nazareth, He put a stern rebuke upon those who attach so much importance to color or caste, and refuse to be satisfied with such a type of Christianity as Christ accepts. The same price was paid for the salvation of the colored man as for that of the white man, and the slights put upon the colored people by many who claim to be redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, and who therefore acknowledge themselves debtors to Christ, misrepresent Jesus, and reveal that selfishness, tradition, and prejudice pollute the soul. They are not sanctified through the truth. Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Jesus.

I call upon every church in our land to look well to your own souls. "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" God makes no distinction between the North and the South. Whatever may be your prejudices, your wonderful prudence, do not lose sight of this fact, that unless you put on Christ, and His Spirit dwells in you, you are slaves of sin and Satan. Many who claim to be children of God are children of the wicked one, and have his passions, his prejudices, his evil spirit, his unlovely traits of character. But the soul that is indeed transformed will not despise any one whom Christ has purchased with His own blood.

Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He had. If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God. If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the colored man who has the same Saviour abiding in his heart. When these unchristian prejudices are broken down, more

earnest effort will be put forth to do missionary work among the colored race.

When the Hebrew people were suffering cruel oppression under the hand of their task-masters, the Lord looked upon them, and He called Israel His son. . . .

God cares no less for the souls of the African race that may be won to serve Him than He cared for Israel. He requires far more of His people than they have given Him in missionary work among the people of the South of all classes, and especially the colored race. Are we not under even greater obligation to labor for the colored people than for those who have been more highly favored? Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them, forcing them to disregard the law of marriage, breaking up the family relation, tearing wife from husband, and husband from wife? If the race is degraded, if they are repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? The truth must be carried to them. They have souls to save as well as we. . . .

Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people. It will always be a difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the white people in the South and do missionary work for the colored race. But the way this matter has been treated by some is an offense to God. We need not expect that all will be accomplished in the South that God would do until in our missionary efforts we place this question on the ground of principle, and let those who accept the truth be educated to be Bible Christians, working according to Christ's order. You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them. At the same time we must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question. Some would think it right to throw down every partition wall and intermarry with the colored people, but this is not the right thing to teach or to practice. . . .

God has children among the colored people all over our land. They need to be enlightened. There are unpromising ones, it is true, and you will find similar degradation among

the white people; but even among the lower classes there are souls who will embrace the truth. Some will not be steadfast. Feelings and habits that have been confirmed by lifelong practice will be hard to correct; it will not be easy to implant ideas of purity and holiness, refinement and elevation. But God regards the capacity of every man. He marks the surroundings, and sees how these have formed the character, and He pities these souls.

Is it not time for us to live so fully in the light of God's countenance that we who receive so many favors and blessings from Him, may know how to treat those less favored, not working from the world's standpoint, but from the Bible standpoint? Is it not right in this line that Christian effort is most needed? Is it not here that our influence should be brought to bear against the customs and practices of the world? Should it not be the work of the white people to elevate the standard of character among the colored race, to teach them how Christians should live, by exemplifying the Spirit of Christ, showing that we are one brotherhood?

Those who have been favored with opportunities of education and culture, who have had every advantage

and religious influence, will be expected of God to possess pure and holy characters in accordance with the gifts bestowed. But have they rightly improved their advantages? We know they have not. Let these privileged ones make the most of their blessings, and realize that they are thus placed under greater obligations to labor for the good of others. . . .

You must have the grace and love of God in order to succeed. The strength and spirituality of the people of God are manifest by the distinctness of the line of demarcation which separates them from the world. The people of the world are characterized by love for earthly things; they act selfishly, regardless of the principles which Christ has set forth in His life.

Christians will manifest the self-sacrificing spirit of Christ in their work, in connection with every branch of the cause. They will do this heartily, not by halves. They will not study their own aggrandizement nor manifest respect of persons. They will not, cannot, live in luxury and self-indulgence while there are suffering ones around them. They cannot by their practice sanction any phase of oppression or injustice to the least child of humanity. They are to be like Christ, to re-

linquish all selfish delights, all unholy passions, all that love of applause which is the food of the world. They will be willing to be humble and unknown, and to sacrifice even life itself for Christ's sake. By a well-ordered life and godly conversation they will condemn the folly, the impenitence, the idolatry, the iniquitous practices of the world.

The converting power of God must work a transformation of character in many who claim to believe the present truth, or they cannot fulfill the purpose of God. They are hearers, but not doers of the Word. Pure, unworldly benevolence will be developed in all who make Christ their personal Saviour. There needs to be far less of self and more of Jesus. The church of Christ is ordained of God that its members shall be representatives of Christ's character. He says, "You have given yourselves to Me, and I give you to the world. I am the light of the world; I present you to the world as My representatives." As Christ in the fullest sense represents the Father, so we are to represent Christ. Let none of those who name the name of Christ be cowards in His cause. For Christ's sake stand as if looking within the open portals of the city of God.

All of the material in this 12-page reprint originally appeared in the REVIEW AND HERALD. (See issues of March 24 to April 21.) This material was published, and now is republished as a reprint, in harmony with an action of the 1965 Autumn Council. Anyone wishing further copies of this reprint should write to his local conference office.

ELLEN G. WHITE—

Racist or Champion of Equality?

(See editorial, "A Plea for Objectivity," page 11.)

HOW does one resolve the apparent contradiction in the following statements from Ellen G. White?

"Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God."¹

"The colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people."²

Was Mrs. White inconsistent? Was her true position equality of race? If so, why did she urge in volume nine of the *Testimonies*, "Let the white believers and the colored believers assemble in separate places of worship"?³

In order to understand Mrs. White's statements urging segregation at the turn of the century, it is necessary to recreate their context. What were her racial views as a whole? What were Adventist contemporaries saying about race? What were the changing social and political conditions of nineteenth and early twentieth-century America? Finding answers to these questions leads one to conclude that to her contemporaries Mrs. White could never have appeared to be a racist. In fact, throughout much of her life, radicals on race relations would have assumed that she was one of their own.

Today, denouncing slavery and its advocates does not seem revolutionary. But the majority did not oppose slavery in midnineteenth-century America. So many good and regular members of the Methodist denomination condoned slavery that the church split in 1844. A year later, slavery divided the Baptists. These denominations provided most of the

members for the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which at that time was working largely in the North. In 1857 the New Side Presbyterians could no longer agree on the Christian attitude toward slavery. So many Christians defended slavery in 1861 that three denominations were torn apart: Old Side Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians.

While many fine Christians defended slavery or insisted that it was an economic or political issue, certainly not a moral one, Mrs. White called slavery "a sin of the darkest dye."⁴ Furthermore, she demanded its public defenders be disfellowshipped from the Advent Movement.

A Strong Position

"You have never looked upon slavery in the right light, and your views of this matter have thrown you on the side of the Rebellion, which was stirred up by Satan and his host. Your views of slavery cannot harmonize with the sacred, important truths for this time. You must yield your views or the truth. Both cannot be cherished in the same heart, for they are at war with each other. . . . Unless you undo what you have done, it will be the duty of God's people to publicly withdraw their sympathy and fellowship from you, in order to save the impression which must go out in regard to us as a people. We must let it be known that we have no such ones in our fellowship, that we will not walk with them in church capacity."⁵

At a time when slavery was an open question for Americans, Mrs. White declared that Adventists holding pro-slavery views were anathema.

It would have been possible to denounce slavery in the strong terms Mrs. White used and still have stopped short of being an abolitionist. In fact,

Adventists were abolitionists at a time when most opponents of slavery were advocating other solutions. Some who attacked the existing system of slavery advocated dispersion of blacks throughout the country. Others proposed separating American blacks into "Africanized states" in the deep South.⁶ Until 1833, most opponents of slavery supported colonization of American blacks in Africa, Central America, or the Caribbean Islands. At different times in its history, the American Colonization Society boasted among its officers such men as Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford, Speaker of the House of Representatives Henry Clay, and former Presidents James Madison and James Monroe.⁷ President Lincoln called a group of free blacks to the White House in August, 1862, and urged them to support colonization. Right to the end of the war, he thought colonization would help relieve the racial problem in America.⁸ A further indication that abolition was not synonymous with antislavery sentiment was the fact that the official position of the Republican Party was not abolition of slavery but its nonextension into new States.⁹

Even in the North, abolitionists were considered extremists. A few days after Pennsylvania Hall, built especially for abolitionist meetings in Philadelphia, was first opened, a pro-slavery mob burned it to the ground. William Lloyd Garrison, commemorated today by a statue in Boston, was mobbed by Bostonians trying to tar and feather him for abolitionist agitation. As one historian has said, "To be an abolitionist in Boston, Philadelphia, or Cincinnati meant courting social ostracism, business ruin, and physical assault."¹⁰ North and South, abolitionists were considered almost as extreme as demonstra-

By ROY BRANSON

tors in American cities today. "The abolitionist movement never became the major channel of Northern anti-slavery sentiment. It remained in 1860 what it had been in the 1830's: the small but not still voice of radical reform."¹

Among the variety of antislavery groups, Adventists identified themselves with the radical abolitionist minority. Sojourner Truth, one of the black heroines of abolition, visited a Millerite camp meeting in 1843, though she did not agree with them. Years later she settled in Battle Creek. There she had Seventh-day Adventist friends, and early Battle Creek College students often visited her. At least one edition of her biography was printed by the Review and Herald for its author, Frances Titus.

Joseph Bates, the former sea captain who had so much to do with Adventists' accepting the Sabbath, first supported the American Colonization Society, later helped found the abolitionist society in his home town.²

Even within this extreme reformist segment of American society, some were more radical than others, and Adventists stood with the most activist. "Abolitionists were also divided on the matter of devoting time and energy to assisting fugitive slaves."³ Prominent Adventists had no such qualms. John Preston Kellogg, the father of John Harvey Kellogg and W. K. Kellogg, was one of the incorporators of the Seventh-day Adventist publishing association and a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church to the end of his life. He used his farm in Michigan to harbor slaves fleeing their former owners.⁴ John Byington, the first president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, had earlier left the Meth-

odist Episcopal Church because it did not take a stand against slavery. At his farm in Buck's Bridge, New York, he maintained a station of the Underground Railroad, illegally transporting fugitive slaves from the South to Canada.⁵

Anyone who thinks these men were aberrations with the Adventist Church should remember that Mrs. White herself said that "the law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey."⁶ While even some of the abolitionists refused to go so far as breaking the fugitive slave law, Mrs. White advocated disobeying this Federal statute. She did this on the basis that this law conflicted "with the word and law of God." She may have had in mind Deuteronomy 23:15: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."

Lincoln's Position

When the North elected Lincoln, the fugitive slave law was still the law of the land. In his first inaugural address Lincoln went out of his way to promise that he would enforce that law specifically. He also reminded the country that they had not voted for abolition. Quoting from his own campaign speech, he pledged anew that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."⁷

Even when war broke out, Lincoln refused to proclaim emancipation. In fact, he ordered Union officers to stop harboring fugitive slaves escaping to advancing Union armies. Abolition leaders such as Wendell Phillips, Henry Sumner, and William Garrison exploded into attacks on Lincoln and his administration.⁸

Mrs. White, too, complained that "thousands have been induced to enlist with the understanding that this war was to exterminate slavery; but now that they are fixed, they find that they have been deceived, that the object of this war is not to abolish slavery."⁹

Not only had American citizens been alienated, but potential allies as well. "I was shown that if the object of this war had been to exterminate slavery, then, if desired, England would have helped the North. But England fully understands the existing feelings in the Government, and that the war is not to do away with slavery, but merely to preserve the Union."¹⁰ Failure of the North to declare emancipation of slaves its goal had not only led to the undermining of morale and loss of allies but even

worse, to outright subversion. "There are commanding officers who are in sympathy with the rebels. While they are desirous of having the Union preserved, they despise those who are anti-slavery. . . . It seems impossible to have the war conducted successfully, for many in our own ranks are continually working to favor the South, and our armies have been repulsed and unmercifully slaughtered on account of the management of these proslavery men."¹¹

Mrs. White's statement could most likely have been applicable to General George B. McClellan, General-in-Chief of the Union Army, who was persistently attacked by abolitionists for not strongly opposing slavery, and for not executing the war more vigorously.¹²

Mrs. White rose to the heights of indignation when Northern leaders, indifferent to the cause of abolition, returned slaves to their former owners and simultaneously issued pious proclamations for national fasts and prayer. Such hypocrisy must be condemned. "I saw that these national fasts were an insult to Jehovah. He accepts of no such fasts. . . .

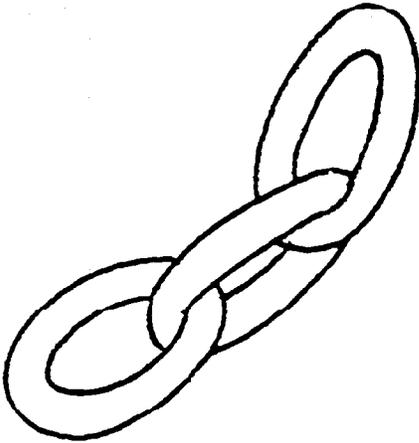
"Great men, professing to have human hearts, have seen the slaves almost naked and starving, and have abused them, and sent them back to their cruel masters and hopeless bondage. . . . They have deprived them of the liberty and free air which heaven has never denied them, and then left them to suffer for food and clothing. In view of all this, a national fast is proclaimed! Oh, what an insult to Jehovah!"¹³

Clearly, Mrs. White stood with that abolitionist minority in the North which condemned those who hesitated or equivocated on the emancipation issue. ++

(Continued next week)

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Slavery and Prophecy

By ROY BRANSON

MANY prominent Adventist leaders held views on slavery similar to those of Mrs. White. Through the Civil War years, such revered names as James White, Uriah Smith, and J. N. Andrews used the pages of the *REVIEW AND HERALD* to attack laggards who did not endorse the emancipation position. An example is Uriah Smith's explicit criticism of President Lincoln. Tacitly acknowledging his own position to be radical, Smith censured the President for "following his present conservative, not to say suicidal, policy." With emancipation still not official, Smith's hostility toward Lincoln was unrelenting.

"He has to stand up against the 'enthusiasm for freedom' which reigns in nearly twenty millions of hearts in the free North, and against the prayers of four millions of oppressed and suffering slaves. If he continues to resist all these, in refusing to take those steps which a sound policy, the principles of humanity, and the salvation of the country, demand, it must be from an infatuation akin to that which of old brought Pharaoh to an untimely end." Smith could not know that Lincoln's assassination would, in retrospect, make his analogy downright grisly.

When the North was losing major battles, Mrs. White complained because "the rebellion was handled so carefully, so slowly." Later, when the North was consistently winning, her husband, James, jubilantly wrote in the *REVIEW* that "appropriate retribution seems to be at last overtaking the fearfully guilty parties who have for long years held multitudes

of their fellow beings in bondage."¹

Introducing a reprinted news article about the exploits of former slaves, now in the Union Army, who pursued slave owners into North Carolina swamps, Elder White asked, "What could be more appropriate than that the slaves themselves should be the instruments used to punish the merciless tyrants who have so long ground them to the dust." He was convinced that "justice, though seemingly long delayed, is nevertheless following with relentless steps upon the heels of the oppressor."²

In the Forefront of Reconstruction

After the war, former abolitionists were in the forefront of Reconstruction. Such men as Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives, Charles Sumner and Benjamin Wade in the Senate, and Edwin Stanton in the Cabinet, came to be known as radical Republicans because they "seemed bent on engineering a sweeping reformation of southern society."³

A recent history of the period insists that idealism was part of the motivation for Reconstruction, and that "a genuine desire to help the Negro, was one of the mainsprings of radicalism."⁴ Radical Senators and Congressmen led in passing civil rights laws to ensure that blacks would be able to vote and enjoy full civil liberties. Some radicals went farther. "They believed that it would be essential to give the Negroes not only civil and political rights but some initial economic assistance as well."⁵

It is interesting to note that during the height of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, quotations in the *REVIEW* con-

cerning national affairs seem to have been taken exclusively from well-known, radical Republican publications. The attempt to impeach President Andrew Johnson was reported in detail.⁶

More significantly, when Mrs. White later addressed herself to the needs of the South, she lamented the miserliness and briefness of the Government's concern for the emancipated black man. She endorsed the humanitarian ideas of the most progressive wing of the radical Republicans—those who felt an obligation to help the black man politically, legally, and economically.

"Much might have been accomplished by the people of America if adequate efforts in behalf of the freedmen had been put forth by the Government and by the Christian churches immediately after the emancipation of the slaves. Money should have been used freely to care for and educate them at the time they were so greatly in need of help. But the Government, after a little effort, left the Negro to struggle, unaided, with his burden of difficulties."⁷

Undoubtedly, the "little effort" Mrs. White commended took place during the brief period from 1867 to 1877 when Reconstruction Governments included blacks, and some improvement was achieved in education, medical care, and welfare. She may also have referred to activities of the Freedman's Bureau. Organized and funded by a Federal Government dominated by radicals, it operated for only four years, until 1869. During that time the bureau gave medical care to a million people, spent \$5 million for black schools, supervised

labor contracts for black workers, and administered special courts to protect freedmen's civil rights." Mrs. White felt more should have been done, but Reconstruction ended too soon for the radicals to accomplish their sweeping reforms.

Within a little more than a decade after the Civil War, eight of the Southern States had voted out of office political leaders supporting radical Republican policies. In the elections of 1876 Democrats claimed victory in the remaining three States of the Confederacy—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The spring of the following year, President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew the last Federal troops from the South. Reconstruction had ended. The Republican coalition of blacks, Northern carpetbaggers, and white Southern turncoats had lost its dominance. Southerners called the new era Redemption.

Some persistent comparisons between Mrs. White (and other Adventist writers) and abolitionists and radical Republicans may leave the impression that Adventists merely adopted the outlook on national problems they found around them: that their religion had little to do with their views on social and moral issues. But this is far from the truth. If anyone had told the founding fathers of our denomination that their attitudes toward race had nothing to do with their theology, they would have shaken their heads in disbelief. For Ellen and James White, Uriah Smith, and J. N. Andrews, proper attitudes toward race relations were part of a true understanding of the Bible and its doctrines.

Emancipation an Official Fact

Emancipation was an official fact January 1, 1863. For the next three months 12 issues of the REVIEW began with front-page excerpts from Luther Lee's *Slavery Examined in the Light of the Bible*. The book went through controversial texts in the Old and New Testaments, arguing strenuously that the Bible, far from condoning slavery, condemned it.

Both Uriah Smith and James White related slavery to prophecy. Just as the United States was divided into two camps, so the lamb in Revelation 13:11 had two horns. Oppression of blacks in America was more significant evidence that the beast in Revelation 13 was the United States. Revelation describes a beast that looks like a lamb, but speaks like a dragon. James White made the ap-

"Its [United States'] outward appearance and profession is the most pure, peaceful, and harmless, possible. It professes to guarantee to every man liberty and the pursuit of happiness in temporal things, and freedom in matters of religion: yet about four millions of human beings are held by the Southern States of this nation in the most abject and cruel bondage and servitude, and the theological bodies of the land have adopted a creed-power, which is as inexorable and tyrannical as is possible to bring to bear upon the consciences of men. Verily with all its lamblike appearance and profession, it has the heart and voice of a dragon; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."¹

Uriah Smith pointed to the "white-washed villainy of many of the pulpits of our land," pulpits supporting slavery; evidence that "the dragonic spirit of this nation has of late years developed itself in accordance with the prophecy in Revelation 13:11."² Far from being a purely secular concern, Adventists thought race relations were intimately involved with a proper understanding of prophecy and last-day events.

Mrs. White also saw slavery as one of the signs of the times. She cited the defense of slavery by ecclesiastical institutions as proof that churches in America were part of apostate Babylon. "God will restrain His anger but a little longer. His anger burns against this nation, and especially against the religious bodies who have sanctioned, and have themselves engaged in this terrible merchandise."³ God will remember the suffering slave and others who are oppressed. "The names of such are written in blood, crossed with stripes, and flooded with agonizing, burning tears of suffering. God's anger will not cease until He has caused the land of light to drink the dregs of the cup of His fury, and until He has rewarded unto Babylon double. . . . All the sins of the slave will be visited upon the master."⁴

It would have been possible for Adventists to have opposed slavery, seen its evil as one of the signs of the end, and still not preached equality between blacks and whites. By the time of the collapse of Reconstruction and the birth of Redemption, when Mrs. White launched her appeals for the Southern work, even radical Republican papers assumed the inferiority of the black man. "It was quite common in the 'eighties and 'nineties to find in the *Nation*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *North American Review*, or the *Atlantic Monthly* Northern liberals and former abolitionists mouthing the shibboleths of white supremacy regard-

ing the Negro's innate inferiority, shiftlessness, and hopeless unfitness for full participation in the white man's civilization."⁵ During this same period of the eighties and nineties, Mrs. White was adamant: blacks and whites are equal.

In addition to eschatology, or the study of last-day events, Mrs. White based her discussion of race on two other doctrines: redemption and creation. Christ's atoning and reconciling work meant that all men were saved, and none were more saved than others: "Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God."⁶ For Mrs. White, Christ had brought men into a new relationship where each was equally related to Him. Christians, therefore, must look on other Christians as equals.

But what about those who were not Christians? If men were not converted, if they were not within the brotherhood created by Christ's redeeming life, could they properly relate as superior to inferior, master to slave? "No," was Mrs. White's emphatic response. The doctrine of creation prevents it. God wants whites who relate to black persons to remember "their common relationship to us by creation and by redemption, and their right to the blessings of freedom."⁷ Elsewhere she insisted that "man is God's property by creation and redemption."⁸

It is significant that Mrs. White did not support equality simply on the basis of redemption. Even if men were unconverted, the doctrine of creation means that all men, whether they acknowledge Christ or not, belong to God. Where man's equality and freedom are violated, it is not God acting, but man's sinful nature. "Prejudices, passions, Satanic attributes, have revealed themselves in men as they have exercised their powers against their fellow men."⁹ ++

(Concluded next week)

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Many Thousand Gone

No more peck o' corn for me,
 No more, no more,
 No more peck o' corn for me,
 Many thousand gone.

No more driver's lash for me,
 No more, no more,
 No more driver's lash for me,
 Many thousand gone.

No more pint o' salt for me,
 No more, no more,
 No more pint o' salt for me,
 Many thousand gone.

No more hundred lash for me,
 No more, no more,
 No more hundred lash for me,
 Many thousand gone.

No more mistress' call for me,
 No more, no more,
 No more mistress' call for me,
 Many thousand gone.

Ellen G. White—Racist or Champion of Equality?—3

The Crisis of the NINETIES

By ROY BRANSON

WITH Adventists advocating views similar to those of the most active champions of black men's rights from before the Civil War through Reconstruction, with Mrs. White providing firm theological underpinning for equality among races, how can one explain her statements such as these, that endorse segregation?

"Let the colored people work chiefly for those of their own race. . . . The best thing will be to provide the colored people who accept the truth, with places of worship of their own, in which they can carry on their services by themselves. . . . Schools and sanitariums for colored people should be established."¹

"Let white and colored people be labored for in separate, distinct lines."²

In what seems a further reversal of attitudes, Mrs. White, who wanted the Civil War prosecuted more vigorously, now cautioned that "we are not to agitate the color line question, and thus arouse prejudice and bring about a crisis."³

What changed Mrs. White's approach was not her theology. She never retreated from her position that all men are equal in creation and redemption. Nor did she change her ideas as to what was necessary to implement the principle of racial equality. In the early 1890's, long after Reconstruction and the establishment of Democratic, Redemptionist South, Mrs. White addressed the leading men of the General Conference, saying we needed an expanded work in the South. Her plans were similar to those advocated by the radical Republicans 20 years be-

fore. Expanded welfare services were needed to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Sanitariums and schools should be established. As the radicals and other progressive thinkers had insisted, the black man needed jobs. Mrs. White suggested that industries could be started both in and out of cities. Above all, blacks should be taught how to grow crops other than cotton.⁴

The Crisis of the Nineties

Mrs. White's ideas and plans were as bold as ever. What caused her to counsel caution in practice was what one historian has called the "Crisis of the Nineties." The conservatives, Democrats, once again dominant in the South, "persuaded themselves that the crisis of the nineties was as desperate as that of the seventies had been. The South must be redeemed again, and the political ethics of redemption—which justified any means used to achieve the end—were pressed into service."⁵

Many factors contributed to the crisis of the nineties. The North had lost interest in stopping white Southerners from disfranchising the black man. Even liberals felt they should no longer protect Negroes; it was time for Negroes to prove themselves. Republicans discovered that they did not need black voters to win the Presidency. Business interests who had supported even the radicals in the Republican Party decided it was good business to have harmony between Northern and Southern whites.

Branches of the Federal Government were endorsing the idea that too much had been given too fast to

the Negro. By 1898 the Supreme Court had been handing down, for 25 years, a series of opinions progressively limiting the civil rights laws extended to black people during Reconstruction by radical Republican Congresses. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* the Court said, "Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts," and it justified segregation under the "separate but equal doctrine." The capstone was the *Williams v. Mississippi* decision which approved the 1890 Mississippi plan for disfranchising the black voters. Rapidly the entire South erected barriers between the black man and the ballot box. Literacy tests that could be (and were) administered to provide loopholes only for illiterate whites were followed by poll taxes and the white primary system. The effectiveness of this program of the nineties can be measured by the rapid decline of black registered voters in Louisiana. In 1896 there were 130,334 black men registered to vote. By 1904 there were only 1,342—a 99 per cent decrease in eight years.⁶

Economic conditions in the Southern agrarian economy were a fundamental reason for the crisis of the nineties. Depression had hit the farms. "A great restiveness seized upon the populace, a more profound upheaval of economic discontent than had ever moved the Southern people before, more profound in its political manifestations than that which shook them in the Great Depression of the 1930's."⁷

In their frustration the various elements of Southern white society—conservative Democrats who had supported secession, Southerners who

Mrs. White was one of those spiritual leaders who saw Christian duty leading into reform of slavery, as well as other problems, such as temperance, education, and public health.

had collaborated with Reconstruction, and Populists who had at first championed Negro rights even after the start of Redemption had come—all now united in making the black man the scapegoat in order to cure the disunity of the white South.

"If the psychologists are correct in their hypothesis that aggression is always the result of frustration, then the South toward the end of the 'nineties was the perfect cultural seedbed for aggression against the minority race. Economic, political, and social frustrations had pyramided to a climax of social tensions."

Jim Crow segregation laws were one important result of white aggression. Jim Crow laws had begun in 1875 with bars to inter-racial marriages, followed by the construction of some separated schools in 1885. But in the late nineties new Jim Crow laws spread rapidly to trains, streetcars, employment, and hospitals.

At the height of this "Second Redemption" of the nineties, Edson White tried to implement the comprehensive plans for the South proposed earlier by his mother. Having read some of his mother's appeals, Edson responded by constructing a 70-foot steamboat, the *Morning Star*, and sailing it down the Mississippi River. Arriving in Vicksburg, Mississippi, January 10, 1895, Edson made the *Morning Star* a floating headquarters (complete with chapel and print shop) for publishing, evangelistic, educational, and agricultural work among Mississippi black people.

In a thesis written at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and in a subsequent book (to be published soon by the Review and Herald Publishing Association) Ron Graybill has examined Mrs. White's

statements on race and the Mississippi venture of her son Edson. He argues persuasively that Mrs. White's first calls for segregation came after white Adventists, working primarily with blacks in Mississippi river towns, faced looting, shooting, and burning mobs of whites.

On May 25, 1899, Edson reported to his mother in a letter: "Two weeks ago tonight a mob of about 25 white men came to our church at Calmer at about midnight. They brought out Brother Stephenson, our worker, and then looted the church, burning books, maps, charts, etc. They hunted for Brother Casey, our leading colored brother of that place, but he had escaped in time so they did not reach him. They then went to the house of Brother Olvin, called out, and whipped him with a cowhide. I think they would have killed him if it had not been for a friendly white man who ordered them to stop whipping after they had struck a few blows. They did not pay any attention to him at first, but he drew his revolver, and said the next man who struck a blow would hear from him, and then they stopped. During this time they shot at Brother Olvin's wife, and struck her in the leg, but did not hurt her seriously. They took Brother Stephenson to the nearest railway station, put him on the cars, and sent him out of the country. They posted notice on our church forbidding me to return, and forbidding the steamer *Morning Star* to land between Yazoo City and Vicksburg.

"The whole difficulty arose from our efforts to aid the colored people. We had given them clothing where in need, and food to those who were hungry, and taught them some better ideas about farming, introducing different seeds such as peanuts, beans, etc., that bring a high price, and this the whites would not stand."

Only a few days after receiving her son's letter from Mississippi, Mrs. White wrote on June 5, 1899 to A. F. Ballenger on the subject of race. She included sentences repeated verbatim later in her 1908 essay on "The Color Line." "So far as possible, everything that will stir up the race prejudice of the white people should be avoided. There is danger of closing the door so that our white laborers will not be able to work in some places in the south."

Graybill points out that much of the material on race appearing in volume nine was written almost immediately after the Mississippi persecutions. He specifically places in this setting her most puzzling sentence.

"In the case of the statement that 'colored people should not urge that

they be placed on an equality with white people,' it is, as mentioned above, possible to look with some validity to Mississippi and the incidents in Yazoo City and Calmer for historical settings, or at least the general conditions pointed to in the Ballenger letter, for it was evidently some time before 1903 that she first made the statement."¹¹ Elsewhere in his thesis, Graybill analyzes Mrs. White's use of the terms equality and social equality. He devotes a chapter to the meaning of social equality in Mrs. White's time and the manner in which Mrs. White used the phrase.

Historical Background

It cannot be said too emphatically that Mrs. White's statement that "colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people" referred to certain social arrangements—forms of integration—she considered not possible during the crisis of the nineties. She did not want to move too rapidly at that precise moment when Adventists were being physically attacked, but she most definitely was not talking about the possibilities of social and civil integration in the United States of the 1970's. Nor, most assuredly, was she discussing the fundamental nature—physical, mental, or spiritual—of the black man. As we have seen earlier, on that point Mrs. White was definite: all men are equal brothers.

Some may feel that Mrs. White, at the turn of the century, did not extend her basic principle of equality into the life of Southern Adventism with sufficient firmness and boldness. But there should be no doubt as to the answer to the first part of the title for this essay. Concerning the nature of the black man, Mrs. White was no racist.

As to the other half of the title, whether or not Mrs. White vigorously championed equality, the record shows Mrs. White taking two approaches. When Jim Crow laws swept into law books in the nineties, when Adventist ventures into the South were met with whips and torches, Mrs. White urged a moderate stance in race relations. "Shall not His [Christ's] followers, for His sake, be willing to submit to many things unjust and grievous to be borne, in order to help the very ones who need help?"¹²

Mrs. White's counsel was a concession to a specific problem that she hoped would be temporary. Referring to black believers who were to have their own churches, she said, "Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows us a better way."¹³

When at 76 Mrs. White referred to the "color question" and wrote in a 1903 letter that "in different places and under different circumstances, the subject will need to be handled differently," she may well be remembering her earlier role of vigorous leadership in race relations.¹ Forty-one years before, when Mrs. White was 35, she and her young associates leading the Adventist denomination felt that the North was guilty of being too moderate in its pursuit of the war. At that time Mrs. White had complained about "the prosecution of this war—the slow, inefficient moves, the inactivity of our armies." Here was no gradualist, no moderate. Here was a zealous reformer, vivid and full-blown.

Mrs. White was one of those spiritual leaders who saw Christian duty leading into reform of slavery as well as other problems, such as temperance, education, and public health. In midnineteenth-century America revivalism had often led to social reform.

"The militant anti-slavery movement that had developed by 1831 was, in itself, a powerful religious crusade. . . . It was closely connected, in many respects, with movements for peace, women's rights, temperance, and other reform programs that developed simultaneously. In the West, it was connected with the Great Revival, of which Charles G. Finney was the dominant figure, emphasizing the importance of being useful and thus releasing a powerful impulse toward social reform."²

A recent historian of American religion feels that Adventists have dramatically demonstrated how a revivalistic longing for the hereafter can be combined with a concern for the whole man, here and now. Noting that Adventists have built and operated hospitals, publishing houses, homes for the aged, and a complete school system, Winthrop Hudson

quotes approvingly one observer's comment "that seldom while expecting a kingdom of God from heaven has a group worked so diligently for one on earth."³

Today, as we go to Mrs. White for guidance in race relations, let us take seriously her commitment to the basic equality of all men, whatever their race. As we further study her to find clues to the proper pace for implementing equality, let us remember that she supported achievement of racial justice at the earliest moment possible. Judging what is possible is, of course, the nub of the problem. Here the more mellow Mrs. White, advising caution in the crisis of the nineties, should not obscure the younger, more zealous Mrs. White of the Civil War and Reconstruction. If we are to learn one lesson from this brief glance at our denominational forebears, it is that circumstances sometimes dictate moderation in achieving justice, but that equally often, the times demand we be nothing less than militant reformers.

Although he was referring to the issue of slavery, J. N. Andrews accurately described how many of us still avoid our moral obligation to attack the evils confronting us today.

"This sin is snugly stowed away in a certain package which is labeled 'Politics.' They deny the right of their fellow men to condemn any of the favorite sins which they have placed in this bundle; and they evidently expect that any parcel bearing this label, will pass the final custom-house, i.e. the judgment of the great day—without being examined. Should the All-seeing Judge, however, inquire into their connection with this great iniquity, they suppose the following answer will be entirely satisfactory to Him: 'I am not at all censurable for anything said or done by me in behalf of slavery; for O Lord, Thou knowest, it was a part of my politics!' Will this plea be offered by any reader of this article?"⁴

(Concluded)

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 206, 207.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 227, 228; Ms. 24, 1891, "The Work in the Southern Field," quoted in Ron Graybill, "Historical Context of Ellen G. White's Statements Concerning Race Relations" (unpublished thesis, SDA Theological Seminary, 1968), p. 50.
- ⁵ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 1944, p. 78.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- ⁹ James Edson White to Ellen G. White, May 22, 1890, quoted in Graybill, p. 50.
- ¹⁰ *Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 214.
- ¹¹ Graybill, p. 52; cf. 51n3, p. 53.
- ¹² *Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 209.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 207. (Italics supplied.)
- ¹⁴ Letter 165, 1903, Ellen G. White to W. C. White, Aug. 3, 1903, in Graybill, p. 52.
- ¹⁵ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 244, 245.
- ¹⁶ Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York, 1965), p. 347.
- ¹⁷ J. N. Andrews, "Slavery," *Review and Herald*, Oct. 25, 1844, p. 172.

REVIEW AND HERALD, April 23, 1970

A PLEA FOR OBJECTIVITY

On page 2 begins the first of a series of three articles under the general title "Ellen G. White—Racist or Champion of Equality?" The series is certain to stimulate thought and discussion.

In this editorial it is not our purpose to repeat the points made by the author in article 1, nor to run ahead of him and sketch the points he will make in articles 2 and 3. We would, however, like to plead that readers attempt to achieve absolute objectivity as they follow the author's line of thought.

Too often when we examine history—especially history in which our forebears participated—our emotions tend to blur, distort, or even blot out facts. We become subjective. We fight old battles that long since have been won or lost.

This is particularly true in our treatment of the Civil War. We tend to oversimplify the conflict, and place everyone who lived (or lives) below the Mason-Dixon line in one category and everyone above that line in another. We identify those on our side as "goodies," and those on the other side as "baddies." Our people always wear the "white hats."

Actually life is much more complicated than this. With no attempt to strain the metaphor or produce a pun, very few things are sharply "black" or "white." The Civil War illustrates this well. Some people of the North opposed slavery; some did not. Some people of the South mistreated their slaves; some were very kind. Some Northerners who went South during the Reconstruction Era were "carpetbaggers"; others were upright and humanitarian. Some Southerners were committed to the Confederacy; some were loyal to the Union.

No Room for Self-righteousness

We point this out because we want it clear that this series of three articles is no condemnation of today's Southern whites. Nor is it an indictment of one political party, and an endorsement of another. It is merely an attempt to review certain essential facts in order to understand better the position of Ellen G. White on race relations.

No one who considers himself a Northerner should be encouraged by these articles to feel self-righteous. Contemporary history demonstrates all too clearly that racial problems and prejudices are not the exclusive property of any one segment of the population. Nor are honesty and fair play. Good and evil know nothing of a Mason-Dixon line. People everywhere are born with a heritage of evil, and they become righteous only as they commit their way to God and are transformed by grace.

People living today do not share in the guilt of the evils of the Civil War era—in either North or South—except as they themselves retain the characteristics and attitudes of their forebears of a century ago. God makes it very plain in Ezekiel 18:2-24 that each individual is accountable for his own deeds, not for those of his predecessors. For his own actions and attitudes, good or bad, he will be rewarded or punished.

We pointed out in a recent editorial that the Christian church is not to be polarized on the issue of race. Christ came to create a new humanity based not on caste or creed or color. The true Christian is not first of all a Northerner or a Southerner, a white or a black. He identifies with good wherever he lives, and dissociates himself from evil. He looks at facts squarely, endeavors to right wrongs and heal divisions. He places uppermost, not his own interests, but the interests of Christ and truth. He comes to grips with the question of race, not because he enjoys conflict, but because he sees racial attitudes as a moral problem.

"Until . . . a Better Way"

Inasmuch as some believe that in volume 9 of the *Testimonies* Sister White was laying down an all-time rule to govern relationships between blacks and whites, and was outlining the way the work of the church should be carried forward until the end of time, we would like to urge a careful reading of the following statement: "Regarding the testimonies, nothing is ignored; nothing is cast aside; but *time and place must be considered.*"—*Selected Messages*, book 1, p. 57. (Italics supplied.) The counsel in volume 9 was given to meet conditions at that time. It was to be followed "until the Lord shows us a better way" (page 207). But regarding the future, she said: "We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future regarding the relation to be maintained between white and colored people."—*Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210.

It is our hope that this series of articles will contribute not only to a better understanding of Ellen G. White and her position on racial matters but also to the unity of the church. The words of Sister White, uttered before the General Conference session of 1891, are as true today as 80 years ago: "I have heard the angel voice saying, 'Press together, press together, press together. Do not let Satan cast his hellish shadow between brethren. Press together; in unity there is strength.'"—*Selected Messages*, book 2, p. 374.

K. H. W.

The Southern Work, Chapter 5, pp. 41-45
Review and Herald, December 17, 1895

An Example in History

The Hebrew nation were in servitude for a great number of years. They were slaves in Egypt, and the Egyptians treated them as though they had a right to control them in soul, body, and spirit. But the Lord was not indifferent to their condition, he had not forgotten his oppressed people. The record says: "God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them." "The Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters, for I know their sorrows, and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land, and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey."

When God called Moses to be his instrument in delivering the Hebrew nation out of cruel bondage, Moses considered the difficulties of the situation, and thought of the obstacles that he would have to encounter in doing this great work. He knew that the people were in blindness and ignorance, that their minds had become beclouded in faith, and that they were almost destitute of a knowledge of God. They had become degraded by associating with a nation of idolaters, and had corrupted their ways by practicing idolatry. Yet there were many who were righteous and steadfast among this downtrodden people. The Lord directed Moses to give them a message from himself. He said: "Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm, and with great judgments; and I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians."

This nation of slaves was to be taught of God. Jesus Christ, enshrouded in the pillar of cloud and fire, was to be their invisible leader, the ruler over all their tribes. Moses was to be the mouthpiece of God. [SW p. 42] For forty years God ruled over them as they journeyed through the wilderness. But the Hebrew nation is not the only nation that has been in cruel bondage, and whose groanings have come to the ears of the Lord of hosts. The Lord God of Israel has looked upon the vast number of human beings who were held in slavery in the United States of America. The United States has been a refuge for the oppressed. It has been spoken of as the bulwark of religious liberty. God has done more for this country than for any other country upon which the sun shines. It has been marvelously preserved from war and bloodshed. God saw the foul blot of slavery upon this land, he marked the sufferings that were endured by the colored people. He moved upon the hearts of men to work in behalf of those who were so cruelly oppressed. The Southern States became one terrible battle-field. The graves of American sons who had enlisted to deliver the oppressed race are thick in its soil. Many fell in death, giving their lives to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound. God spoke concerning the captivity of the colored people as verily as he did concerning the Hebrew captives, and said: "I have surely seen the affliction of my people, . . . and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them." The Lord wrought in freeing the Southern slaves; but he designed to work still further for them as he did for the children of Israel, whom he took forth to educate, to refine, and ennoble. Christ himself wrought with his appointed leaders, and directed them as to what

they should do for his people that had become so terribly degraded. They were to be kept separate from all nations, to be directed and counseled until, through a correct representation of the divine character, they should come to know God, to reverence and obey his commandments.

Those who study the history of the Israelites should also consider the history of the slaves in America, who have suffered, who have been educated in crime, degraded, and oppressed, and left in ignorance to perish. Their physical freedom was obtained at a great loss of life, and Christians generally should have looked with compassion upon the colored race, for which God had a care. They should have done a work for them that would have uplifted them. They should have worked through the wisdom of God to educate and train them. We have been very neglectful of our colored brethren, and are not yet prepared for the coming of our Lord. The cries of these neglected people have come up before God. [SW p. 43] Who has entered into the work since their deliverance from bondage, to teach them the knowledge of God? The condition of the colored people is no more helpless than was the condition of the Hebrew slaves. The children of Israel were addicted to licentiousness, idolatry, gluttony, and gross vices. This is ever the result of slavery. But the Lord looked upon his people, and after their deliverance, he educated them. They were not left uncared for. Though they had lost in years of bondage the knowledge of the true God and of his holy law, yet God again revealed himself to them. In terrible grandeur and awful majesty he proclaimed to them his holy precepts, and commanded them to obey his law. The ten commandments are a transcript of the divine character, and are as unchangeable as the eternal throne. But since the slaves of the South attained to freedom, what have we as Christians done to bear any comparison to what was done for them by those who poured out their lives on the battle-field? Have we not looked upon the difficulties that presented themselves, and drawn back from the work? Perhaps some of us have felt sad over their wretchedness, but what have we done to save them from the slavery of sin? Who have taken hold of this work intelligently? Who have taken upon them the burden of presenting to them spiritual freedom that has been purchased for them at an infinite price? Have we not left them beaten, bruised, despised, and forsaken by the way? Is this the example that God has given us in the history of the deliverance of the children of Israel?--By no means.

Walls of separation have been built up between the whites and the blacks. These walls of prejudice will tumble down of themselves as did the walls of Jericho, when Christians obey the word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their maker and impartial love to their neighbors. For Christ's sake, let us do something now. Let every church whose members claim to believe the truth for this time, look at this neglected, downtrodden race, that, as a result of slavery, have been deprived of the privilege of thinking and acting for themselves. They have been kept at work in the cotton fields, have been driven before the lash like brute beasts, and their children have received no enviable heritage. Many of the slaves had noble minds; but the fact that their skin was dark, was sufficient reason for the whites to treat them as though they were beasts. When freedom was proclaimed to the captives, a favorable time was given in which to establish schools, and to teach the people to take care of themselves. Much of this kind of work was [SW p. 44] done by various denominations, and God honored their work. Those who attempted to work for the black race had to suffer persecution, and many were martyrs to the cause. It was difficult to educate these people in correct ideas, because they had been compelled to do according to the word of their human masters. They had been subject to human passions, their minds and bodies had been abused, and it was very hard to efface the education of these people, and to lead them to change their practices. But these missionaries persevered in their work. They knew that the black man had not chosen his color or his condition, and that Christ had died for him as verily as he had died for his white brother. To show sympathy for the released slaves, was to expose one's self to ridicule, hatred, and persecution. Old-time prejudice still exists, and those who labor in behalf of the colored race will have to encounter difficulties.

The neglect of the colored race by the American nation is charged against them. Those who claim to be Christians have a work to do in teaching them to read, and to follow various trades and engage in different business enterprises. Many among this race have noble traits of character and keen perception of mind. If they had an opportunity to develop, they would stand upon an equality with the whites. The Hebrew nation were educated during their journeying through the wilderness. They engaged in physical and mental labor. They used their muscles in various lines of work. The history of the wilderness life of God's chosen people was chronicled for the benefit of the Israel of God till the close of time. The apostle says, "Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come." The Lord did not forsake his people in their wanderings through the wilderness, but many of them forsook the Lord. The education they had had in Egypt made them subject to temptation, to idolatry, and to licentiousness, and because they disregarded the commandments of the Lord, nearly all the adults who left Egypt were overthrown in the wilderness; but their children were permitted to enter Canaan.

The land of Egypt was nearly desolated to bring freedom to the children of Israel; the Southern States were nearly ruined to bring freedom to the colored race. For three years war was carried on, and many lives were sacrificed, and there is mourning to-day because of broken family circles. Unspeakable outrages have been committed against the colored race. They had lived on through years of bondage with no hope of deliverance, and there stretched [SW p. 45] out before them a dark and dismal future. They thought that it was their lot to live on under cruel oppression, to yield their bodies and souls to the dominance of man. After their deliverance from captivity, how earnestly should every Christian have co-operated with heavenly intelligences who were working for the deliverance of the downtrodden race. We should have sent missionaries into this field to teach the ignorant. We should have issued books in so simple a style that a child might have understood them, for many of them are only children in understanding. Pictures and object lessons should have been used to present to the mind valuable ideas. Children and youth should have been educated in such a way that they could have been instructors and missionaries to their parents.

Let us prayerfully consider the colored race, and realize that these people are a portion of the purchased possession of Jesus Christ. One of infinite dignity, who was equal with God, humbled himself so that he might meet man in his fallen, helpless condition, and become an advocate before the Father in behalf of humanity. Jesus did not simply declare his goodwill toward perishing man, but humbled himself, taking upon himself the nature of man. For our sakes he became poor, that we might come into possession of an immortal inheritance, be heirs of God and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ.

**Ellen White's Communication Frequency on the Black Work
During It's Early Progressive Period: A Model**

Period	1891-95	1896-1900	1901-05	1906-10
Characteristic	Organizational Deficiency	Organizational Gradualism	Organizational Peril	Organizational Stabilization
Sender	EGW (USA/Aus.)	EGW (Aus.)	EGW (USA)	EGW (USA)
•Message	• Prioritize/begin black work	• Learn what/how to do	• Act indigenously, conciliation	• Plan/build for longterm
•Objective	• Educate, energize	• Equip, implement	• Enlighten, edify	• Entreat, encourage
Receiver	Leadership, then laity	Leadership and laity	Leadership and laity	Leadership and laity
Channel (for Comstats)	• Meetings • Periodicals (spoken and written)	• Periodicals • Letters (written)	• Meetings • Periodicals • Letters (spoken and written)	• Meetings • Periodicals • Letters (spoken and written)
Receiver's Response	Tolerance	Apathy	Reactionary	Progressive
•Positive	• Acceptance, planning	• Action, modeling	• Realism, understanding	• Solidifying, normalizing
•Negative	• Invitation, resistance	• Lethargy, skepticism	• Extremism, misunderstanding	• Depreciating, destabilizing
Results	Presence • Black work gets denominational focus	Prioritize • Systematic efforts to start Black work (Edson White)	Pragmatic • In light of conflict, operations developed and refined	Positioning • Self-sustaining and institutional progress made
Possible Interference	• Neglect of responsibility • Prejudice against Blacks • Fear of the unknown	• Limited or no resources • Little organizational support • Criticism of Black work/workers	• Danger of physical harm/Racism • Progress is threatened • Disillusionment of program	• Depreciating needs • Destabilizing progress • Failing to plan aggressively
Outlook	Discouraging • Little progress	Improving • Some progress	Threatening • Endangered progress	Advancing • Significant progress
USA/SDA/ African-American Interaction	Flow of Events			

Ellen White on Racial Equality

That Ellen White held to no latent doctrine of inherent inferiority for the Negro is supported by the fact that she explained the apparent or real deficiencies of the Negroes of her time as the result of slavery and subsequent oppression.

Writing to Edson White and his wife, Emma, shortly after they had begun their labors among the Negroes in Mississippi, she said:

My children, you will meet with deplorable ignorance. Why? Because the souls that were kept in bondage were taught to do exactly the will of those who call them their property, and held them as slaves. They were kept in ignorance, and were untaught. Thousands of them do not know how to read. . . . They are taught that they must not think or judge for themselves, but their ministers must judge for them. . . .

This is a favorable field for the working of seducing spirits, and they will have success, because of the ignorance of the human minds so long trampled and abused as their bodies have been. The whole system of slavery was origi-

Ellen White on Racial Equality

109

nated by Satan, the tyrant over human beings whenever the opportunity offers for him to oppress. Whenever he can get the chance he ruins.

Now there are those who are intelligent. Many have had no chance who might have manifested decided ability if they had been blessed with opportunities such as their more favored brethren, the white people, have had.¹

The important point here is that she explains the condition of ignorance as a result of slavery and lack of opportunity, not as an inherent racial defect.

Ellen White's denunciations of slavery are as passionate and thoroughgoing as anything she ever penned:

One finite human being compelling another to do his will, claiming to be mind and judgment for another, and this sentiment, that has Satan for its originator, has presented a history, terrible, horrible in oppression, tortures and bloodshed.

Man is God's property by creation and redemption, but man has been demanding the right to compel the consciences of men. Prejudices, passions, satanic attributes, have revealed themselves in men as they have exercised their powers against their fellow men.

All is written, *all*, every injustice, every harm, every fraudulent action, every pang of anguish caused in physical suffering, is written in the books of heaven as done to Jesus Christ, who has purchased man at an infinite price, even His own life. All who treat His property with cruelty, are charged with doing it to Jesus Christ in the person of His heritage, who are His by all the claims of creation and redemption. And while we are seeking to help the very ones who need help, we are registered as doing the same to Christ.

A correct knowledge of the Scripture would make men fear and tremble for their future, for every work will be

brought into review before God, and they will receive their punishment according as their works have been. God will give to the faithful and true, patience under trial.*

One never finds Ellen White giving support to the myth that there was such a thing as a "contented" slave, or that the Southern white man was the Negro's "best friend." Even in 1895, her picture of the treatment received by Negroes is not a pleasant one:

Here are your neighbors, poor, beaten, oppressed; thousands of human beings suffering for the want of educational advantages; many, so many, who need to hear the gospel preached in its purity. . . .

This neglected field has been presented before me in its sinfulness and degradation because of the treatment received from the whites.*

Perhaps her clearest statement of "equality" was made the next year, in 1896, when she described the Negroes as "men standing in God's broad sunlight with mind and soul like other men, with as goodly a frame as has the best developed white man."*

In this same letter she spoke of the crippling effects of racial prejudice, saying that "lives are embittered by the prejudice against them, being stigmatized as unworthy to associate with the whites, even in the worship of God."*

She speaks of the fact that "there are keenly sensitive minds that brood long and intensely over the oppressions suffered, and the slights they are made to feel," and she asserts that "even commiseration is humiliating, because it calls the sensitive mind to the misfortune that excites pity."*

Ellen White asks in this context: "Cannot the children of God see that in conceding to the prejudice against the color of race, they are giving their influence to sanction a long course of neglect, of insult, of oppression? Will not the Lord call those to account who have had a part in this work?"*

She clearly enunciated the principle that all men are equal, and called on all Christians to adhere to this principle regardless of the consequences:

No matter what the gain or the loss, we must act nobly and courageously in the sight of God and our Saviour. Let us as Christians who accept the principle that all men, white and black, are free and equal, adhere to this principle, and not be cowards in the face of the world, and in the face of the heavenly intelligences. We should treat the colored man just as respectfully as we would treat the white man. And we can now, by precept and example, win others to this course.*

She condemned racial prejudice as a moral evil. And she said: "Those white people who appreciate the ministry of Christ in their behalf, cannot cherish prejudice against their colored brethren."*

In speaking of the South as a "difficult" field, she did not suggest that this was so because of any inherent inferiority of the Negro, but "because of the white people who have the slave master's spirit, with the slave master's cruelty in exercising the same, as if the blacks were no more than beasts; and to be treated worse than the dumb animals because they are in the form of man, having the marks of the black—Negro—race."*

In the letter to Frank Belden already mentioned, she

refers to the "degrading habits taught them by the . . . whites," and in the same letter, in what might be her only direct allusion to lynching, she says:

The colored people have had before them the example of commonness and adultery. These evils are all through our world, but when the poor, wretched, ignorant race, who know scarcely anything of purity and righteousness, do commit sin—sin that committed by white people is scarcely condemned—colored people are tortured to death whether proved guilty or not. And the nation that permits this bears the name of Christian. God says, "Shall I not judge for these things?"¹

The evidence which thus far has come to light tends to indicate that Ellen White believed that, inherently, the Negro was fully and totally equal to the Caucasian, and that the differences she may have observed were the result of environmental influences, and where these differences reflected backwardness, she laid the blame, not on the Negro, but on his white oppressors.

The question is often asked, What would Ellen White have written had she been writing to the American of today, where the trend of the nation, through its courts and government, and in the opinions of many of its people, is quite different from what it was in the first decade of this century? This, of course, is a question that can never be answered with certainty. As in 1908 she called for the acceptance of segregated churches, she hastened to pen the words "until the Lord shows us a better way." But any reliable projection of what she might say today must be grounded in a thorough and balanced understanding of what she said in her day, and what the conditions were and what it meant to the people to whom it was first directed.

That understanding must take notice, when considering the subject under discussion here, of a letter written in 1900 to a worker in South Africa, another country

with acute racial problems:

In regard to the question of caste and color, nothing would be gained by making a decided distinction, but the Spirit of God would be grieved. We are all supposed to be preparing for the same heaven. We have the same heavenly Father and the same Redeemer, who loved us and gave Himself for us all, without any distinction. We are nearing the close of this earth's history, and it does not become any child of God to have a proud, haughty heart and turn from any soul who loves God, or to cease to labor for any soul for whom Christ has died. When the love of Christ is cherished in the heart as it should be, when the sweet, subduing spirit of the love of God fills the soul-temple, there will be no caste, no pride of nationality; no difference will be made because of the color of the skin. Each one will help the one who needs tender regard and consolation, of whatever nationality he may be.

Ask yourselves if Christ would make any difference. In assembling His people would He say, Here brother, or, Here sister, your nationality is not Jewish; you are of a different class. Would He say, Those who are dark-skinned may file into the back seats; those of a lighter skin may come up to the front seats?

In one place the proposition was made that a curtain be drawn between the colored people and the white people. I asked, Would Jesus do that? This grieves the heart of Christ. The color of the skin is no criterion as to the value of the soul. By the mighty cleaver of truth we have all been quarried out from the world. God has taken us, all classes, all nations, all languages, all nationalities, and brought us into His workshop, to be prepared for His temple."

¹ Ellen G. White, Letter 80-a, 1895 (to J. L. White, August 16, 1895).

² *Ibid.*

³ Ellen G. White, Letter 5, 1895 (to "My Brethren in Responsible Positions in America," July 24, 1895).

⁴ Ellen G. White, Manuscript 7, 1896 ("The Colored People").

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Ellen G. White, Manuscript 107, 1908 ("The Color Line").

¹⁰ Ellen G. White, Letter 223, 1899 (to J. E. White, June 22, 1899).

¹¹ Ellen G. White, Letter 165, 1899 (to F. E. Belden, October 22, 1899).

¹² Ellen G. White, Letter 26, 1900 (to W. S. Hyatt, February 15, 1900).

Conclusions

It has been reliably reported that in 1958 a white Seventh-day Adventist church in California took action by which a young physician was refused membership because he was a Negro. This local church action referred to a "long standing policy of the denomination, following the counsel of the Spirit of Prophecy, to maintain separate churches for the colored and the white members wherever possible."¹¹ This church actually felt that it was following the counsel of God in excluding the black physician from membership.

The action went on to quote a statement from volume 9, page 215:

If you see that by doing certain things which you have a perfect right to do, you hinder the advancement of God's work, refrain from doing those things. Do nothing that will close the minds of others against the truth. There is a world to save, and we shall gain nothing by cutting loose from those we are trying to help. All things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient.

It is hoped that this book makes clear that such action involves misunderstandings of the writings of Ellen G. White. First of all, even in volume 9, Ellen White does not say that separate churches are to be the plan "where possible." This would imply that she favored separate churches unless they were impossible. Rather she said that separate churches were to be maintained "where demanded by custom or where greater efficiency is to be gained."¹² This would imply quite the opposite—that she favored separate facilities only where it was impossible to have integrated churches. But aside from this, the statement quoted in the above action was first offered in the report of the interview at Armsdale campground in Australia which, as has been pointed out before, dealt primarily with the question of whether Negroes should be instructed to labor on Sunday in the South.¹³ It was embodied in 1908 by Mrs. White as part of materials she was preparing for volume 9.

Probably the most important conclusion is that "those we are trying to help," of whom Ellen White speaks in *The Southern Work*, and also in volume 9, were black people. Although she did speak of the necessity of caution in order that the work among white people might not be hindered, an equally important reason for her statements regarding the separation of the races, the color line, and "social equality," was to protect Adventist work among Negroes. These statements were given at a time when agitation over the color line would have been met by violence and bloodshed in many places in the South, and when such action would

have closed up Adventist work among Negroes, because of the prejudice of whites.

When this historical background is forgotten, only the statements concerning the effects of integrated facilities on the effort to reach white people are noticed, but this was not the only, or even the most important, reason for Ellen White's counsel concerning separate facilities.

Ellen White believed, basically, in the essential equality of the Negro and the Caucasian. Her counsels regarding separate church services were given, not on the basis of any belief in a "natural law" forbidding such contact or on the basis of a belief in the supposed inherent inferiority of the Negro, but because of conditions in a country mired in the depths of its deepest pit of racism.

The apparent inconsistency between her early statements, that white people had no license to exclude Negroes from their places of worship, and her 1908 statements that separate provision be made can be explained then only by the rise of racial tensions and segregation during the intervening years, and by Ellen White's conviction that extreme caution must be exercised in order to prevent the closing of the Negro work entirely in the South. She hoped that it would be only a matter of time until the Lord "shows us a better way."

The beauty of her position is that even though she observed the country moving more and more toward segregation and subordination of the Negro, she still refused to lay down a definite line to be followed in every

place for all time, and made clear that her counsel concerning separate facilities was a temporary expedient. That expedience was necessitated by the force of law and the threat of violence, loss of life among Negroes, and the abrogation of the opportunity to work among all classes of mankind for whom Christ, the Prince of heaven, gave His life.

¹ W. S. Lee, "Integration and the Regional Department," General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Regional Department, mimeographed, p. 4.

² 9T, p. 208.

³ For the statement quoted in the action, see SW, pp. 70, 71, and 9T, p. 215.

ELLEN G. WHITE

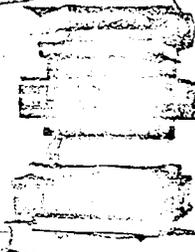
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A number of inquiries have come to the office of the Ellen G. White Publications recently concerning statements Ellen White may have made relative to conflicts which may arise over the racial situation, and the possibility of a revival of slavery. Among the statements sent in for verification are some which are unauthenticated and some that are simply fantastic.

The situation is a very delicate one. The Seventh-day Adventist Church is comprised of all races and colors. In the United States the ratio of Seventh-day Adventists to population is about the same among the colored people as it is among the white.

Of all people, Seventh-day Adventists should be among those who will avoid extreme statements and will not be responsible for passing from one to another the reports and rumors of what Sister White has supposedly said. Ellen White's counsel on the subject of the relationship between the races, and the manner in which Seventh-day Adventists should approach this matter, is set forth fully and clearly in Testimonies for the Church, Volume 9, pages 199 to 226, in a Section entitled, "Among the Colored People."

Uppermost in her interest was the precious cause of God and her concern that nothing should come in to hinder the sounding of the last warning message to every creature. Note this counsel found in Volume 9:

"It is Satan's plan to call minds to the study of the color line. If his suggestions are heeded, there will be diversity of opinion and great confusion. No one is capable of clearly defining the proper position of the colored people. Men may advance theories, but I assure you that it will not do for us to follow human theories. So far as possible the color line question should be allowed to rest."
Testimonies for the Church, Volume 9, page 213.

* See Testimonies, Volume 5, p. 696, paragraph 1.

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The same chapter contains this challenging admonition --

"We are to avoid entering into contention over the problem of the color line. If this question is much agitated, difficulties will arise that will consume much precious time to adjust. We cannot lay down a definite line to be followed in dealing with this subject. In different places and under varying circumstances, the subject will need to be handled differently. In the South, where race prejudice is so strong, we could do nothing in presenting the truth were we to deal with the color line question as we can deal with it in some places in the North. The white workers in the South will have to move in a way that will enable them to gain access to the white people. . . . The wise course is the best. As laborers together with God, we are to work in the way that will enable us to accomplish the most for Him. Let none go to extremes." Ibid., pp. 213, 215.

This chapter closes with "A Lesson from Christ's Labors" reminding the church of the man who sought aid of our Lord in settling a temporal matter. Ellen White points out that Christ did not count it as his work to settle such problems. She says:

"Christ gave the man plainly to understand that this was not His work. He was striving to save souls. He was not to be turned aside from this to take up the duties of a civil magistrate.

"How often today labor is forced upon the church that should never be allowed to enter the work of the gospel ministry!"--Testimonies, Vol. 9, page 217.

This entire section in Volume IX, with its cautions, should be read and reread carefully and prayerfully.

In another reference to this delicate subject, penned in 1904, Ellen White touches on vital points. The words should be carefully pondered:

"It will be impossible to adjust all matters regarding the color question in accordance with the Lord's order until those who believe the truth are so closely united with Christ that they are one with Him. Both the white and the colored members of our churches need to be converted. There are some of both classes who are unreasonable, and when the color question is agitated they manifest unsanctified, unconverted traits of character. Quarrelsome elements are easily aroused in those who, because they have never learned to wear the yoke of Christ, are opinionated and obstinate. In such, self clamors with an unsanctified determination for the supremacy."--E. G. White Letter 105, 1904.

Seen as the crux of the problem is "self," if unsubdued by the Spirit of God.

The report has reached you that Ellen White has stated that slavery would be revived in the Southern states before Jesus comes. This she mentioned incidentally when discussing the great caution which must be exercised in

instructing our colored believers in regard to Sunday labor in the South and warning against rash and precipitous moves. The clearest such statement reads as follows:

"I am instructed to say to our people throughout the cities of the South, let everything be done under the direction of the Lord. The work is nearing its close. We are nearer the end than when we first believed. Satan is doing his best to block the way to the progress of the message. He is putting forth efforts to bring about the enactment of a Sunday law which will result in slavery in the Southern field, and will close the door to the observance of the true Sabbath which God has given to men to keep holy."--E. G. White Letter 6, 1909.

These words written to her son, William C. White, who was then visiting in Nashville, Tennessee, at a time when national Sunday bills were being urged upon the United States Congress,* give a local application to a forecast of events which has been clearly set before us in the book, Great Controversy. Note these words which we have often overlooked:

"As the defenders of truth refuse to honor the Sunday-sabbath, some of them will be thrust into prison, some will be exiled, some will be treated as slaves. To human wisdom, all this now seems impossible; but as the restraining Spirit of God shall be withdrawn from men, and they shall be under the control of Satan, who hates the divine precepts, there will be strange developments. The heart can be very cruel when God's fear and love are removed."--Great Controversy, edition of 1884, p. 426, current edition, p. 608 (italics ours).

Then again in Great Controversy we read of the widespread prevalence of the spirit of cruelty and oppression when the Spirit of God is withdrawn from the rejectors of God's mercy:

"Many of all nations, and of all classes, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, will be cast into the most unjust and cruel bondage."
--Id., edition of 1884, p. 445; current edition, p. 626.

This same thought is also borne out in a communication from Ellen White to Elder O. A. Tait in 1895 at a time when some Seventh-day Adventists were given prison terms for breaking state Sunday laws:

"Should the colored people in the Southern States be educated, as they receive the truth, that they should work on Sunday, there would be excited a most unreasonable and unjust prejudice. Judges and jurors, lawyers and citizens, would, if they had a chance, bring decisions which would bind about them rites which would cause much suffering, not only to the ones whom they term guilty of breaking the laws of their State, but all the colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance, and under cruel treatment by the white people, that would be no less than slavery."--Special Testimonies, Series A, No. 6, p. 48.

* See Review and Herald, June 24, 1909, p. 10.

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With the liberty we enjoy in the United States at the present time, it is difficult for us to envision the events which are before us in the last great crisis as pictured in a number of places in Mrs. White's writings. We would direct you particularly to the statement found in Testimonies for the Church, Volume 5, pages 449 to 454. Please turn and read the chapter.

That there will be slaves and slave masters on the earth at the second advent is made clear by the apostle John in Revelation 6:15-17 where we read:

"The mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come."

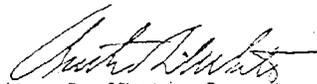
In Early Writings, page 35, we read of the slaves at the coming of Christ. Reference is also made to this situation on pages 277 and 278. No one denies that there are slaves in the world today -- perhaps more slaves now than during the days when negroes were held in servitude in the Southern states of North America.

Now the question is, What shall we do with the information this letter contains? Ellen White placed in her books only the general statements which we find in Great Controversy. Discussing the delicate situation of race relationships in the South and particularly the manner in which new Adventists should conduct themselves, she counselled that "The things which I have been presenting to you will need to be brought out with great care." She gave this information to our workers to impress them with the caution with which they should carry on certain lines of work. Will you and I be content to handle this matter as guardedly as did Ellen White when she gave this information to some of the leading workers of the church?

Again let me call to your attention and urge you to read her cautions and counsels on the whole question of the race problem as presented in Volume IX.

We have hesitated a bit in discussing in a letter the matters concerning which we write. May the Lord help all of us to exercise good, sanctified common sense and discretion, lest the precious work of God be marred.

Sincerely your brother,



Arthur L. White, Secretary
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HISTORY

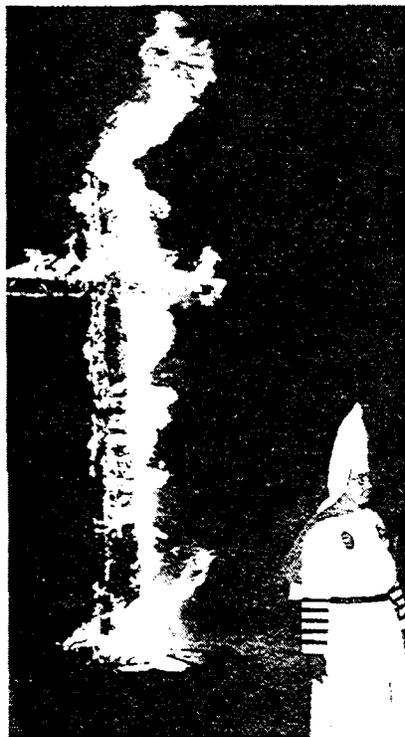
THE "RACE WAR" QUESTION: ITS RELEVANCE TODAY

America had been at war with itself. Now that war was over.

A myriad of civil perplexities faced the nation just emerging from bloody conflict. The volatile slavery-freedom question had been legally settled but remained unanswered in practice. The tense racial climate took various forms in different parts of the country. Disagreement on how to implement Reconstruction divided the nation. Many questioned how the ex-slave and former master should relate to each other.

Amid all these considerations the infant Seventh-day Adventist Church confronted an often-hostile environment. Ellen White, faced with unique challenges as God's messenger, repeatedly outlined the most prudent approach to relations between whites and blacks "until the Lord shows us a better way."¹

Understanding the historical, sociological, and religious settings provides a helpful perspective on statements concerning racial relations in *Testimonies*, volume 9. Such a perspective brings out the prudence of Ellen White, who was willing to forgo acceptance by whites and blacks and to risk misunderstanding in order to set forth views that would provide for the long-range good of both. In a message entitled *Our Duty to the*



UPPER MANN NEWS PHOTO

Colored People, presented at an 1891 General Conference session in Battle Creek, Michigan, she set forth a series of reformatory principles that were confrontational and ahead of her time.

Sixteen years later, on April 29, 1907, in Loma Linda, California, Ellen

White, in an interview with three church leaders, made the prediction "I knew that this very race war would be introduced."² Ellen White also said, "There will be slavery just as verily as it has been, only upon a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."³

Statements such as these raise certain questions, such as "What did she mean?" "Was this fulfilled?" A study of this subject reveals the rich balance Ellen White had on the sensitive race issue, discloses principles that will help us today, and brings confidence in God's prophet.

A careful study of history reveals that both predictions of Ellen White were distinctly fulfilled within approximately 15 years after she made them.

Placing the Statements in Context

Most of Ellen White's statements on the race issue came between 1891, when she first called attention to the need for work among the blacks in *Our Duty to the Colored People*, and 1908, when she completed material for *Testimonies*, volume 9, entitled "Among the Colored People." As a result of this emphasis, her son William White felt the need to prepare a book that would give Adventists a picture of the fields in the Southern

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

states and the work (i.e., the black work) needed to be done there.⁴ He hoped this book would be the means of encouraging youth to give themselves to the work.

As of January, 1895, his brother, James Edson White, had been doing a commendable work in the South on a riverboat, *Morning Star*. But he needed more means and workers. Willie, like his mother, no doubt realized that the sooner work could be done there, the better, before the avenues started to close up.

For these reasons and with these burdens, William White and Percy Magan, along with Dores Robinson, arranged the 1907 interview with Ellen White to share their thoughts and get her counsel.

Ellen White had said in 1895, 12 years before, "The colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now tenfold harder than it would have been then."⁵ In 1900, seven years previous, she stated, "The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers toward the ignorant and oppressed colored people. If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin."⁶ In 1895 she referred to the fact that some work had been done, "When freedom was proclaimed to the captives, a favorable time was given in which to establish schools and to teach the people to take care of themselves. Much of this kind of work was done by various denominations, and God honored their work."⁷

The Sociological Setting

The four discussed a variety of related issues during the interview, such as the advantage of a book on the Southern work, the kind of work required there, the need for schools, and the value of working the soil. At that point Magan said to Ellen White, "You know, years ago you made the statement that the time would come when there would be a terrible race war in the South. I do not know

A mob of 400 white men invaded the colored district of Wilmington, set fire to buildings, killed and wounded many Negroes, and chased hundreds out of town.



H. ARMSTRONG ROBERTS



H. ARMSTRONG ROBERTS

Top: Martin Luther King, Jr., delivers his famous "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C., August 28, 1963. Bottom: Brooklyn, New York, residents inspect damage to stores and tenements after racial disturbances in 1970.

whether you ever said it in so many words, but you intimated that slavery would exist again."⁶

Apparently Magan recollected a statement by Ellen White at an earlier time, "Slavery will again be revived in the Southern states; for the spirit of slavery still lives."⁷ A little later in the interview he compared his recollected "race war" statement with the "slavery" statement. As we shall see, Ellen White made the same comparison.

Without directly responding to his recollection, Ellen White explained what he referred to: "Just as soon as people begin to make any kind of movement to educate the blacks, there are some who are determined that it shall not be done."⁸

Here Ellen White relates Magan's "race war"/"slavery" recollection to opposition against educating or bettering the condition of blacks. Magan elaborated on this thought, "It is the common talk all over the South that there will be a race war within the next few years. Senator Tillman has talked it in the house. Governor-elect Hoke Smith and Tillman have published a plan that they are advocating everywhere. . . . They will divide every county into districts, and every Negro is to be numbered. He will have a brass plate strapped to his arm . . . giving his number. . . . and then he is never to be allowed outside of that district without a passport from the officers."⁹

In response to this remark, Ellen White made the statement "There will be slavery just as verily as it has been, only upon a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."¹⁰

Magan elaborated on the meaning of "secure to the white people." "More secure, because they do not have to feed the Negroes and care for them. Then if the Negro has got outside that district, or if he is loafing and not working, they can put him on the chain gang for a year. . . . There are many of the Negroes today who are selling their property and hiding their money in the earth for fear that their land and houses, if they were known to own any, would be taken from them."¹¹

In 1899 Ellen White made this comment: "It is the prejudice of the white against the black race that makes this field hard, very hard. The whites who have oppressed the colored people still have the same spirit. They did not lose it, although they were conquered in war. They are determined to make it appear that the blacks were better off in slavery than since they were set free."¹²

Magan moved to the subject of the book, saying, "I had thought we ought, without taking sides or creating any disturbance, tell in a moderate way the conditions in the South. . . . If we could depict the present status somewhat, it would interest our people to go south to work before it is too late. And yet I felt, on the other hand, that we should be very careful in the doing of that, lest we stir up a hornet's nest."¹³

Careful Approval

This careful approach Ellen White had advocated for years. She responded, "That is the danger. That is why I have pleaded, and entreated, entreated, and entreated for the work to be done in the South, because I knew that this very race war would be introduced."¹⁴

This was not the first time Ellen White had voiced such a warning. Eight years before, in an 1899 letter, she made the following prediction: "At the least provocation the poison of prejudice is ready to show its true character, and provocations will be found. It is very hard to make the work run smoothly. Outbreaks will come at any moment, and all unexpectedly, and there will be destruction of property and even of life itself."¹⁵

By 1907 the crisis had come upon the nation and the church. Problems increased in intensity and took the form of violence between the races, most of which would be realized within the next 15 years. While fulfillment of the "slavery" and "race war" predictions was imminent, there would be a difference in how they came to pass. The "slavery" reference did not indicate a condition the same as had existed in the past, with slaves on plantations. Instead, there would

come a political, economic, and social bondage. The race war was to be a natural outgrowth of the new slavery, in the form of violent antagonism between whites and blacks, with mobs, riots, people beaten, shot, and lynched.

C. Vann Woodward described the scene. "It was inevitable that race relations should deteriorate rapidly under such pressure [referring to Hoke Smith's anti-Negro disfranchisement campaign]. The immediate consequences in two states were bloody mob wars upon the Negro. Shortly after the red-shirt, white-supremacy election of 1898 in North Carolina a mob of four hundred white men led by a former Congressman invaded the colored district of Wilmington, set fire to buildings, killed and wounded many Negroes, and chased hundreds out of town. The sequel to Hoke Smith's white-supremacy victory in Georgia in 1906 was a four-day rule of anarchy in Atlanta, during which mobs roved the city freely looting, murdering, and lynching."¹⁶

In a period that witnessed the struggle for Southern self-government, the Knights of the White Camellia, the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, and a reaction by blacks, slavery in its new form and race war as a bitter result became sad realities.

To be concluded

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- ¹ *Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 207.
- ² White Estate Document File 151, Ellen G. White, Interview, 1907, p. 5.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁴ Unfortunately this book was never published.
- ⁵ Ronald D. Graybill, *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1970), p. 21.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
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- ⁸ DF 151, p. 4.
- ⁹ *Comments on the Ellen G. White Statements Relative to the Revival of Slavery*, Oct. 17, 1953, p. 4.
- ¹⁰ DF 151, p. 4.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *The Southern Work*, p. 83.
- ¹⁵ DF 151, p. 6.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ *The Southern Work*, p. 86.
- ¹⁸ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 86, 87.

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HISTORY

RACE WAR PREDICTIONS REACH FULFILLMENT

Second of two parts

History abounds with vignettes of racial tensions during the post-Civil War Reconstruction period. Ellen White saw that these problems would take on new dimensions at the turn of the century. They would manifest themselves especially during the first two decades of the twentieth century, which would set the pace for the following 30 to 40 years and would even impact on us today.

Three realities of the early 1900s relate to Ellen White's prediction that racial strife would rise again.

1. Emancipation Into "More Favorable" Slavery

Abraham Lincoln assured the Southern states that he aimed to "bind up the nation's wounds." But pulling the Union together again, rebuilding the South, and dealing with 4 million freed slaves proved a formidable task. It required a whole new way of thinking about blacks, now free citizens with rights equal to those of whites. This adjustment many whites found impossible.

Blacks, on the other hand, found themselves faced with the adjustments required by freedom. With families often separated when sold into slavery, locating lost relatives was difficult. They had to find work and a place to live, as well as education and a sense of purpose.

Many factors militated against their success. While some whites

rejoiced that blacks were no longer slaves, many feared the new condition. In too many cases fear mushroomed into open hostility, the kind that Ellen White referred to as "slavery just as verily as it had been, only on a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."¹ An avalanche of discriminatory legislation began in 1870 and culminated during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

"The Civil War officially ended slavery in the United States, but in the postwar decades of Reconstruction and the rebuilding of the 'New South' slavery was replaced by other forms of economic and social bondage. Sharecropping and peonage, plus the persistence of racial segregation in the form of 'Jim Crow' laws, assured white Southerners of continued control over the black population."²

2. Segregation

"Jim Crow" came to represent segregation of blacks and whites throughout society. The "slavery" that Ellen White referred to as "more favorable and secure to the white people" resulted because the black race could still be controlled and contained without the responsibility of feeding, housing, or attending to their needs as in the former slavery system.

This racial bondage expressed itself in a succession of decisions by

the United States Supreme Court before the turn of the century in which the Court removed protection by the government over many rights of the blacks. "The Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment gave Congress power to restrain states but not individuals from acts of racial discrimination and segregation."³ It was ruled that a state could not prohibit segregation on a common carrier, and later that a state could constitutionally require such segregation. The "separate but equal" rule became the justification for segregation. Finally, "the Court completed the opening of the legal road to proscription, segregation, and disfranchisement by approving the Mississippi plan for depriving the Negroes of the franchise."⁴

In 1895 Ellen White noted, "Judges and jurors, lawyers and citizens, would, if they had a chance, bring decisions which would . . . cause much suffering." She continued by saying that "all the colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance, and under cruel treatment by the white people, that would be no less than slavery."⁵

After the turn of the century one state after another enacted clauses to eliminate the black voter by the literary qualification rule, the poll tax, or the white primary, leading to a time that black historian John Franklin called "a long dark night."

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

By 1910 segregation was not only established legislatively but had become an accepted part of society throughout both the North and the South.

3. "Race War"

Did a "race war" occur in fulfillment of Ellen White's prediction? Emphatically, yes! The racially inspired riots and battles are well documented. Trumped-up stories of Negro crime, rape, arrogance, or lack of proper servility abounded. Lynchings, beatings, and other forms of violence were perpetrated by groups out to keep blacks in "their proper place."

A modest approximation of lynchings during the first two decades of the twentieth century places the number at about 1,800. Lynching, a punishment administered by hanging that sometimes included burning, was normally carried out by a mob in a spirit of revenge, malice, and frenzy. Ninety percent of these lynchings took place in the South, with more than 85 percent of the victims being black.⁶ Less than one fifth of all lynchings involved a crime calling for capital punishment.

Ellen White made what is probably her only allusion to lynching in a letter to Frank Belden, dated October 22, 1899:

"The colored people have had before them the example of commonness and adultery. These evils are all through our world, but when the . . . [black] . . . do commit sin—sin that committed by white people is scarcely condemned—colored people are tortured to death whether proved guilty or not. And the nation that permits this bears the name of Christian. God says, 'Shall I not judge for these things?' "⁷

In addition to lynchings, other crimes against blacks became common. Citizens from every strata of society took part in these persecutions.⁸ Sometimes blacks would resist and seek to defend themselves, but most of the time they lost this "race war," owing to the weapons, numbers, and sometimes even

the authorities arrayed against them.

In a black backlash, bloody racial wars or battles were fought between the two races from 1908 to 1921.⁹ "Six major race riots occurred between 1900 and 1910. . . . The riots . . . involved mobs of white citizens perpetrating crimes against Negro life and property, and Negro citizens returning the favor."¹⁰

Not until the mid-1890s did Adventists begin any serious work in the South. By that time segregation had taken root, making the church's situation there precarious. Ellen White urged the church to move quickly and quietly in the South because of yet more difficulties to come. "When the truth is proclaimed in the South, . . . great care must be exercised, not to do anything to arouse . . . prejudice. Otherwise, we may just as well leave the field entirely, for the workers will have all the white people against them. . . . They will seek to hinder the work in every possible way."¹¹

Conclusions

Individuals to whom Ellen White spoke of future "slavery" and "race war" understood that she referred to imminent racial strife that culminated in approximately the first two decades of the twentieth century.

About 1909 Ellen White wrote: "The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem."¹² Ten years earlier she had written the same in a letter to a minister.¹³

History testifies to the validity of Ellen White's prophetic insight in urging the church to work for blacks in the South before conditions changed, making any work more difficult. With 4 million blacks free and searching for religious orientation, the fields were ripe, the time was prime, for evangelism. Hundreds of ministers moved in to assume leadership. Unfortunately, Seventh-day Adventists were not among that number, at least not to any significant degree. So the vast

majority of blacks turned to the Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians.

This unprecedented time for evangelism lasted only ten to 20 years after the Civil War. Ellen White saw this opportunity and helped to support the black work in any way she could. Knowing that this period would not last long, she entreated the church to work the Southern field. The church failed to respond until the mid-nineties.

In spite of the struggles, Ellen White was hopeful on the race question and spoke of the power of Christ over the power of prejudice. Advances have been made. It appears as though we may be nearing the end of that era she spoke of when she said, "The time has not yet come for us to work as if there were no prejudice."¹⁴

We need to examine ourselves seriously lest a spirit other than Christ's be found. We thank God for what He has done through His messenger and for what He will do. The spirit of Christ exhibited in love and unity in race relations provides a witness that will rebuke prejudice in the world around us. □

Concluded

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Delbert W. Baker is editor of *Message*. This series is condensed from "A Statement on Ellen G. White's Use of the Term 'Race War,'" available from the Ellen G. White Estate.

A STATEMENT ON ELLEN G. WHITE'S USE OF THE TERM
"RACE WAR" AND OTHER RELATED INSIGHTS

Prepared For The White Estate By
Elder Delbert W. Baker

AN OUTLINE

Introduction	1
I. Concise Pre-Summary Statement	5
II. Contextual Settings	6
A. The Interview Setting (6)	
B. The Sociological Setting (8)	
C. The Historical Setting (14)	
1. Emancipation Into "More Favorable Slavery" (14)	
2. Jim Crowism: The Master of the New Slavery (15)	
a. Legislative (16)	
b. National (17)	
c. Intellectual (17)	
d. Civil (18)	
3. "Race War": The Extreme and Undesireable (18)	
III. Consideration Insights	25
IV. Concluding Statements	30
A. Past Fulfillment (30)	
B. Present Implications (31)	
C. Future Promise (32)	
V. Appendices	33
A. "Our Duty To The Colored People" (33)	
B. Historical Case Studies (33)	
C. "Slavery" Categories in the Spirit of Prophecy (35)	
D. Relevant Race Principles of Ellen G. White (38)	
VI. Footnotes	42
VII. Bibliography	i

A STATEMENT ON ELLEN G. WHITE'S USE OF THE TERM
"RACE WAR" AND OTHER RELATED INSIGHTS

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"I knew that this very race war would be introduced."

--Ellen G. White, April 29, 1907

What did Ellen White mean when making this statement? How is it to be viewed and interpreted today?

Many readers would readily agree that this statement could have profound implications. Therefore, any just undertaking to explain this statement and others related to it would duly entail a thorough examination of the many associated factors, not to belabor a point, but to arrive at a balanced understanding.

First and obvious, the context must be examined. Consequently, this paper will spend some time developing the various contexts of the "race war" statement that will help to clarify its usage.

However, there is another very important consideration. Whenever one approaches the race related statements of Ellen White in the post-Civil war years there are a number of factors that initially must be weighed to get any type of a balanced perspective:

there was the volatile slavery/freedom question that was legally settled, but practically unanswered,

there was the tense racial climate that took on different forms in different parts of the country,

there was the low ebb of national unity when it concerned the "how to" of the Reconstruction era,

there was the question of how the ex-slave and former master should properly relate themselves,

there was the myriad of civil and legislative perplexities facing a nation just out of a bloody civil war.

Particularly relevant in the midst of all these considerations was the growing pangs of the infant Seventh-day Adventist church that faced an often hostile environment. Seventh-day Adventists were, by their very name and nature, confrontive to the religious and secular world surrounding them.

Ellen White was faced with the unique challenge of being God's messenger. In this setting she spoke out repeatedly as to what God's counsel was concerning the most prudent approach to the question of race relations between Whites and Blacks. All the counsel appropriately fitted in historically and functionally, "until the Lord shows us a better way" (9T, 207). Her writings specifically gave counsel as to how race relations were to be handled, particularly as it impacted on the work and movement of Seventh-day Adventism.

Without a balanced sensitivity to the above considerations, the modern reader may come across statements that cause them to question the prompting rationale and motives. It is this very point that has made certain portions of the Testimonies problematic when they deal with the race issue. Statements concerning race in Testimony, volume 9 are among these. However, an understanding of the historical, sociological, religious settings and current issues gives one an helpful and workable perspective. Such a perspective can bring out the prudence of Ellen White, who was willing to forego literary and social acceptance by both Whites and Blacks and who risked misunderstanding to set forth views that would provide for the greater good and the long-range

advantage of the temporal and eternal ramifications of the race issue.

Her awareness of her pioneering and vulnerable role was classically set forth in a message entitled Our Duty To The Colored People*, which contained a statement she made to a group of church leaders March 21, 1891 in connection with the General Conference session at Battle Creek, Mich.:

"I know that that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet, for the conflict has seemed to be continuous of late years; but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward, leaving my work undone. I must follow in my Master's footsteps."¹

She then went on to set forth a series of reformatory statements and principles that were confrontive and ahead of her times.

It was fourteen years after that statement on Tuesday, April 29, 1907 in Loma Linda, California that Ellen White had an interview with three church leaders, during which she made the prediction:

"I knew that this very race war would be introduced."²

Present at this interview were William C. White (1854-1937), Ellen White's third son who served as her editorial assistant and publishing manager; Percy T. Magan (1867-1947), physician, administrator and educator and a co-founder and dean of what came to be known as Madison College; and Doris E. Robinson (1879-1957), compiler, editor and secretary to Ellen White until her death in 1915.

It might appropriately be added here that in the same interview and shortly before making the "race war" statement, Ellen White also said:

"There will be slavery just as verily as it has been only upon a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."³

The context neatly ties these two statements together and, as we shall see, one sheds light on the other.

Statements such as these would catch the attention of even the

*See Appendix A for an historical background to this message.

most casual student of history. Questions such as "what did she mean?", "to what was she referring?", "was this fulfilled?" are natural and legitimate inquiries.

It is the purpose of this paper to make a clear explanation of these statements and their fulfillment. For clarity, a Concise Pre-Summary Statement (I) is made at the outset. In the following section the various Contexts (II) will be examined. Then to shed additional insights will be some helpful Considerations (III). The Conclusion (IV) will close this examination. The Appendices, while not essential to an understanding of the paper, can give valuable insights into relevant side issues often accompanying such a discussion. They can assist the reader in discovering the rich balance and unique perspective that Ellen White had on the sensitive and turbulent race issue.

A study of the subject matter of this paper, beside clarifying what can be problematic statements, can reveal a number of things. It can show the unique guidance given by Ellen White to the Church in the delicate race relations area. It can disclose principles that can be of help today. It can admonish God's people today by historically illustrating the need for greater activity based on the work needed to be done and the counsel given. But it can also bring to light the solidarity derived from confidence in God's prophet as voiced in Jeremiah 28:9:

"When the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, that the Lord hath truly sent him."

I. Concise Pre-Summary Statement

A careful study of history will reveal that both statements or predictions of Ellen White mentioned in this interview:

"I knew that this very race war would be introduced."

and

"There will be slavery just as verily as it has been only upon a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."

were distinctly fulfilled within an approximate fifteen year period after she made them.

The fulfillment of these predictions was dramatically distinct and historically valid.

6.

II. Contexts

Each of the following settings give depth and add insight relative to the contributing factors for the statements made.

A. The Interview Setting

The major portion of Ellen White's statements and writings on the racial issue were made between the years of 1891, when she first begins to call attention to the need for work among the Blacks in her Cur Duty To The Colored People message, and 1908, when she completed the materials for sections of Testimony, volume 9 entitled Among The Colored People.

As a result of this emphasis, her son, William White, had felt for some time the need to prepare a book that would give the Adventist people a just and fair picture of the evangelistic work that needed to be done in the "Southern field" (a term generally referring to the Black work). It had been over forty years since the Emancipation Proclamation and William believed that people would better appreciate the work to be done if there was a book that would give a fairly complete overview of the needs.*

In his own words, William White said he wanted such a book to first

"give our people a picture of the fields in the Southern states and the work to be done there."⁴

And further, that this book would be the

"means of encouraging young people to give themselves to the work"⁵

to be done there. It was his desire that a book like this would help

*Unfortunately this book was never published.

build up the Southern work.

As of January, 1895, his brother, James Edson White, was doing a commendable work in the South on the riverboat, *Morning Star*. But he needed help and the insistent cry was always for more means and workers. William, like his mother, no doubt realized that the sooner work could be done there, the more lasting and fundamental would be the progress made before the avenues started to close up.

It was for these reasons and with these burdens that William White, Percy Magan, along with Dorcas Robinson arranged this interview with Ellen White on Tuesday, April 29, 1907 at Loma Linda, California to share their thoughts with her and to get her counsel.

William explained in the opening comments of the interview that whenever they would plan to do work on such a proposed book, something would come up to throw the plans off. His conclusion as to how to complete such a project was:

"What we have needed all the time was someone in the South-- someone who was in contact with the actual conditions there to take part in preparing the book by giving a picture of the field."⁶

He saw that need as being filled by Percy Magan, who was then serving as Dean of Madison College in the Nashville, Tennessee area. He summed up his feeling by saying:

"It seems now as though Brother Magan would help in this work. He has been long enough in that field to know the conditions, and he has access to the writings of the best men there, and it seems to me that he could do the work nicely."⁷

As a result he had invited Percy Magan out to California to help him with the book, to give insight on the planning and re-organizing of the work in the South and to plan to get before the people

"a correct understanding of the work of (the) Madison School."⁸

7.

They tentatively planned to put the book out in sections. Percy Magan was to describe the conditions in the South and then at some point combine them with the counsel that Ellen White had made in regard to the Southern work.

In a similar line, Ellen White had said in 1895, twelve years before:

"The colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now ten-fold harder than it would have been then..."⁹

And again in 1900, 7 years previous to this same interview, she said:

"The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers toward the ignorant and oppressed colored people. If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin."¹⁰

In *Southern Work* she restated this same thought (in 1895) and referred to the fact that some work had been done:

"When freedom was proclaimed to the captives, a favorable time was given in which to establish schools and to teach the people to take care of themselves. Much of this kind of work was done by various denominations, and God honored their work."¹¹

B. The Sociological Setting

But what gave way for the statements under study?

They discussed a variety of related issues during the interview, such as the advantage of such a book, how people might benefit from it, the need for a special kind of work in the South, the need for schools and the value of appreciating and working the soil...

It was at that point that Magan reminisced and said to Ellen White:

"You know, years ago you made the statement that the time would come when there would be a terrible race war in the South."¹²

He went on to say:

"I do not know whether you ever said it in so many words, but you intimated that slavery would exist again."¹³

Apparently Magan had recollected a statement or reference made by Ellen White at an earlier time.* It is significant that a little later in the interview he compared his recollected "race war" statement with the "slavery" statement, and as we shall see, Ellen White makes the same comparison herself.

Following Magan's statement and without directly responding to his recollection, Ellen White explained the essence of what he was referring to by saying:

"Just as soon as people begin to make any kind of movement to educate blacks, there are some who are determined that it shall not be done."¹⁴

Here Ellen White equates Magan's reference of the "race war"/"slavery" statement to the opposition that would be exerted as soon as there were efforts to "educate" or better the condition of the Blacks. Magan goes on to elaborate on this same thought by giving a case at hand. As to this "race war", "slavery" type of opposition he makes his point. He refers to a well circulated line of thinking that shows the implications of this opposition:

"It is the common talk all over the South that there will be a race war within the next few years. Senator Tillman has talked it in the house. Governor elect, Hoke Smith, and Tillman

*It is of interest to note that Ellen White had made a similar statement in what has come to be known as the Armadale interview, twelve years earlier on November 20, 1895. When being questioned by some Church leaders as to counsel concerning the Sabbath/Sunday issue and the Black work, she said: "Slavery will again be revived in the Southern states; for the spirit of slavery still lives." When printing Southern Work it was thought best to leave this particular statement out. It has since been released in the shelf document entitled Comments On The Ellen G. White Statements Relative To The Revival Of Slavery, October 17, 1953 (p. 4,14). This particular reference, or one similar to it, was no doubt what Magan was referring to.

have published a plan that they are advocating everywhere. Their plan is something like this: They will divide every country into districts, and every Negro is to be numbered. He will have a brass plate strapped to his arm with a leather strap, giving his number, 536 or 6023, or whatever it may be, and then he is never to be allowed outside of that district without a passport from the officers."¹⁵

In response to the above remark, Ellen White then made one of the key statements that we are examining:

"There will be slavery just as verily as it has been only upon a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."¹⁶

Magan elaborates on what the meaning of "secure to the white people" means and what the penalties might be to those found assisting the Blacks under such a system:

"More secure, because they do not have to feed the Negroes and care for them. Then if the Negro has got outside that district, or if he is loafing and not working, they can put him on the chain gang for a year. Now they state in their plan that if anyone is caught, whose teachings excite the blacks to foolishness, that he can be taken and put in the chain gang. Senator Tillman has printed that; he has printed it in the leading magazine in the South, and he has spoken it in Chicago and also in Atlanta, Georgia. There are many of the Negroes today who are selling their property and hiding their money in the earth for fear that their land and houses, if they were known to own any, would be taken from them."¹⁷

Joining in with his sentiments, Ellen White declared:

"Then intelligent blacks may read from cause to effect."¹⁸

Some eight years before, in June of 1899, Ellen White made this comment reflecting the same theme in a letter to a responsible Adventist minister who was interested in the work in the South:

"It is the prejudice of the white against the black race that makes this field hard, very hard. The whites who have oppressed the colored people still have the same spirit. They did not lose it, although they were conquered in war. They are determined to make it appear that the blacks were better off in slavery than since they were set free."¹⁹

Magan moved back to the subject of the book and its format by saying:

"I had thought we ought, without taking sides or creating a disturbance, tell in a moderate way the conditions in the South...If we could depict the present status somewhat, it would interest our people to go south to work before it is too late. And yet I felt, on the other hand, that we should be very careful in the doing of that, lest we stir up a hornet's nest."²⁰

This type of careful approach was one that Ellen White had been advocating for years.*

At this junction in the interview, Ellen White emphatically responded by saying the lead statement under study:

"That is the danger. That is why I have pleaded, and entreated, entreated, and entreated for the work to be done in the South, because I knew that this very race war would be introduced."²¹

In this context the "race war" statement is not enigmatic.

Magan had just expressed concern about the need to be careful in putting out such a book so as not to "stir up a hornet's nest" or antagonism over the race question. He knew of the delicacy of the racial balances in the South, but Ellen White responded by revealing a wider concern for accomplishing the work to be done in the South. She knew that the ever imminent racial tension was in danger of springing up and hindering the work. She knew, and had stated on earlier occasions that racial tensions would ignite and, as she said here, there would be "race war".

This prediction had profound implications and though forcefully and directly stated here, it was by no means the first or only time

*See the series of ten articles (*Southern Work*, pp. 19-65) she had written in the *Review and Herald* from April 2 of 1895 to February 4 of 1896, explaining the needs of the Southern field and appealing for workers and funds. The majority of these articles were published by Edson White in the original edition of *Southern Work*.

Eller White had voiced this warning. Eight years before this interview on June 5 of 1899 in a letter to a minister (also included in Edson White's edition of Southern Work), she made the following prediction:

"At the least provocation the poison of prejudice is ready to show its true character, and provocations will be found. It is very hard to make the work run smoothly. Outbreaks will come at any moment, and all unexpectedly, and there will be destruction of property and even of life itself. Hot-headed people, professing the faith, but without judgment, will think they can do as they please, but they will find themselves in a tight place. I speak that which I know... Parties are already formed, and they are waiting, burning with a desire to serve their master, the devil, and do abominable work."²²

And again, on November 20, 1895 in the Armadale interview made in Australia, she said to a group of Church leaders in relation to the work in the Southern field, that "a terrible condition of things is certainly opening before us. According to the light which is given me in regard to the Southern field, the work there must be done as wisely and carefully as possible."²³ Twelve years later at the 1907 interview, the crisis was upon the nation and the Church. Problems were increasing in intensity. And they were taking a more extreme form--aggressive physical violence between the races. The antagonism mentioned before or the "race war" mentioned here was becoming an increasing national occurrence. Already the fulfillment was being etched on the national consciousness.* Yet the greater part was yet to be realized within the next thirteen to fifteen years.

*It was just prior to this that Hoke Smith was in his 1906 campaign for governor of Georgia. Throughout his campaign he supported his disfranchisement platform with a "barrage of Negro atrocity stories". Following his election there was, in fact, war and anarchy in Atlanta. For four days there was a wild and violent "anarchy...during which mobs roved the city freely looting, murdering and lynching" in which it is said "whites began to attack every black person they saw." (C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career Of Jim Crow, p. 87; John H. Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, p. 314)

So as we gather the details together as supplied by the interview, we see that while the "slavery" and "race war" predictions were imminent and foreseeable, they were also different. With the "slavery" reference* the condition was not to be the same as that which had existed in the past with slaves on the plantation with masters, etc. It was not to be institutional slavery, but instead this would be a different type. It was to be a slavery that expressed itself in political, economic and social bondage. The "race war" reference was to be the natural outgrowth of it--open and violent antagonism between the Whites and Blacks. It would express itself in literal physical opposition--mobs, race riots, fights in which people were bruised, beaten, burned, shot and lynched.

C. Van Woodward described the scenario for the cryptic prediction and its gathering momentum in the following sad words:

"It was inevitable that race relations should deteriorate rapidly under such pressure (referring to Hoke Smith's anti-Negro disfranchisement campaign). The immediate consequences in two states were bloody mob wars upon the Negro. Shortly after the red-shirt, white-supremacy election of 1898 in North Carolina a mob of four hundred white men led by a former congressman invaded the colored district of Wilmington, set fire to buildings, killed and wounded many Negroes, and chased hundreds out of town. The sequel to Hoke Smith's white-supremacy victory in Georgia in 1906 was a four-day rule of anarchy in Atlanta, during which mobs roved the city freely looting, murdering, and lynching.

This ugly temper did not pass with the white-supremacy campaigns. Indeed the more defenseless, disfranchised, and intimidated the Negro became the more prone he was to the ruthless aggression of mobs."²⁴ (parenthesis supplied)

In a period that witnessed the struggle for the Home Rule, the Knights of the White Camelia, the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and a

*For a helpful study of Ellen White's different usage of the word "slavery" in the Spirit of Prophecy writings see Appendix C.

resistant reaction from Blacks, "slavery" in its new form and "race war" with the bitter results were realities that refused to hide themselves.

C. The Historical Setting

History abounds with vignettes that portray the realities of the racial tensions of the post-Civil war and the Reconstruction period. But, as Ellen White had foreseen, the problems would take on a new appearance at the turn of the century. They would especially manifest themselves during the first two decades of the 20th century, for it was these decades that set the pace for the following thirty to forty years.

We will briefly look at three historical realities of the early 1900's that directly relate to Ellen White's prediction on the race developments.

1. Emancipation into "more favorable slavery"

The post-Civil war years were tumultuous, to say the least. Abraham Lincoln sought to ease the tensions after the war by assuring the Southern states, which had broken away from the Union, that his aim was to "bind up the nation's wounds" and significantly "with malice toward none".

That was commendable, but there were problems--real problems. Pulling the nation back together again, rebuilding the South, how to handle the four million freed slaves--all of these confronted thinking leaders. Yet beyond those, there were deeper problems.

The state of affairs required a whole new way of thinking about Blacks since they were now legally free and first class citizens

with rights equal to those of all Whites. It was this adjustment in thinking that was one that many Whites found impossible to make.

Blacks, on the other hand, found themselves faced with the realities and adjustments of freedom. As families had been separated when they were sold into slavery, Blacks tried to locate and unite with their lost relatives. They had to find work and a place to live. Education and a sense of purpose were vital, but many factors dimmed these realities.

While some Whites were glad that Blacks were no longer slaves, many feared the new condition, the implications and possibilities. And in too many situations that fear mushroomed into malignant, open hatred and hostility.

These social and historical dynamics quickly expressed themselves into what Ellen White referred to as "slavery just as verily as it had been only on a basis more favorable and secure to the white people". There was, in fact, an avalanche of discriminatory legislation in the decade following the Civil War (circa 1870 and following), especially around the turn of the nineteenth century. It was to be also during this period that these new conditions settled and cemented into the structure of society. In the history text, The American People, it is appropriately said about this period:

"The Civil War officially ended slavery in the United States, but in the postwar decades of Reconstruction and the rebuilding of the 'New South' slavery was replaced by other forms of economic and social bondage. Sharecropping and peonage plus the persistence of racial segregation in the form of 'Jim Crow' laws, assured white Southerners of continued control over the black population."²⁵

2. Jim Crowism, the master of the new slavery

Jim Crow, the name that came to represent the legally sanctioned laws and system of segregation of Blacks and Whites, showed itself

in the various strata of society. The "slavery" that Ellen White referred to that would be "more favorable and secure to the white people" was in fact just that. The Black race could still be controlled, contained and confined, but now without the responsibility of feeding, housing, attending to needs as in the former slavery system. This new "slavery" surfaced in all the strategic areas that related to Blacks:

a. Legislative

This racial bondage expressed itself in a succession of decisions by the United States Supreme Court that were all in place by the turn of the century

- 1) Slaughter House Cases of 1873
United States v. Reese, 1876
United States v. Cruikshank, 1876
*In which the Court drastically curtailed the privileges and immunities recognized as being under federal protection thereby removing the protection of the government of the rights of Blacks.
- 2) Civil Rights Cases of 1883
*In which the restrictive parts of the Civil Rights Act were virtually nullified. C. Vann Woodward says of these laws that "the court held that the Fourteenth Amendment gave Congress power to restrain states but not individuals from the acts of racial discrimination and segregation."²⁶
- 3) Hall v. deCuir, 1877
*In which it was ruled that a state could not prohibit segregation on a common carrier.
- 4) Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad v. Mississippi, 1890
*In which it was ruled that a state could constitutionally require segregation on carriers
- 5) Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896
*In which it was subscribed that "legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts" and therefore laid down the "separate but equal" rule for the justification of segregation.
- 6) Finally, two years later (1898) in Williams v. Mississippi: "the Court completed the opening of the legal road to proscription, segregation and disfranchisement by approving the Mississippi plan for depriving the Negroes of the franchise."²⁷

Each of the above legislative decisions endorsed and made legal

this more "favorable slavery" and set the stage for the tolerance of "race war" thinking.

b. National

After the imperialistic exploits of the United States following 1898 by which it suddenly had under its jurisdiction some eight million people in the Pacific and Caribbean area, the nation took on many of the Southern attitudes toward the subject of race. This reality was voiced by the editor of the Atlantic Monthly when he said "If the stronger and cleverer race is free to impose its will upon the new-caught sullen peoples on the other side of the globe, why not in South Carolina and Mississippi."²⁸ This led to a national retreat to the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon superiority and to all the implications of the 'bloody shirt'.

Senator Tillman, an anti-Black, disfranchisement proponent, said: "Not even Governor Roosevelt will now dare to wave the bloody shirt and preach a crusade against the South's treatment of the Negro. The North has a bloody shirt of its own. Many thousands of them have been made into shrouds for murdered Filipinos, done to death because they were fighting for liberty."²⁹

These conditions tied the hands of the nation that set the stage for this more "favorable slavery" and "race war".

c. Intellectual

At the same time as the previous considerations, the doctrine of racism reached its crest of acceptability. It even had a high degree of popularity among respected scholarly and intellectual circles. Everywhere White biologists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians and beyond them, journalists and novelists, gave their support to the doctrine that races were discrete entities and that "Anglo-Saxon" or "Caucasian" was superior to them all. As Woodward says: "It was not that Southern politicians needed any support from learned circles to sustain their own doctrines, but they found that such intellectual endorsement of their racist theories facilitated acceptance of their views and policies."³⁰

This theory paved the way for the racial intolerance and white supremacy that gave rationality to the more "favorable slavery" and "race war".

In 1895 Ellen White capsulized the supporting sentiments of this new type of slavery in the following words: "Judges and jurors, lawyers and citizens would, if they had a chance, bring decisions which would bind about them rites which would cause much suffering, not only to the ones whom they term guilty of breaking the laws of their State, but all the colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance, and under cruel treatment by the white people, that would be no less than slavery."³¹

d. Civil

By 1900 the form of segregation was "cast" but it had yet to harden and lock in place. Allen Weinstein says about the period: "Once white southerners regained full political power in their states in the 1870's, even the few outward trappings of black power disappeared or began to recede. Northerners increasingly contented themselves with self-congratulation over ending slavery and restoring the Union, while ignoring or deprecating the economic and political problems of the freedmen. Conservative white 'Redeemers' in the South drew closer to their northern counterparts, while rebuilding a strong Democratic party in the region; and as the Grant Era drew to a close, the 'Negro Question' seemed safely pigeon-holed as a matter for local authorities to handle. Southern blacks and a tiny band of northern white sympathizers knew quite well what 'Redemption' meant for the Negro; peonage in freedom replaced peonage in slavery for most blacks."³²

After the turn of the century, one state after another enacted the process of legislative bondage. One of the key aims was the total disfranchisement of Blacks. Into the state constitutions were written clauses that had the primary goal in mind to eliminate the Black voter. Whether by the literary qualification rule (inclusive of the "understanding", grandfather or "good character" clauses), the poll tax or the white primary, the end was the same--to hold Blacks down by silencing the means of expressing himself and effecting change. This was the time that the Black historian, John Franklin, called "a long dark night."

This new type of slavery can be summed up in the following words by the historian, C. Vann Woodward: "If the psychologists are correct in their hypothesis that aggression is always the result of frustration, then the South toward the end of the nineties was the perfect cultural seedbed for aggression against the minority race. Economic, political, and social frustrations had pyramided to a climax of social tensions."³³

By the end of the first decade in the new century (1910), segregation was not only legislatively established, but it had become an accepted part of society in both the North and the South. From the President and the Supreme Court, to the average citizen it was the way for the day. There was resistance to segregation in some quarters, especially by Blacks, but overall it had gained the status as the American way of life.

3. "Race War"; the extreme and undesirable

Beyond speaking of the "more favorable slavery", Ellen White also specifically stated that a "race war would be introduced". It has already been shown that there is a difference between "slavery" and "race war",

with "race war" directly being equated with flagrant and identifiable hostility and violence between the races.

Did this "race war" happen according to Ellen White's prediction? Was this prophecy fulfilled? Emphatically Yes! The history of racially inspired wars, riots or battles is too well historically attested to be questioned.

In explaining the tactics used to sell the disfranchisement platform, C. Vann Woodward explains that the leaders of this movement resorted to an intensive propaganda of white supremacy, Negrophobia and race chauvinism. Such a campaign preceded and accompanied disfranchisement in each state. Stories of the Carpetbaggers, the history of the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, the heroes of the Home Rule were all sensationally played up in speeches, newspapers and books. Everywhere there were trumped up stories of Negro crime, charges of rape, attempted rape, alleged instances of arrogance and impertinence, surly manners or lack of prompt and proper servility in conduct.

Lynchings, beatings and other forms of violence were perpetrated by white supremacist groups who were out to keep Blacks in "their proper place". It was in this context that Ellen White also made the prediction that:

"I said that perilous times were coming, and that the sentiments that could then be expressed in regard to what should be done along missionary lines for the colored people could not be expressed in the future without imperiling lives. I said plainly that the work done for the colored people would have to be carried on along lines different from those followed in some sections of the country in former years."³⁴

And again, as in other areas, her prediction was unerringly accurate. She further said that:

"As time advances and race prejudices increase, it will become almost impossible, in many places, for white workers to labor for the colored people."³⁵

It should be noted here that Ellen White was not predicting for the mere sake of predicting alone, but she was warning the church of the coming strife and seeking to motivate it to do the work at hand. Through the articles she wrote for the Review and Herald in the mid-1890's she set forth the same principles in greater detail (see Southern Work, pp. 19-65).

The reality of the need for this warning is seen in the condition of things at the turn of the century.

"The new century opened tragically with 214 lynchings in the first two years. Clashes between the races occurred almost daily, and the atmosphere of tension in which people of both races lived was conducive to little more than a struggle for mere survival, with a feeble groping in the direction of progress."³⁶

There are at least three well-documented areas that validate the fulfillment of the "race war" prediction.

First, there were lynchings

A modest approximation of the lynchings that took place during the first two decades of the 20th century was around 1,800 that were recorded. Lynching was a form of punishment administered by hanging (and sometimes included burning) and was normally done by a mob in a spirit of revenge, malice or frenzy.

The first two decades saw a decline in lynching in general, but a rise in the lynching of Blacks in the South. Statistics bring out that in the first decade of the 20th century, 90% of lynching took place in the South with over 85% of its victims being Black (NAACP: 30 Years Of Lynching In The U.S., 1889-1918, p. 29, 30)

This increasing phenomenon of violence toward Blacks accurately marked the rise of racial hatred. The irony was that in less than one-fifth of all the lynchings was there a charge of a crime deserving of capital punishment.

In the book, E.G. White and Church Race Relations, Ellen White makes what might be her only direct allusion to lynching when in a letter to Frank Belden dated October of 1899 she said:

"The colored people have had before them the example of commonness and adultery. These evils are all through our world, but when the poor, wretched, ignorant race, who know scarcely anything of purity and righteousness, do commit sin--sin that committed by white people is scarcely condemned--colored people are tortured to death whether proved guilty or not. And the nation that permits this bears the name of Christian. God says, 'Shall I not judge for these things?' "³⁷

The following illustration shows the spots of some of the more volatile areas in the United States after the time the "race war" statement was made.



(NAACP: 30 Years Of Lynching, 1889-1918, viii)

The use of the word 'war' in the "race war" phrase takes on even stronger meaning when one understands that during this period most lynchings took place in mob settings of Whites against a Black or

Blacks. Sometimes Blacks would resist and seek to defend themselves, albeit most of the time such attempts proved to be unsuccessful in light of weapons, numbers and sometimes even the authorities against them.

In reaction to a bloody lynching at Coatesville, Pennsylvania in 1911, one of the Black writers in verbal vituperation warned Whites that the "Negroes had had enough... if we are to die, in God's name let us perish like men and not like bales of hay."^{3B} Again when Blacks in Gainesville, Florida failed to resist an attacking White mob in 1916, a Black editorial entitled "Cowardice" insisted "that they should have fought in self-defense to the last ditch..."³⁹

Then there were acts of violence*

Lynchings were only part of the antagonism. There were also beatings, stabbings, whippings, house burnings, gang molestations and rape. They became so common against Blacks that it is generally agreed that it regularly occurred without any documentation. Citizens from every strata of society took part in it--editors, churchgoers, professors and clergymen. It is also documented that in some cases law enforcers legally condoned the violence by observing, or in some extreme cases taking part themselves.⁴⁰

A low point was reached and the reality of Ellen White's words were forceably felt. It was not until the third decade that the significance of the decline of lynching and blatant violence was felt in the South, as well as nationally. Although even afterward the violent recurrences surfaced at times of crisis.⁴¹

*The more well known of the acts of violence were against Blacks in the last half of the 20th century such as 1) the massacre at East St. Louis, Ill. in 1917; 2) the multiple lynchings of Brooks and Lowndes Counties in 1918; 3) the Chicago riots in 1919; 4) the Elaine, Ark. massacre in 1919.

There were race wars*

As briefly intimated earlier, there was a backlash of violence in some cases from Blacks against Whites. Thus, interspersed between the lynchings and acts of violence there were actual bloody racial wars or battles fought between the two races in the years from 1903 to 1921.⁴² It should be noted, as stated by the author in his book E. G. White and Church Race Relations, that:

"Six major race riots occurred between 1900 and 1910. In the riots the North vied with the South in both the number and scope of the violent outbreaks. And while there may be some temptation to minimize the seriousness of these riots in the light of more recent civil disorders, there is an essential difference between the riots of the first decade of this century and those of more recent vintage. The riots before 1910 entailed far less death and destruction, but they were authentic "race riots" in that they involved mobs of white citizens perpetrating crimes against Negro life and property, and Negro citizens returning the favor. Thus far, the recent riots have generally been directed toward symbols of economic and social oppression, not so much against persons of the opposite race. Mobs of white citizens were virtually unheard of in the riots of the 1960's. Very few, if any, have been killed recently by *white private citizens*, and extremely few by Negro citizens."⁴³

D. The Religious Setting

Finally we want to briefly note that the religious climate was one of extreme tension for the Seventh-day Adventist church due to the Sunday/Sabbath question. This issue is succinctly summed up in the White Estates shelf document "Comments Relative To the Revival of Slavery". In reference to the work being done by Edson White and his missionary riverboat, *Morning Star*, among the Blacks of the South, it went on to say:

*For an account of an actual war fought in 1920 known as The Eruption of Tulsa, see Appendix B-2

"This was just at a time when a number of Seventh-day Adventists were having serious problems in the South because of their violation of the state Sunday laws. Some were imprisoned or placed in chain-gangs. Among us there were some differences of opinion as to just what attitude we should take under such circumstances. Some felt that we must show our faith by doing manual labor in the sight of others on Sunday so that they would know where we stood. Others took the chopping-block out near the street and split wood on Sunday morning. Some of our sisters hung out their washing on that day. Now with a work beginning among the colored people, Seventh-day Adventist leaders faced this question: What counsel shall we give to these new believers in this tense region of North America?"⁴⁴

It is obvious to see that the religious issue was compounded on the color question. On one hand it was like walking on a bed of pins and needles, and on the other hand it was like walking a tightrope. Though the slaves had been freed in the 1860's, it was not until the mid-1890's before any serious work was done by the Adventists in the South and as we have seen earlier, by that time segregationalism had settled and taken roots. This made the church's work precarious and it also made the converted Black's role doubly dangerous.

So it was in the midst of not only racial tension, but religious tension as well, that Ellen White spoke of "slavery" and "race war". There were problems, yes; but she urged the church to move quickly in and do evangelistic work quietly in the South because there were yet more difficulties to come (see *Southern Work*, pp. 63-65). She said during the Armadale meeting in Australia (November 20, 1895) that:

"When the truth is proclaimed in the South, a marked difference will be shown by those who oppose the truth in their greater regard for Sunday, and great care must be exercised, not to do anything to arouse their prejudice. Otherwise, we may just as well leave the field entirely, for the workers will have all the white people against them. Those who oppose the truth will not work openly, but through secret organizations, and they will seek to hinder the work in every possible way."⁴⁵

True to form, God was warning His church of what was yet to come (see 2 Peter 1:19).

III. Considerations

In this section key considerations that surface as a result of the study are summarized.

A. Ellen White's usage of the term "race war" and other similar statements was/is understandable in their historical context.

A careful perusal of the contexts of this statement and other related ones reveals that the individuals to which Ellen White spoke could understand that she referred to imminent racial strife and problems and that though the predictions may not have been fully developed and realized when predicted, they were, in fact, fulfilled in approximately the first two decades of the 20th century.

B. Ellen White's usage of the "slavery" term was given different connotations and meanings according to the particular context in which it was used.

As in the case of the "slavery" statements used in this paper, the meaning of the term refers to the subjugation experienced by Blacks as it related to economic, legal, educational, social and civil matters. See Appendix C for a complete examination of Ellen White's use of the word "slavery" in her writings.

C. The actual prediction concerning "race war" was fulfilled, but like other predictions of Ellen White, the effects are still operative.

Ellen White made several predictions that had specific fulfillment, but also had a reverberating effect. These predictions may include:

her 1864 prediction concerning the poisonous nature of tobacco (Temperance, p. 57); her 1890 prediction of definite effect of regative pre-natal influences (Patriarchs and Prophets, p. 561); her 1905 prediction pointing to cancer as a virus or germ (Ministry of Healing, p. 365); her other statements concerning the negative use of drugs (Selected Messages, Vol. 2, p. 442); the rise of Spiritualism (The Great Controversy, p. 561), etc.

So it is with her 1907 prediction concerning the "race war". It was, in fact, fulfilled, but in the train of that fulfillment there has been an historical line of racial disturbances and antagonism. On the racial front there have been riots and counter-riots, marches and counter-marches, backlashes and counter-backlashes. The effects and reverberations of this fulfilled prediction are even being felt in our day.

D. Ellen White saw the race question as continuously being a matter of potential sensitivity, and hence the need for concern and balance in dealing with it.*

The external conditions she predicted were the result of an internal problem and thus she spoke of the "spirit of slavery" (November 20, 1895, Southern Wcrk, p. 67, 81). She saw that in the unconverted heart the issue would ever have a potential explosiveness about it, to both Blacks

In 1909, during the period of the fulfillment of the "race war" and "slavery" predictions, she publically wrote in Testimony, vol. 9 concern-

*For relevant race principles revealed in Ellen White's writings in connection with this subject see Appendix D.

ing the relations between the races:

"The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem."⁴⁶

This statement was not uniquely stated here. Ten years earlier she had written the same phrase in a letter to "a responsible minister", which is recorded in full in Southern Work, p. 84 (dated June 5, 1899).

In spite of the advances made and the fact that conditions are vastly improved over what they were in the early years of this century, twentieth century man still deals with the reaction to previous problems and their current manifestations. Though there should be thankfulness over progress achieved, sensitivity, caution and balance should still mark race relations today.

E. Slavery, prejudice and all of their resultant evils were viewed by Ellen White as originating with Satan and she saw the only true antidote as being the acceptance of the Spirit of Christ and genuine conversion.

ORIGINS

This reality of Satanic origin and proliferation is explicitly stated. This is borne out by such references as:

"The whole system of slavery was originated by Satan, who delights in tyrannizing over human beings."⁴⁷

"Through human agencies, Satan has manifested his own attributes and passions..."⁴⁸

"Parties (secret organizations) are already formed, and they are waiting, burning with a desire to serve their master, the devil, and do abominable work." (parenthesis supplied)⁴⁹

"The powers of hell are working with all their ingenuity to prevent the proclamation of the last message of mercy among the colored people."⁵⁰

ANTIDOTE

But also the reality of the greater power of Christ to overcome the spirit of prejudice and superiority is plainly stated.

"Men have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He did. If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the Kingdom of God. If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the colored man who has the same Saviour abiding in his heart."⁵¹

"The walls of sectarianism and caste and race will fall down when the true missionary spirit enters the heart of men. Prejudice is melted away by the love of God."⁵²

"Walls of separation have been built up between the whites and blacks. These walls of prejudice will tumble down of themselves as did the walls of Jericho, when Christians obey the Word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their Maker and impartial love to their neighbors."⁵³

"When the Holy Spirit is poured out, there will be a triumph of humanity over prejudice in seeking the salvation of the souls of human beings. God will control minds. Human hearts will love as Christ loved."⁵⁴

F. History testified to the validity of Ellen White's prophetic insight in urging the church to work for the Blacks in the South. She cautioned that this should happen before conditions changed making any work more difficult and losing the opportunities and possibilities of the favorable moment.

Prior to the Emancipation Proclamation the Black church was strictly and rigidly proscribed. Most of the major denominations (Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Baptists) restricted the Black ministry and placed Blacks in segregated sections in their congregations. However, following the release of the slaves, the conditions were entirely changed. As John Hope Franklin comments:

"The end of the war led to the expansion of independent churches among Negroes. There were no longer Southern laws to silence Negro preachers and proscribe their separate organizations. Negroes began to withdraw from white churches once they had secured their freedom, and consequently the Negro church grew rapidly after the war... The African Methodist Episcopal church, which had only 20,000 members in 1856, boasted 75,000 ten years later. In 1876 its membership exceeded 200,000, and its influence and material possessions had increased proportionally. The Baptists likewise enjoyed phenomenal growth. Local churches sprang up overnight under the ministry of unlettered but inspired preachers... Within a few years every Southern state had a large Negro Baptist organization. Their total membership increased from 150,000 in 1850 to 500,000 in 1870."⁵⁵

With four million plus Blacks free and open and searching in their religious outlook, the fields were ripe, the time was prime for evangelism among Blacks. The reaction? Hundreds of ministers moved in to assume the religious leadership. Unfortunately, Seventh-day Adventists were not among that number, at least not in any significant amounts. And so the vast majority of Blacks turned to the doctrine of the Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians. This phenomenal period of potential is graphically set forth in the statistics of the Baptist church and other denominations as seen in the above quotation.

It was a brief period of relief and opportunity for the freed Black. For a ten to twenty year period after the Civil war, known to some as the 'mystic years', there was an unprecedented time for evangelism. Ellen White knew of this opportunity and said it. She wrote, spoke and helped to support the Black work in any way she could. She also knew that this period would not last long and she entreated and appealed to the church and its leadership to move forward to work the Southern field, leaving the "results with God". She was firm, clear and decided, but the overall church response was basically nil until the mid-nineties. (See also Southern Work, p. 25, 26 and also 31ff, 37ff, 54ff, 58ff, 63ff.)

IV. Conclusion

A. Past Fulfillment

History supports that the race predictions we have examined were fulfilled in an historic and specific manner within the first two decades of the 20th century.

As to "slavery"! There was in fact "slavery"--politically, economically, socially... That which was already operative by the end of the first decade (1910) was perpetuated. But beyond that, in the second decade (1911ff) the bondage increased ten-fold and continued to proliferate.

As to "race war"! Again history bears out the accuracy of this prediction. Whereas before the turn of the century there had been acts of violence generally perpetrated by Whites against Blacks in the early 1900's, there was an increased amount of violence by Whites against Blacks particularly in the South. These cases of violence increased and in some cities and counties Blacks were enmasse attacked, lynched, burned, shot, etc. Yet beyond these aspects of fulfillment there was still more.

Further impacting on this state of affairs there were different Black voices advocating self-defense...and the need to fight back as a means of protection. There were, in fact, situations where some Blacks banded together and resisted.

This was without question a dark period in our national chronicles. Fortunately, these flagrant occurrences peaked and began to decline during the second decade of the 20th century, but only after their baleful, evil work had been done.

History sadly notes that there was yet more violence to occur in the succeeding years, especially until lynching was legally discontinued, yet these times did not match the earlier years in the widespread and flagrant acts of bloodshed and the loss of life. However, providentially human passions had opportunity to cool with the passing of time and the preoccupation with other matters.

B. Present Implications

To naively assume that all is well on the racial front would be to miss the principle. In spite of her balanced caution, Ellen White was hopeful on the race question and spoke of the power of Christ over the power of prejudice. Advances have been made. We have realized progress as a result of her "until the Lord shows us another way" principle (Testimony, Vol. 9, p. 207). We have realized in our day the truth of her words "when these unchristian prejudices are broken down more earnest effort will be put forth to do missionary effort among the colored race" (Southern Work, p. 55ff). At times and in different places it appears as if we are nearing the time that she spoke of by inference when saying "the time has not yet come for us to work as though there were no prejudice" (Shelf Document, Comments Relative to the Revival of Slavery, p. 14). Yet we cannot afford to be oblivious to the counter realities as well.

We can well praise the Lord for the abundant cause we have for rejoicing, but we also soberly need to give thought to the somber note she sounds when saying:

"It will be impossible to adjust all matters regarding the color question in accordance with the Lord's order until those who believe the truth are so closely united with Christ that they are one with Him. Both the white and the colored members of our

churches need to be converted. There are some of both classes who are unreasonable, and when the color question is agitated they manifest unsanctified, unconverted traits of character. Quarrelsome elements are easily aroused in those who, because they have never learned to wear the yoke of Christ, are opinionated and obstinate. In such, self clamors with an unsanctified determination for the supremacy."⁵⁶

Such a statement should confront honest and thinking Christians and cause them to seriously examine themselves carefully lest a spirit other than Christ's be found; for the devil is quick to seek to fan the flame of self and prejudice alive wherever he may see its faint glow.

C. Future Promise

It is at this point that we can thank God sincerely and deeply for what He has done for us through the words and work of His messenger, and even for what He will yet do.

We, the repositories of God's "present truth", the Seventh-day Adventist church, have the ever present forum to mirror the spirit of Christ exhibited in love and unity in the area of race relations. In our day such a spirit will be a witness and drawing power and will be a rebuke to the negative emotions of prejudice that we can see evident in the world around us.

In summary we are challenged with the words of unity by Ellen White and Christ Himself:

"When the Holy Spirit moves upon human minds... In our worship of God there will be no distinction between rich and poor, white and black. All prejudice will be melted away. When we approach God, it will be as one brotherhood. We are pilgrims and strangers, bound for a better country, even a heavenly. There all pride, all accusation, all self-deception, will forever have an end. Every mask will be laid aside, and we shall 'see him as he is.' There our songs will catch the inspiring theme, and praise and thanksgiving will go up to God."⁵⁷

"...May they be brought to complete unity to let the world know that you sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me." John 17:23 (NIV)⁵⁸

Appendix A

"Our Duty To the Colored People"**

This message has been recognized for its signal effect on the Adventist church and its work in the South. It is one of the most significant and revealing of Ellen White's messages on the race question. It also was one of the key factors that motivated and instructed James Edson White in his work for the Blacks in the South. As stated in Mission To Black America, Edson found a copy of this message on the floor in the former room of the International Tract Society in the Review and Herald building in Battle Creek, Michigan (pp. 17, 18).

This message entitled Our Duty To the Colored People, was prepared and delivered by Ellen White at the Battle Creek Tabernacle church to a group of church leaders in connection with a General Conference session March 21, 1891. After its delivery, "key men and the leading ministers in the South" were supplied with it. In light of the times it was a bold and significant message that was instrumental in giving the Southern work the initial boost, because at the time of its delivery in 1891 little work was being done for Blacks in the South by the church as a whole.

Particularly this message presents Ellen White as the reformer she was. Here she clearly set forth principles of racial equality and denominational impartiality that had been neglected. In this same message she seasoned her counsel with a sense of caution and prudence that was vital in light of the racial conditions of her times.

Because of its importance and insight, the serious reader would want to read the message in its entirety in Southern Work, pp. 9-18.

Appendix B

Historical Case Studies

1. "Slavery" more "favorable" and "secure"

Both the Debt Slavery System and the Convict Slavery System, which were increasingly practiced in various Southern states during the first decades of the 20th century, poignantly illustrate Ellen White's reference to a "slavery...more favorable and secure to the white people".

The following two accounts are taken from the volume, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, edited by Dr. Herbert

Aptheker:

a. The Debt Slavery System:

"The slavery is a cunningly contrived debt slavery to give the appearance of civilization and the sanction of law. A debt of a few hundred dollars may tie a black man and his family of ten as securely in bondage to a great white planter as if he had purchased their bodies. If the Thirteenth Amendment, which has never been enforced in this region, means anything, it is that a man's body cannot be held for an honestly contracted debt; that only his property can be held; and that if a contracting debtor has no property, the creditor takes the risk in advancing credit. Otherwise a law abolishing slavery could be easily evaded, for the wealthy enslaver could get the poor victim into debt and then hold his body in default in payment. Wages could then be so adjusted to expenses and the cost of 'keep' that the slavery would be unending.

And that is precisely the system of debt-slavery. The only way for this debt-slave to get free from such a master is to get someone else to pay this debt; that is, to sell himself to another, with added charges, expenses of moving and bonuses. By this method, the enslaver gets his bondmen cheaper than in a regular slave system, for in the debt system he does not have to pay the full market price of a man.

The effect is to allow the ignorant and the poor unwittingly and unwillingly to sell themselves for much less than an old slaveholder would have sold them. The debtmaster has other advantages. He is free from liabilities on account of the debtor's ill-health or the failure of his crops. The debtor takes all risk, in case of misfortune or crop failure, he gets deeper in debt, more securely tied in bondage."⁵⁹

b. The Convict Slavery System:

"The temptation of the large plantation owner to exploit the brawn of the defenseless Negro avails itself of another unfair advantage in which the state becomes a party to the wrong. It is the custom of farming out prisoners--state prisoners and even county and city prisoners. A Negro who has been jailed for some misdemeanor or fined for vagrancy, may be 'sold' to some landlord who needs farm hands, for the price of the Negro's fine. The farmer pays the fine and is supposed to work it out of the Negro in a specified time. The colored man is still a prisoner of the state and is kept in chains and stockaded, maybe on the landlord's private estate, under guards who may shoot him down if he attempts to escape, or whip his naked back if he does not work to suit them. Thus the state, under the technical right of law, does a slave business.

It can be readily understood why this system is so much more vicious than was the old slave system. In a regular slave system, the owner might have such selfish interest in the slave as any man may have in the preservation of his valuable property. But in the convict lease system of Georgia, it is to the landlord's advantage to put the least into the Negro and get the most out of him whom he owns for a limited time only."⁶⁰

2. The Eruption of Tulsa

The account that is mentioned here took place in Tulsa, Oklahoma in May, 1921, six years after the death of Ellen White. It was literally called a "veritable racial war".⁶¹ Leaving out everything not essential to illustrate the point at hand, the following, like many other accounts, will adequately show the realities of Ellen White's "race war" prediction:

"Around five o'clock Wednesday morning the mob, now numbering more than 10,000 made a mass attack on Little Africa. Machine guns were brought into use; eight aeroplanes were employed to spy of the movements of the Negroes and according to some were used in bombing the colored section. All that was lacking to make the scene a replica of modern 'Christian' warfare was poison gas. The colored men and women fought gamely in defense of their homes, but the odds were too great. According to the statements of onlookers, men in uniform, either home guards or ex-service men or both, carried cans of oil into Little Africa, and, after looting the homes, set fire to them. Many are the stories of horror told to me--not by colored people--but by the white residents."⁶²

Appendix C

"Slavery" Categories in the Spirit of Prophecy

Ellen White does not use the term "slavery" to have the same definition with each usage. In most cases a careful study of the context, objective reasoning and a sense for the main point will identify the meaning of the usage of the term in context. It is essential that the reader understand this, or wrong conclusions and/or confusion will ensue. She identifies this danger in a letter she wrote June 28, 1906:

"Those who are not walking in the light of the message, may gather up statements from my writings that happen to please them, and that agree with their human judgment, and, by separating these statements from their connection, and placing them beside human reasoning, make it appear that my writings uphold that which they condemn."⁶³

There are at least five different categories of uses that Ellen White employs when using the term "slavery".

1. Actual Literal Slavery

When reference is made to the institution of slavery prior to the Civil War/Emancipation Proclamation, slavery denotes real actual bondage with slaves, masters, etc. This usage is reflected in such references as:

"I was shown that if the object of this war had been to exterminate slavery, then, if desired, England would have helped

the North. But England fully understands the existing feelings in the Government, and that the war is not to do away slavery, but merely to preserve the Union; and it is not for her interest to have it preserved. Our Government has been very proud and independent. The people of this nation have exalted themselves to heaven, and have looked down upon monarchical governments, and triumphed in their boasted liberty, while the institution of slavery, that was a thousand times worse than the tyranny exercised by monarchical governments, was suffered to exist and was cherished. In this land of light a system is cherished which allows one portion of the human family to enslave another portion, degrading millions of human beings to the level of the brute creation. The equal of this sin is not to be found in heathen lands."⁶⁴

2. Social Racial Slavery:

The social or civil bondage or disfranchisement of the Blacks by the Whites in the late 1800's and early 1900's is here spoken of. Slavery here was used to refer, not to actual slavery (as referred to above), but to the social, economic and political bondage exercised over Blacks. (In this context "race war" is used to refer to the mutual antagonistic exchange between the races primarily in a physical sense.) This usage is reflected in such references as:

"There will be slavery just as verily as it has been only upon a basis that is more favorable and secure to the white people."⁶⁵

"That is the danger. That is why I have pleaded and entreated, entreated, and entreated for the work to be done in the South, because I knew that this very race war would be introduced."⁶⁶

3. Symbolical Spiritual Slavery:

Here referring to the bondage to habits of sin, such as intemperance, appetite or selfishness. This, of course, is very much different than the other uses of the word and clearly is symbolic in a spiritual sense. The usage is reflected in:

"It is now evident to all that the wages of sin is not noble independence and eternal life, but slavery, ruin, and death."⁶⁷

"'Abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul' is the language of the apostle Peter. Many regard this warning as applicable only to the licentious; but it has a broader meaning. It guards against every injurious gratification of appetite or passion. It is a most forcible warning against the use of such stimulants and narcotics as tea, coffee, tobacco, alcohol, and morphine. These indulgences may well be classed among the lusts that exert a pernicious influence upon moral character. The earlier these hurtful habits are formed, the more firmly will they hold their victims in slavery to lust, and the more certainly will they lower the standard of spirituality."⁶⁸

"The Christian will be filled with joy in proportion as he is a faithful steward of his Lord's goods. Christ yearns to save every son and daughter of Adam. He lifts His voice in warning, in order to break the spell which has bound the soul in captivity to the slavery of sin. He beseeches men to turn from their infatuation. He brings the nobler world before their vision, and says, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon the earth.'"⁶⁹

4. Religious Prompted Slavery:

This aspect refers to slavery that is prompted by religious issues, such as the Sunday/Sabbath question. In context these references and inferences had particular relevance in Ellen White's day as it related to the Sunday/Sabbath question. There were a series of questions in this area dealing with the "imprisonment of Seventh-day Adventists for the breaking of Sunday laws"⁷⁰ and also how the same issue should be handled as it related to teaching "the newly converted colored people".⁷¹ In this context Ellen White referred to how the devil was very active by saying:

"I am instructed to say to our people throughout the cities of the South, let everything be done under the direction of the Lord. The work is nearing its close. We are nearer the end than when we first believed. Satan is doing his best to block the way to the progress of the message. He is putting forth efforts to bring about the enactment of a Sunday law, which will result in slavery in the Southern field, and will close the door to the observance of the true Sabbath which God has given to men to keep holy."⁷²

In light of the history of the South, the possibility of religious initiated slavery being revived was very strong. Obviously, this conditional reference did pass its crisis point and the truth was able to be proclaimed in the South. For an in-depth treatment of this particular aspect, see the White Estates document entitled: Comments On the Ellen G. White Statements Relative to the Revival of Slavery.

5. Eschatologically Related Slavery:

This type of bondage will take place prior to the Second Coming of Christ when again the Sabbath/Sunday issue will gain prominence on a national scale. And as a result of legislative enactments, slavery, such as bondage, imprisonment and physical control of one person by another, will again become a reality. The Bible refers to it as well as Ellen White. Again a very clear delineation should be made between this type of slavery, which will be interracial in effect and the other categories mentioned. It is confusing or misleading to merge her different usages of the term. This very real slavery, to be in the last days, will affect Blacks, Whites, Chinese, Latinos, Indians, etc., and anyone who refuses homage to the powers that be and honors the true Sabbath and not the spurious one. This usage is referred to in passages in the book of Revelation and the Great Controversy:

"And the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"⁷³

"As the defenders of truth refuse to honor the Sunday-sabbath, some of them will be thrust into prison, some will be exiled, some will be treated as slaves. To human wisdom, all this now seems impossible; but as the restraining Spirit of God shall be withdrawn from men, and they shall be under the control of Satan, who hates the divine precepts, there will be strange developments. The heart can be very cruel when God's fear and love are removed."⁷⁴

"As the decree issued by the various rulers of Christendom against commandment-keepers shall withdraw the protection of government, and abandon them to those who desire their destruction, the people of God will flee from the cities and villages and associate together in companies, dwelling in the most desolate and solitary places. Many will find refuge in the strongholds of the mountains... But many of all nations, and of all classes, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, will be cast into the most unjust and cruel bondage."⁷⁵

When the reader is armed with an understanding of the different types of meaning Ellen White used in referring to slavery and related terms, while being sensitive to the context, it is possible to get a better understanding of the principles and points set forth.

Appendix D

Relevant Race Principles Evident In Ellen White's Writings

1. Ellen White unequivocally condemned the system of slavery and its related evils and depicted this as one of the arenas where the great controversy was being fought.

She makes a fervent and passionate denunciation of the entire system and gives it its sinful, temporal dimension, but also gives it its spiritual and eschatological dimension:

"One finite human being compelling another to do his will, claiming to be mind and judgment for another, and this sentiment that has Satan for its originator, has presented a history, terrible, horrible in oppression, tortures and bloodshed.

"Man is God's property by creation and redemption, but man has been demanding the right to compel the consciences of men. Prejudices, passions, satanic attributes, have revealed themselves in men as they have exercised their powers against their fellow men.

All is written, *all*, every injustice, every harm, every frudulent action, every pang of anguish caused in physical suffering, is written in the books of heaven as done to Jesus Christ, who has purchased man at an infinite price, even His own life. All who treat His property with cruelty, are charged with doing it to Jesus Christ in the person of His heritage, who are His by all the claims of creation and redemption. And while we are seeking to help the very ones who need help, we are registered as doing the same to Christ.

A correct knowledge of the Scripture would make men fear and tremble for their future, for every work will be brought into review before God, and they will receive their punishment according as their works have been. God will give to the faithful and true, patience under trial."⁷⁶

2. The conditions of the Blacks in the South was a consistent concern to Ellen White, and one that she spoke of often. Further, she compared their condition as being no worse than that of the Hebrew slaves when they left Egypt.

"Those who study the history of the Israelites should also consider the history of the slaves in America, who have suffered, who have been educated in crime, degraded, and oppressed, and left in ignorance to perish. Their physical freedom was obtained at a great loss of life, and Christians generally should have looked with compassion upon the colored race, for which God had a care. They should have done a work for them that would have uplifted them. They should have worked through the wisdom of God to educate and train them. We have been very neglectful of our colored brethren, and are not yet prepared for the coming of our Lord. The cries of these neglected people have come up before God. Who has entered into the work since their deliverance from bondage, to teach them the knowledge of God? The condition of the colored people is no more helpless than was the condition of the Hebrew slaves."⁷⁷

3. While being mindful of the negative effects of the system of slavery, Ellen White was also mindful of the potential of the Black race.

She spoke of potential:

"He sees precious jewels that will shine out from among the colored race. Let the work be taken up determinedly, and let both the young and those of mature age be educated in essential branches."⁷⁸

She spoke of possibilities:

"The colored people may be compared to a mine that is to be worked, in which is valuable ore of most precious material... One tenth of the advantages that their more favored brethren have received and failed to improve, would cause them to become mediums of light through which the brightness of the righteousness of Christ might shine forth."⁷⁹

4. One of Ellen White's burdens to the church was that the gospel might be spread and work might be done among the Blacks.

In a series of ten articles written for the Review and Herald in the mid-1890's, Ellen White eloquently presented the needs and appealed for workers and support in the Southern field (see Southern Work, pp. 19-65). These messages reveal God's concern and divine will for the Adventist church in relation to the Black work. Ellen White spoke these with conviction, unflinchingly and with directness.

5. Ellen White repeatedly put the race issue in a Biblical, religious setting by analogically comparing it with various Bible subjects. It was more than merely a civil national issue; rather, for Christians and Seventh-day Adventists, it was a spiritual issue, one with eternal implications.

The following are some of the more outstanding comparisons:
(All page references refer to Southern Work, unless otherwise noted.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. Deliverance message of liberty | pp. 9-14 |
| b. Christ's mission to humanity | p. 9 |
| c. Christ and the Scribes and Pharisees | p. 10 |
| d. Parable of Lazarus | p. 12 |
| e. Gentiles and the Jews | p. 20 |
| f. Parable of the Marriage Supper | p. 21 |
| g. Moses before Pharaoh | p. 23 |
| h. Israel's experience as a nation | pp. 23-24 |
| i. Parable of the priest, Levite and Samaritan | pp. 19, 26 |
| j. Exodus movement | pp. 41-45 |
| k. Wilderness experience | p. 41 |
| l. Walls of Jericho | p. 43 |
| m. Love concept in the Ten Commandments | p. 54 |
| n. Jonah's attitude and mission | p. 79 |
| o. Christ and His descension | p. 85 |
| p. Spys sent to the Promised Land | p. 88 |
| q. Serpent and doves | p. 91 |
| r. Vineyard | p. 96 |
| s. Wall of partition | <u>Ministry of Healing,</u>
pp. 25, 26 |
| t. Power of the Sun of Righteousness | <u>Church Race Relations,</u>
p. 121 |
| u. The Light of the world | <u>Testimony, v. 9,</u>
pp. 199-203 |

6. The inherent equality of the races was clearly understood and expounded by Ellen White, in spite of many of the racist views that were then being circulated. Adventism had the opportunity of being a reconciler, that was both loving and wise on equality.

"Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God. The Saviour has a boundless love for every human being. In each one He sees capacity for improvement. With divine energy and hope He greets those for whom He has given His life. In His strength they can live a life rich in good works, filled with the power of the Spirit."⁸⁰

"The religion of the Bible recognizes no caste or color. It ignores rank, wealth, worldly honor. God estimated men as men. With him, character decides their worth. And we are to recognize the Spirit of Christ in whomsoever it is revealed."⁸¹

"Thus Christ sought to teach the disciples the truth that in God's kingdom there are no territorial lines, no caste, no aristocracy; that they must go to all nations, bearing to them the message of a Saviour's love."⁸²

(See also Southern Work, pp. 29, 31, 35, 55, 57.)

Notes

¹ Ellen G. White, Southern Work (Washington, D.C.:1966), p. 10. All further reference to this work is to the 1966 edition and will subsequently be notated as SW.

² Ellen G. White, Interview #DF 151, 1907, p. 6. All subsequent reference to this, the interview under study, will be notated as Interview.

³ Interview, p. 5. Unquestionably this statement, along with that referred in note #2 are among her more significant race statements.

⁴ Ibid., p. 6. Unfortunately this book was never published.

⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶ Ibid., p. 1.

⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁹ Ronald D. Graybill, E.G. White and Church Race Relations (Washington, D.C.: 1970), p. 21. All subsequent references to this work will be notated as Race Relations.

¹⁰ Graybill, Race Relations, p. 21.

¹¹ White, Southern Work, pp. 43, 44. John Hope Franklin, in his book, "From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans" has an excellent section dealing with the period (see pp. 227-250).

¹² Interview, p. 4.

¹³ Interview, p. 4.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁹ White, SW, p. 86, 87.

²⁰ Interview, p. 6.

²¹ Ibid., p. 6.

²² White, SW, p. 86, 87.

²³ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁴ C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: 1974), pp. 86, 87. In subsequent reference this book will be notated as Jim Crow.

²⁵ David Burner, Eugene D. Genovese and Forrest McDonald, The American People (New York: 1980), p. 481.

²⁶ Woodward, Jim Crow, p. 71.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 71.

²⁸ Allen Weinstein and Frank Gatell, eds., The Segregation Era (New York: 1970), pp. 78, 79. In subsequent reference this book will be notated as Segregation.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 78, 79.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

³¹ White, SW, pp. 72, 73. The realization of this prediction is depicted in Appendix B.

³² Weinstein and Gatell, Segregation, p. 57.

³³ Woodward, Jim Crow, p. 81.

³⁴ Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, vol. 9 (California: 1948), p. 206. In subsequent reference this book will be notated as 9T.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 207, 208.

- 36 John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: 1980), pp. 266, 267. In subsequent reference this book will be notated as Slavery to Freedom.
- 37 Graybill, Race Relations, p. 112.
- 38 Melvin Drimmer, ed., Black History: A Reappraisal (New York: 1968), p. 365. In subsequent reference this book will be notated as Black History.
- 39 Ibid., p. 365.
- 40 Weinstein and Gatell, Segregation, p. 112. The Atlanta (1906) and Tulsa (1921) violent disturbances bear out such instances.
- 41 Ibid., p. 185. The defeat of the Arkansas lynch law in the Moore v. Dempsey case (1923) was a milestone in marking the legal reaction against racial violence. This will be developed further.
- 42 Peter M. Bergman and Mort N. Bergman, The Chronological History of the Negro In America, (New York: 1969), see pp. 350-400. This section referred to in The Chronological History provides a complete chronological record of significant events related to Black history during the 1908 to 1921 period.
- 43 Graybill, Race Relations, pp. 24, 25.
- 44 White Estates Document, Comments Relative To the Revival of Slavery (Monograph), p. 3. In subsequent reference this document will be notated as Comments Relative to Slavery.
- 45 White, SW, p. 67.
- 46 White, 9T, p. 214.
- 47 White, SW, p. 61.
- 48 Ibid., p. 61.
- 49 Ibid., p. 87.
- 50 White, 9T, p. 208.

- 51 White, SW, p. 14 (March 20, 1891).
- 52 Ibid., p. 55 (January 21, 1896).
- 53 Ibid., p. 43 (December 17, 1895).
- 54 White, 9T, p. 209 (1909).
- 55 Franklin, Slavery to Freedom, pp. 237-328.
- 56 Comments Relative to Slavery, p. 10.
- 57 Graybill, Race Relations, p. 121.
- 58 The prayer of Christ concerning His desire for the unity of His followers is the ultimate confrontation to prejudice in all of its forms and is a powerful challenge to promote human and religious brotherhood.
- 59 Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, (New Jersey: 1973), p. 319.
- 60 Ibid., p. 323.
- 61 Ibid., p. 318.
- 62 Ibid., p. 331.
- 63 Arthur White, Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant, (Washington, D.C.: 1969), p. 86.
- 64 Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, vol. 1 (California: 1948), pp. 258, 259.
- 65 Interview, p. 5.
- 66 Ibid., p. 6.
- 67 Ellen G. White, The Great Controversy, (California: 1911), p. 668. In subsequent reference this book will be notated as Great Controversy.
- 68 Ellen G. White, Counsels On Health, (California: 1951), pp. 67, 68.
- 69 Ellen G. White, Counsels On Stewardship, (Washington, D.C.: 1940), pp. 136, 137.
- 70 Comments Relative to Slavery, p. 4.

- 71 Ibid., p. 4.
- 72 Ibid., p. 8.
- 73 Revelation 6:15-17 (KJV).
- 74 White, Great Controversy, p. 608.
- 75 Ibid., p. 626.
- 76 Graybill, Race Relations, pp. 190, 110.
- 77 White, SW, pp. 42, 43.
- 78 Ibid., p. 63.
- 79 Ibid., p. 65.
- 80 Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, vol. 7, (California: 1948), p. 225.
- 81 White, ST, p. 223.
- 82 Ellen G. White, Acts of the Apostles, (California: 1911), p. 20.

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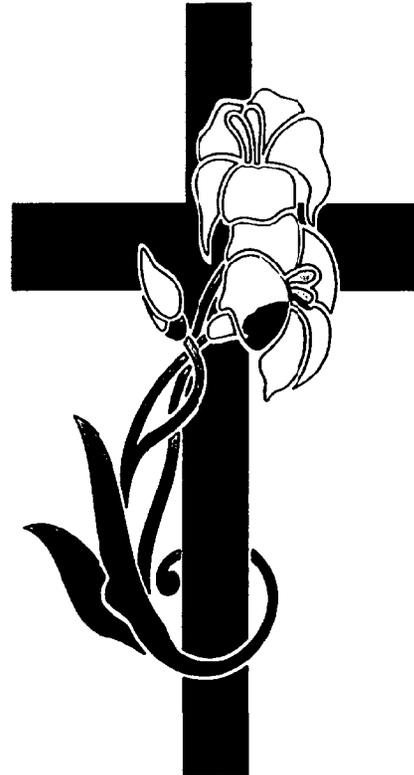
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COMMENTS ON THE ELLEN G. WHITE STATEMENTS

RELATIVE TO THE REVIVAL OF SLAVERY

A Statement Released by
The White Estate Trustees

The widely distributed Great Controversy, in the chapter entitled "The Final Warning" forecasts events all of which now "to human wisdom . . . seems impossible" but which will become a part of the closing drama "as the restraining Spirit of God shall be withdrawn from men." Here is one statement:

"As the defenders of truth refuse to honor the Sunday-sabbath, some of them will be thrust into prison, some will be exiled, some will be treated as slaves. To human wisdom, all this now seems impossible; but as the restraining Spirit of God shall be withdrawn from men, and they shall be under the control of Satan, who hates the divine precepts, there will be strange developments. The heart can be very cruel when God's fear and love are removed."--Great Controversy, p. 608. (Emphasis supplied)

These words were first published in 1884 and have appeared in all editions of Great Controversy published from that day to this.

Again in the next chapter entitled "The Time of Trouble" we read further:

"As the decree issued by the various rulers of Christendom against commandment-keepers shall withdraw the protection of government, and abandon them to those who desire their destruction, the people of God will flee from the cities and villages and associate together in companies, dwelling in the most desolate and solitary places. Many will find refuge in the strongholds of the mountains. . . . But many of all nations, and of all classes, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, will be cast into the most unjust and cruel bondage."--Ibid, p. 626. (Emphasis supplied)

This is what Ellen White saw as scene after scene passed before her in holy vision opening up to her that which was yet to take place.

Again and again through the years she witnessed in vision the crucial scenes connected with the great decision which must be made by all mankind just before the close of probation--the decision whether to serve God or to give allegiance to an apostate power. The Sabbath is the point of issue. The wrath of the dragon is stirred up. The conflict will be severe. Allegiance to God will

The Revival of Slavery-2

involve not a few in exile and servitude before God finally delivers His people.

As the apostle John records what God revealed to him of the very last events of earth's history he writes of "bondmen" and "free men." He saw slavery in its hideousness. He says:

"And the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"--Revelation 6:15-17.

As views of the closing work of the gospel passed before Ellen White in the Great Controversy vision of March 14, 1858, she saw that:

"The last call was carried even to the poor slaves, and the pious among them poured forth their songs of rapturous joy at the prospect of their happy deliverance. Their masters could not check them."--Early Writings, p. 278.

Some may exclaim, How can this be? We believe that we can best hope to find a correct answer if we keep in mind three points: (1) We cannot pass judgment on prophecies of future events until the time has come for their fulfillment. (2) Views of last day events that were given to John and to Ellen White related to the entire world and there are yet many slaves in the world. (3) In the United States, "that which to human wisdom . . . seems impossible will take place when the restraining Spirit of God shall be withdrawn from men" (GC 608), and at a time when "our country shall repudiate every principle of its constitution as a Protestant and republican government."--(5T 451).

It may be significant that in the years succeeding the liberation of the slaves in the South, Ellen White was given repeated views of the critical situation which existed in the South and would continue. She saw the animosities stirred by the power of Satan that resided in the hearts of men. She saw, also, that the great adversary would use agitation over the Sabbath question to stir hatreds that could place the colored people in a very difficult position in connection with far-reaching events which would involve many, even beyond the ranks of

The Revival of Slavery-3

Sabbath-keepers. She spoke of this in a counsel meeting attended by a "select few" of experienced workers in 1895.

As we began in earnest a concerted effort to reach the colored people, Mrs. White's prophetic knowledge led her to counsel a course of cautious action. She urged that we avoid anything that would precipitate untoward incidents.

SDA Work Begins With Liberated Slaves

The slaves in the United States were liberated in the 1860's. But it was not until 1895 that Seventh-day Adventists began in any serious way to labor for the colored people. In January of that year, Mrs. White's son, James Edson White, with his missionary boat, "The Morning Star" and with a company of associate workers, all on a self-supporting basis, began work among the colored people in Mississippi. There was a gratifying response. Schools were started, churches were organized and buildings erected. The work conducted by Seventh-day Adventists among the liberated slaves and their children was on its way.

This was just at a time when a number of Seventh-day Adventists were having serious problems in the South because of their violation of the state Sunday laws. Some were imprisoned or placed in chain-gangs. Among us there were some differences of opinion as to just what attitude we should take under such circumstances. Some felt that we must show our faith by doing manual labor in the sight of others on Sunday so that they would know where we stood. Others took the chopping-block out near the street and split wood on Sunday morning. Some of our sisters hung out their washing on that day. Now with a work beginning among the colored people, Seventh-day Adventist leaders faced this question: What counsel shall we give to these new believers in this tense region of North America?

The Brethren Seek Counsel

The International Religious Liberty Association gave careful study to this delicate matter. Its recording secretary, A. O. Tait, in Battle Creek, Michigan, directed questions to W. C. White who was laboring in Australia. Undoubtedly

The Revival of Slavery-4

Elder Tait had in mind that these questions would be placed before Sister White for her counsel. And this is what took place in November, 1895, near the close of the campmeeting held at Armadale, a suburb of Melbourne. It was in connection with the study of these problems that Mrs. White stated some things which she had not felt at liberty to disclose before. It was at that time that she made the thought-provoking declaration that "Slavery will again be revived in the Southern States; for the spirit of slavery still lives."

The Armadale Council Meeting

Here are some of the pertinent facts regarding the background of this statement.

Those who were present at the November 20 Armadale interview were members of the Australasian Union Conference Committee, and some others. Elder White, the Union president, served as chairman. At the interview, certain letters from America were read, addressed to him and to Elder Colcord. The letters asked questions regarding the imprisonment of Seventh-day Adventists for the breaking of Sunday laws and requested counsel as to the position they should take. Further, what should be taught to the newly converted colored people on this matter, and how should Seventh-day Adventists generally relate themselves to the various situations that were developing?

As Ellen White commented on this, she said:

"Of some of these things I could speak, because at sundry times and in divers places many things have been presented to me. . . . As my brethren read the selections from letters, I knew what to say to them for this matter has been presented to me again and again. . . . I have not felt at liberty to write out the matter until now."--E.C. White Letter 73, 1895.

The light that had been given to Ellen White well in advance, but which she did not feel free to disclose, she now spoke of as the situations were placed before her. It was in this setting that she first spoke of the revival of slavery in the South. A letter from W. C. White to A. O. Tait on November 22, 1895 gives a little glimpse of Ellen White's sense of the delicateness of the situation and the caution which must be exercised. Remember that it was from Elder Tait,

an officer of our International Religious Liberty Association, that the questions had come. From the W. C. White letter, we quote:

"At the first meeting of our Union Conference, Eld. Colcord presented an interesting report of the workings of our religious liberty department, and at its close he presented numerous questions for the Conference to consider. These were referred to the Executive Committee, and so day before yesterday I called a meeting at which Brethren Daniells, Prescott, Fousseau, Smith, Israel, Colcord, and Dr. (M. G.) Kellogg, and mother, Sr. Burnham, myself and Bro. Caldwell were present. I read the letters which you enclosed to me, and Eld. Colcord read extracts from your letters to him. Then the principles were briefly discussed, but as our brethren seemed most desirous of hearing from mother, she occupied most of the time.

"As you are well aware mother seldom answers such questions directly; but she endeavors to lay down principles and bring forward facts which have been presented to her that will aid us in giving intelligent study to the subject, and in arriving to a correct conclusion.

"Mother told us in this meeting, as she has at other times, lately, that we were all in great danger of bringing on a crisis prematurely and in our efforts to do what seems to us to be logical, and consistent and according to principle, we often overlook the broader principles and the fact that Christ came into the world to save sinners. He came into the world to bring men to the truth. He came into the world not to condemn them, but his desire was that they should receive life, and he worked very cautiously to avoid arousing prejudices that would prevent them from living the truth.

"Christ has committed to us the work of carrying forward the work which he began, and it must be our constant study so to live and so to labor that the truth shall reach the hearts of the people and win then to obedience.

"And in this matter of bringing on the crisis prematurely we are cutting short the work of the third angel's message. She pointed out some special dangers that will be experienced in certain localities. She pointed out at considerable length the inconsistency of our dealing with this question of religious liberty in a criticising and combative spirit. She pointed out the fact that our free criticism and denunciation of the acts and laws of the governments, and of the acts and ruling of the judges and of persons in authority accomplished little good in convincing of minds regarding the truth and their duty, and that it will recoil upon us in a prejudice that will prevent many from receiving the truth. . . .

"As regards the work among the colored people, mother said that it had been lately opened to her mind that great caution would be required in our work in the South, because if the laborers in the South shall instruct the colored people that it is their duty to defy Sunday laws, their lack of discretion in carrying out this advice, and the prejudice of the people against them, will result in a state of things that will cost many lives; not only will the colored people themselves be destroyed by secret combinations, but those who have labored among them will be put out of the way, and thus the work which the Lord would have done for this people will be greatly hindered.

"While this instruction and advice was being given by mother, my mind

was carried back to what she has told us many times in the past regarding the danger and evils of our making resolutions, laying down laws for our people that they may act logically and in unison. Mother spoke of the importance of leaving many questions to individual decision according to circumstances and the movings of the Spirit of God.

"After reading the above you will not care much for my personal opinion. . . . I think I will send you with this a copy of the questions presented by Eld. Colcord. I tried at the close of our meeting, to bring these forward for specific discussion, but the brethren would not discuss them, saying that the principles had been covered in mother's remarks."--W. C. White Letter Book #8, 1895.

Ellen White's Statement in Its Setting

In the interview of November 20 just referred to by W. C. White, questions were asked and Ellen White gave answers. There is a report of this interview in the E. G. White Manuscript Files in a document bearing the number MS 22-a, 1895.* In this report, we find among the questions, this one:

"QUESTION: Should not those in the Southern Field work on Sunday?

E. G. WHITE ANSWER: "If they do this, there is danger that as soon as the opposing element can get the slightest opportunity, they will stir up one another to persecute those who do this, and to pick off those whom they hate. At present Sunday-keeping is not the test. The time will come when men will not only forbid Sunday work, but they will try to force men to labor on the Sabbath. And men will be asked to renounce the Sabbath and to subscribe to Sunday observance or forfeit their freedom and their lives. But the time for this has not yet come, for the truth must be presented more fully before the people as a witness. What I have said about this should not be understood as referring to the action of old Sabbath-keepers who understand the truth. They must move as the Lord shall direct them, but let them consider that they can do the best missionary work on Sunday.

"Slavery will again be revived in the Southern States; for the spirit of slavery still lives. Therefore it will not do for those who labor among the colored people to preach the truth as boldly and openly as they would be free to do in other places. Even Christ clothed His lessons in figures and parables to avoid the opposition of the Pharisees. When the colored people feel that they have the Word of God in regard to the Sabbath question, and the sanction of those who have brought them the truth, some who are impulsive will take the opportunity to defy the Sunday laws, and by a presumptuous defiance of their oppressors they will bring to themselves much sorrow. Very faithfully the colored people must be instructed to be like Christ, to patiently suffer wrongs, that they may help their fellow men to see the light

*Note: The major part of this interview was published by J. E. White in a second printing of The Southern Work (See Exhibit A), but the sentence in italics concerning "slavery" in the second paragraph which follows was deleted. See page 132.

of truth.

"A terrible condition of things is certainly opening before us. According to the light which is given me in regard to the Southern Field, the work there must be done as wisely and carefully as possible, and it must be done in the manner in which Christ would work. The people will soon find out what you believe about Sunday and the Sabbath, for they will ask questions. Then you can tell them, but not in such a manner as to attract attention to your work. You need not cut short your work by yourself laboring on Sunday. It would be better to take that day to instruct others in regard to the love of Jesus and true conversion."-- E. G. White MS 22-a, 1895. (Emphasis supplied)

E. G. White Letter of Counsel to Elder Tait

The same day, November 20, Ellen White addressed a letter to Elder Tait, presenting her carefully prepared answer to the questions which had been placed before her, restating what she had said during the interview and presenting it as her statement of counsel. (See Exhibit B) This letter in its entirety was published in November, 1896 by Elder O. A. Olsen, president of the General Conference, in a pamphlet, Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers, Series A, No. 6.

James Edson White in turn, in 1898, published this in The Southern Work, (pp. 97-108) a collection of E. G. White counsels published as an inspiration and guide to those who would work in the South.

This document reveals the concern entertained by Mrs. White that injudicious action on the part of Seventh-day Adventists could lead to a situation where "the colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance and under cruel treatment to the white people that would be no less than slavery." (Exhibit B, page 1)

She counseled: "If the colored people are in any way educated to work on Sunday, there will be unsparring, merciless oppression brought upon them" (Exhibit B, page 2). This is as close as she came to making mention of the revival of slavery in the document which she sent out as representing the counsel which should go into the hands of our workers who were meeting the situation. Please turn and read the entire contents of Exhibit B to gain the full perspective.

Copies of the stenographic report of the November 20 interview (Exhibit A)

undoubtedly passed into the hands of some of the members of the Union Conference Committee who were present, and a copy found its way into the material which Elder A. W. Spalding assembled for his personal study and the study of Brethren Paulson, Sutherland and Magan about 1915 as a group of counsels from Sister White which would have a bearing on the work in the South.

This rather large grouping of materials, some published and some not published, has in recent months been mimeographed in an unauthorized edition. Its circulation gives rise to some of the questions now being received at the White Estate Office on the point of the revival of slavery.

Connected With Sunday-law Issues

It will be observed that in nearly every case where Sister White alludes to or refers to slavery or surveillance near the close of time, it is in connection with the Sunday-law issues. This was so in 1909 when again she made reference to this matter. She brought in the statement concerning slavery rather incidentally as she discussed the caution which must be exercised when instructing our colored believers in regard to Sunday labor in the South, and warned against rash and precipitous moves. Writing to her son, William C. White, who was then visiting in Nashville, Tennessee at a time when national Sunday bills were being urged upon the United States Congress (Sec RH June 24, 1909, p. 10), Ellen White declared:

"I am instructed to say to our people throughout the cities of the South, let everything be done under the direction of the Lord. The work is nearing its close. We are nearer the end than when we first believed. Satan is doing his best to block the way to the progress of the message. He is putting forth efforts to bring about the enactment of a Sunday law, which will result in slavery in the Southern field, and will close the door to the observance of the true Sabbath which God has given to men to keep holy."--E. G. White Letter 6, 1909. (Emphasis supplied)

This and the other statements from Ellen White's pen on this point make it clear that whatever takes place in this line will be in connection with the crisis which develops in a Sunday law situation.

How Shall We Use This Knowledge?

Now the question is, what shall we do with the information this communication contains? Ellen White placed in her books only the general statements which we find in Great Controversy. She did not choose to include in her books the blunt statement to the effect that there would be a revival of slavery in the South. Discussing the delicate situation of race relationships in the South and particularly the manner in which new Adventists should conduct themselves, she counseled that "The things which I have been presenting to you will need to be brought out with great care."* She gave this information to our workers to impress them with the caution with which they should carry on certain lines of work. She advised against an indiscriminate publication of this information.

*Note: As she brought to a close her 1895 letter of counsel to Elder Tait in which she uses the term "surveillance" (Exhibit A), she added this parenthetical sentence before her signature: "(I would not advise that this be published in our papers, but let the workers have it in leaflets, and let them keep their own counsels.)"

The prophet, so well aware of human nature and the different frames of mind of those with whom they must deal, faced at times a problem as to what he should disclose in a general manner to the people. Jesus said even to his disciples, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." John 16:12.

In 1911, Ellen White wrote:

"Regarding the testimonies, nothing is ignored; nothing is cast aside; but time and place must be considered. Nothing must be done untimely. Some matters must be withheld because some persons would make an improper use of the light given. Every jot and tittle is essential and must appear at an opportune time."--Selected Messages, Book 1, page 57.

A knowledge of the fuller truth of some matters as presented in vision to the prophet, although he in turn did not disclose indiscriminately all the details, molded the message of counsel he bore. Note this interesting comment concerning the light given in vision to Paul:

"The great apostle had many visions. The Lord showed him many things that it is not lawful for a man to utter. Why could he not tell the believers what he had seen? Because they would have made a misapplication of the great truths presented. They would not have been able to comprehend these truths. And yet all that was shown to Paul moulded the messages that God gave him to bear to the churches."--E. G. White Letter 161, 1907

We are living in days when an exercise of prudence and great restraint is timely. Shall we be content to handle this matter as guardedly as did Ellen White when she gave this information to some of the leading workers of the church?

Agitation of Matters Relating to the Colored People

Perhaps before closing this communication, we should call attention to the cautious soundings by Ellen White concerning agitation of questions involving the colored people. Her burden of heart was that everyone, white and colored, might relate himself to these very delicate matters in such a manner as to make possible the widest dissemination of the message for this time, and to keep the field in such a condition as to be favorable for the reception of such a message. She sensed that at times there was indiscreet action taken by both the white and colored members of our churches. She wrote of this in 1904 as follows:

"It will be impossible to adjust all matters regarding the color question in accordance with the Lord's order until those who believe the truth are so closely united with Christ that they are one with Him. Both the white and the colored members of our churches need to be converted. There are some of both classes who are unreasonable, and when the color question is agitated they manifest unsanctified, unconverted traits of character. Quarrelsome elements are easily aroused in those who, because they have never learned to wear the yoke of Christ, are opinionated and obstinate. In such, self clamors with an unsanctified determination for the supremacy."--E. G. White Letter 105, 1904.

May the Lord help all of us to exercise good sanctified common sense and discretion, lest the precious work of God be marred.

Significance of the E. G. White Counsels

As we apprehend the character of the final climax and the forces at work in the past, now, and in the future, we see the Lord guiding His people with infinite wisdom through the Spirit of Prophecy counsels. It is His purpose to keep the door open in the South for the proclamation of the third angel's message to both white and colored, and to guard against premature or ill-planned actions which would unleash persecution. There is brought to view a

The Revival of Slavery-11 & 12

picture of the tumultuous events of the last great hours of the world's history. As we catch glimpses of what is to come, we are to keep matters in their proper perspective. To interpret the predictions relating to these last tumultuous events as applying to normal life would be both inaccurate and misleading. Seventh-day Adventists are to avoid imprudent actions or teachings that will precipitate a crisis and bring a time of trouble before the time appointed. Only as the Spirit of God controls the fully surrendered heart and mind can we safely enter upon the dark and difficult days which are surely before the church. Thank God, the church will emerge, purified and humble, but triumphant.

Ellen G. White Estate
Washington, D. C.
October 17, 1963

EXHIBIT A

-128-

Southern Work, pp. 128-136

Words of Precaution Regarding Sunday Labor.

Nov. - 22^d - 1895

THE COLORED PEOPLE, AND THE WAY TO OPPOSE ERROR.

On the morning of Nov. 20, 1895, a council meeting was called at the large tent on the Armadale camp-grounds to consider some questions arising from the discussions of our brethren regarding the religious liberty work. The positions recently taken by some of our brethren indicate that there was necessity for a more thorough understanding of the principles which must govern our work.

There were present Brethren W. W. Prescott, A. G. Daniells, W. C. White, M. C. Israel, L. J. Rousseau, W. A. Colcord, M. G. Kellogg, W. D. Salisbury, James Smith, and Sisters E. G. White and E. J. Burnham.

Several letters were read with reference to the questions at issue, then Sister White read a letter which she had written to Elder A. T. Jones, in May, 1894, which had been unavoidably withheld until very recently.

In this letter reference was made to the necessity of our speakers presenting the truth in such a simple manner that even the small children could comprehend the lessons which it was designed to teach. Remarking on this, Sister White said: "According to the light which has been given to me, when the heavenly intelligences see that men will no longer

— 130 —

"When the whites show an inclination to help the colored people, by educating them to help themselves, a certain class of the white people are terribly annoyed. They do not want the colored people to earn an independent living. They want them to work their plantations.

"When the white people try to educate the colored people in the truth, jealousy is aroused, and ministers, both colored and white, will bitterly oppose the truth. The colored ministers think that they know how to preach to their own race better than the white ministers, and they feel that the whites are taking the work out of their hands. By falsehood they will create the most decided opposition, and those among the white people who are opposed to the truth, will help them, and will make it exceedingly hard for the work of the message to advance.

"When the truth is proclaimed in the South, a marked difference will be shown by those who oppose the truth in their greater regard for Sunday, and great care must be exercised, not to do anything to arouse their prejudice. Otherwise, we may just as well leave the field entirely, for the workers will have all the white people against them. Those who oppose the truth will not work openly, but through secret organizations, and they will seek to hinder the work in every possible way. Our laborers must move in a quiet way, striving to do everything possible to present the truth to the people, remembering that the love of Christ will melt down opposition.

— 129 —

present the truth in simplicity as Jesus did, the very children will be moved upon by the Spirit of God, and will go forth proclaiming the truth for this time."

The brethren were invited to discuss the points treated in the letters, but all were desirous of hearing further from Sister White, and she made the following remarks:—

"There is a terrible crisis just before us, through which all must pass, and especially will it come and be felt in ——. My mind has been much troubled over the positions which some of our brethren are liable to take in regard to the work to be done among the colored people in the Southern States. There is one point that I wish to lay before those who work in the Southern field. Among the colored people, they will have to labor in different lines from those followed in the North. They can not go to the South and present the real facts in reference to Sunday-keeping being the mark of the beast, and encourage the colored people to work on Sunday; for the same spirit that held the colored people in slavery is not dead, but alive to-day, and ready to spring into activity. The same spirit of oppression is still cherished in the minds of many of the white people of the South, and will reveal itself in cruel deeds, which are the manifestation of their religious zeal. Some will oppose, in every possible way, any action which has a tendency to uplift the colored race, and teach them to be self-supporting.

— 131 —

"From the light that I have received, I see that if we would get the truth before the Southern people, we must not encourage the colored people to work on Sunday. There must be a clear understanding regarding this, but it need not be published in our papers. You must teach these people as you would teach children. Not a word should be spoken to create prejudice, for if by any careless or impulsive speech to the colored people in regard to the whites any prejudice is created in their minds against the whites, or in the minds of the whites against them, the spirit of the enemy will work in the children of disobedience. Thus an opposition will be aroused which will hinder the work of the message, and will endanger the lives of the workers and of believers.

"We are not to make efforts to teach the Southern people to work on Sunday. That which some of our brethren have written upon this point is not based upon right principles. When the practices of the people do not come in conflict with the law of God, you may conform to them. If the workers fail to do this, they will not only hinder their own work, but they will place stumbling-blocks in the way of those for whom they labor, and hinder them from accepting the truth. On Sunday there is the very best opportunity for those who are missionaries to hold Sunday-schools, and come to the people in the simplest manner possible, telling them of the love of Jesus for sinners, and educating them in the Scriptures. There are many ways of reaching all classes,

— 132 —

both white and black. We are to interest them in the life of Christ from his childhood up to manhood, and through his life of ministry to the cross. We can not work in all localities in the same way. We must let the Holy Spirit guide; for men and women can not convince others of the wrong traits of character. While laboring to introduce the truth, we must accommodate ourselves as much as possible to the field, and the circumstances of those for whom we labor."

Question: Should not those in the Southern field work on Sunday?

"If they do this, there is danger that as soon as the opposing element can get the slightest opportunity, they will stir up one another, to persecute those whom they hate. At present Sunday-keeping is not the test. The time will come when men will not only forbid Sunday-work, but they will try to force men to labor on the Sabbath. And men will be asked to renounce the Sabbath, and to subscribe to Sunday observance or forfeit their freedom and their lives. But the time for this has not yet come, for the truth must be presented more fully before the people as a witness. What I have said about this should not be understood as referring to the action of old Sabbath-keepers who understand the truth. They must move as the Lord shall direct them, but let them consider that they can do the best missionary work on Sunday.

▲ "It will not do for those who labor among the (Omitted in this printing) Slavery will again be revived in the Southern States; for the spirit of slavery still lives. Therefore

— 134 —

"Yes; just the same. The light that I have is that God's servants should go quietly to work, preaching the grand, precious truths of the Bible,—Christ and him crucified, his love and infinite sacrifice,—showing that the reason why Christ died is because the law of God is immutable, unchangeable, eternal. The Spirit of the Lord will awaken the conscience and the understanding of those with whom you work, bringing the commandments of God to their remembrance. I can hardly describe to you the way in which that has been presented to me. The Lord says in Rev. 22: 16: 'I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches.' Have any of you seen this angel? The messengers from heaven are close beside those who stand before the people, holding forth the word of life. In preaching the truth, it is not always best to present those strong points of truth that will arouse prejudice, especially where such strong feelings exist as is felt in the Southern States. The Sabbath must be taught in a decided manner, but be cautious how you deal with the idol, Sunday. A word to the wise is sufficient.

"I have given you the light which has been presented to me. If followed, it will change the course of many, and will make them wise, cautious teachers. Refraining from work on Sunday, is not receiving the mark of the beast; and where this will advance the interests of the work, it should be done. We should not go out of our way to work on Sunday.

'After the Sabbath has been sacredly observed, in

— 133 —

colored people to preach as boldly and openly as they would be free to do in other places. Even Christ clothed his lessons in figures and parables to avoid the opposition of the Pharisees. When the colored people feel that they have the word of God in regard to the Sabbath question, and the sanction of those who brought them the truth, some who are impulsive will take the opportunity to defy the Sunday laws, and by a presumptuous defiance of their oppressors they will bring to themselves much sorrow. Very faithfully the colored people must be instructed to be like Christ, to patiently suffer wrongs, that they may help their fellow men to see the light of truth.

"A terrible condition of things is certainly opening before us. According to the light which is given me in regard to the Southern field, the work there must be done as wisely and carefully as possible, and it must be done in the manner in which Christ would work. The people will soon find out what you believe about Sunday and the Sabbath, for they will ask questions. Then you can tell them, but not in such a manner as to attract attention to your work. You need not cut short your work by yourself laboring on Sunday. It would be better to take that day to instruct others in regard to the love of Jesus and true conversion."

Question: Should the same principles govern our work and our attitude toward the Sunday question in foreign fields where the prejudices of the people are so strong?

— 135 —

places where the opposition is so strong as to arouse persecution if work is done on Sunday, let our brethren make that day an occasion to do genuine missionary work. Let them visit the sick and the poor, ministering to their wants, and they will find favorable opportunities to open the Scriptures to individuals and to families. Thus most profitable work can be done for the Master. When those who hear and see the light on the Sabbath take their stand upon the truth to keep God's holy day, difficulties will arise, for efforts will be brought to bear against them to compel men and women to transgress the law of God. Here they must stand firm, that they will not violate the law of God, and if the opposition and persecution are determinedly kept up, let them heed the words of Christ, 'When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come.'

"The time has not yet come for us to work as though there were no prejudice. Christ said, 'Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.' If you see that by doing certain things which you have a perfect right to do, you hinder the work of the truth, refrain from doing these things. Do nothing that will close the minds of others against the truth. There is a world to save, and we gain nothing by cutting loose from those we are trying to help. All things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient.

— 136 —

"We have no right to do anything that will obstruct the light which is shining from heaven; yet by a wrong course of action we may imperil the work, and close the door which God has opened for the entrance of the truth. The final issue of the Sabbath question has not yet come, and by imprudent actions we may bring on a crisis before the time. You may have all the truth, but you need not let it all flash at once upon minds, lest it become darkness to them. Even Christ said to his disciples, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye can not bear them now.' We must not go into a place, open our satchels, show all we have, and tell every thing that we know at once. We must work cautiously, presenting the truth by degrees, as the hearers can bear it, and keeping close to the Word."

MRS. E. G. WHITE.

— 138 —

the way for the truth to find access to the fields now in such great need of workers.

It is not ministers who can preach that are needed so much as men and women who understand how to teach the truth to poor, ignorant, needy, and oppressed people. And as to making it appear that there is not need of caution, it is because those who say such things do not know what they are talking about. It needs men and women who will not be sent to the Southern field by our people, but who will feel the burden to go into this neglected portion of the vineyard of the Lord. Men while their hearts burn with indignation as they see the attitude of the white people toward the black, will learn of the Master, Jesus Christ, that silence in expression regarding these things is eloquence. They all need the intelligence that will lead them to learn of Jesus Christ and the simplicity of how to work.

The cultivation of the soil is an excellent arrangement, but it is not by Northern people grouping together in a community that will accomplish the work they imagine will be a success. Hot tempered men better remain in the North. Men and women who possess the true Christ-like spirit of ministry may do excellent work among the Southern colored people. Make no masterly efforts to break down the prejudices of the Southern people, but just live and talk the love of Jesus Christ. There can not be any greater harm done to the Southern colored people

From a Private Letter.

W-102 a 1899

The following is taken from a private letter to Mr. and Mrs. J. E. White, written June 21, 1899.

Brother ——— has sent me a letter in regard to his plans for the South, but, I can not encourage such plans. He will calculate to have all things move smoothly. A community to settle in the South in accordance with the plans he has thought would prove a success, would prove a failure. What is the prospect for feeding and clothing this community? Where is the money to be pledged for building homes for families? The outlay would be greater than the income. There would be a gathering of good and bad, there would be the need of men of clear conception, baptized with the Holy Spirit of God, to run such an enterprise. I might present many things that make it objectionable. There can not be any colonizing without Satan stirring up the Southern element to look with suspicion on the Northern people, and the least provocation would awaken up the Southern whites to produce a state of things they do not now imagine.

There must be laborers in the South who possess caution. They must be wise as serpents and harmless as doves. All who engage in this work should be men who have their pens and tongues dipped in the holy oil of Zechariah 4:11-14. An unadvised word will stir the most violent passions of the human heart and set in operation a state of things that will close

— 139 —

than to dilate on the harm and wrong done them by the white Southerners.

There is need of level-headed men and women who love the Lord Jesus, and who will love the colored people for Christ's sake, who have the deepest pity for them. But the methods of ——— are not the methods that will be wise to practise. They can not be petted and treated just as if they were on a level with the whites without ruining them for all missionary work in the Southern field. There is a difference among the blacks as there is among the whites. Some possess keen and superior talents, that if the possessor is not made too much of, and is treated from a Bible standpoint, as humble men to do a Christ-like missionary work, not exalting them, but teaching them religious love, and Christ-like love for the souls of their own colored race, and keep before them that they are not called into the field to labor for the whites, but to learn to labor in the love of God to restore the moral image of God in those of their own race, then a good work can be done.

There is a work to be done in opening schools to teach the colored people alone, unmingled with whites, and there will be a successful work done in this way. The Lord will work through the whites to reach the black race,— many of them through white teachers, but it needs the man and his wife to stand together in the work. More than one family of white teachers should locate in a place. Two or three families should locate near each other, not huddle together,

EXHIBIT B

ELLEN G. WHITE LETTER OF COUNSELProper Methods of Work in
The Southern Field

(E. G. White Letter 73, 1895, addressed to Elder A. O. Tait of Battle Creek, Michigan, Recording Secretary of the International Religious Liberty Association. The entire letter, except the sentence in parentheses just before the signature, was published by Elder O. A. Olsen, President of the General Conference on November 22, 1896, as one of several items in "Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers" No. 6 (pp. 47-56). It was subsequently reprinted by James Edson White in The Southern Work, pp. 97-108.--A. L. White)

Armadale, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia
November 20, 1895

Elder A. O. Tait
Battle Creek, Michigan.

Dear Brother :

This morning I attended a meeting where a select few were called together to consider some questions that were presented to them by a letter soliciting consideration and advice on these subjects. Of some of these subjects I could speak, because at sundry times and in divers places many things have been presented to me in reference to some matters of labor that required great caution in speech as well as in the expression of thoughts with the pen. The advice given to our brethren in the Southern field has been diverse; it would bring in confusion.

As my brethren read the selections from letters, I knew what to say to them; for this matter has been presented to me again and again in regard to the Southern field. I have not felt at liberty to write out the matter until now. I will endeavor to make some brief statements at this time, hoping soon to have an opportunity to speak more clearly and at length.

The light that the Lord has given me at different times has been that the Southern field, where the greatest share of the population of the colored race is, cannot be worked after the same methods as other fields. They are excitable, and outward actions in bodily exercise more than inward piety, compose their religion. Should the colored people in the Southern States be educated, as they receive the truth, that they should work on Sunday, there would be excited a most unreasonable and unjust prejudice. Judges and jurors, lawyers and citizens, would, if they had a chance, bring decisions which would bind about them rites which would cause much suffering, not only to the ones whom they term guilty of breaking the laws of their State, but all the colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance, and under cruel treatment by the white people, that would be no less than slavery. They have been treated as chattels, regarded as not much above the dumb animals, to do just as their masters told them to do. This has degraded all their powers, and a different method of labor altogether must be pursued toward them, than where the colored people have had greater advantages of schooling, and have learned to read.

As the colored people have not been educated to read, and have not been uplifted, their religion is more of bodily exercise than inward piety. There cannot be anything like the kind of labor pursued toward them, that is bestowed upon the people whose religion is not outward workings. The Lord will look upon this poor, neglected, down-trodden race with great compassion. Everything of a character to set them in a position of opposition to authorities, as working on Sunday, would cause the colored people great suffering, and cut off the possibility of the white laborers' going among them; for the workers that intended to do them good, would be charged with raising insurrections.

I do not want anything of this character to appear, for I know the result. Tell them they need not provoke their neighbors by doing work on Sunday; that this will not prevent them from observing the Sabbath. The Sabbath should not be introduced until they know the first principles of the religion of Jesus Christ. The truth as it is in Jesus is to be made known little by little, line upon line, and precept upon precept.

Punishment for any offense would be visited unsparingly and unmercifully upon the colored people. Here is a neglected field, rank with corruption, needing to be taught everything; here is a field where medical missionary work can be one of the greatest blessings. In this line the truth may be introduced, but the very first principles of Christianity are to be taught in the A B C. Schools are to be established, having not only children, but fathers and mothers, learning to read.

Teaching the truth is involving great liabilities. It is essential, then, that families should settle in the South, and as missionary workers they can, by precept and example, be a living power. There cannot be much preaching. The least notice possible should be given to the point of what is doing and what is to be done; for it will create suspicion and jealousy in the minds of men, who, with their fathers and grandfathers, have been slaveholders. There has been so little done for the colored people that they are in moral degradation, and are looked upon as slaves to the white population still, although they have been emancipated at terrible cost.

We are to study the situation with great care, for the Lord is our enlightener. The Lord has given men capabilities to exercise, but there is too little deep thinking, and too little earnest praying that the Lord would give wisdom at all times how to work difficult fields. We are under obligation to God, and if we love God, we are in duty bound not only on the general ground of obligation and obedience, to obey the orders of our spiritual Leader, but to save as many souls as we can, to present them as sheaves to Jesus Christ, who gave Himself a living sacrifice to ransom them, and make them free servants of Jesus Christ. There is not to be one word uttered which would stir up the slumbering enmity and hatred of the slaves against discipline and order, or to present before them the injustice that has been done them.

Nothing can be done at first in making the Sabbath question prominent, and if the colored people are in any way educated to work on Sunday, there will be unsparing, merciless oppression brought upon them. Already there has been too much printed in regard to the persecution of the Sabbath-keepers in the Southern States, and those who are bitter against the law of God, trampling it under

their feet, are all the more in earnest to make human laws a power. Their religious prejudice and bigotry would lead them to do any act of violence, verily thinking they were doing God's service; for they are in great error. A blind zeal under false religious theories, is the most violent and merciless. There are many who are stirred up by the representations in our papers, to do just as their neighboring States are doing. All these things give them the appearance of defying the law. In Christ's day, when persecuted in one city, they fled to another. It may be the duty of those persecuted, to locate themselves in another city or another country. "And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." Matt. 10:22-24.

At present, persecution is not general, but let the Southern element have words come to them of a nature to arouse their excitable disposition, and the whole cause of truth would suffer, and the great missionary field be closed. Let all be warned. Let the instruction be given to this much-oppressed people that the keeping of the Sabbath does not necessitate their working on Sunday; for if they should do this, they would have instigated against them all the powers of the white population who are transgressors of the law of God. Church-members and priests and rulers will combine to organize secret societies to work in their land to whip, imprison, and destroy the lives of the colored race. History will be repeated. Let efforts be made in as silent a manner as possible; but this people need not be told that the observance of Sunday is the mark of the beast until this time shall come. If the Southern people get some of the ideas in their minds of the mark of the beast, they would misconstrue and give, honestly, the most false impression on these subjects, and do strange things.

As many of the people cannot read for themselves, there are plenty of professed leaders who will read the Bible falsely, and make it testify to a lie. Many are working in this line now among those who are poor scholars, and have not a knowledge of the Scriptures. Our publications also will be misread. Things will be read out of the books that were never there, advocating the most objectionable things. An excitement could be easily worked up against Seventh-day Adventists. The most successful methods are to encourage families who have a missionary spirit, to settle in the Southern States, and work with the people without making any noise.

In such places as the Southern field, there should be established sanitariums. There should be those who believe the truth,--colored servants of God,--under training to do work as medical missionaries under the supervision of white managers; for this combination will be much more successful. The medical missionary workers, co-operating with families who shall make their home in the South, need not think that God will condemn them if they do not work on Sunday; for the Lord understands that every effort must be made not to create prejudice, if the truth finds standing-place in the South. The words of truth cannot go forth with great publicity, but schools should be started by families coming into the South, and working in schools, not with a large number congregated in one school, but as far as possible in connection with those who have been working in the South. Dwell particularly upon the love of God, the righteousness of Christ, and the open treasure-house of God, presenting the truth in clear lines upon personal piety. There will be the bad influence of the white people upon the blacks as there has been in the past. Evil angels will work with their own spirit upon evil men.

Those co-operating with those who work in any place to uplift Jesus and to exalt the law of God, will find to all intents and purposes that they wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places.

"Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

Here is our sufficiency. Our defense is in the preparation of the gospel. The Lord will give wisdom to all who ask him; but let those who are to work difficult and peculiar fields, study Christ's methods. Let not their own peculiar traits of character be brought into the work; for Satan knows upon just what traits of character to work, that objectionable features may be revealed. These traits of character, received by inheritance or cultivated, are to be cut away from the soul, and the Spirit of Christ is to take possession of the organs of speech, of the mental power, of the physical and moral powers, else when in the midst of important interests, Satan shall work with his masterly power to create a condition of things that will call into active exercise these special traits of character, and will bring defeat just when there should be a victory, and so the cause of God will sustain a loss.

"And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you." We know that the apostle did not sacrifice one jot of principle. He did not allow himself to be led away by the sophistry and maxims of men. He was not to coincide with the suppositions and assurances of men who were teaching for doctrine the commandments of men; because iniquity and transgression were in the ascendancy and advancing, he did not allow his love to wax cold. All zeal and earnestness are to be retained; but at the same time some features of our faith, if expressed, would, by the elements with which you have to deal, arouse prejudice at once.

Paul could be as zealous as any of the most zealous, in his allegiance to the law of God, and show that he was perfectly familiar with the Old Testament Scriptures. He could dwell upon the types and shadows that typified Christ; he could exalt Christ, and tell all about Christ, and His special work in behalf of humanity, and what a field he had to explore. He could advance most precious light upon the prophecies, that they had not seen; and yet he would not offend them. Thus the foundation was laid nicely, that when the time came that their spirits softened, he could say in the language of John, Behold in Jesus Christ, who was made flesh, and dwelt among us, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world.

To the Gentiles, he preached Christ as their only hope of salvation, but did not at first have anything definite to say upon the law. But after their hearts were warmed with the presentation of Christ as the gift of God to our world, and what was comprehended in the work of the Redeemer in the costly

sacrifice to manifest the love of God to man, in the most eloquent simplicity he showed that love for all mankind,--Jew and Gentile,--that they might be saved by surrendering their hearts to him. Thus when, melted and subdued, they gave themselves to the Lord, he presented the law of God as the test of their obedience. This was the manner of his working,--adapting his methods to win souls. Had he been abrupt and unskilful in handling the word, he would not have reached either Jew or Gentile.

He led the Gentiles along to view the stupendous truths of the love of God, who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us; and how shall He not, with Him also freely give us all things? The question was asked why such an immense sacrifice was required, and then he went back to the types, and down through the Old Testament Scripture, revealing Christ in the law, and they were converted to Christ and to the law.

"But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." All this may be, and yet not one principle of truth be sacrificed.

(I would not advise that this be published in our papers, but let the workers have it in leaflets, and let them keep their own counsels.)

(Signed) Ellen G. White

Ellen G. White Estate
General Conference
Washington 12, D. C.
October 17, 1963

Down in the Valley

We'll run and never tire,
We'll run and never tire,
We'll run and never tire,
 Jesus set poor sinners free.
Way down in de valley,
 Who will rise and go with me?
You've heern talk of Jesus,
 Who set poor sinners free.

De lightnin' and de flashin'
De lightnin' and de flashin'
De lightnin' and de flashin'
 Jesus set poor sinners free.

I can't stand the fire.
I can't stand the fire.
I can't stand the fire.
 Jesus set poor sinners free.

De green trees a-flamin'.
De green trees a-flamin'.
De green trees a-flamin'.
 Jesus set poor sinners free.

Way down in de valley,
 Who will rise and go with me?
You've heern talk of Jesus,
 Who set poor sinners free.

SECTION 4: TELLING THE STORY . . .

About Pioneers of the Black Work

“And all these, having obtained a good testimony through faith, did not receive the promise, God having provided something better for us, that they should not be made perfect apart from us.”

Hebrews 11:39, 40 (NKJV)

Modern SDAs owe a great deal to the pioneers who preceded them. In most cases they faced obstacles and trials little realized by succeeding generations. They, in fact, laid the foundation for that which followed. We owe them a debt of gratitude. There is ample material in the history of the SDA Church about the more prominent pioneers in the beginnings of the Advent Movement. But what about the leaders among the underrepresented groups who had little access to the centers of influence in the Church? What about those who received little, if any note in the denominational history books? In particular, what about the pioneers in the Black work who gave their life energy to see the work go forward? Their story needs to be told. The writings in this section highlight just a few of the pioneers in the Advent and SDA movements who made notable contributions to the Black work.

CONTENT

“William Foy: Messenger to the Advent Believers,” Delbert W. Baker	4/2
“An Overview of the Life and Ministry of William Ellis Foy,” Delbert W. Baker	4/5
Photograph of William E. Foy gravestone	4/9
“Arthur L. White on William Ellis Foy,” Ellen G. White Estate	4/10
“William Foy - A Statement by Ellen G. White.”	4/13
“A Comparison of Two Prophets,” Delbert W. Baker	4/15
<i>The Christian Experience of William E. Foy</i> , William E. Foy	4/19
“Bound for Glory,” Walter L. Pearson, Jr.	4/29
“The Abolitionist--Millerite Connection,” Ronald D. Graybill	4/32
“Edson White’s Southern Work Remembered,” R. Steven Norman III	4/39
“The Morning Star Missionaries in Vicksburg,” Otis B. Edwards	4/41
“Letter from James Edson White to Ellen G. White,” Ellen G. White Estate.	4/51
“Ellen White on the Gospel and The Needs of the Southern Field,” Ellen G. White Estate.	4/68
Spiritual: “Steel Away to Jesus.”	4/72
“Action Principles for the Development of the Black Work,” Delbert W. Baker.	4/73
“Charles M. Kinny,” Norwida A. Marshall and R. Steven Norman III., editors.	4/76
“Appeal Letter from C.M. Kinny to the readers of the <i>Review and Herald</i> ,” General Conference Archives.	4/80
C.M. Kinny obituary, <i>Review and Herald</i>	4/81
“Eighty Years of Adventism,” Elder H.D. Singleton.	4/82
“Story of Anna Knight,” Ellen G. White Estate	4/85
Spiritual: “We’ll Soon Be Free.”	4/91
“The Southern Union Conference and Local Organizations,” Otis B. Edwards.	4/92
Spiritual: “My Way’s Cloudy.”	4/94
Sustentation record of Alphonso Barry, General Conference Archives	4/95
A. Barry obituary, General Conference Archives.	4/95
“Letter from A.J. Haysmer to W.C. White,” Ellen G. White Estate	4/96
“Reply Letter from W.C. White to A.J. Haysmer,” Ellen G. White Estate.	4/96
“Key Persons/Institutions in the Development of the Black SDA Church,” D.W. Baker.	4/98

William Ellis Foy lived and ministered during the mid-1800s, at the height of the Advent awakening. God gave Foy, a Black man then in his early 20s, several dramatic visions in 1842, preceding those given to Hazen Foss and Ellen White. These consisted of lofty revelations of heaven, the judgment, events before Christ's second coming, and God's watch-care over the Advent believers.

Unfortunately, Adventist history books have either left out Foy's experience or presented it erroneously.

William Foy's life provides a testimony to the reality of God's power in the face of fear, intimidation, and insecurity. A minister of exceptional talent, Foy proved willing to be used by God. As a prophet, preacher, and pioneer he transcended racial and theological camps. Foy's story illustrates the broadness of God's plan for His children, and the multicultural approach He used during the beginning of Adventism.

What connection did the work of William Foy have with that of Ellen White? What similarities existed in the messages of these two prophets? How might the Advent movement's history have changed if Foy's message had been fully understood? What did his visions mean and what message do they have for us today?

Comparing Foy and White

A preacher of unusual ability, a spokesman for God with a special message, William Foy appeared on the scene as one whom God used in His design. The Lord apparently intended that his work and that of Ellen White differ from the very start.

Contrary to a popular misconception, it seems clear that Foy's role was not that later filled by Ellen White. They stood at different moments in history, confronted with contrasting circumstances and challenges.

William Foy served as a spokesman for God to the Advent movement in the pre-Disappointment period, whereas Ellen White became a post-Disappointment prophet. Foy spoke to the early Adventists, assuring them of God's personal interest, encouraging them on to greater revival and

BY DELBERT W. BAKER

reformation. He brought timely truths to view that would later, if understood, have spared His people the Great Disappointment, or at least prepared them for it. Foy received a limited number of visions with a set objective. He never suggested that his prophetic role would extend past 1844, or that he would receive more visions.

A misleading generalization that is often made is that if Foy is accepted as a genuine prophet to the Advent movement (pre-Seventh-day Adventist), he must also be a prophet to the Seventh-day Adventist movement for all time remaining. This belief, though understandable, finds no real support.

Prophets have had differing functions. Peter served as an early church leader, but was not a missionary and theologian like Paul. James became an apostle and early church administrator, but didn't receive the revelations that John did. Martin Luther was a great Reformation leader, but didn't fulfill the pastoral role that John Calvin did. William Miller, the burning light of the Advent movement, didn't fill the organizational role that James White did in

the early Seventh-day Adventist Church. These men fulfilled a specific task for God. We should let them be what God intended, and not try to fit them into other molds.

The Advent movement peaked as its leaders and architects gave their total influence to the cause. Does it not represent a masterstroke of divine wisdom for God to broaden the influence of the movement by se-

lecting varied leaders to carry the torch of truth? God never confines His work or secrets to only a select few. The providence of God is neither limited nor parochial, but unrestricted and worldwide. The use of more than one person in the latter-day prophetic role validates this truth.

Though there were similarities between Ellen White's experiences and those of William Foy, there were also many differences. Ellen White had a vast, multifaceted work to perform, one that included rebuke, warning, prediction, guidance, instruction, protest, and strengthening. William Foy's function was limited in scope and brief in duration.

Ellen White's prophetic ministry lasted



MIRYAN C. THORNTON

WILLIAM FOY

M e s s e n g e r

to the

Advent Believers

The story
of an
unknown
prophet

70 years; Foy's covered approximately 2 years. Foy served *prior* to the Great Disappointment; Ellen White labored for an extended period *after* the Great Disappointment.

Gifted Speaker

Foy was an educated, talented, light-skinned Black man and a gifted speaker who preached effectively to both White and Black congregations. Though Foy had a naturally retiring personality, God used him to deliver divine revelations. His role encompassed that of a prophet, preacher, and pioneer church leader.

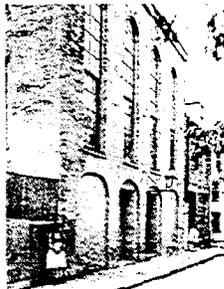
Foy spoke of experiencing persecution as he traveled from place to place. He pointed out that his strength lay in the sustaining and protecting power of God. He was involved in the Millerite movement, though we have no indication that he expected Christ to come on October 22, 1844. Some Millerites didn't accept a specific date, although they didn't oppose it. They simply heralded the soon coming of Christ. In a pamphlet he wrote, Foy made no reference to the Disappointment, but simply says he waited for Jesus' soon coming.

William Foy lived in the Black section of Boston. His visions occurred in at least one mixed congregation that included Black and White members. He has no living descendants that we know of.

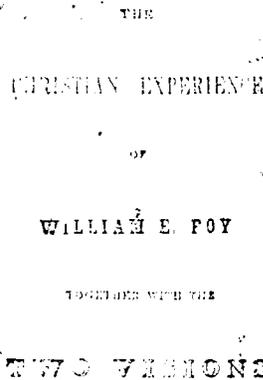
It is commonly believed that Foy related his commission as a prophet. He did pause in his preaching for a three-month period, but after that time he continued actively, sharing what he had seen in vision as long as there were invitations. His ministerial role continued until his death.

Ellen White and John Loughborough attested to the legitimacy of William Foy's revelatory experience, as did John and Charles Pearson, a medical doctor, eight local witnesses, his wife, and in our day, Arthur White. Said Ellen White, "[Foy] had . . . four visions: . . . It was remarkable testimonies that he bore" (E. G. White Document File 231). The visions were designed to warn, to prepare, and to prevent disappointment among those who would understand and heed them. Furthermore, these visions contain admonition, instruction, and exhortation for us today.

The manner in which William Foy and Ellen White received their visions was alike in many respects, but not in every particular. They both obviously came under super-



William Foy lived in Boston close to the African Meeting House, one of the oldest standing Black church buildings in the United States.



HE RECEIVED IN THE MONTHS OF JAN AND FEB 1845
 PORTLAND
 PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN PRESS

This is a photoprint of the only known original of the pamphlet Foy wrote in 1845.



Inscribed on William Foy's tombstone is the appropriate epitaph, "I have fought a good fight . . ." (2 Timothy 4:7, 8).

natural influence. Both had witnesses and a medical examination when in vision, which attested that the experience fell outside the realm of natural or self-induced phenomena. Ellen White's longest vision lasted approximately 4 hours, while Foy's longest endured more than 12 hours!

Ellen White said that she had printed copies of Foy's visions and had heard him speak on a number of occasions, hence was acquainted with him and his message. Some of the scenes they each saw in vision were similar. Certain terms and phrases used by Ellen White resemble those employed by Foy, although their emphases and style were different. In no way competing, they both recognized the genuineness and authenticity of each other's work.

Foy has not generally been recognized as a prophet in Adventist denominational history, possibly because of a lack of information and research on his life and work. Misinformation, and in some cases prejudice or narrow thinking has caused him to be ignored or overlooked. However, in many cases people have not known enough about his life and work to make a judgment.

Foy's writings can prove profitable as inspirational and instructional reading. They are unique, insightful, and biblical. However, I do not think William Foy was intended to have been the prophet to the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

I believe his role was to serve as a prophet to the Advent church in the pre-Disappointment time. He served that purpose, then God passed the mantle on to His next choice. Foy fulfilled his task and moved off the prophetic stage, though continuing to minister and serve God.

Not a Known Sabbathkeeper

Foy's attitude toward the Sabbath is not clear. He never referred to the seventh day in the pamphlet he wrote. He might have kept the Sabbath, as did some Freewill Baptists, but this cannot be substantiated. We must remember that the Advent band became fully exposed to the Sabbath truth only in 1844 and 1845 through the witness of Rachel Oakes Preston, a tract written by T. M. Preble, and the ministry of others.

As in the case of Martin Luther, not all of God's messengers have fully kept or proclaimed all of His truth. Yet we believe they lived up to the light and truth that they understood (see Acts 17:30). The case of William Miller also illustrates this point. We

know that he will be saved (see *Early Writings*, p. 258), even though he never accepted the Sabbath, the sanctuary, or the Spirit of Prophecy truths. In fact, he apparently opposed some of them. But God accepts and judges us according to our individual circumstances (see Ps. 87:4-6).

From the records indicating the godly fruit produced by William Foy in both his middle and later years, I believe he will be saved. God judges His servants on the light and truth they have known and lived up to. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" (Gen. 18:25).

Why Three Prophets?

We may wonder why God made contact with three people when seeking to convey His last-day message. (Hazen Foss also received visions around the time that William Foy and Ellen Harmon [later White] did.) Perhaps He wished to demonstrate that He does not limit His gifts to any one group. Hence he chose a Black man, a White man, and a young woman. Joel 2:28 and Acts 2:17, 18 reveal that God is not limited when choosing prophetic recipients.

Foy's message for us today may be summed up as: Get ready and stay ready, for the judgment hour is here. Jesus will soon

These visions
bore clear
evidence of
being
the genuine
manifestations
of the Spirit
of God."

—John Loughborough.

come. Then only those who are prepared will be saved. Foy's message reveals God's compassionate and personal interest in His children, as well as His multiracial approach to spreading this last-day gospel message. God's dealings affirm the equality of men, women, and minorities in His work.

William Foy did not die shortly after 1844, as some accounts suggest. Rather, he died on November 9, 1893, at 75 years of age. He was buried in Birch Tree Cemetery on Tunk Pond Road in the area of Ellsworth, Maine. "Elder Foy's" tombstone bears an appropriate epitaph:

"I have fought a good fight.
I have finished my course.
I have kept the faith:
Henceforth, there is laid up
for me a crown
of righteousness."



Delbert W. Baker is editor of Message magazine. His book, The Unknown Prophet (Review and Herald Pub. Assn.), amplifies the information in this article.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF WILLIAM ELLIS FOY
*Multicultural Roots of the Advent Movement: A Case Study (1988)*¹
 by Delbert W. Baker

- 1818 **William Foy was born in Kennebec County near Augusta, Maine to Joseph and Elizabeth (Betsy) Foy.** The Foy's were a free Black family with William being the eldest of three brothers and one sister. During his childhood, at least up to the age of eighteen, Foy grew up in a community of Black professionals, landowners, farmers and skilled laborers. He was later described to be tall and striking man of light complexion (p. 29, 30).
- *Foy was contemporary with:
 William Miller: 1782-1849; Joseph Bates: 1792-1872;
 Sojourner Truth: c. 1797-1883; Hiram Edson: 1806-1882;
 James White: 1821-1881; Ellen White: 1827-1915.
- *Several historic events occurred during the early years of Foy's life. When he was:
 Four, the Denmark Vesey's South Carolina revolt occurred.
 Ten, age William Lloyd Garrison started the antislavery movement.
 Eleven, David Walker published his famous *Appeal* against Slavery.
 Thirteen, Garrison published the abolitionist paper the *Liberator*
 Twenty-four, he received his first vision.
 Twenty-six, the Great Disappointment took place.
- 1835 Converted under Silas Curtis and baptized in the Freewill Baptist Church. (p. 45)
- 1835-36 Called to ministry shortly after his conversion and intensive Bible Study. (p. 54)
- 1836 Married Ann (d. c. 1850) his first wife and had his first child Amelia, 1837. (p. 60)
- 1837-38 Moved to Boston to attend seminary to prepare for ministry (pp. 58, 61-62). He lived at: #16 Grove St, Beacon Hill area (Nigger Hill) NE Boston. October 14, 1840 the First General Conference of Advent believers was held at Chardon Street Chapel, only a few block from where Foy lived. (pp. 61, 63)
- 1838-39 Became active in antislavery churches. Notable pastors who Foy knew were:
 *George Black, pastor of the Twelfth Baptist church on Southack Street (the site where Foy received his first vision--Black is referred to in Foy's second vision)
 *Samuel Snowden pastor of the AME Church on May Street on Beacon Hill, the site of Foy's second vision--David Walker, the famous abolitionist was a member of Snowden's church and his personal friend. (p. 65)

¹See *The Unknown Prophet* (1987) by Delbert W. Baker for page references (in parenthesis) and for further information on William Foy.

- 1841-42** Became a preacher in the Baptist Church and is described by SDA church historian, John Loughborough, as a powerful and effective soul-winning preacher who often wore a robe when he spoke. (pp. 83-84)
- 1842** Joined the Advent Movement (p.70, 72)--Foy and several other prominent Blacks were Millerites, namely (pp. 74-77):
 *Charles Bowles (Father Bowles)--preacher, evangelist, church planter was a fearless Millerite preacher up to the time of his death in March 1843.
 *John Lewis--Millerite preacher, writer of biography on Charles Bowles.
 *William Still--freed slave from Maryland farm, preacher, abolitionist and writer of the *Underground Railroad* was converted by the preaching of William Miller.
 *Sojourner Truth (Isabella [Baumfree] Van Wagener)--abolitionist, temperance reformer, suffragette, visited and spoke at Millerite campmeetings in 1843.
- Jan. 18, 1842** **First Vision Received: Victory** (pp. 87-102)
 ***Place of Reception:** Southark Street, Boston while meeting with the Twelfth Street Baptist Church, George Black, Pastor (p. 65).
 ***Focus:** The vision was about glory and reward to come--It also warned the early Advent believers to be faithful regardless of circumstances. It showed the early Advent movement traveling to the new earth.
 ***Period vision covered:** From the Foy's day to the Second Coming.
 ***Implied commission:** He felt the burden to tell but was not specifically told to do so: "The duty to declare the things which had been shown to me, to my fellow creatures, and warn them to flee from the wrath to come, rested with great weight upon my soul." Foy found the task to be extremely difficult in light of race prejudice and the issues confronting Black people of his day. He went on to say: "But I was disobedient, settling upon this point for an excuse, that my guide did not command me to so to do..." (pp. 125, 126)
- Feb. 4, 1842** **Second Vision: Judgment** (pp.103-114)
 ***Place of Reception:** "With the people of God on May St." This vision takes place 2 ½ weeks from the first vision. The vision was 12 ½ hours--from Friday night to Saturday morning.
 ***Focus:** Judgment and the requirements of the kingdom.
 ***Period vision covered:** Difference from the first vision is emphasis not time.
 ***Commission:**"But the Lord was in His mercy spared me to behold the evening of the fourth of February 1842, when I met with the people of God in May Street." "My guide now informed me what I must do. Thy spirit must return to yonder world, and thou must reveal those things which thou hast seen. Warn thy fellow creatures to flee from the wrath to come. 'How can I return to yonder world?' 'I will go with thee, and support and help thee, to declare these things unto the world.'" Foy resigned that he would share what he had seen but still battled with the difficult issues of race, theology and the stigma attached to Blacks because of slavery. He wrote, "The message was so different--and the manner in which the command was given, so different from any I had ever heard of, and knowing the prejudice among the people *against those of my color, it became very crossing*" (emphasis supplied).

Feb. 6, 1842 Pastor J. B. Husted and a delegation from the Bromfield Second Methodist Episcopal Church (a White congregation) visited Foy (Sunday) and requested that he relate to them the vision. He agreed to do so the following Monday. (p. 128)

Feb. 7, 1842 Foy relates to the Bromfield congregation of more than a thousand Black and White people who attended what he had seen in his first two visions. He joyfully relates that he was sustained in the meeting by the promise of his guide. (p. 129)

***March- May:** He traveled by invitation throughout the eastern states and shared the things that God had shown him in vision. (p. 129)

***June-August:** He temporarily stopped traveling and speaking; earns money for the support of his family. (pp. 129-130)

***September:** In response to the prompting of the Holy Spirit Foy began to travel and speak again relating to others what he had seen. His response to the prompting to speak was "I will go."

c. 1842 Ellen Gould Harmon (White), a teenager and her father, Robert Harmon hears Foy speak at Portland, Maine during his several trips to that area.

Several years later Foy testified his guide had kept his promise that he would be with him as he shared the things shown him. "His supporting presence has been with me."

1843 1st Half **Third Vision: Providence** (pp. 115-120)

*Has third vision. John Loughborough relates that it focused on *three platforms*. He relates that the visions provided a broad stretch of items of relevance to Advent believers from the general to the specific. Loughborough gives little detail concerning this vision.

*His visions indicate that the messages were progressive and built on the previous scenes revealed.

1843-44 **Fourth Vision: Unknown**

*In a 1912 interview concerning Foy, Ellen White referred to Foy's "four visions"
*There is no record of the content of this vision. There is no record of Foy receiving further visions after this time. Accordingly Foy had a limited pre-disappointment prophetic ministry prior to the Great disappointment in contrast to Ellen White's extensive prophetic ministry of more than 70 years. (pp. 123-24)

1844 Hazen Foss (fl. 1844; 1893), a Millerite whose brother married Ellen's sister Mary, firmly believed that the second advent of Christ would take place on October 22, 1844. He was next in line to receive visions and receives his first vision in September or early October of 1844. The vision depicted the travels of the Advent people and Foss was clearly instructed to deliver what the messages to other. Unlike Foy, he declined to relate what he was shown.

- 1844 **October 22--The Great Disappointment** (p. 135)
 ***The disappointment left Foss with the feeling that he had been deceived.** Subsequently he did not share what he had seen. In a second vision he was warned that if he refused to relate the vision to others that the burden would be taken from him and placed on one of the weakest of the Lord's children. Again he had a severe conflict, and then decided he would not relate the visions. People came to hear him relate his vision but he told them he was greatly disappointed and had been deceived. He refused to tell them what he had seen and "refused to obey the prompting of the Spirit of God." Than one day very strange feelings came to him, and he heard a voice saying "You have grieved away the Spirit of the Lord" (p. 138). According to Ellen White's account (Letter 37, 1890), when he heard the voice he was horrified at his stubbornness and rebellion and told the Lord he would relate the vision. He tried to tell a hastily gathered together group and he could remember nothing of the vision. After several attempts, he cried out in despair, "It is gone from me; I can say nothing, the Spirit of the Lord has left me." The meeting was described by those who attended as "the most terrible meeting they were ever in." Foss never showed any more interest in religious subjects. (p. 140)
- 1844 **December:** Following Foss' experience Ellen White receives her first vision. Thus began Ellen White's lengthy ministry to the SDA Church.
- 1845 **February:** Ellen White relates her first vision at a meeting in Poland, Maine.
 ***Foss Meeting:** Foss listened outside and later encouraged Ellen White but that "God has taken the visions from me" and that "I'm a lost man."
 ***Foy Meeting:** Ellen White met and conversed with Foy in the same year. Later that evening Foy heard her relate what she had seen. When Foy heard her relate her experience he jumped for joy and exclaimed "it is just what I've seen." Ellen White later spoke of how Foy had a "genuine experience..." As to what became of Foy she said "I do not know what became of him." (pp.143-145)
 *This same year he published his pamphlet, *The Christian Experience of William E. Foy . . .* (J. & C. H. Pearson, Publishers). The purpose of the pamphlet was "for the comfort of the saints... who are waiting for the coming of my Lord..." (p. 155)
- 1840s-60s Following this one meeting with Ellen White there is no record of Foy ever meeting her again. Foy went on to have several pastorates throughout Maine and Massachusetts area. He becomes known as a devote preacher, pastor and Christian.
- 1870's Finally settles in South Maine, East Sullivan, Hancock County. He pastors and lived there until the time of his death. He was loved, respected and referred to as "Elder Foy." He later helped to build a house for a poor neighbor and helped to construct a church in the area. He is listed in the local historical records. (pp. 155-159)

Nov. 9, 1893 **Dies at 75 years of age--his epitaph reads (2 Timothy 4:7):**
*"I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course,
 I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of life."*



in this column please list, opposite each item, the source of your information: book, periodical, institutional or church record (in each case give author, title, volume, page, date), letter, interview (give names, date), other source.

Arthur L. White
(Name of Writer)

FOY, WILLIAM ELLIS
(Name of Article)

1
(Page No.)

Keep within these 4 lines

Of interest to Seventh-day Adventists because his name is occasionally mentioned as one who in 1842 and 1844 received divine revelations in connection with the Advent Movement.*

Foy Experience,
pp. 17, 5
D.F. 231

William Foy, a light-skinned mulatto, residing in New England, as a young man gave his heart to Christ in the year 1835. Some time thereafter he became a member of the Freewill Baptist Church and was preparing to

take holy orders as an Episcopal minister when in 1842, two visions were given him. Prior to the receiving of these visions, Foy, while deeply religious, was by his own testimony, "opposed to the doctrine of Jesus' near approach."

Foy Exp., 18

The visions relating to the near advent of Christ, and to last-day events created in him a very definite interest in the Advent Movement, and he joined others in heralding the message of the expectation of Christ's soon return.

Foy Exp., 1

Foy Exp., 6

Foy Exp., 19

The two initial visions of William Foy, together with a brief sketch of his Christian experience were in 1845 published in Portland, Maine, in a pamphlet. The first vision was given to him on January 18, 1842, while he was attending service in a Boston church on Southark Street. Eyewitnesses to the experience testify that he was in vision two hours and a half. A physician who examined him testified that he could find no appearance of life "except around the heart." In his autobiographical account, Foy declares, "My breath left me."

Foy Exp. 6

In the first revelation Foy viewed the glorious reward of the faithful and the punishment of sinners, etc. He felt the duty to declare what he had seen to others, but not being instructed to relate the vision, he disclosed it to no one. But he had no peace of mind. In a second revelation given to him on February 4, 1842, he viewed multitudes of earth,

Foy Exper. 12, 13

*See also Foss, Hazen

References
 Column please list
 each item, the
 of your information:
 periodical, institutional
 church record (in each
 give author, title, vol-
 ume, page, date).
 letter, interview
 (give names, date),
 other source.

Arthur L. White

(Name of Writer)

FOY, WILLIAM ELLIS

(Name of Article)

2

(Page No.)

those who had not died and those who had been raised from the dead, being assembled to receive their reward. And in connection with this revelation, he was instructed, "Thou must reveal those things which thou hast seen, and also warn thy fellow creatures to flee from the wrath to come."

Foy Exp. p. 16

Foy's unwillingness to relate to others what had been shown to him stemmed from both the prejudice against any who claimed to have divine revelations, and the prejudice against those of his color. He questioned in his mind, "Why should these things be given to me to bear to the world?"

Foy Exp. 17

A few days later, the pastor of the Bloomfield Street church in Boston called upon Foy to relate the visions in his house of worship. Reluctantly, he consented and the next evening he found a large congregation assembled awaiting his message. As he began to speak, his fear left him and he related with great freedom the things which were shown to him, to a congregation which gave rapt attention.

Foy Exp. 17

With this as a beginning, he traveled for three months, delivering his messages to crowded houses of all denominations. He had a good command of language. As he described the heavenly world, the New Jerusalem and the compassionate love of Christ, and exhorted the unconverted to seek God, many responded to his entreaties. As his family needed support, Foy after three months in the field retired from public work to labor with his hands. He engaged in such work for three months, and then, feeling impelled to stand before the people, he again took up his public ministry, expecting soon to see his Saviour when He should come. When speaking he wore the clerical robes of the Episcopal clergy.

Great Second
 Advent Movement,
 p. 146

Foy Exp. 18

G. S. A. M., p.
 146; D.F. 231

D.F. 231

Ellen Harmon, who resided in Portland, Maine, when but a girl heard Foy speak in Beethoven Hall of that city. According to J. N. Loughborough, near the time of the expectation in 1844, Foy was given a third vision in

G.S.A.M. pp.
 146-147

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 periodical, institutional
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~~Arthur L. White~~
 (Name of Writer)

~~FOY, WILLIAM ELLIS~~
 (Name of Article)

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 (Page No.)

which were presented three platforms which he could not understand in the light of his belief in the imminent coming of Christ. In perplexity he ceased public work. Soon after this, Mr. Foy took sick and died.

Great Second Advent
 Movement, p. 146

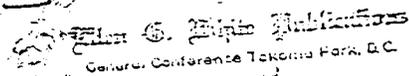
While some might question the genuineness of William Foy's experience Loughborough felt that the "visions bore clear evidences of being the genuine manifestations of the Spirit of God," and Ellen White, who was somewhat acquainted with him and who in 1912 was interviewed concerning Foy, treated his experience as genuine.

D.F. 231

Sources: "The Christian Experience of William E. Foy, together with the Two Visions he received in the Months of January and February, 1842. Portland. Published by J. and C. H. Pearson, 1845," in the White Estate Document File 231.

Loughborough, J. N., Great Second Advent Movement, pp. 145, 146, 147.

Ellen G. White Interview with D. E. Robinson, 1912, in Ellen G. White Estate Document File 231



WILLIAM FOY - A STATEMENT BY E. C. WHITE

From an Interview with
D.E. Robinson about 1912.

Then another time, there was Foy that had had visions. He had had four visions. He was in a large congregation, very large. He fell right to the floor. I do not know what they were doing ~~at~~ there, whether they were listening to preaching or not. But at any rate he fell to the floor. I do not know how long ~~it~~ ^{it} was, about three-quarter of an hour, I think, and he had all these before I had them. They were written out and published, and it is queer that I can not find them ~~in any of~~ ^{among} my books. But we have moved so many times. He had four.

D.E.R. - "Did you ever have an interview with him?"

"I had an interview with him. He wanted to see me, and I talked with him a little. They had appointed for me to speak that night, and I did not know that he was there. I did not know at first that he was there. While I was talking I heard a shout, and he is a great tall man, and the roof was rather low, and he jumped right up and down, and O he praised the Lord, praised the Lord, it was just what he had seen, just what he had seen. But they extolled him so I think it hurt him, and I do not know what became of him.

^{Suppression of another revelation}
"His wife was so anxious. She sat looking at him, so that it disturbed him. 'Now,' said he, 'you must not get where you can look at me when I am speaking.' He had on an Episcopalian robe. His wife sat by the side of me. She kept moving about and putting her head behind me. What does she keep moving about ^{so} for? We found out when he came to his wife.

"*I did as you told me to,*" said she. *I hid~~ed~~ myself. I did as you told me to.* So that he should not see her face. She would be so anxious, repeating the words right after him with her lips.

"After the meeting was ended, and he came to look her up, she ~~says~~^{said} to him, "I hid~~ed~~ myself. You didn't see me." He was a very tall man, slightly colored. But it was remarkable testimonies that he bore.

"I always sat right close by the stand. I know what I sat there for now. It hurt me to breathe, and with the breaths all around me. I knew I could breathe easier right by the stand, so I always took my station."

D.E.R. - "Then you attended the lectures that Mr. Foy gave?"

"He came to give it right ^{at} ~~to~~ the hall, in the great hall where we attended, - Beethoven Hall.

"That was quite a little time after the visions. It was in Portland, Maine. We went over to Cape Elizabeth to hear him lecture. Father always took me with him when we went, and he would be going in a sleigh, and he would invite me to get in, and I would ride with them. That was before I got any way acquainted with him."

> D.E.R. - "Where did you see him first?"

"It was there, at Beethoven Hall. They lived near the bridge where we went over to Cape Elizabeth, the family aid."

A Comparison of Two Prophets

Let us now pause to examine William Foy's role and work as compared to that of Ellen White. It would be a mistake to confuse the roles of these two individuals. Just as John the Baptist's role was different from that of the apostle Paul, so William Foy's was different from Ellen White's. In the Bible there were different types of prophets, with different roles and functions. Compare the extended and varied ministry of Isaiah to the brief and limited role of Amos. But a prophet is one who serves as a mouthpiece, a spokesman, for God. David, a statesman/prophet, summed up the prophetic definition when he said, "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue" (2 Sam. 23:2).

Contrary to popular misconception, it seems clear that William Foy's role was not the same as that later filled by Ellen White. The two people stood at different foci of history, confronted with different circumstances and challenges. William Foy was a spokesman for God, largely to the Advent movement in the pre-Disappointment period. He was a herald and mouthpiece to the early Adventists, assuring them of God's personal interest, motivating them to greater revival and reformation, and bringing timely truths to view that would, if understood, spare His people the Great Disappointment or at least prepare them for it. Foy received a limited number of

visions. He never suggested that his prophetic role was to extend past 1844, or that he was to receive more visions.

Here is where a misleading generalization is often made: that if Foy is accepted as a genuine prophet to the Advent movement (pre-Seventh-day Adventist), having received legitimate visions from God, he must also be a prophet to the Seventh-day Adventist movement as well. This belief, though understandable, is unsupported. Prophets, like people, have different functions. Peter was an early church leader, but he was not the missionary and theologian that Paul was. James was an apostle and early church administrator, but he didn't receive the revelations that John did. Martin Luther was a great reform leader, but he didn't fulfill the pastoral role that John Calvin did. William Miller preached God's message to the remnant—he was a burning and central light of the Advent movement—but he certainly didn't fill the foundational and organizational role that James White occupied in the early days of Seventh-day Adventism.

These were only men. Never perfect, they were sometimes painfully human; but each was sent to fulfill respective tasks for God. Our duty is to let them be what God intended them to be, and not try to fit them into other molds.

Is it not a masterstroke of divine wisdom for God to reach out to broaden the movement's sphere of influence and to reinforce its vitality by selecting many and varied leaders to carry the torch of truth? God never confines His work or secrets to a few. He uses selected leaders in signal ways, but His sovereign providence is neither limited nor parochial; it is worldwide. The use of more than one person in a latter-day prophetic role illustrates this divine prerogative.

What about the physical phenomena William Foy experienced during his visions? Although not every prophet experienced visions in exactly the same way. Daniel does describe something of his situation, in Daniel 10:8-19: loss of strength,

falling to the ground, deep sleep, loss of breath. Similar phenomena were recorded of Ellen White on many occasions, by witnesses that included physicians.

The following excerpts describe Foy's experience:

1. Loss of strength. "I immediately fell to the ground, and knew nothing about this body."
2. No breath. "My breath left me." Dr. Cummings reported, "I examined him, but could not find any appearance of life, except around the heart."
3. Dumbness. "He dipped his hand into [water] and wet his forehead and his speech immediately came to him."
4. Strength returned. "The first appearance of life . . . was the raising of his right hand. . . . We wished him to tell us what things he had seen, and he answered, 'As soon as I receive my strength.'"

As there are similarities between Ellen White's experiences and those of William Foy, there are also many differences. Ellen White had a vast, multi-faceted work to perform, a work that included rebuke, warning, prediction, guidance, instruction, direction, protest, and strengthening. Her ministry lasted 70 years. Foy's prophetic ministry lasted approximately 2 years. William Foy served for a brief period *prior to* the Great Disappointment. Ellen White served for an extended period *after* the Great Disappointment.

It appears clear that both William Foy and Ellen White themselves understood the differences in their roles. Four aspects of their respective roles can be compared by considering how they viewed (1) the initiation, (2) the inclusiveness, (3) the purpose, and (4) the fulfillment of their work.

1. The initiation of their work.

William Foy: He consistently projected his work as specific and pointed, namely, to declare what he had seen and to warn others to flee from the wrath to come. He never gave any indication of viewing himself as a theologian, counselor, or

founder of a new movement. Further, while he fulfilled a legitimate role as a prophet, like Ellen White, he never proclaimed himself a prophet. Both the title and closing words of his pamphlet convey the specific bounds of his work.

Ellen White: "I have had no claims to make, only that I am instructed that I am the Lord's messenger; that He called me in my youth to be His messenger, to receive His word, and to give a clear and decided message in the name of the Lord Jesus."¹ From the time of her earliest vision, Ellen White understood her work to be a lifelong calling.

2. The inclusiveness of their work.

William Foy: His guide told him, "Thou must reveal those things which thou has seen and also warn thy fellow creatures to flee from the wrath to come. . . . I will go with thee, and support and help thee to declare these things unto the world."² That was his prophetic job description—to teach, preach, reveal, and warn. This was to cause a more thorough and lasting revival and reformation in the lives of the early Advent believers. In the course of fulfilling this task, he also performed other tasks, of course, but they weren't primary. Besides sparing many from experiencing the Great Disappointment, his reviving, reforming message would more thoroughly pave the way for the movement that was to follow.

Ellen White: "My Saviour declared me to be His messenger. 'Your work,' He instructed me, 'is to bear My word. Strange things will arise, and in your youth I set you apart to bear the message to the erring ones, to carry the word before unbelievers, and with pen and voice to reprove from the Word actions that are not right. Exhort from the Word.' . . . My work has covered so many lines that I cannot call myself other than a messenger, sent to bear a message from the Lord to His people, and to take up work in any line that He points out."³

William Foy functioned basically within a general sphere and time, while Ellen White's ministry covered the entire

church life, over a broad period of time.

3. The purpose of their work.

William Foy: In particular he was to warn those who believed in the second advent of Christ (the "saints"). He appealed to sinners and backsliders as well.

Ellen White: "The Lord did not give to her long lines of prophecy, as He did to Daniel and to John the revelator; in these days just before the coming of the Lord new revelations of this kind would not be needed. He did not make her a judge and lawgiver as He did Moses, nor a ruler of state as He did Joseph and David. Rather, Mrs. White filled the position of a great teacher in Israel, as did Samuel; of a great reformer, as did Elijah; of a special messenger of God, as did John the Baptist."⁴

William Foy's focus was in the pre-Disappointment times with the early Advent movement. Ellen White's was in the post-Disappointment period with the Seventh-day Adventist movement.

4. The fulfillment of their work.

William Foy: His pamphlet ends on a positive and triumphant note: "My object in publishing these visions is to comfort the saints. They have been a great consolation to me in seasons of temptation and trial. Often, in the silent hours of the night, I have seemed to hear again the sweet song of the angels; and whenever my heart has felt sad and lonely, the things shown me by the angel have lifted me up above the trying scenes of earth. My desire is that the children of God may be blessed in the same manner. I am now waiting for my coming Lord. Although before the Lord was pleased to show me these heavenly things I was opposed to the doctrine of Jesus' near approach, I am now looking for that event. I expect soon to see the tall and mighty angel. 'Then shall I be satisfied when I awake in his likeness.' Ye saints of God, lift up your heads, for the glories of an earth made new will soon be yours."⁵

Foy closes his pamphlet with more Bible references and the

testimonials of some who witnessed him in vision. His final inclusion is a copy of his certificate of church membership, showing his involvement with a Christian church:

Copy of certificate of church
membership

This certifies that Bro. Wm. E. Foy is a regular member of the First Freewill Baptist Church in Augusta, in good standing. And as such, we commend him to the fellowship of the people of God, of every name, wherever he may chance to meet them.

Daniel Palmer
Church Clerk⁶

Foy's reputation and Christian witness in Maine during his later years are substantiated by ready testimonies of local inhabitants who had heard of him. Also, local histories record him as an "esteemed and beloved" preacher who held "meetings in the hall and also different schoolhouses."

Ellen White: Unquestionably, Ellen White also ended her work in a blaze of spiritual force. Her work was prolific, prodigious, and effective in every sense of the word. Between her first vision, concerning the struggles of the early Advent believers, in December 1844 and her last known divine manifestation, a prophetic dream concerning the welfare of the youth in the church on March 3, 1915, Ellen White had an estimated 2,000 visions and prophetic dreams. During seven decades of public work her literary output totaled more than 100,000 pages, or more than 25 million words. She wrote more books (60), published in more languages (more than 100), than any other woman in history; she is the fourth most translated writer in the world. Yet to the end she maintained her humility and dependence on God.

Ellen White remained active until she fell and fractured her

hip while entering her study on Sabbath, February 13, 1915. A few weeks prior to her death she said, "I do not worry about the work I have done. I have done the best I could. I do not think that I shall be lingering long. I do not expect much suffering. I am thankful that we have the comforts of life in time of sickness. Do not worry. I go only a little before the others."⁷

Finally we read, "For several days prior to her death, she had been unconscious much of the time, and toward the end she seemed to have lost the faculty of speech and that of hearing. The last words she spoke to her son were 'I know in whom I have believed.'"⁸

William Foy's work was measured; Ellen White's was prolific. His prophetic ministry spanned a brief period; hers, almost three quarters of a century. Yet they both died feeling blessed to be used of God, content in having done their best, and looking forward to the resurrection.

NOTES

- ¹ Ellen White, in *Review and Herald*, July 26, 1906.
- ² Foy, *Christian Experience*, p. 20.
- ³ White.
- ⁴ E. G. White Estate, *The Spirit of Prophecy Treasure Chest* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1960), p. 10.
- ⁵ Foy, p. 23.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ⁷ Ellen White, *Life Sketches* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1915), p. 445.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

PEOPLE OF COLOR.

AKINS JOHN, waiter, Peck lane
 Alexander Solomon, housewright, h. 2 Belknap
 Alexander S. R. housewright, h. 2 Belknap
 Allen Jess, laborer, h. W. Centre cor. Southac
 Alley William, hairdresser, near 494 Washington
 Alves Francis, laborer, h. W. Cedar cor. May
 Atkins Dean, mariner, h. Robinson lane
 Avery Peter, hairdresser, Chambers cor. Poplar

BARBADOES ISAAC, h. Holden place
 Barton John, mariner, Hanover avenue
 Bussatt Benj. P. hairdresser, 33 Endicott, h. 26 Belknap
 Battist Charles, boarding, h. 4 Sun court
 Bell F. L. tailoress, h. Southac place
 Bell John M. h. 12 Belknap
 Bell William, laborer, h. Southac place
 Benan Jethal, h. 13 North Grove
 Benjamin Catharine, widow of Samuel, h. 9 Fruit
 Binor Charles, teamster, S. May near Washington
 Black George H. Rev. h. 8 Belknap near Cambridge
 Black Leonard, clothes cleaner, 46 Congress, h. Belknap
 Bradford George, h. rear 29 Belknap
 Brewster John, laborer, h. rear May
 Brooks John, Peck lane
 Brown John, h. rear 29 Belknap
 Brown John, h. Grove
 Brown Robert R. mariner, h. rear 147 Ann
 Brown Thos. waiter, Atkinson, n. Milk, h. W. Centre
 Brown William, waiter, h. 28 Belknap

PEOPLE OF COLOB. 483

Burr James, waiter, h. 28 Belknap
 Burr Lemuel, hairdresser, 62 Court
 Borrill Susan, widow, h. Southac court
 Bush Alice, widow, 31 South Russell
 Butler J. W. waiter, Atkinson n. Milk, h. 12 Fruit

CAESAR ELI, barber, 117 Broad, h. 1 Butolph
 Carpenter Henry, clothes, 24 Brattle, h. 18 Belknap
 Curral William, laborer, h. Cyprus
 Carter James, clothes repairer, 74 Cambridge
 Cash Jonathan, handcarman, h. 103 Chambers
 Chadwick Elvin, barber, 99 Hanover, h. Southac
 Christian James, clothing, 151 Ann
 Clark Anthony F. (*Putman & C.*), h. 12 Belknap
 Clarke Jonas W. clothes dealer, h. May
 Clary George C. hairdresser, Broad near Forthill wharf, h. rear Southac
 Clash Joseph F. barber, 183 Hanover, h. rear 152 Ann
 Coburn John P. clothes dealer, 8 Brattle, h. Southac
 Coburn Lewis, hairdresser, h. Southac place
 Coburn Smith, tennister, h. Robinson lane
 Cole Samuel, boarding, 2 Richmond
 Cole Thomas, hairdresser, 3 Atkinson, h. Southac ct.
 Cook Samuel S. hairdresser, h. Derno op. Ridgeway lane
 Cooper Thomas, h. Southac c. W. Centre
 Coston William, mariner, h. rear 157 Ann
 Cummings Thomas, laborer, h. rear Charles near Chestnut

DALTON THOMAS, waiter, h. 29 S. Russell
 Davis Henry, laborer, h. Southac
 Davison Caesar, h. Butolph
 Dewitt Alexander, hairdresser, 39 Leveret
 Dimorist Francis, hairdresser, 142 Court, h. 6 Southac ct.
 Drummond Thomas, boarding, 245 Ann
 Eury William, laborer, h. Southac

ELI JOHN, clothes, 38 Brattle, h. rear 4 Southac
 Emery Henry, waiter, h. South pl.

FENNOW WILLIAM, mariner, h. rear 7 Princes
 Ferguson Moses, laborer, h. 3 Southac ct.
 Fisher Jacob, mariner, 53 Spring
 Foreman Henry, boarding, 157 Ann
 Foster Cyrus, h. Southac place
 Foy William, h. 16 N. Grove

The 1841 Boston Directory. Foy is the last name listed on page 483 and resided in house (h) 16 on North Grove. See Grove Street on map at beginning of Section 3.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE
of
WILLIAM E. FOY

Together with the
TWO VISIONS

He Received in the Months of January and February, 1842

Portland
Published by J. and C. H. Pearson
1845

Entered according to the act of Congress, in the year 1845,
by Wm. E. Foy, in the Clerk's Office of the District
Court of the state of Maine [p. 2]

REMARKS

It is often remarked, when a work of this character is before the public, "I am no believer in dreams and visions". Very well; such are welcome to their own discerning incredulity. The object in publishing these visions is not to benefit such as reject indiscriminately every thing of this kind; no such expectations are cherished. But an earnest desire to comfort and encourage the dear saints of God in their weary pilgrimage, by a glimpse of the blessedness, awaiting the finally faithful, has prompted us to this step. And no doubt is entertained but that it will prove to them, a rich, and invigorating repast.

That God does manifest himself, in visions to his children, the records of every age do abundantly testify. And on this point the Bible is clear and positive. The Patriarchs and Prophets were shown the great and mighty events that were yet in the distant future, by the agency of visions. But it is often asked, if the method of revealing the events, and scenes [p. 3] of futurity, did not cease when the dispensation of the spirit dawned. In reply, we would inquire, if this was the case, why then was the ushering in of the gospel age, so peculiarly marked with such manifestations. Revert to the scenes of Mount Tabor. The cloud of glory overshadowing the little band there assembled; how bright! how glorious! the appearance of the 'man of sorrows' as 'his face did shine as the sun,' and his raiment became 'white as the light'--how majestic! the appearance of him who was carried to heaven in a fiery chariot, and him whom God buried, and the voice of Jehovah speaking from the cloud, saying, "This is my beloved Son"--how overpowering! Well might the disciples "fall on their faces, being sore afraid!"

But why dwell upon a solitary case, when the Bible reader has so many before him? Look at the case of a martyr Stephen, of a St. Paul, "caught up to the third heavens," of a John upon the Isle of Patmos, and tell me if Jehovah has ceased to reveal Himself in visions.

God has, in every age, thus dealt with the church; especially in seasons of tribulation. This was one way, in which the martyrs were sustained in their unparalleled sufferings. It was during their martyrdom, that Perpetia and Felicitas saw a ladder studded with swords, daggers, and instruments of torture, reaching from earth to heaven, at top of which stood Jesus Christ encouraging them. [p. 4]

Now are we wanting in instances of this kind in our day; instances, too, so clear and striking as to be fully accredited by men of the greatest attainments, as well as the deepest piety. The extraordinary vision of Wm. Tennant, a Presbyterian clergyman in 1806; who, while he was conversing with his Brother in Latin, fainted, and apparently died; and was only saved from burial by the importunity of a friend; when use own language; "heard and saw things all unutterable," is familiar to many.

Upon this subject the Bible is explicit; and those who truly have faith in the inspired word are willing to let its testimony have full weight. Upon a day of Pentecost, when "the disciples were all filled with the Spirit, and, spake with other tongues," the multitude being amazed began to inquire; "What meaneth this?" And some said, "These men are filled with new wine." But Peter explains the

matter; saying,, "This is that &c." Now then according to the prophecy of Joel as explained by St. Peter, the last days were to be peculiarly marked by these manifestations so much so, as to become precursors of the great and notable day of God.

The visions of our brother are certainly very remarkable, and when related by him in public assemblies, have been blessed by God to [p. 5] the awakening of sinners, reclaiming of backsliders, and the building up of the saints in the most holy faith. They are published as nearly as possible in his own language. There is a most beautiful resemblance in the views here given, with the visions of Ezekiel, Daniel, and John. As for instance; the description of the "tall and mighty angel," and "the sea of glass."

The view of the mighty angel having the trumpet of pure silver, and the announcement of the great and terrible voice, is exceedingly interesting and instructive.

That the despised and humble few, who are patiently waiting for the appearing of their glorious King, may be refreshed and comforted, in this hour of trial, while perusing these two visions, is the fervent prayer of the Publishers. [p.6]

CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE AND VISIONS
of
WILLIAM E. FOY

In the year 1835, under the preaching of Elder Silas Curtis, I was led to inquire, what I should do to be saved.

Christians, directed me to the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. I then began to pray earnestly to God to pardon my sins; but the more I prayed the more I beheld the sinfulness of my heart, and for many days feared there was no mercy for me; but was led to see, that it would have been justice in God, to have cut me off, and sent me where hope and mercy could not have reached me. I then became willing to give up all; and in that moment Christ appeared the one altogether lovely, and the chiefest among ten thousands, and spake the life-giving word to my soul. I then rejoiced in the God of my salvation; while all things around me appeared new, shining forth with the glory of God. Then could my [p. 7] heart unite in the song of the angels, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards men." I then saw such a fullness in Christ, that I wanted to proclaim it to all the world. O the glory of God that filled my soul! Three months rolled away in which I enjoyed sweet communion with God. I was then thrown into a trial by those who should have been nursing fathers in Israel, and thus remained many days, struggling in prayer; but the Lord knows how to deliver the Godly out of temptation." A father in Israel whom I visited at this time, gave me instruction that proved a blessing to my soul. I then joined the Sabbath School, and was there instructed for the first time, to read the word of God, and soon became able to read my little Bible. Immediately the duty of baptism was impressed upon me; and after three months disobedience, I went before the church and related the dealings of God to my soul, and the day following was led down into the liquid stream by Bro. S. Curtis, and was buried with my Saviour in baptism. Then did I experience the fulfillment of the promise; "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up as on wings of eagles, run and not be weary, walk and not faint;" and while coming up out of the water, it appeared to me the opening heavens around me shone; and I cried with a loud voice, saying: "Glory to God, and the [p. 8] Lamb that sitteth upon the throne!"

On the 18th of January, 1842, I met with the people of God in Southark St., Boston, where the Christians were engaged in solemn prayer, and my soul was made happy in the love of God. I was immediately seized as in the agonies of death, and my breath left me; and it appeared to me that I was a spirit separate from this body. I then beheld one arrayed in white raiment, whose countenance shone beyond the brightness of the stars, and a crown was upon his head which shone above the brightness of the sun.

This shining one, took my right hand, and led me up the bank of a river; in the midst was a mount of pure water. Upon the bank I beheld a multitude both great and small; they were the living inhabitation of the earth. Soon all moved towards the west, walking on the water, until we reached the mount. This became the separating line between the righteous and the wicked. The righteous crossed it, passed through three changes; 1st. their bodies were made glorious. 2d, they received pure and shining garments. 3rd, bright crowns were given them.

But when the wicked reached the spot where the righteous were changed, they cried for mercy and sank beneath the mount. The saints then passed on to a boundless plain, having the appearance like pure silver. Our guide then spake and said, "*This is the plain of Paradise.*" [p. 9] This heavenly host was then divided into flocks, some, exceeding large in number, others, but small. In the middle of each was an angel. These angel's garments, were pure and white and unto each of them, was given a crown, shining with great brightness. Their countenances were most lovely to behold; their wings like unto flaming fire, beneath which were the saints, both small and great. The guide, then said, "*These angels are they that have preached the gospel on the earth.*" I then beheld as it were a great gate before me. The gate was so tall, the height thereof I was unable to see. Before the gate stood a tall and mighty angel clothed in raiment pure and white; his eyes were like flaming fire, and he wore a crown upon his head, which lighted up this boundless plain. The angel raised his right hand, and laid hold upon the gate, and opened it; and as it rolled upon its glittering hinges, he cried with a loud voice to the heavenly host, "*You r [sic] all welcome!*" Then, the guardian angels, in the midst of the saints, struck a song of triumph, and the saints, both small and great sang with loud voices, and passed within the gate; and the guardian angels arose upon their glittering wings, and vanished from my sight. The inside of the gate appeared like glittering diamonds. Beneath our feet, was as the appearance of pure glass. I then beheld countless millions of shining ones, coming with cards in [p. 10] their hands. These shining ones became our guides. The cards they bore, shone above the brightness of the sun; and they placed them in our hands; but the names of them I could not read. These guides took us by the right hand, and led us to a boundless place. Then I lifted mine eyes and looked above, no clouds, or skies appeared; but there, countless millions of bright angels, whose wings were like unto pure gold; and they sung with loud voices while their wings cried "*Holy! Holy!*" I then beheld an innumerable multitude, arrayed in white raiment, with cards upon their breasts; and unto each was given a crown of brightness. The guide spake, saying, "*These are they which have passed through death.*"

There was arrayed before me in the spirit, an innumerable multitude which had not passed through death; their crowns were like the brightness of the stars; and in their right hands they held cards. I then saw an individual, which had passed through death. Her brightness was beyond the expression of mortals, and at her right side stood a guardian angel: the angel's raiment was like pure gold, and his wings like flaming fire, and as she passed me, she cried with a lovely voice, "*I am going to the gate to meet my friends.*" An angel then appeared flying through the midst of this boundless place, and came to the spirit of one of [p. 11] those which had not passed through death, and cried with a loud voice, saying, "*This is My Mother.*" He then became her guide. I then beheld in the midst of this boundless place a high mountain like unto pure silver. It appeared perfectly round, and although I was unable to see through it, yet my vision extended around it. Around this mountain was a space in which stood no being. But after this vacant circle, stood as it appeared to be, choir of angels, and as far as my sight could extend, throughout this boundless place, stood the countless millions of the righteous. And O! the singing no mortal can describe! It appeared to me, the angels next to the circle around about the mountain with loud voices struck a lovely song, and then ceased. The saints next to them caught the strain, and with voices yet more loud repeated it: and thus it echoed, and re-echoed, until it had been sung by all the saints, and then it ceased: and then again the angels sang.

At the right side of the mountain, appeared a mighty angel, with raiment like unto burnished gold, his legs were like pillars of flaming fire, his countenance was like the lightning, and his crown gave light to this boundless place, and those that had not passed through death, could not look upon his countenance. I then beheld upon the side of this mount, letters like pure gold which said, "*THE FATHER AND [p. 12] THE SON.*" Directly under these letters stood the mighty angel, whose crown lighted up the place, and all the heavenly host worshipped at his feet, round about the mountain. This mighty angel then raised his right hand, which appeared like a flaming sword, and all the multitude of those who had not passed through death were caught up to the top of the mountain; and there was a large book opened, and their names came up out of the book in the form of cards, which were stamped upon their foreheads.

We then stood again upon this pure sea of glass, before the mountain; and our bodies had become like transparent glass; but the being that was within the mountain, I was unable to behold. While I was gazing upon the glories before me, a great voice spake in the mountain, and the place was mightily shaken, and the countless multitudes of saints and angels, bowed at the feet of the mighty angel, and worshipped him crying with a loud voice "*Hallelujah!*" and then every voice was hushed, and the heavenly host remained bowed before the angel in solemn silence; and naught was heard save the trembling of the place caused by the voice of him who spake in the mount.

I then behold this lower world, wrapt as it were in rolling mountains of flame, and in this fire I saw a countless multitude crying for *mercy*, They appeared to be the aged and those [p. 13] who had come to the years of understanding. Their cries came up before the mountain, while the heavenly host were bowed in solemn stillness. The voice from the mountain spake again, and all the saints and angels arose and with loud voices cried "*AMEN.*"

I then began to converse with my guide, and inquired, *why there was no mercy for those whom I had seen in distress.* He answered, "*The Gospel has been preached unto them, and the servants have warned them, but would not believe; and when the great day of God's wrath comes, there will be no mercy for them.*"

I then beheld in the middle of this boundless place a tree, the body of which was like unto transparent glass, and the limbs were like transparent gold, extending all over this boundless place. On every branch of the tree were small angels standing. There was an innumerable multitude of them, and they sung with loud voices, and such singing has not been heard this side of heaven. This tree was also clothed in light proceeding from the mighty angel. Beneath this tree standing on the sea of glass, were the countless millions of the righteous, arrayed in white raiment, with crowns on their heads, and cards upon their breasts; and in the multitude I saw some that I knew while they were living upon the earth, and they were all singing with loud voices and lifting up their glittering hands plucking fruit [p. 14] from the tree; the fruit looked like clusters of grapes in pictures of pure gold. With a lovely voice, the guide then spoke to me and said, "*Those who eat of the fruit of this tree, return to earth no more.*" I raised my hand to partake of the heavenly fruit, that I might no more return to earth; but alas! I immediately found myself again in this lonely vale of tears.

The duty to declare the things that had thus been shown me, to my fellow creatures, and warn them to flee from the wrath to come, rested with great weight upon my mind; but I was disobedient, settling upon this point for an excuse, that my guide did not command me so to do; and I thereby, brought darkness and death upon my soul. But I could find no peace or comfort. I began to doubt whether indeed my soul had ever been converted, and although I often met with the people of God,

I obtained no relief, but felt depressed and lonely. I could get no access in prayer. At last in order to escape the cross of going and personally declaring it to the world, I decided to have it printed. Yet, in this I could find no relief. Besides after having an account of it printed, it was a very imperfect sketch; and indeed I was unable to relate it for that purpose. But the Lord in his mercy spared me to behold the evening of the 4th of Feb. 1842, when I met with the people of God in May St. A large congregation was gathered together, and [p. 15] Christians were engaged in exhortation and prayer. But I enjoyed none of the sensible presence of God.

In the last part of the evening, the house being much crowded, I gave my seat to a friend who had been standing through the evening. While I was thus standing, I began to reflect on my disobedience; and while thus engaged, suddenly I heard a voice, as it were, in the spirit speaking unto me. I immediately fell to the floor, and knew nothing about this body, until twelve hours and a half had passed away, as I was afterwards informed.

It appeared to me that I was a spirit separate from this body, standing upon the earth alone. No other being appeared to be with me. The earth had the appearance of a place perfectly level. The sun shone forth in its splendor, as it naturally does at noon day. I then behold a cloud gently rising out of the west, which came up and covered the sun so that it was darkened, and the whole heavens become like sackcloth; then something beyond the expression of mortal man, burst forth from the heaven, from the south even unto the north. It was like a flaming bar of fire; and immediately after, something appeared, which it is impossible for me to describe. I then behold innumerable multitudes coming from the four quarters of the earth, and were assembled before this bar, and there stood in solemn silence, while paleness [p. 16] gathered on all countenances. Immediately they were caught up to this bar, and the bodies of the saints were changed, becoming like transparent gold; and they were clothed in light and shining garments, and crowns of brightness were placed upon their heads, and shining cards upon their breasts; and singing sweetly, they passed through the bar of fire. But the wicked were unable to pass. The world beneath appeared to be wrapt in darkness and fire; into this, the wicked sunk from my sight, crying for mercy. I beheld mothers with their infants in their arms come to the flaming bar; the bodies of the infants become like transparent gold, and on wings of flaming fire, they passed the bar, singing with lovely voices, and the unholy mothers, crying for mercy, would sink below.

I then behold an innumerable multitude, coming up from the waters, and an innumerable multitude, coming up out of the earth, arrayed in white raiment, with cards upon their breasts, and singing with loud voices, they passed this bar, and received crowns of glory upon their heads. I then beheld a multitude coming up out of the earth, and some of them I knew whose names were enrolled in the church books on earth, some of whom I had seen communing with saints of different orders, and some which had professed to be preachers of the gospel. Although they had high profes- [p. 17] sions, yet they were not found worthy, but cried for mercy, and sunk with those who had blasphemed. As we passed the bar, we entered upon a boundless place which was lighted up with great brightness. Near the place through which we passed, I behold a mighty angel clothed in pure white raiment, having a crown of brightness on his head. He appeared to be gazing through the bar, and his eyes like lamps of fire, were fixed with steadfastness upon the earth. He stood with his right foot placed before him, as though walking; and his object appeared to be to reach the earth. But three steps remained for him to take. Against his breast, and across his left hand, was as it were a trumpet of pure silver; and a great and terrible voice came from the midst of the boundless place,

saying, "*The sixth angel hath not yet done sounding.*" Behind the angel, I beheld countless millions of bright chariots, they had the appearance of pure gold, and were perfectly square. Each chariot had four wings like flaming fire. And while I was beholding, one of the chariots arose upon its wings of fire, and an angel followed after the chariot; and the wings of the chariot and the wings of the angel, cried as with one loud voice, saying, "*Holy! Holy!*" I watched the chariot listening to the lovely sound of the wings. It passed towards the earth; and there appeared a spirit, [p. 18] arrayed in white raiment as it were, standing upon a mountain, and there was given him a crown of brightness; and he stepped into the chariot with the angel, and in a moment he was in this boundless place. Although he shone with great brightness, yet this individual I knew, it was the one referred to by the witness* who said, "I see the chariot coming!" He departed this life, in just two weeks after I saw him in vision.

I then saw in the midst of the place, an innumerable multitude, arrayed in white raiment, standing in a perfect square, having crowns of unfading glory upon their heads. They were of the size of children ten years of age; and they sung a song which the saints and angels could not sing. In the midst of this boundless place, there was a river of pure water, and on either side of the river, countless millions of angels stood, with crowns of brightness upon their heads; they had in their hands cups like pure gold, and were bowing down and partaking of the water of the river, singing with loud and lovely voices, and worshipping Him, whose crown gave light to this boundless place

Then came one unto me clothed in white, whom I call my guide;—he led me to a place

* **Mary Black, the wife of the deceased Eld. George Black (the individual seen in the vision) testifies, "These are his dying words, 'I see the chariots coming to waft my spirit home.' He then left the world with a shout." [Bottom of p. 19]**

like unto a narrow door. The first which I beheld was a mighty angel, upon the right hand, having a large book open before him also at the left another, with a book open before him. My guide then spoke to me saying, "*They that repent of their sins on the earth, are blotted out of the book on the left, and recorded on the right.*" I then beheld angels ascending and descending too and from the earth; they bore tidings to the recording angels.

My guide, now, informed me what I must do; saying, "*Thy spirit must return to yonder world, and thou must reveal those things which thou hast seen, and also warn thy fellow creatures to flee from the wrath to come.*" I then answered him saying, "*How can I return to yonder world?*" He answered me; "*I will go with thee, and support and help thee to declare these things unto the world.*" Then I answered the angel,—*I will go.*

I then beheld this lower world. It seemed as though the veil which had separated it from the boundless place in which I stood, was removed, and they had both become as one; and the saints and angels were continually passing from and to the earth. The earth appeared like a calm sea of transparent gold; above no cloud or sky appeared, but the air was perfectly pure, and of a silvery brightness. I then heard all the saints, and angels, in heaven, and on the [p. 20] earth, singing with loud voices. My guide then spread his wings, and brought my spirit gently to the earth, then soared away; and immediately I found myself in the body.

Notwithstanding the command of my guide, and my solemn promise to declare these things to the world; I was at first exceedingly unwilling so to do, and it was three days before I revealed them in a public manner.

The message was so different and the manner in which the command was given, so different from any I had ever heard of, and knowing the prejudice among the people against those of my color, it became very crossing.

These questions were continually arising. Why should these things be given to me, to bear to the world, and not to the learned, or to one in a different condition from myself? But no peace could I obtain in disobedience. "Woe is me if I declare not these things," rested heavily upon My soul.

On the 6th of Feb, the Pastor of the Bloomfield St, Church, called upon me, and requested me to relate my visions in his house of worship. Several members of that church were present, and were anxious for me to comply. I consented, and the appointment was made for the next afternoon. After they had left me I regretted that I had taken such a step, and thought had the world been mine it would cheerfully be given to have the appointment recalled. [p. 21]

The morning of the 7th, however, found my mind calm, and peaceful; but as the hour for meeting drew nigh, temptations began sorely to afflict me. I feared lest my guide would not be with me, and I should be unable to tell the people the things which had been shown me. A band of brethren, sympathising with me accompanied me to the meeting. Upon entering the house, I found a large congregation assembled, and each individual seemed like a mountain. So much of the fear of man rested upon me, that I asked the Pastor to open the meeting with prayer; telling him, I thought they would be obliged to have a prayer meeting. But while he was addressing the throne of grace, it seemed as though I heard a voice, speaking unto me and saying, "*I am with thee; and I promised to be with thee!*" my heart then began to burn within me, and fear of man suddenly fled, and unspeakable glory filled my soul. I then related with great freedom, the things shown me, while the congregation sat in perfect stillness.

From this time I traveled three months delivering my message to crowded houses, enjoying continual peace of mind. But after this I began to fear my family would come to want, and so went to work laboring with my hands, and thus continued for three months. But I could find no rest day nor night until again I consented to [p. 22] do my duty. Since then I have traveled from place to place, and suffered some persecution, but the promise of my guide has never failed. His supporting presence has been with me.

My object in publishing these visions, is to comfort the saints. They have been a great consolation to me in seasons of [sic] temptation and trial.

Often, in the silent hours of the night, I have seemed to hear again the sweet song of the angels; and whenever my heart has felt sad and lonely, the things shown me by the angel have lifted me up above the trying scenes of earth.

My desire is, that the children of God, may be blessed in the same manner. I am now waiting for my coming Lord. Although before the Lord was pleased to show me these heavenly things, I was opposed to the doctrine of Jesus' near approach, I am now looking for that event. I expect soon to see the tall and mighty angel. "Then shall I be satisfied, when I awake in his likeness."

Ye saints of God, lift up your heads, for the glories of an earth made new, will soon be yours.

"Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him." "But God hath revealed them unto us by his spirit; for the spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." [p. 23]

TESTIMONIALS.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Boston, were witnesses of the apparently inanimate condition into which our brother, Wm. Ellis Foy, was thrown from some unknown cause, on the 18th of January, 1842, when he laid two hours and a half; and again February 4th, when he laid twelve hours and a half, during which, each time, he testifies that he experienced extraordinary visions of another world.

Charles Tash
George Williams
David Williams
Edward Williams

Francis Sanders
John Thomas
Andrew Lewis
George Harris

Dr. Henry Cummings testifies: "I was present with our brother at the time of his visions. I examined him, but could not find any appearance of life, except around the heart."

Ann Foy testifies: "The first appearance of life I saw in him, was the raising of his right hand. He then arose upon his knees and made signs for water, which was given him. He dipped his hand into it and wet his foreheads and his speech immediately came to him. We then wished him to tell us what things he had seen, and he answered, as soon as I receive strength, I will reveal unto you that which the Lord has revealed unto me."

Copy of Certificate of church membership

This certifies that Bro. Wm. E. Foy, is a regular member of the first Freewill Baptist Church, in Augusta, in good standing. And as such, we command him to the fellowship of the people of God, of every name, wherever he may chance to meet them.

DANIEL PALMER,
Church Clerk. [p. 24]

(This document is copied word for word from the printed tract—see brackets [] for original pamphlet page numbers.)

HERITAGE

Bound for Glory

Black Americans received hope from the Millerite

movement and gave voice to the cry

“The Bridegroom is coming!”

The one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the “Great Advent Awakening” of 1844 has provided an opportunity for thoughtful examination of the events that culminated in the birth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The evidences of divine leadership throughout our history are unmistakable. This exercise can increase fervor, bolster courage, and strengthen our conviction that we are here by divine appointment.

Reviewing our past also provides a basis for focusing on multicultural harmony. For history shows clearly that people of African ancestry were among the earliest Adventists. Books and articles have demonstrated that they not only embraced this biblical truth but pioneered its proclamation.

Highlighting this aspect of our past confirms that the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church belongs to everyone. The fact that Blacks are identified among early Adventists, Millerites, and Seventh-day Adventists—given the sociopolitical forces at work in nineteenth-century America—indicates that the Advent movement was designed to include all. Additionally, the environment generated by the Holy Spirit to facilitate the advancement of the message within two very different commu-

nities should have positive contemporary implications. The story certainly merits another look.

A Hope Deferred

Liberty seemed to be the theme of every conversation among American Blacks prior to the Revolutionary War. Their hopes were briefly lifted when the Colonics broke away from English domination, but it did little to improve their plight. This liberty spoke of by the Colonists obviously did not include everybody.

Black people were constantly searching for some way to escape slavery, cruelty, and injustice. Thomas Jefferson reportedly estimated that 30,000 slaves served in the British Army in response to an offer of freedom by the British. American colonists also promised freedom to slaves who served in the Continental Army for at least three years. It is estimated that as many as 5,000 slaves accepted this offer—if they received permission from their masters. Later, Blacks looked to the Jeffersonian proposal to completely outlaw slavery as an end to their living nightmare. It didn't.

Some slaves fled oppression in disguise. Some simply walked away or organized insurrections despite the risk of severe punishment or death. A disheartened, neglected people desperately searched for an island of hope in a sea of broken promises. It was into this vacuum of hope

BY WALTER L. PEARSON, JR.

On the
loom of
affliction,
Blacks
wove a
seamless
religious
faith.

that the thrilling message of Jesus' soon coming came to American Black people.¹

Millerite preaching struck a responsive chord within the hearts of Blacks not only because of their religious inclinations, but because at the bottom line the theme of this preaching was freedom!

The Millerite movement attracted hundreds of Blacks.² If Miller's description of the imminent prospect of discarding earthly cares and experiencing heavenly joy in God's presence enthralled Whites, imagine how mistreated Blacks were affected. What Miller may have lacked in terms of vocabulary and elocution was more than compensated by the melodious tones and sincere manner that captivated his listeners.³

In many churches of the day, slaves might have listened to this good news from the periphery of a crowd or sitting in some church balcony that was reserved for them and others of their race. But surely their hearts leaped with hope as they contemplated the possibilities. Any illusion that they might be treated with a small portion of human dignity in this present world was constantly squelched by the cruel realities of slavery.

Consequently, what much of society might embrace because of its surface appeal became that much more appealing for people who were routinely treated as something less than human. On the loom of affliction, Blacks wove a seamless religious faith that included strands of social struggle and personal piety.

Millerites were clearly amenable to the inclusion of Blacks in the Second Advent movement. They evidently demonstrated cordiality sufficient to overcome society's barriers between those of different races.

But Millerites were preoccupied with the shortness of time on earth. Their logical response to people seeking an end to injustice might have been indifference. After all, those who awaited the soon return of the Saviour could rationally conclude that any societal shortcoming would evaporate in the glory of the kingdom that was about to be given to the saints.⁴ Miraculously, the focus on an immediate departure from this world seemed to have underscored the inclination to share the message with Blacks, as well as to work for an improvement of their condition. Perhaps their aspirations were so centered in the City of God

that they began to behave as its citizens.

Initially Black people might have been attracted by the hope of freedom from inhumane treatment. But they soon joined others who were genuinely convinced that a loving Saviour would return to earth to reclaim a prepared people.

Considering that the overwhelming majority of Blacks were in the South during this period, and that believers preparing to leave the earth would have kept few records, the relatively few Blacks affiliated with the Millerite movement seem to have made an astonishing impact.

One reason for the few references to Blacks among the Millerites was their concern that the information might implicate them for teaching religion to Blacks. Whites were especially wary of the liberating effect of preaching the Second Advent.⁵ But the power of the gospel was intensified by the urgency of a soon-coming Christ.

Unsung Heroes

The historical record clearly shows that several outstanding ministers of African descent were Millerite preachers. One of them, Charles Bowles, responded to the call to ministry late in life and was referred to as "Father Bowles." His ministry under the Millerite banner met with success as he proclaimed the soon coming of Christ. He addressed large crowds of Whites as well as Blacks and played a pivotal role in the establishment of several churches.⁶

Folklore about Bowles includes a report that detractors once threatened to throw him into a pond during a baptism. But the power of his relentless preaching turned the tables and converted even some of his tormentors.⁷

John W. Lewis, another Black Millerite preacher, was commissioned in response to a successful motion by Charles Fitch (who also collected more than \$20 to finance his ministry).⁸ Among other notable accomplishments, Lewis was the author of a biography of Charles Bowles.⁹

William Ellis Foy, a Baptist training for the ministry in Boston, was an eloquent speaker with an impressive command of the language. He was arguably the most controversial of Black Millerite preachers because he received visions during the two years just preceding the Great Disappointment.

We know that Foy hesitated to relate what he had seen, as had others, including Ellen White. In addition to the ridicule

that one would experience just for being a Millerite, he no doubt felt he would suffer additionally because of being a Black man during that time.¹⁰

Information about Foy was scant or confusing until the book *The Unknown Prophet* was written by Delbert Baker. Now we know that he joined other Black preachers of that period in successfully communicating the Advent message to both Black and White audiences.¹¹ His visions bore the stamp of divine origin.

Years later Ellen White related a conversation with Foy during which she concluded that they were both shown substantively identical versions of the same vision. She commented on Foy's prophetic ministry with the words "[the] remarkable testimonies that he bore."¹²

Early in 1844 William Miller and Joshua V. Himes encountered a notable blessing both for the movement and for the advancement of the message among Black people. A prominent Black minister in the city of Baltimore, Maryland, identified with the Millerites and declared his intention to establish an "Adventist" congregation.¹³ This development reinforced the startling impact of God's power through an important—albeit neglected—minority.

Blacks were counted both with those who scattered and those who remained faithful after the great disappointment of 1844. And Black believers were also among those who formed the first Adventist groups after the disappointment of October 22, 1844.¹⁴

Our Legacy

Our Advent progenitors, stirred by prophecies of Christ's soon coming, were not so narrow in their thinking as some might think. They were often identified as abolitionists as well as crusaders for temperance. They apparently viewed solutions to society's problems as nearly as important as telling of Jesus' soon return.

William Foy testified that no one seemed to mind the color of his skin when he first met with early Advent believers.¹⁵

Charles Fitch, one of the prominent Advent pioneers, was awakened to his activist role by reading a pamphlet against slavery.¹⁶

John Byington (first president of the General Conference) and J. P. Kellogg

(father of J. H. Kellogg) apparently maintained stations for the Underground Railroad on their property.¹⁷

In his autobiography, Joseph Bates admitted that he was also an abolitionist. The book contains an anecdote that occurred as he lingered following one of his lectures. In it, he spoke with the slaves who had stood, listening attentively, at the rear of the auditorium as he preached. He offered them pamphlets. Though they had not yet learned to read, they assured Bates they would have their masters' children read the truth to them.¹⁸

Our pioneers had no reason to imagine that we would still be on earth at the close of the twentieth century. They probably struggled to grasp the realities of life on earth after 1844.

If they had been able to witness the phenomenal explosion of Seventh-day Adventism into all the world; if they could have witnessed the acceptance of the Seventh-day Adventist message by peoples of every nation, kindred, and tongue, joy might have filled their hearts at the marvelous possibilities for us as future citizens of heaven. If, in a time far less enlightened, their personal prejudices could be suppressed for the advancement of God's cause, what might they dream for us! ≡

¹⁰ See Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1984), pp. 17-28; Delbert W. Baker, *The Unknown Prophet* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987), pp. 24, 25.

¹¹ Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (Toledo, Ohio: Jet Printing Service, 1975), p. 13.

¹² F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1944), p. 131.

¹³ Baker, pp. 72, 73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁵ Reynolds, p. 19.

¹⁶ Baker, p. 75.

¹⁷ George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1993), p. 118.

¹⁸ Reynolds, p. 19.

¹⁹ See J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1909), pp. 145-147; R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1979), p. 64; "Foy, William Ellis," *SDA Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976), pp. 474, 475.

²⁰ Knight, p. 119.

²¹ *Manuscript Releases*, vol. 17, p. 96.

²² *Midnight Cry*, Feb. 29, 1844, pp. 249-251; James R. Nix, in *Adventist Review*, Mar. 10, 1994, p. 14.

²³ Justiss, p. 14.

²⁴ Baker, p. 21.

²⁵ Nichol, p. 185.

²⁶ Justiss, p. 16.

²⁷ Joseph Bates, *The Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1878), pp. 284-287.

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inced, abolitionists appear to lose their reform zeal as they convert to Millerism. Yet several of the antebellum groups made energetic attempts to perfect this world, or at least their portion of it. The Shakers, the Mormons, and several post-disappointment spin-offs of the Millerites could be cited as evidence of the continuity between otherworldly ideology and this-worldly programs. In the case of the abolitionists and Millerites, a review of their strong individual and ideological ties suggests that they shared much in common.

The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection

RONALD D. GRAYBILL

THE FIERY ABOLITIONIST LEADER William Lloyd Garrison considered Millerites “deluded people” who were victims of an “absurd theory.” Still, he had to admit that “a considerable number of worthy abolitionists” as well as “multitudes who were formerly engaged in the various moral enterprises of the age” were carried away by the Advent movement. In Garrison’s view, Millerism rendered these erstwhile reformers useless to the abolitionist cause.¹

But Garrison’s attitude toward Millerites was more ambivalent than hostile. Compared with the language he reserved for his perceived enemies, Garrison’s comments on the movement could almost be considered sympathetic. After all, he lauded its leaders as sincere and excoriated the hypocrisy of their clerical opponents. The Second Advent was the “keystone in the arch of Christianity,” Garrison said, and rightly understood it gave the “death-blow to priestcraft, and all its train of pious impostures.” These hypocrites could not abide it, he said, because it “strips them as entirely of all their claims to piety as the scathing winds of winter do the leaves of the forest.” True, Garrison found Miller’s view “pernicious and untenable,” but he was clearly more sympathetic to Millerites than he was to their enemies.²

The abolitionist leader’s comments on his Adventist counterparts hint at a complex relationship between abolitionists and Millerites. One might expect from a single-minded antebellum reformer such as Garrison his slight of a contemporary millenarian movement that eroded his ranks. Yet a man not known for pulling his punches expressed sympathy as well for a movement with which he took exception. The double side to Garrison’s view of the Millerites poses a curious and important puzzle for historians.³ Precisely what was the relationship between abolitionists and Millerites? Why was there enough of a crossover from the abolitionists to the Millerites to merit Garrison’s attention? It is still assumed that millenarians have an anti-reform cast of mind, that they believe godly people must withdraw and passively await the Judgment.⁴ And

MILLER’S ABOLITIONISM

Garrison’s criticism of Millerite teachings may well have been moderated by his knowledge that so many of the movement’s leaders had been active in the cause of immediate abolition and the other reforms of the day. In 1843 he recognized William Miller as one in whom “the cause of temperance, of anti-slavery, of moral reform, of non-resistance,” found an “outspoken friend.”⁵ One example of Miller’s outspokenness was his sarcastically humorous response to his friend, Truman Hendryx, when the latter criticized radical abolitionists. “Are you not glad,” he asked, “that you are not obliged to love a *Negro* as yourself, in order to fulfill the laws of God?” The Constitution and Bill of Rights guaranteed liberty for white men, Miller pointed out, but was it not fortunate that “God knew what a dilemma we should be placed in, and therefore made [the slaves] black, and so we may beat them, bruise them, sell them, buy them, not teach them, not give them Bibles, not preach to them, hang them, burn them, shoot them, and cut their throats if they should try to get free?” In the same ironic vein, Miller claimed he could not say whether blacks were human; still, he did note that

they walk on two legs, as we do, they have arms and heads, as we have, they have skulls—but dare you think they have brains my brother as we have? If I thought they had, I should be tempted almost to think they had feelings, and hearts, and souls, like us. And I should begin to think God designed we should love them as ourselves.⁶

But of course, Miller concluded tauntingly, “we must protect the great, benevolent, glorious Colonization Society,” and put down the radicals before they “turn the world upside down, and we shall have to walk with our heads *topsy turvy* all the rest of our lives.”

There is no record of Miller’s active participation in an anti-slavery society, but he nevertheless had a reputation as a reliable and practical abolitionist. Two weeks after the Great Disappointment, a fugitive slave arrived on his doorstep bearing a letter of introduction from a certain Philander Barbour of South Granville, New York, about fifteen miles south of Miller’s farm. According to Barbour, the slave’s master, accompanied by United States officers, was in hot pursuit. “Not being acquainted with any one in your section that would be more ready to feed the hungry and direct a stranger fleeing to a city of refuge than yourself, I have directed him to you,” Barbour said. Miller was to send the man

on toward Canada. "You will probably be able to refer him to some abolitionist on his way north," Barbour wrote confidently.⁷

OTHER MILLERITE LEADERS

Joshua V. Himes, Miller's foremost associate from 1840 onward, came with even better credentials as a reformer. Garrison was "intimately acquainted" with Himes. "At a very early period," Garrison said, Himes had "avowed himself an abolitionist, and has been a faithful supporter of the anti-slavery movement."⁸ Himes's sympathies were expressed as early as 1833 with a \$14 contribution to the New England Anti-Slavery Society.⁹

Himes, like several other Millerites, supported the entire "sisterhood of reforms" then current in New England.¹⁰ He aligned himself with Garrison and stuck with the fiery editor through each new dispute, adopting women's rights, nonresistance, and other of Garrison's causes. Indeed, Himes was one of the organizers of the Non-Resistant Society and served as its first director. Even after joining Miller, Himes remained active in other reform causes. He was a counsellor and contributor to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society until the end of 1842. Only in 1843 did he turn his undivided attention to the Advent movement, and afterward his Chardon Street Chapel remained a popular meeting place for reformers of various stripes.¹¹

After the Disappointment, Himes showed that his antislavery principles still burned bright. The famous ex-slave and abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass noted that while attending the convention of the Evangelical Alliance in London in 1846, Himes spoke vigorously in favor of a resolution to refuse to seat slaveholders. The issue was debated for two days in a large committee which included most of the 60-member American delegation. Himes was virtually alone among the Americans, most of whom opposed the antislavery position.¹²

The third most important Millerite leader, Charles Fitch, was well known in abolitionist circles for his tract, *Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance of Truth, and Its Comparative Guilt Illustrated*. In it he showed slavery to be as bad or worse than the liquor traffic, theft, robbery, murder, and treason. "Up my friends," he urged, "and do your duty, to deliver the spoils out of the hands of the oppressor, lest the fire of God's fury kindle ere long upon you."¹³ Fitch is better known today as one of Garrison's opponents and as a cosigner of the "Appeal of the Clerical Abolitionists" in 1837. In that statement, he condemned Garrison for his criticisms of clergymen and the Sabbath, and for his harsh, inflammatory language. Nevertheless, Garrison recognized that Fitch too was "well known to the abolitionists of the United States."¹⁴ Thus Garrison recognized the three top Millerite leaders as antislavery men, and noted that two of them, Himes and Miller, also supported other reform causes.

In addition to these most prominent leaders, there were many other Millerite preachers with abolitionist backgrounds. George Storrs, along with Orange

Scott and LeRoy Sunderland, led the fight to capture the Methodist Church for the antislavery cause. It was a bitter and futile struggle for the irrepressible and outspoken Storrs. Conservative bishops persuaded the 1836 General Conference Session in Cincinnati to condemn Storrs for speaking to a local Anti-Slavery Society during the Session. He eventually left the Methodist ministry and communion.¹⁵ Storrs became a minor hero among abolitionists when he was dragged from his knees and arrested in a Northfield, New Hampshire, church as he attempted to prepare for an antislavery lecture.¹⁶ As a Millerite evangelist after 1842, Storrs traveled some five or six thousand miles as he preached his way through Ohio and Indiana.¹⁷ The Seventh-day Adventist descendants of Millerism identify Storrs as the source of their belief in mortalism and annihilationism.¹⁸

Elon Galusha, who served for many years as chairman of the New York Baptist Missionary Convention, was also a leader of Rochester abolitionists. He chaired the Monroe County Anti-Slavery Society and worked as an agent for the sale of abolitionist publications.¹⁹ Galusha's credentials, as well as his "rich imagination, glowing enthusiasm," and "pure eloquence" lent great respectability to the Millerite movement in New York. Himes was exuberant to learn that Galusha had thrown "the whole weight of his intellect and influence with the Adventists."²⁰

Luther Boutelle, one of the leading ministers of the Advent Christian Church, was earlier a cobbler in Groton, Massachusetts, where his home served as a haven for temperance and antislavery reformers. "I was a hot abolitionist and reformer," Boutelle later wrote. "My house was the home of all the stigmatized reformers and free religionists."²¹ He was Garrison's host when the latter came to lecture in Groton, escorting him to and from meetings.

Joseph Bates, after a career as a sailor and sea captain, returned to his native Fairhaven, Massachusetts, converted from colonization to immediate abolitionism and helped found the Fairhaven Anti-Slavery Society. In the early 1840s he spent a small fortune preaching and publishing his views on the end of the world and ranks only slightly behind James and Ellen White as a founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.²²

Josiah Litch, one of the editors of the *Signs of the Times*, also shared roots in abolitionism. Lesser-known abolitionists turned Millerites include Henry Jones, Nathaniel Southard, Lorenzo D. Fleming, Nathaniel N. Whiting, and Silas Hawley.²³

MILLERITE FOLLOWERS

Aside from the Millerite leaders, here and there a follower of William Miller can also be associated with abolitionist sentiments. When Garrison spoke in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, in 1844, a "good Second Advent woman rose . . . saying she felt free to speak in a meeting where William Lloyd Garrison was" and endorsed "every word" he had uttered.²⁴ Garrison does not identify the woman, but the New Ipswich Millerites were no half-hearted believers. They

refused to harvest their potatoes in 1844, confident they would not be around to need them that winter.²⁵ Elijah G. Greenfield, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Williamson, New York, was at the center of controversies over abolitionism and Millerism, which split his congregation. Greenfield and at least 25 other Adventists split off from the main body. When the pastor returned in 1845 for a church trial, he was criticized both for advocating Millerism and for introducing antislavery petitions during 1843 and 1844.²⁶ Here then, are at least two Millerites who support antislavery at the height of the Advent movement.

Ezekiel Hale, Jr., a businessman in Haverhill, Massachusetts, is another Millerite follower who also supported abolitionism. Wishing to spend a portion of his wealth in promoting the Advent cause, he parceled out the remainder to his unbelieving children. After the Disappointment, he went to court to recover his property. Testimony from his neighbors showed Hale was well known as a supporter of "ultraisms" such as temperance, antislavery, and Grahamism.²⁷

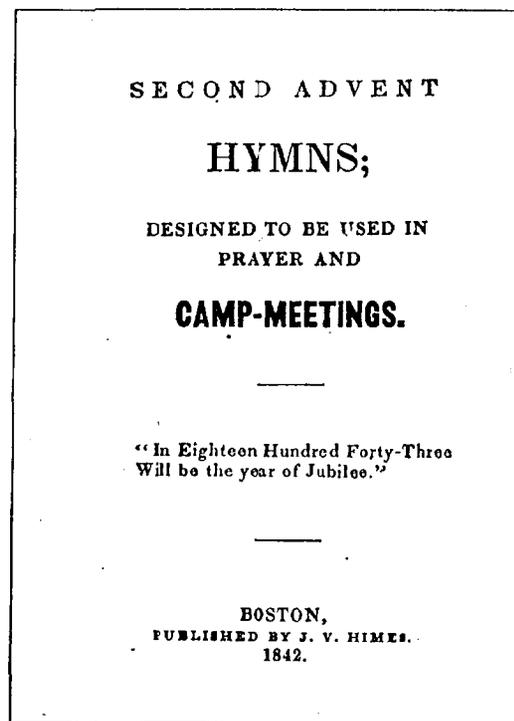
But at its height, Millerism was an intense, consuming, short-lived movement, urgently focused on a single objective: preparing people for the imminent Second Advent of Christ. Naturally, at the peak of the movement, Millerite leaders had little time for other activities. The sketchy evidence available suggests that some individual Millerites continued to support both causes even in 1843 and 1844. But at the height of the movement, few Millerite leaders could be described as being abolitionists—at least not active ones. It is not that Millerites were antireform or passively withdrawn from society. Far from it—they were frenetically active. They were just distracted from social reform movements by an intense religious crusade.

Millerites maintained a bond of sympathy for abolition and other reforms. Garrison anticipated using either Faneuil Hall or the "Miller tabernacle" in Boston for the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1844.²⁸ But Millerite papers were almost totally devoid of any articles designed to advance antislavery.

Millerism avoided the controversies over extraneous issues which so fractured abolitionism. It was clearly a one-issue campaign. The erstwhile abolitionist Joseph Bates encountered only the slightest difficulty in preaching the Advent message to both slaves and plantation owners on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1843. Aware of Bates's abolitionist background, one planter asked if Bates had come to get his slaves. "Yes," Bates replied with disarming humor, "I have come to get your slaves, and you too."²⁹ But Bates had left his abolitionist days behind. He had come to get slaves and masters ready for Christ's coming, not to change their earthly stations.

ANGELINA GRIMKÉ WELD'S MILLERISM

To modern sensibilities, abolitionism seems so much more useful, so much more tangible than Millerism. What, then, was Millerism's appeal to abolitionists and other reformers? The question can be answered, in part, by a close look at an individual abolitionist turned Millerite. Perhaps the most famous abolitionist to



23. This small Millerite hymnal, designed for use in camp meetings, contained only the words of hymns. Courtesy Loma Linda University Heritage Room.

become a follower of William Miller was Angelina Grimké Weld. Born in a slaveholding South Carolina family, Angelina and her sister, Sarah, had migrated to Philadelphia, where they converted to Quakerism and adopted abolitionist sentiments. When they took up lecturing at antislavery meetings, their family background gave them potent arguments against slavery. Soon curious men began to sit in on their all-women meetings, rousing a storm of criticism that the Grimkés would be so unladylike as to lecture to "promiscuous" audiences. The Grimkés reacted by adding women's rights to the causes they supported.³⁰

Then Angelina Grimké married Theodore Dwight Weld, a leading abolitionist lecturer, and retired to a farm in New Jersey. In 1843 she had adopted Millerite beliefs. Gerda Lerner, one of her biographers, said Grimké's Millerism should be regarded "not so much as an ideological aberration, but as an emotional response to a profound crisis in Angelina's life." She was, after all, "anxious and despondent" and thus in a mood which made her receptive to a

“religious fanaticism” from which, in a more active period, her commonsense practicality would have recoiled.³¹

Theodore Dwight Weld’s biographer, Robert Abzug, believed Millerism offered Grimké an escape from her “ever more exhausting role in the household,” by providing the “discovery, controversy, and intricate reasoning” her powerful intellect craved. It was also clear to Abzug that her interest in Miller’s prophecies provided a clandestine weapon against Theodore, whose work in Washington provoked Angelina’s jealousy.³²

Since so many Millerites had abolitionist backgrounds, it would be fair to assume that Millerism seemed to them to be perfectly consistent with “common sense practicality.” Psychological factors play a role in any conversion, but there are other explanations of Miller’s appeal which lie closer to the surface.

Grimké’s letters from early 1843 onward reveal a woman who had been moved by the usual means of Millerite communication. Friends dropped by on a Saturday night to spend a “pleasant” evening discussing the Second Advent and especially George Storrs’s lecture which they had recently attended. Grimké had just read a “little book” which gave her “a connected view of the whole subject” and was “the clearest, simplest, and most convincing thing” she had seen.³³ Next, she read Josiah Litch’s views concerning the fifth and sixth trumpets of Revelation 9, and found his predictions concerning the fall of the Ottoman Empire “the most startling and convincing evidence that the end of all things is at hand.”³⁴

Actually, Angelina Grimké was not confining herself to Millerite literature that winter. It was the first time in years she had been able to read much, and yes, she did believe this was helping her to overcome the “crushing sense” of her own inferiority that she had always felt since meeting Weld. He had noticed that for the first time she talked more freely when he was around.³⁵ He sent her one of John Wesley’s tracts, she read it, then explained why she believed Wesley wrong and Finney correct on the subject of human nature.³⁶

But Millerism was more than just an intellectual adventure for Angelina. Her letters reveal a woman who knew the Bible thoroughly and took it very seriously. She could discourse on the intricacies of biblical prophecy as ably as any Millerite preacher, and she did so in great detail. For her, biblical prophecy, whether interpreted literally or spiritually, was genuinely predictive. Human beings had a moral obligation to heed what these prophecies were saying: “Do you think,” she asked Theodore, “supposing it to be true, that Christ will soon appear in the clouds of heaven and the world be destroyed, that it is a matter of no consequence whether we believe it or not—that altho’ God has taken so much pains to point out the time of the great event, we may innocently be ignorant of it?”³⁷ It would appear then, that one reason why Millerism appealed to abolitionists is because Millerites shared with many abolitionists a similar interest in the Bible’s predictions of the millennium.

True, abolitionism tended away from the literalism of William Miller’s biblical interpretations. Biblical literalism had proven all too useful in the hands

of proslavery ministers who defended slavery from the Old and New Testaments. But although Miller’s hermeneutic was, on its face, very literalistic and conservative, he carried it so far as to break with conservative prophetic interpretations of his day. Thus he ended up with a psychologically daring and expansive interpretation which appealed to abolitionists like Angelina Grimké Weld, who knew her Bible well but had little respect for orthodox interpretations.

The abolitionist yearning for personal holiness, purity, and perfection provided Millerism yet another avenue of appeal. Grimké was impressed with the way her anticipation of the Advent caused “great searchings of heart,” and “a more earnest desire to know what my spiritual condition really is.”³⁸ Nearly every day an Adventist neighbor, “Dear M. A.,” came to visit. Grimké was pleased with the woman’s spiritual progress, noting how her study of the Second Advent had helped her come to know “the difference between repenting of sin in view of the consequences and repenting because of its exceeding sinfulness.”³⁹

Even if the dates were wrong, Grimké said, “the contemplation of the doctrine itself and those connected with it, must produce a good influence on the heart.”⁴⁰ This, she said, was why she was so anxious Theodore should take more interest in Millerism. It was not, she said, a mere matter of “visions and dates.” It was “preeminently practical.” “The dates are nothing in comparison to the full realization in the soul of his second coming.”⁴¹ She pled with Weld. “Dearest,” she said, “all I want you to do is to study *the Bible*” in reference to “these glorious truths.” “Shall *one* be taken and the other left to be destroyed with the world of wicked?” she asked her husband. “O my Theodore, let us pray to be made pure and holy as he is.”⁴²

It has often been noted that abolitionists appealed for a personal conversion very similar to that sought by revivalists. Could it be that many of them were as concerned about their own righteousness as about the sinfulness of slavery and that Millerism offered a sort of ultimate personal purification which abolitionism was unable to deliver?

A striking example of this yearning for perfection is Charles Fitch, who had so antagonized Garrison with his Clerical Appeal. In 1840, Fitch apologized publicly for that episode. Fitch said he had been led to look over his past life and to ask himself what he would think of past feelings and actions “were he to behold Jesus Christ in the clouds of heaven, coming to judge the world.” Fitch said he was especially ashamed of the instances where the “ruling motive” of his conduct had been “a desire to please men, for the sake of their good opinion.” His “Clerical Appeal” had been thus motivated, Fitch said, and he was confessing this to Garrison because his “conscience and heart” led him to do it and because there was a “judgment seat before me, where I must stand.”⁴³ This kind of meticulous introspective sensitivity had long been an ideal of evangelical religion. In this way, Millerism offered salvation for abolitionists, not just for slaveholders.

Millerism shared with abolitionism a growing mutual antagonism to established churches and clergymen. Garrison said that normally he would have

taken the clergy's virulent opposition to Miller as the most compelling proof of the validity of Miller's views.⁴⁴ Millerites damned organized religion for its attitude toward millenarianism just as abolitionists damned it for its attitude toward slaves and slaveholders. In 1844, both movements were in a "come-outer" mood, calling for separation from established churches.⁴⁵

The "come-outer" spirit of Millerism, together with Angelina Grimké Weld's own Quaker reliance on the "inner light," helped her reinterpret Miller's message after the Disappointment. She had been, she concluded, only an "intellectual believer" in Miller's prophecies, never able to achieve the "heart faith" she craved. True, it had seemed to her that all the great prophetic periods would expire in 1843 and 1844, but she was not satisfied.⁴⁶ As early as March 15, 1843, she had confessed herself "utterly at a loss whether to understand the prophecies literally or spiritually," but she was inclined to the latter. The destruction of the material world was something she did not "realize at all." However, she had felt for some years that a "great and mighty revolution" was at hand and that church organizations were about to be superseded by "the power of religion and the simplicity of the teaching of Jesus and his apostles."⁴⁷

After the Disappointment, this spiritual interpretation clarified. No longer did she expect to see Jesus "in the body with which he ascended." Now she believed his Second Coming was to be "in the hearts of the people." This spiritual advent was to be preceded by a judgment. The "sitting of the Ancient of Days" symbolized the "sitting in judgment of Truth—Eternal Truth, over all human organizations and opinions. Is not that the present state of the world? Who cannot see and feel that we have entered upon a new era. . . . Truth like 'a fiery stream has come forth' and is finding its way into the most sacred recesses of Church and State and is most surely working the overthrow of both."⁴⁸

There never was a time, Angelina believed, when so many were testifying against the "corruptions" of the church and at the same time refusing to form another sect. The era had arrived when "Truth must sit in judgment upon all human organizations—Political, Ecclesiastical, and Social before she can triumph over all error." This, she said, was why judgment is antecedent to the coming of the Son of Man. The sanctuary to be cleansed in the last days was not, as Miller believed, the physical earth, but the hearts of God's people. Therefore, the same work that was going on in the outward world was going on in human hearts. "Yes," she said,

I fully believe in the downfall of every Earthly throne and the overthrow of every political government—the annihilation of every Ecclesiastical Establishment and the dissolution of every sect and party under the sun . . . but I am calm, hopeful, happy, for I see arising out of their ruins the Everlasting kingdom of God.⁴⁹

So, like the sabbatarian Adventists, Angelina concluded that the present era was an "epoch of judgment" the length of which could not be anticipated. Unlike them, she expected "no sudden revolution" but a "gradual undermining of all things that can be shaken."⁵⁰

THE
ADVENT MESSAGE
TO THE
DAUGHTERS OF ZION.

VOL. I. BOSTON, MAY, 1844. NO. 1.

AN APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY.

We have a message of unutterable importance to communicate, and as you value eternal life, we intreat your candid and patient attention. Eighteen hundred years ago our blessed Saviour promised his weeping disciples that he would come again; and the angel also told them, at his ascension, that he would in like manner come again, as they had seen him ascend into heaven. He also advised them of different events that should meanwhile transpire, and of certain definite signs, which should immediately precede his return. He assured them, that he would certainly come quickly, and bade them watch continually, and be as servants who wait for their Lord. He also left a command, that when these things should begin to come to pass, his followers should lift up their heads and rejoice, and KNOW that he was near, even at the doors. From diligent and prayerful examination of the prophetic scriptures, and from the confirming signs in our natural, moral, and political heavens, we are solemnly convinced, that the glorious hour of his second Advent is just at hand. We feel that the fearful moment hastens greatly, and that the shadow of his coming glory already enshrouds the dim pageantry of earth. Having this confidence, we intreat you not to turn lightly away from this warning, for our case is urgent, and our errand important. We appeal to the Scriptures alone as authority, and on their naked, simple teachings we rely in perfect confidence. We believe that they are a revelation, and a manifestation of the will of God to man, and we dare not adopt the interpretations of any, however learned or plausible they may be, unless they perfectly harmonize with this revealed will. This word assures us that God will do nothing, but he reveals his secrets unto his servants, the prophets, and that the secret of the Lord is with those who fear him. That we have a sure word of prophecy, unto which we do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place. Also, that he shall send Jesus Christ which before was preached unto you, whom the heavens must receive, until the times of restitution of all things, which God has spoken by the mouths of all his holy prophets, since the world began. Thus we perceive that all the prophets have spoken of the times of restitution, (of Paradise) when Christ is to be revealed. Our Saviour directs us to search the Scriptures, and speaking of the state of the world previous to his coming,

VOL. I. 1

24. The first issue of *The Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, edited by Clorinda S. Minor and Emily C. Clemons, appeared shortly after the Millerite Disappointment in the spring of 1844. Courtesy Aurora University Library.

Angelina Grimké Weld's Christian anarchy was shared by other Adventists. George Storrs taught that a church was merely a people's coming together "with one accord in one place." Love was its only bond. Any church formed by "man's invention" became "Babylon" the moment it was organized.⁵¹ Views like these were so strong that it was nearly twenty years before the sabbatarian remnant of Millerism would organize into the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and almost that long before the Advent Christian Church was formed.⁵² The organizational views of many abolitionists were either transported into Millerism or fully shared by Adventists.

Finally, abolitionists swelled the ranks of Millerites simply because of timing. With the addition of Himes to Miller's camp in 1840, the Advent movement began a period of rapid growth and expansion just as the abolitionist movement was splitting into factions. Miller, like many other committed anti-slavery men, was disgusted and saddened by the factional squabbles among abolitionists. "They are in trouble, divided, split in two, scattered, and weakened by their uneasy designing and master spirits," he said after attending an antislavery society meeting in New York City in 1840. "The poor slave, has but little chance to be liberated by these two parties. . . . The slaveholder may call in his piquets, he may need no additional guards, his citadel is safe. While the pretended friends of the slave, are expending all their ammunition on each other, the release of the captive will be little thought of." Miller, of course, saw hope only in the coming of Christ. "God can and will release the captive. And to him alone we must look for redress."⁵³

Miller was not the only enemy of slavery to conclude that Blacks could look for little help from some of their would-be benefactors in abolitionist organizations. To reformers, sickened and disappointed by factionalism among abolitionists, the Advent movement offered a thriving, growing, unified alternative. Far from seeming impractical, to many of them it seemed to offer a very tangible and dramatic definition for the word "immediate" in "immediate abolition."

Although many Millerites were drawn from reform ranks, and these seem to have maintained their sympathy for abolitionism and other reforms, Millerism as a movement did little to advance the cause of reform. Indeed, the movement distracted many from active labor in reform movements. It is possible, though not yet demonstrable, that many of the thousands of followers of Miller who left the movement after the Disappointment may have resumed reform activities. What we do know is that those leaders who stayed on with their Millerite friends to help found religious denominations were so preoccupied with the mere survival of their movements that they had little time for anything else. Only in the 1860s, after Seventh-day Adventists were formally organized and settled in Michigan did they get back close enough to their reform roots to install health reform as an integral part of the church's mission. Joseph Bates had been a health reformer even before he became an abolitionist, but he failed to push his dietary practices even among his fellow sabbatarian Adventists until the new church was securely established.⁵⁴

Moreover, during the immediate pre-Civil War and War years Adventists couched their apocalypticism in Radical Republican rhetoric and looked upon slavery as the cancer that soon would destroy the American Republic, ushering in the world's end. Their "Radical Republican" eschatology, however, did not prompt political action on the part of Adventists, as the republic seemed doomed and politics futile.⁵⁵

We conclude then, that while Millerism was not hostile to social reform, it was too single-minded to give any great support to abolitionism and other reforms. The appeal of Millerism to antebellum reformers was sufficiently great and sufficiently widespread that Adventist conversions from reform ranks need not be attributed to the individual idiosyncracies. Arriving at the right moment with his biblical millenarianism and moral perfectionism, Miller appealed to values that many reformers held dear. As groups increasingly alienated from established organizations, Millerites and reformers felt a sympathy for each other that also facilitated Adventist conversions.

NOTES

1. William Lloyd Garrison to Elizabeth Pease, April 4, 1843, in Walter M. Merrill, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1973), 3: 248; William Lloyd Garrison, "The Second Advent. No. 1," *The Liberator*, February 10, 1843, 13: 23; William Lloyd Garrison to Henry C. Wright, March 1, 1843, in Walter M. Merrill, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 3: 133.
2. Garrison, "The Second Advent. No. 1," p. 23.
3. For a review of this problem, see R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
4. Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), p. 25.
5. *Ibid.*
6. William Miller to Truman Hendryx, February 25, 1834, quoted in David Rowe, "Thunder and Trumpets: The Millerite Movement and Apocalyptic Thought in Upstate New York, 1800-1845" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974), pp. 48-49. As Rowe points out, F. D. Nichol misread this letter in *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944), p. 54.
7. Philander Barbour to William Miller, November 8, 1844, in Vern Carner, ed., *Millerites and Early Adventists*, Microfilm Collection (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1977), Sect. 5, Reel 12.
8. Garrison, "The Second Advent. No. 1," p. 23.
9. David T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845" (M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1961), p. 10, in Vern Carner, ed., *Millerites and Early Adventists*, Microfilm Collection, Sec. 1, Reel 1.
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11. David T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes," pp. 11, 15, 17, 36, 39, 41.
12. John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, Series 1: *Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 1: 421-422.

13. LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946-1954), 4: 533-534.
14. Charles Fitch and Joseph H. Towne, "Appeal of Clerical Abolitionists, on Anti-Slavery Measures," *Liberator* (August 11, 1837), 7: 130; Fitch and Towne, "Protest of Clerical Abolitionists, No. 2," *The Liberator*, September 8, 1837, 7: 145; Garrison, "The Second Advent. No. 1," p. 23.
15. Donald G. Matthews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 120-121, 127, 133, 138, 141-142, 154, 230.
16. [George Storrs], *Mob, Under Pretense of Law, or, The Arrest and Trial of Rev. George Storrs, at Northfield, N. H.* (Concord, N.F.: Eldridge G. Chase, 1835).
17. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 135, 204-205, 268, 286, 348.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 300.
19. David Rowe, "Thunder and Trumpets," pp. 115.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Luther Boutelle, *Sketch of the Life and Religious Experience of Eld. Luther Boutelle* (Boston: Advent Christian Publishing Society, 1891), pp. 21, 24, 25, 33, 36.
22. Joseph Bates, *The Autobiography of Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press, 1868), in Carner, ed., *Millerites and Early Adventists*, Sect. 1, Reel 1; Don Neufeld, ed., *The Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1976), s.v. "Bates, Joseph."
23. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 190-192; LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4: 529, 632, 633, 639, 671.
24. William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, January 2, 1844, in *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 3: 248.
25. J. N. Loughborough, *The Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1892), p. 85; Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Footprints of the Pioneers* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1947), pp. 70-71.
26. Records of the First Baptist Church of Williamson, New York, Cornell University, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives.
27. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 213-215.
28. William Lloyd Garrison to George W. Benson, January 15, 1844, in *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 3: 254.
29. Bates, *Autobiography*, pp. 262, 268-269, 277, 281.
30. Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin, *The Emancipation of Angelina Grimké* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1974), pp. 105-107, 120, 121-122.
31. Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 306. I refer to Grimké by her maiden name to avoid confusion with her husband.
32. Robert H. Abzug, *Passionate Liberator: Theodore Dwight Weld and the Dilemma of Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 229.
33. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, Jan. 30, 1843. All of the Angelina Grimké letters cited here are housed at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, except that of January 1845, which is in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
34. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, February 2, 1843.
35. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, January 30, 1843.
36. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, March 15, 1843.
37. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, January 30, 1843.
38. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, February 2, 1843.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, Monday afternoon, n.d. [1843].

41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. "Letter from Rev. Charles Fitch," *The Liberator*, January 24, 1840, 10: 35.
44. Garrison, "The Second Advent. No. 1," p. 23.
45. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 224-225; Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Anti-Slavery Thought* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 92-128.
46. Angelina Grimké Weld to Sarah Grimké, January 1845.
47. Angelina Grimké Weld to Theodore Dwight Weld, March 15 [1843].
48. Angelina Grimké Weld to Sarah Grimké, January 1845.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. George Storrs, "Come Out of Her My People," *The Midnight Cry*, February 15, 1844, p. 6.
52. Neufeld, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Organization"; David T. Arthur, "'Come Out of Babylon': A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970), p. 332.
53. Quoted in David Rowe, "Thunder and Trumpets," p. 185.
54. Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 79, 81.
55. See Jonathan M. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 173-206.



Southern Union

Edson White's Southern Work Remembered

by R. Steven Norman, III

This year marks one hundred years since James Edson White began his ministry of evangelism and education among Blacks in the South.

Edson, the second son of Ellen White, was just a teen during the mid-1860s when God moved in staccato fashion to end slavery and make African-Americans free. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation that broke the shackle of slavery. On May 21, 1863, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was organized preaching truth that frees, and two years later the Civil War ended.

Before the clouds of gun smoke lifted from the Civil War battlefields, and while the words of freedom were still ringing in the ears of millions of former slaves the Education Movement was born. Churches and religious organizations raced to the South to establish schools where blacks were taught reading, writing, industrial skills, and about Jesus.

The first school for African-American people south of the Mason-Dixon line was established May 20, 1865. In the same year the Methodist Episcopal Church allocated \$10,000 for the education of Negroes, and immediately opened the Central Tennessee College in Nashville. Fisk University, Tougaloo, Lane, Morris Brown, Livingstone, and many other colleges were opened throughout the South.

By 1895 1.4 million Negro children were enrolled in 1,820 public schools and universities, and 43 churches operated undergraduate institutions and numerous schools.

When the Education Movement began in 1865, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was only two years old. Even though the Church was in its infancy, Ellen G. White was shown the need to educate and evangelize Blacks in the South, and called for Seventh-day Adventists to join in the great work being done for Blacks.

In 1877 Mrs. H. M. Van Slyke reported a school in Ray County, Missouri, and a little later Joseph Clarke and his wife opened a school in Texas. Eibert Lane, joined by his wife who was also an evangelist, organized the first church of Black people at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, in 1883. Alonzo Barry established a second church in Louisville, Kentucky, on February 16, 1890, and in quick succession other colored churches were organized in Bowling Green, Kentucky, in 1891, New Orleans by C. M. Kinney in

June of 1892, and a fifth one in Nashville in 1894. But there was still much work to be done. So in 1891 Ellen White again summoned the Church to action in a pamphlet entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People."

It was in this context that three years later Dr. J. E. Caldwell, of Knoxville, Tennessee, spoke to Edson and told him about his mother's appeal to the General Conference leaders on March 21, 1891. Convicted, Edson returned to Battle Creek and met a Review and Herald employee who told him where to find a copy of "Our Duty to the Black People." He read the pamphlet and was convinced that he must go South. Edson shared his plans with William O. Palmer and his wife and together they began to make preparations.

God had uniquely qualified Edson to accomplish the great work that lay before him in the South. He learned the printing trade as a boy at the Review and Herald office. He was also a prolific writer and publisher, and possessed a vast vision and deep commitment to evangelize Blacks in the South.

God had also given him a wonderful wife, Emma MacDearmond of Wright, Michigan, whom he married in 1870. She was such a helpful partner in ministry for Edson that he wrote to his mother, "The thing which does me as much good as anything else is the cheerful, hopeful, helpful spirit that Emma manifests. She is ready to do anything that is best and duty. She will go south with me in the spring and take hold with me in teaching and assisting the colored people."

Joined by William O. Palmer and his wife, the Whites hired Captain A. T. Orton to build the hull of a steamboat they called "The Morning Star." Edson said, "The hull of the steamer, built of solid upland Michigan oak, was 72 feet long. The cabin 67 feet long, and 16 feet wide, thus projected over the hull on each side. The hull was launched May 1894, and then her cabin work added. In July she was completed and started on her 1500-mile journey to her field of operation." (*The Gospel Herald*, June 1900, p. 37.)

Vicksburg

On January 10, 1895, the crew steamed onto Centennial Lake at Vicksburg where they built a school on a leased lot at the corner of Walnut and First East at a cost of \$150. It was 20 feet wide and 40 feet deep. By winter more than 150 students were crowded in at-



Mr. and Mrs. Fred R. Rogers. He taught in Yazoo City, Mississippi, and later served as the educational supervisor for the Southern Missionary Society.

tendance at night school.

Later a 26' by 30' chapel and a 12'x16' library and recitation room were added. The library held approximately 1,000 books Edson collected from Dr. Kellogg and other Battle Creek residents who were interested in Edson's work. "For \$20 he also picked up several 300-hundred pound bells, one for the Vicksburg church, one for the Morning Star, and one for the movable chapel being prepared for Yazoo City." One of these bells is in the Oakwood College museum today.

In 1900 a new church and school, designed by W. K. Loughborough, were built at 209 Fayette Street to provide a more favorable location for the growing school. Next to the new church a mission house and a janitor's home were built.

On March 16, 17, 1901, Ellen White preached for the dedication services for the Vicksburg church. Her Sabbath sermon was entitled "Trust in God."

Describing her visit to Vicksburg, Mrs. White said, "We determined to visit the South, and I went in my feebleness. I was very sick, but I did not allow my sickness to hinder me. I went to Vicksburg, and what did I see there? Just as pretty a little church as we have built at Cooranbong. In the basement of this meetinghouse a church school is held. Besides the church in Vicksburg a mission house of two stories has been built, with another house of four rooms. This is the beginning.

"I spoke to the people on Sabbath morning, and as I saw the congregation, mostly composed of black people, bright and sharp of intellect, I felt that if I had dared, I should have wept aloud. As the people sat before me, I never felt more pleased to break the bread of life, and to speak comforting words to a people. My soul longed after them. When the old meetinghouse in which they had met was sold, and was being torn down, the hopes of the people seemed to fall to the ground. They did not know what to do. Their enemies said, They have sold the meetinghouse, and now they are going to leave you. But they were assured that a better house was to be built. Then their courage rose at once. When I heard them singing in the meeting, I thought, it is not only they who are singing. Of

those who are saved, it is said, God himself will rejoice over them with singing. If there was not on that Sabbath, singing in the heavenly courts, then I am mistaken." — *The General Conference Bulletin*, April 5, 1901, "In the Regions Beyond."

Some of the teachers that taught at the Vicksburg school were Edson and Emma White, Fred Halladay, Anna Agee, and Anna Jensen. Some of the Black workers were N. B. King, Pastor and Mrs. Thomas Murphy who joined the Church hoping to find a better lifestyle, and J. D. Grimes, a colporteur. Because there was a need for additional medical workers, W. H. Kynett, M.D., and his wife came to Vicksburg on January 1, 1896, to join Ida Wekel, an undergraduate nurse from Battle Creek Sanitarium. A month later the Kynetts were joined by their daughter, Lydia Kynett-Parmelee, M.D.

Yazoo City

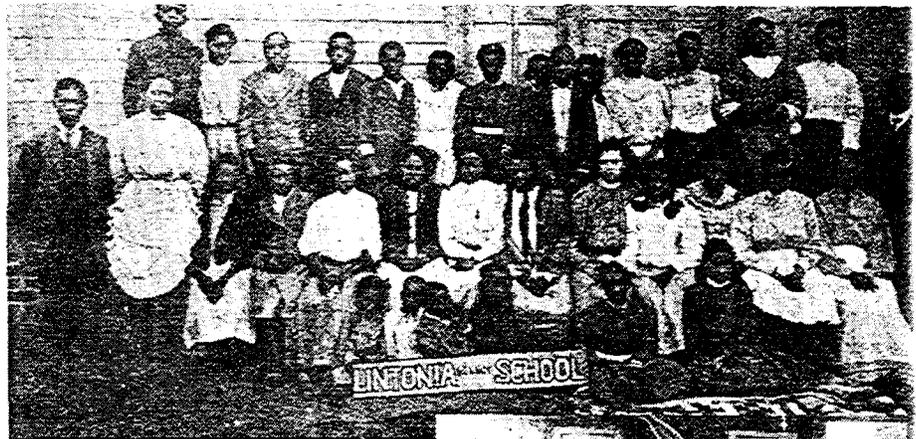
Edson purchased two lots in Yazoo City and another one in Lintonia, which was then a suburb of Yazoo City. In the June 1900 *Gospel Herald*, Edson reported, "At both Yazoo City and Lintonia, house to house work in Bible and educational lines was begun three years ago, which was one year before the 'Morning Star' came to that place. Many grown people were learning to read, and were becoming familiar with Bible truths."

A Sunday-school was opened in a private home in Lintonia. The school quickly outgrew this home and in 1898, a "movable chapel" was built on the lot in Lintonia. Fred Rogers and his wife came from the west coast to teach at the school in Lintonia. They began the day school in December 1898 with 15 students and within months had 200 students in attendance. An addition was added to the back of the school and three teachers were hired. In 1900 Franklin G. Warnick moved to Yazoo City to become the first black principal of the school which already had two blacks and one white teacher who had served under Rogers' supervision.

The Southern Missionary Society

Because the work Edson and his fine cadre of workers needed to be organized, he formed the Southern Missionary Society (SMS) to serve as an umbrella for his varied and far flung ministries. The mission of the SMS was "to carry the principles of Christian education to the people of the South" (*Gospel Herald*, December 1899, p. 105).

Yazoo City was the first headquarters of the organization which later moved with "The Morning Star" and finally settled in Nashville, Tennessee. Some of the many projects and organizations owned by the SMS were the Dixie Health Food Company, the Herald Publishing Company, which was a forerunner of the Southern Publishing Association; and the Nashville Colored Sanitarium (1901-1903) which was later replaced by the Rock City Sanitarium in 1906. The *Gospel Herald* of October 1908 reported that



Students from the Lintonia Select School which is on the site of the current Lintonia Chapel SDA Church in Yazoo City, Mississippi.

Edson and Emma White (center) and members of his team on board *The Morning Star*. The man in the door was Albert Green who served as the cook.



the Society also controlled 28 mission schools with an enrollment of nearly a thousand pupils.

The SMS became a branch of the Southern Union in 1901 and after the organization of the North American Negro Department in 1909 it served a function that made it the forerunner of the South Central Conference.

Edson's Final Years

By this time Edson and his wife were in their 60s and Emma's health began to fail. They moved to Marshall, Michigan, in 1912 and remained there until Emma passed five years later. Edson spent his final years operating a stereopticon business with his wife, Rebecca Burrill, in Osego, Michigan. He died on May 30, 1928, and was buried in Battle Creek, Michigan, in the Oakhill Cemetery.

Though one hundred years have passed since Edson White steamed into Vicksburg, the work that he accomplished and the descendants of people he won continue to hold aloft the light of "The Morning Star" that illuminated the South.

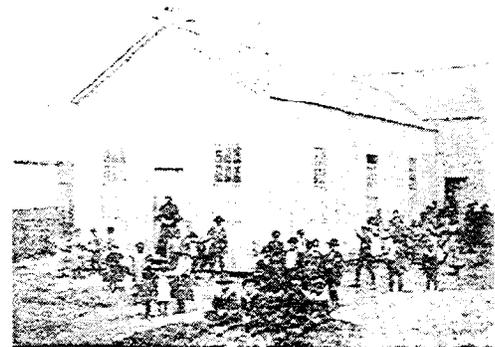
In 1992, this writer visited the last living student from the Morning Star School, Madeline Edwards, who said, "He was a nice man. He made me feel so special."

Some of the many people who are descendants of those who accepted the gospel under Edson's ministry include: Charles Bradford, former president of the North American Division; Gariand Millett, former associate director of the General Conference department of education; Retha Davis of City Temple in Detroit and her daughters; James Humphreys, youth director of the Lake Region Conference; Elaine Norman, a secretary for the South Central Conference; and the Weathington family of Buffalo, New York.

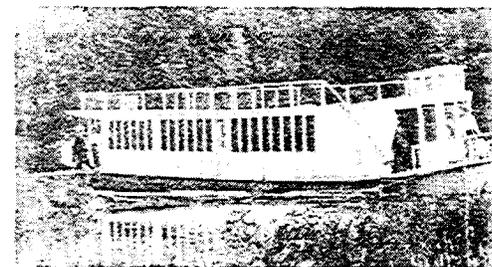
"At Yazoo City," *Gospel Herald*, June 1900, p.40.

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Cover: James Edson White.



Students and teachers at the first Vicksburg School and Chapel located on Walnut and East First Street.



The original Morning Star Boat in Vicksburg before it was refitted and made into a three story steamer by Captain A. T. Orton.



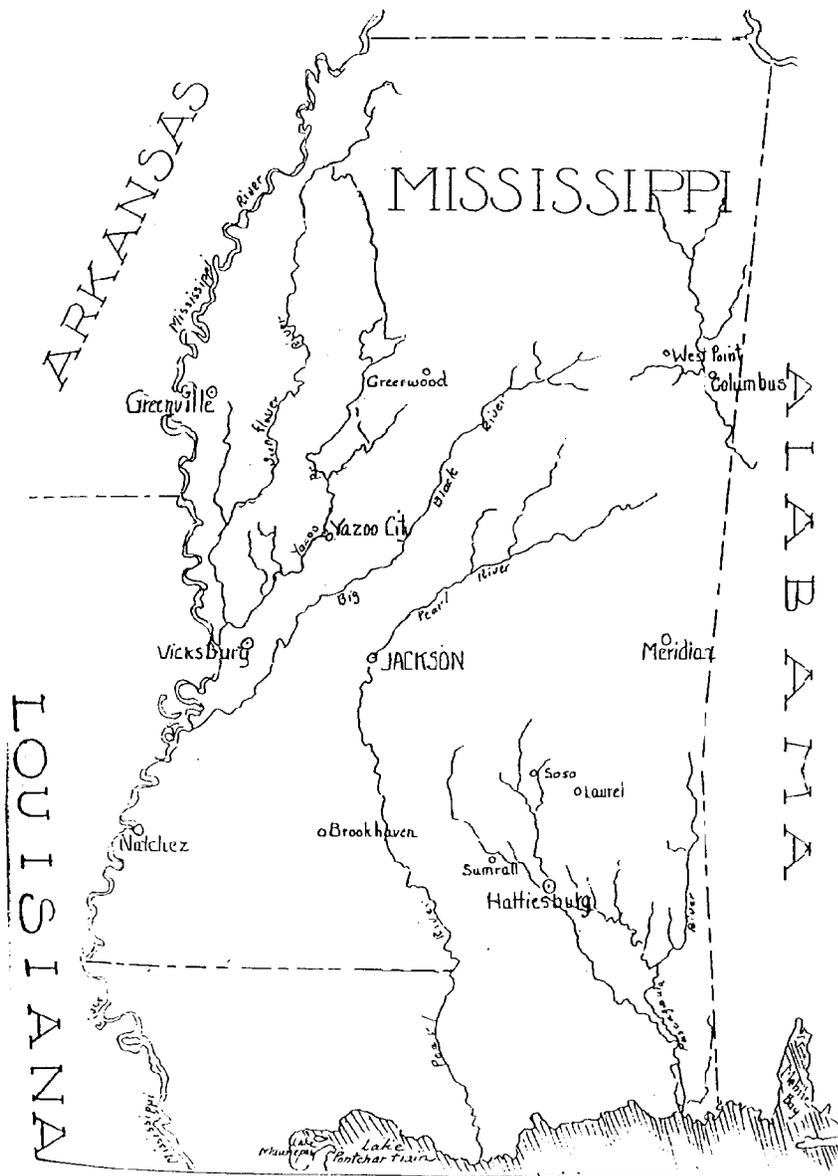
A tent meeting held by Edson's team at Bruce's Landing on the shores of the Yazoo River.

THE MORNING STAR MISSIONARIES IN VICKSBURG

Mrs. White's urgent advocacy of missionary activity for the Negro took practical form in the labors of her second son, James Edson White. He was born in Rocky Hill, Connecticut, July 28, 1849. About two weeks before his birth, his father had begun the publication of an eight-page journal, the Present Truth, which was the first periodical published by Seventh-day Adventists.¹ He developed an interest in publishing enterprises, especially pioneer enterprises, and when fifteen years of age began studying printing at the Review and Herald Publishing Association, a Seventh-day Adventist enterprise in Battle Creek, Michigan. Between the years 1873 and 1880 he assisted in the publication of the Signs of the Times, a Seventh-day Adventist periodical published by the Pacific Press Publishing Company in Oakland, California. He returned to Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1880 and engaged in business as a music publisher and printer of books on etiquette, cookery, and business forms.

In his youth he had assisted in Seventh-day Adventist evangelism but business enterprises had gradually drawn him away from this work. In the year 1893, White was engaged in business as a music publisher and composer. It was during this year that his heart was deeply impressed by the Spirit of God and he experienced a new conversion. In a letter to his mother, then in Australia, he declared that he had surrendered fully and completely to God and was enjoying

¹Ellen G. White, Life Sketches of Ellen G. White, pp. 125, 126.



life and association with the people of God. He also added that he had a desire to enter some phase of gospel work.²

About this time Professor C. C. Lewis, one of the pioneer educators of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, was passing through Chicago from a visit in the south. He spoke in the colored Seventh-day Adventist church of the needs of the southern Negro.³ White was present and felt so impressed with the great need that he decided to close his business and work under Elder Kilgore.⁴ For first hand experience in evangelizing the Negro he asked permission of J. N. Loughborough, then president of the Illinois Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, to labor for the colored people in the city of Chicago. Most gladly was this permission granted and he began his work. This was in the winter of 1893.⁵ He found much consolation as he meditated upon the words of Christ in the gospel of John, "He shall guide you."

Will Otis Palmer had become a Seventh-day Adventist under the preaching of Joseph Bates, one of the first Seventh-day Adventist preachers. While Palmer was still young his parents moved to Battle Creek, Michigan, where he became interested in publishing and obtained an experience which proved to be valuable in his later work. For a time he lost some of his Christian zeal, but in the year 1893 he

²Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, Revision D, p. 191.

³Ibid., p. 193.

⁴See p. 21 above.

⁵J. N. Loughborough, The Great Second Advent Movement (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1905), p. 435.

renewed his consecration to God and felt that he was called to work for the colored people in the south. He and White became friends and began to plan together for their work. But they decided first to take a course of study at Battle Creek College, a Seventh-day Adventist college in Battle Creek, Michigan. While there White made inquiries at the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference office for the Testimony of 1891 concerning the need for missionary work among the Negroes of the south, but no one seemed to know about it. A little later he met a painter who was painting the interior of the office building and who told him that he had seen in a room, recently made vacant by the International Tract Society, pages of a manuscript which mentioned work among Negroes. White found these pages to be a part of the pamphlet, Our Duty to the Colored People, which his mother had written in 1891⁶ and when he read that white men and women should prepare themselves to work among the colored people, he felt that he was called to this service.⁷

From that time he began to pray more earnestly and plan more definitely for the work to which he was called. In January, 1894,

⁶Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, Revision D, p. 195.

⁷An earlier version of this experience is: One day Mr. White met a painter who said, "I hear you talking so much about the southern work. I saw some letters scattered on the floor in the attic where the old files are kept, which had much to say about the colored work. You would probably be interested in them." White climbed to the attic, gathered up the sheets from the floor of the attic, put them together and read them. They were pages of the Testimony of 1901, which was written by Mrs. White, and this was the first time he had seen it. To him such words as these came as a personal call: "White men and women should be qualifying themselves to work among the colored people. . . . Should it not be the work of the white people to elevate the standard of character among the colored race, to teach them how Christians should live." "Not all who labor in this line should depend upon the conference for support." Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 163.

R. N. Kilgore conducted a three week's institute in Atlanta, Georgia, for workers in the south. Palmer and White attended and received appreciatively the Bible instruction, but as these lay workers expressed it: "The wisdom and experience to counsel them how to begin was hard to find."⁸

The idea these men had was to publish a Gospel Primer which they could use in educating the Negro. Those attending the institute in Atlanta approved this and the Review and Herald Publishing Association, which publishes the general church paper, The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, as well as other religious literature for the Seventh-day Adventists, gave them permission to use some of their old stock-outs for illustrations. White wrote the text for the Primer.

When the book came off the press White and Palmer thought the volume would be good not only to use in teaching but as a book to sell for the support of their missionary enterprise. The territory that came to their minds for their first missionary efforts in the south was Nashville, Tennessee, but as they thought of the greater Negro population in the river district of Mississippi, they agreed that would be better. White had a natural liking for boating, and had gained an experience in river boat work upon the upper Mississippi some years before the call of God came to him. He and Palmer resolved to construct a steamer which could also be a floating home for the workers. This would give them the advantage of making their initial efforts broader than stationary headquarters would afford.

⁸ Ibid., p. 169.

On March 10, 1894, was begun at Allegan, Michigan, on the banks of the Kalamazoo river, the building of the southern missionary steamer to be called the Morning Star. Palmer and White had between them about one hundred dollars to invest in the boat, but now the Gospel Primer was selling rapidly and bringing in considerable income. Friends became interested and donated lumber and hardware.

Mrs. White continued to be a constant source of encouragement and help. She had assisted her son in writing the Coming King, a subscription book which was being sold for missionary purposes, and now gave him much counsel in her letters. Under date of June 28, 1894, she wrote to her son:

You have a work to do and you must not fail or be discouraged. . . . Now I write to you knowing that the Lord has a work for you to do. If you walk humbly with God, He will help and strengthen you and give you peace.

Various sources of revenue enabled the men to complete the boat free of debt. The boat was seventy-two feet long, with a hull twelve feet on the bottom, and had five staterooms, an office, a main cabin twelve by sixteen feet, a drawing room and kitchen. The hurricane deck was large enough to seat about two hundred people.⁹

In August, 1895, the Morning Star was completed and White and Palmer received from the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists credentials as missionaries to the colored people. They were to go as self-supporting workers, depending upon the sale of literature and royalties from the little Gospel Primer to meet the expenses of the boat and of such workers as might be employed.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 173, 174.

From the Sangatuak harbor at the mouth of the Kalamazoo river, the Morning Star glided into Lake Michigan, on an August afternoon, to steam to Chicago. The voyage which should have taken only five hours was extended to fourteen because of a severe storm. On the morning after the storm, Mr. Reed, captain of the Morning Star said, "It is something besides human power that has kept that boat. Here is an expression of my wish for your success." With these words he gave White a ten-dollar bill.¹⁰

Three young men joined the company during the three weeks' stay in Chicago. When the voyage was resumed, stops were made in principal cities where the workers canvassed for their books. At Ottawa, Illinois, they met F. W. Halladay, who, upon inquiry, was informed that those on the boat were going to work among the colored people of the south.¹¹ He decided to go with them as far as Peoria, Illinois. On this hundred-mile trip he became more impressed with the work they were going to do. Instead of going out with the others in Peoria, he remained on the boat and read the pamphlet, Our Duty to the Colored People, by Mrs. White. Halladay was constrained by this appeal to join the others. He no longer desired to go home but said: "I am going with you." Thereupon they grasped his hand and welcomed him into fellowship in the work. Concerning this decision, Halladay later said:

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 180.

¹¹ Halladay became a zealous pioneer among the Negroes in Mississippi and spent nearly two decades in educational work at the Oakwood Junior College, a training center for the colored Seventh-day Adventist youth. This school is located in Huntsville, Alabama.

It was the studying of this testimony that sent me south to the colored people whom I learned to love sincerely, and I look back upon my thirty-three years of labor for and with them with no regret of any sacrifice that I was called upon to make.¹²

Of this man more will be said later.

The inspectors who gave the boat its first inspection at Havana, Illinois, were very kind and lenient, requiring added equipment in the amount of only four dollars. It was at Havana that the boat company decided definitely to make Vicksburg, Mississippi, their destination, and to work anywhere along the river from Memphis to New Orleans. Vicksburg was chosen because it was one of the chief cities of the delta and had a heavy Negro population. Gospel meetings were held daily for the company on the steamer, and when the boat was docked, people from the towns attended the meetings. The power of the Holy Spirit was seen in the conversion of two in the company, one, Louis Clausen, not before a professing Christian and the other, Louis Hausen, a Roman Catholic.¹³

Following a brief stop in St. Louis the boat proceeded to Cairo, Illinois. But when the time came for the boat to leave, a pilot could not be found. A Negro boy in his 'teens had applied for work and had helped in the vain search for a pilot. He told Palmer that he had worked on boats, knew every inch of the river and could pilot them safely. Because of his age he had no license, but they decided to use him. The boy, Finis Parker by name, proved on the three-hundred

¹² Information contained in a letter dated at Frankfort, Indiana, November 19, 1939, signed F. W. Halladay. This testimony was the same one J. E. White had read and later had printed and circulated by the hundred in pamphlet form.

¹³ Icc. cit.

mile trip to Memphis the truth of his assertion that he knew every inch of the way, for he landed the workers safely in Memphis, Tennessee, on November 26, 1894.¹⁴

Here the owner of the boat was called in question for running without a pilot, although the federal steamboat inspector at St. Louis had told him that he could use any available help in running. The fine for violation of the Marine laws was \$500, but the men made an appeal to the Navy Department. Meanwhile a friend of Palmer's living in Memphis introduced him to the Federal steamboat officer, M. R. Patterson, who later became governor, and he made intercession for them. The case was taken to Washington, D. C., but it was referred back to Memphis and Patterson dismissed it.

During the several weeks the case was pending the missionary company studied the Bible with those in Memphis who would listen to their teachings.¹⁵ Some of them were white auditors for a Mr. V. O. Cole who accepted the Adventist teachings at this time, became in turn a missionary to the Negroes.¹⁶

According to the United States census, Negroes in Mississippi in 1895 constituted about fifty-eight per cent of the population.¹⁷

¹⁴ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 193.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁶ Information contained in a letter dated at Jacksonville, Florida, July 1, 1941, signed V. O. Cole.

¹⁷ The table shows the percentage of Negroes in the population of Mississippi:

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Mississippi -	57.6	58.5	56.2	52.2	50.2

One of the foremost cities of Mississippi then was the historic city of Vicksburg. It is surrounded by the Vicksburg National Military Park of more than 1300 acres, where nearly 900 tablets, monuments, and guns mark positions occupied by the various fighting units and describe the fierce siege that lasted from May 18 to July 4, 1863. In contrast to the destruction of life a few decades before, the seventh-day Adventist missionaries were to enter this city, to wage a battle against sin and lead the freedmen into the more abundant life.

The Baptist denomination was quite strong in Vicksburg, with a score of churches within the city limits. Two missionaries of this denomination, Miss Maggie Scott and Miss M. M. Osborne, had been sent by the Woman's Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1893 to work for the Negroes. They did a good work, and a quiet reformation was seen in the Mount Zion Baptist Church. But there was a desire for yet more truth and an even higher life.¹⁸

In 1894, a Negro preacher, Alonzo Parker, came from Arkansas to Vicksburg. As "the voice of one crying in the wilderness,"¹⁹ he owned no church nor creed, and was sent by no society, but feeling himself impressed by the Spirit, he came to preach the Word as he found it in the Bible. He had great power as a preacher of righteousness, and many churches were made available for his services. For a time his message held multitudes despite the fact that he never induced nor sanctioned the wild orgies of emotion which the common

¹⁸ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 193.

¹⁹ Matthew 3:3.

preacher sought. He denounced fearlessly the licentiousness, drunkenness, and lying that he found in priest and people. He knew that these evils were destroying the church and the home and hence he cried, "The truth shall make you free, but not unless you take it into your life, and live the things you say and preach."²⁰ It was not long, however, before preachers and deacons had turned against him because he exposed the evil of their doings, and they shut against him the doors of the churches. Next he began preaching in the streets and laboring from house to house, but the fury of the people was aroused against him. His following grew smaller and the people became more furious. The climax came when a madly excited mob of Negroes²¹ seized the preacher and inflicted upon him blows which resulted in his death. The words which he uttered before he died seemed to have a prophetic tone:

There will come to you people of Vicksburg just one more chance from God. He will send you within a year other messengers who will have a stricter message to bear than I have borne. And if you shall refuse to hear them, your fate will be sealed. Bury me with my Bible upon my breast. It shall be a witness in the resurrection against the evil men of this city. And it will be a witness in the mouths of those who come after me. I charge you, hear them, if you would be saved.²²

Shortly after these events, on January 10, 1895, the Morning Star steamed into Centennial Lake and dropped anchor just below Fort Hill, Vicksburg.²³ On board were the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries. They had no knowledge of the recent tragedy, but came to seek an audience among the Negroes in Vicksburg. Immediately these new

²⁰ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, pp. 218-220.

²¹ Information contained in a letter dated at Frankfort, Indiana, July 19, 1942, signed F. W. Halladay.

²² Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 221.

²³ Ibid., p. 222.

gospel workers went from house to house talking to the people, and seeking permission to give them studies on doctrines which were taught and sustained by systematically arranged Bible verses.

These newcomers also hoped to gain the confidence of the people by attending Sunday schools. One Sunday White and Palmer attended a Sunday school in Vicksburg and formed an acquaintance with a woman who was present. In their conversation one of the men suggested that they call at her home and give one of their Bible lessons. Arrangements were not completed that day but the following Tuesday the woman came to the Morning Star and invited the men to her home for a series of Bible studies. Twenty-one people were present at the first session and this number gradually increased until on a later occasion seventy-two were counted.²⁴

To accommodate the increasing numbers, White looked for a suitable place and succeeded in securing the Mount Zion Baptist church, where the revival of godliness had been seen in 1893. He agreed to paint and paper the building for the use of it.²⁵ The first studies in the church, calculated to arouse and increase general religious interest, were on the "Word of God," "What Faith Is," "Love," and lessons from the life of Joseph, Daniel, and Jesus.

In order to do more effective work these leaders decided to open night school and teach the fundamentals of education. By this

²⁴ "From the Lower Mississippi," The Signs of the Times, Vol. 21, No. 8, February 21, 1895, p. 12.

²⁵ Matilda Erickson Andross, Story of the Advent Message (Takoma Park, Washington, D. C: Review and Herald Publishing Association) p. 179.

method they hoped to bring mental and spiritual enlightenment to the Negro race. On Tuesday and Thursday evenings school sessions were held, and in a short time the number of those in attendance, which included small children, parents and grandparents, exceeded one hundred.²⁶ This necessitated the organization of several classes. In each evening session, reading and spelling were taught during a forty-five minute period. The next twenty-minute period was spent in a study of the Bible. Each study made use of certain texts of Scripture that introduced and emphasized a specific point of doctrine. The older people, some of whom had been slaves, came to the evening school weary with the labor of the day. Great was the joy of the teachers when under patient tutelage some of these learned to read from the little reader, Gospel Primer, which White had written in the year 1894.²⁷ A page from the first part of the primer shows the simplicity of the book:

A is for Adam, who was the first man

(Slate Exercise)
the man for
first Adam is

"So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him." Genesis 1:27.

B is for Bethlehem, where Jesus was born.

(Slate Exercise)
was for is born
where Jesus

"How when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there

²⁶ Africa at Home (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Missionary Society) p. 12.

²⁷ Information contained in a letter dated at Frankfort, Indiana, November 19, 1939, signed F. W. Halladay.

came wise may from the east to Jerusalem." Matthew 21:28

In connection with the simple lessons in reading and writing, the missionaries gave Bible studies in the homes of the people and held their principal weekly services on Saturday, which they observed as the Sabbath. The singing on the boat each Sabbath attracted no little attention, and soon a number were inquiring relative to the difference there was in observing Saturday, and not Sunday, as the Sabbath. The answers which the missionaries gave caused a number of them to observe Saturday as the Lord's day and one of the new converts expressed her delight in these words, "This is the second Sabbath I have kept and it seems to me twice as good as the first."²⁹ When the summer of 1895 came there were twenty-five colored people in Vicksburg who were observing Saturday as the Sabbath.³⁰

Following the counsel of Mrs. White the missionaries were cautious about arousing opposition from those who had been slaveowners, for the spirit that was opposed to any efforts to make the Negro independent was still alive.³¹ Accordingly they taught the people to observe Saturday as the Sabbath but did not emphasize their working on Sunday. The missionaries went to their Sunday schools and taught in a simple manner the love of Jesus for sinners and principles from His

²⁸ J. E. White, The Gospel Primer (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing Company, 1894), p. 5.

²⁹ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 197.

³⁰ H. D. Singleton, Brief History of Negro Work to 1908, (Manuscript), p. 5.

³¹ Ellen G. White, The Southern Work, p. 129. See also pp. 132-136.

life. They also did genuine missionary work which made the people very much interested in the work the Seventh-day Adventists were doing. Thus they found many opportunities for teaching their doctrines.

Among the closing words of counsel Mrs. White gave in her booklet, The Southern Work are found:

Every act will have to be oiled with the grace of God, every word spoken, carefully studied. Parties are already formed, and they are waiting, burning with a desire to serve their master, the devil, and do abominable work. Professed Christians are more determined in these things than out and out sinners. . . . This work for the southern people will require the tact of the most ingenious Christian.³²

Schools and sanitariums for colored people should be established, and in these the colored youth should be taught and trained for service by the very best teachers that can be employed.

There is work to be done in many hard places, and out of these hard places bright laborers are to come. Let the work be managed so that colored laborers will be educated to work for their own race. Among the Negro race there are many who have talent and ability. Let us search out these men and women, and teach them how to engage in the work of saving souls. God will cooperate with them and give them the victory.

We need the talent of the colored believers, every jot of it, in this work.

Colored men are to be thoroughly educated and trained to give Bible readings and hold tent meetings among their own people. There are many having capability, who should be prepared for this work.³³

When these missionary workers followed such methods, plans and precautions, which they recognized as divinely inspired, they felt an assurance of ultimate success. God has blessed men, throughout the

³²Ellen G. White, op. cit., pp. 143, 123, 121.

³³Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1911), Vol. 9, No. 37, pp. 201, 202. See also pp. 207, 210.

ages, who have labored faithfully for Him.

Some of the ministers of Vicksburg who were against the work of White and his companions advised their congregations not to be disturbed over the new teachings, because the men were not educated and did not know what the Bible means; as their pastors, they were paid to tell them what it taught. This did not close all homes to Bible studies. Some of the women who received the studies gave them to their husbands when they made periodic visits home from the swamp woods where they were working. These teachings were taken back to the swamps and a number of men began to keep the Sabbath.³⁴

The first church building for colored Seventh-day Adventists was begun with ten dollars which White and Palmer had between them. They arranged for the lumber to be paid for by instalments. On the morning they began work they were retarded because they had no building permit. To obtain this they were referred to the alderman, who said he would fight it as long as he lived, since it was to be a building for colored people. Ten days were spent in prayer. In the next interview with the alderman, Palmer learned that he would have to secure the signatures from the white residences near the property. Palmer spent two days in this kind of work while White remained outside the homes and prayed. The signatures were obtained and when the permit was granted the building program was resumed and all the Sabbath keepers were happy over the prospects of a new church.³⁵

The labor was donated, and exactly seven months after the

³⁴Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 209.

³⁵Loc. cit.

arrival of the Morning Star, the first church was ready for dedication. O. A. Olsen, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, was present and preached the dedicatory sermon. He was accompanied by the secretary of the General Conference, L. T. Nicola. The pastor of the Methodist church in Vicksburg attended this service. He was given an opportunity to speak and being acquainted with some Seventh-day Adventists in the north, he said with pleading voice:

Now I have some words to say to this congregation. You have a standard when you join this people that is higher than the standard of any church in Vicksburg or in the south, but the people are saying that it will not make you a better Christian, or better people, or better neighbors than you were before. I want you to prove that these people are wrong.

The chapel was erected on a leased lot. The General Conference officers present were astonished to know that after the building had been completed, painted, seated, and made ready for services, there was still twenty dollars left in the treasury. The day, August 10, 1895, was to be long remembered by the little company, for it was the first time they had ever seen a church dedicated free of debt.³⁶

Miss Osborne, the Baptist missionary in Vicksburg, accepted the teachings of Seventh-day Adventists after a long series of Bible studies by Palmer, and became one of the Morning Star workers. Later she was called to Atlanta, Georgia, as a licensed missionary, where she spent many years working for the Negro.³⁷

White spent the summer of 1895 in the north preparing literature. The new church was used at night for a school during the winter

³⁶ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 209.

³⁷ Information contained in letter from J. E. White to Mrs. White, dated July 14, 1895.

of 1895-96. Folding desks were attached to the backs of the seats. Attendance soon exceeded one hundred twenty-five and the old men and women sat in seats while the children sat on the platform, steps, and floor. These evening sessions were held on Monday and Thursday from seven-thirty to nine o'clock. Reading, spelling, penmanship, arithmetic and grammar were taught. Penmanship was enthusiastically copied from the blackboard by small children and by old men and women. At the third session several young men of Methodist and Presbyterian belief, who were planning to enter the ministry, requested a Bible class. At the end of the regular studies White gave them special personal instruction, without a particular study on the question of the seventh-day Sabbath, and also gave them outlines of these Bible studies so they could study them at home. In a short time all but one signed the covenant to obey God's law. Some of these later attended the Oakwood Manual Training School and two of them were among the first three graduates.

One of these, Dr. W. J. Astrapp, completed his work at the Oakwood Manual Training School and taught at Yazoo City, Mississippi. Later he completed a medical course and began his practice in South Pittsburg, Tennessee, in 1909, where he has also operated a drug store since 1925. In his practice white patients outnumber colored, five to one, and an average of three a day come from a distance of thirty-three miles.³⁸

³⁸ Information obtained in an interview with Dr. W. J. Astrapp, May 6, 1940, at South Pittsburg, Tennessee.

The other of the early graduates, Thomas Murphy, engaged in colporteur work in Elmore County, Alabama, in 1902, and taught school in Yazoo City, Mississippi, and in Columbus, Greenville, and Vicksburg of the same state. In 1912 Murphy began doing self-supporting work and opened an Industrial school six miles north of Vicksburg. He was successful in operating this school free of debt until 1916. He then entered the Seventh-day Adventist ministry and after many more years of active service in the ministry in Mobile, Alabama, and other states, retired in 1939.³⁹

To meet the increasing demands of the school a recitation room and library were added to the chapel. Books were added to the library until it contained fifteen hundred volumes.⁴⁰

Some old women who had to work all day were taught by Mrs. J. E. White. They learned reading, spelling, addition and Roman numerals for use in Bible study. Before the winter was over it seemed practical to open a day school and charge a small sum, a few cents a week, as a nominal tuition fee. These efforts inspired confidence in the motives of the workers and during the following year teachers and students from other schools came to be instructed. H. S. Shaw of Illinois and F. R. Rogers of Minnesota did much to establish the educational work in Mississippi.

To carry on some phases of medical work White secured the services of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Kynett and their daughter Lydia

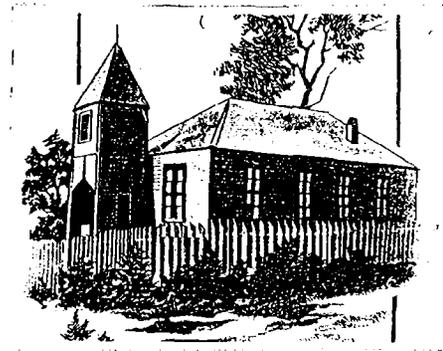
³⁹ Information contained in letter from Thomas Murphy, dated at Denver, Colorado, October 24, 1939.

⁴⁰ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 223.

Kynett, who was a graduate nurse. These medical missionary workers cared for the sick and taught the people how to preserve their health. They accomplished much good.⁴¹

⁴¹ A report for three months gives a view of their work:

Number of visits	289
Number of treatments given	109
Medical prescriptions given	66
Office consultations and examinations	33
Garments distributed (number of barrels)	14
Dorcas Society Meetings	5
Cooking schools	4
Bible readings held	117
Sermons preached	26
<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 225.	

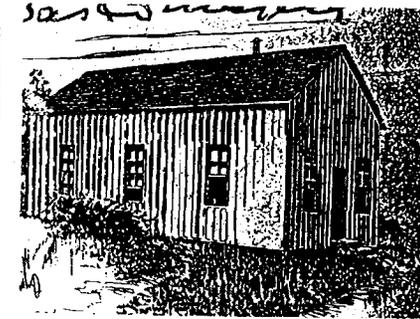


Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Vicksburg, Mississippi, where Southern Missionary Society workers began their work January, 1895.

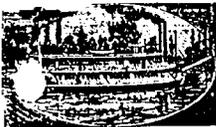


In its early stages the steamboat *Morning Star* is an important factor in the work. It was built at Allegan, Michigan, during the spring of 1895.

Morning Star Steamer



First Southern Missionary Society School House, Vicksburg, Mississippi



J. E. WHITE, President.
 P. H. KELLOGG, Secretary.
 F. W. HALLADAY, Treasurer.

Northern Office

F. T. MAGAN,
 C. W. SMOUSE,
 F. H. SCHRAMM.

Southern Missionary Society

Of the Yazoo and Mississippi Valleys.
 Incorporated 1839.

Southern Representatives
 "Morning Star," Yazoo City, Miss.

Battle Creek, Mich. June 28, 1900.

Mrs. E. G. White,
 "Sunnyside", Cooranbong,
 New South Wales, Australia.

Dear Mother:--

I have received your last letter and have been very much interested in noticing the line of work that is being carried on in Australia. You certainly have a large amount of care on your mind and I can readily see with the existing conditions in Australia, that the work should be pushed there as rapidly as possible, for I feel very sure, with you, that the present favorable conditions cannot continue for any great length of time.

In our field in the South, we find that the field is narrowing and the line of work that can be done is contracting and that the color line is being drawn closer and closer continually. At Yazoo City, we have had quite a severe experience lately. A number of weeks ago, I felt sure that the time had come when white teachers should be entirely removed from our schools in that part of the field. Bro. Rogers was being followed in the streets and hooted after by boys, and to me, this simply voiced the sentiment of their parents and the grown up people. Consequently, I expressed my mind very fully to him that I was sure that he should retire entirely and leave the school in the hands of the colored teachers that we had brought in. I will say right here that three public school teachers have accepted the truth. One of them is the wife of the principle of the colored schools of the city. Her husband

Mother. 2.

is favorable to the truth, and we expect him to take his stand very soon. We had already brought Bro. Warnick, from Chattanooga, Tenn., who is a man that was a Baptist preacher for a number of years and is a man of considerable ability.

In response to my letter of warning, Bro. Rogers wrote that that he dare not leave the school at that time, but would watch the situation closely and as soon as he saw signs that were dangerous, he would step out before any harm should be done. I was not pleased with his reply, although I did not feel like ^{saying} that my plan must be carried out. The result justified my ^{conviction} ~~conviction~~. Demonstrations began to be made and then Bro. Rogers stepped out, but it was too late then to avoid a crisis. Demonstrations and threats were made, although Bro. Rogers had left the school and was preparing to go to Vicksburg at once, and so as far as possible to remove all cause for difficulty. Bro. Warnick got in a panic although there was no real danger to the colored teachers, and he persuaded Bro. Dancer who was teaching a school at Wilsonia, two miles away, to run away from their duty and go down to Vicksburg. Bro. Warnick was in a perfect panic, and although Bro. Rogers was not ten minutes walk from Warnick's home, he did not even notify him that he was going. Bro. Warnick was in such a panic that they would hide in the day time and avoid every one they would meet. I never heard of such a fright as they exhibited. He even told falsehoods as to where he was going, who he was, and where he came from. When he reached Vicksburg, our brethren there were much dissatisfied at his course and instructed him to go back and stay at his post of duty. He did so, but of course the school was broken up by his action and the white people who were making the trouble, and also the colored people who hated our work, were emboldened by the cowardice of Warnick and so came and forbid them even ~~making~~

Mother 3.

holding services in our church on Sunday. Warnick and Dancer are working quietly among the people and there is a goodly company there ~~who are~~ who are firm to the truth. But the mistaken course of Bro. Rogers of staying too long and of Warnick and Dancer running away from duty have so complicated the situation that we cannot forecast the outcome. Of course we know that there are a goodly number there who will remain firm to the truth, but now, it looks as if the enemy had gained the victory; although the lost ground may be recovered by judicious effort. Bro. Halladay will go up in a few days and look over the ground and see what is best to do.

I am now fully satisfied that there will be no more use for us to attempt to use white teachers for the colored people in the cotton belt sometimes called the great colored belt of the South. The prejudice against this work is becoming stronger. Legislation is preparing to disfranchise the colored people, and the great amendment of Abraham Lincoln which gave them citizenship, is threatened a repeal. We are now making strong efforts to have schools started according to the Testimonies where young men and women can be educated for work, right on the ground. Negroes from the North, are not good material for teachers or workers in the South. I have had a very bitter experience in the past. Our experience in converting those who are already teachers, is a great encouragement to us, and we feel sure that the Huntsville and other schools will soon develop a line of teachers that can be set at work.

I have just spoken of the difficulty at Yazoo City. Another outrage has just been committed, or at least this seems to be the case. Bro. Olvin, the colored man who was whipped over a year ago, has been arrested for murder. ^{Admitted} The ~~arrest~~ of this seems to be dated back to the time when the difficulty came up and he was whipped. Those people who

Mother. 4.

are engaged in that outrage, have been trembling ever since with fear that we would come on them and bring them up for their unlawful course at that time. The greatest witness against them is this Bro. ~~Warnick~~ Olvin, and if he were out of the way, they would feel comparatively safe. Several times they have tried to get him into a place where they could hatch up something to get rid of him, but they have been ~~foiled~~ ^{hindered} in all their efforts up to the present time. A few months ago Bro. Olvin adopted a young boy who was homeless, to care for him. He nursed him through an attack of small-pox and after he recovered from this he was taken down with ^h cholera morbus. One day while lying on the couch on the piazza of the house he fell off the couch and off the piazza on the ground and was somewhat bruised, ^{and his skull fractured}. The next day he died, and a charge of murder was brought against Olvin and he is now in jail awaiting trial. We are doing what we can in his behalf but do not know what the result will be. Bro. Olvin is charged with punishing the boy unmercifully. His wife owns that he whipped the boy. Bro. Olvin is a hasty, passionate man and has a temper, but the Lord has done much for him, yet I feel that he is not entirely free from blame; but I have no thought that he is guilty of the charge that is brought against him.

A number think this is a part of the old effort to get him out of the way. I do not know what we shall do in his case but I think I must go to Vicksburg in a few days and look up the situation.

Last night Bro. Irwin called me in and requested me to join him and Elder Lane in going to the Kentucky Camp-Meeting which is now in session. He desires a meeting of the Southern Executive Committee of which I am a member, to consider matters of much importance regarding the work in the South. I am sorry to have to go just now, for we are *closing*.

Mother . 5
 up matters here and did hope to be ^{permanently} in the South long before this. After the counsel is through I shall run down to Nashville and counsel with the president of the ^{W. & T. C. C.} Conference regarding a camp-meeting for the colored people, of Tennessee. I have written the president of the conference as to how such a meeting should be conducted. It is that we should bring our colored ministers to the meeting and let them have the immediate control, and let it appear from the outside as a colored camp-meeting, held and managed by the colored people. Of course ^{some} white ^{ministers} will be in attendance so far as possible, or advisable. Some white ministers will speak part of the time but they will stay back of the colored men and consult with them and advise them regarding the work. The president of the Conference agrees with me in this and I would like your opinion in regard to it. We find that when sentiment is once aroused among the white people ~~for~~ ^{regarding white working for and with} the colored people, that ~~x~~ even this militates ^{against} the work of introducing colored workers in the colored field. Hence, I feel very anxious that the proper care shall be taken in regard to this difficulty and that white workers, so far as possible, remain in the back ground as much as they can, and bring in and educate and manage colored workers in the field. For although white workers may work in many localities now their work will be closely watched by outside people, and although the white workers may leave the work to be done by the colored workers, yet the remembrance and the prejudice of the action of the white workers will bring down the wrath of the white people against the colored workers, when the elements of opposition become more active than at the present time.

For this reason, when I ^{move} to Nashville, I feel it my duty to refrain, personally, from going into the school and other work with the colored people, which will bring me into prominence in that line

Mother 6.
 of work and prejudice the white people against me. More than this, if I keep somewhat aloof from the active work, and only take part as manager of the work and preach occasionally to the ^{colored} people, my influence over them will be greater.

Another reason for this, lies in the opening of the work among the poor whites that we are doing now. Should I identify myself closely with the colored people, I shall find myself cut off from the influence of these white people. If I occupy the position simply as manager of the work I can still have access to these people, and as I investigate the work I find that the needs of effort for these poor whites are just as great as for the colored people.

There is another reason for this. I have served nearly six years in the field, and have been connected with every ~~xxx~~ phase of the work, so that I have an experience which is valuable to the work. More than this, I believe that I have put in enough years in this work of directing and conducting and teaching among the colored people. I can now have charge of the educational work and the managing of the workers and looking after the general interests of the work, giving my time ~~lx~~ more to study and preaching the Word, writing for papers, and book making. I would like to have your opinion in regard to this.

At Nashville, we hope to open a training school for nurses this winter, and there are a number of the proper class who would like to attend such a course who are now receiving their education through different schools in the South. At Nashville, we also expect to open ^{teachers} a training school for the colored people to work among their own people, and have white teachers ^{in training,} who will work for the poor whites or for the colored people, where it is proper for them to do so.

mother. K. 7.

I am also glad to say that we have secured one man of financial strength and business ability to come down and bear the burden of the financial enterprises, which we are undertaking for the support of the work. We have also connected with us a good business man, whose home was in Graysville, Tenn. who will look after the business part of our Health Food Business and such lines of work. I have succeeded in securing a nice printing office. The one I did own, I ~~was~~ sold to the Battle Creek College. Type Founders and those who have printing presses for sale have donated largely to our work giving a part of the price of the material we purchased. We have a nice cylinder press, though small. It is only 17x22 1/2 inches but it is a fine running press and will print four pages of our paper at a time. We have a nice job press and a nice Washington proof press, of the kind that the Review and Herald used to be printed on when it was in Rochester, (a hand press, I mean.) This is necessary in taking proofs on our book work. We also have a nice paper cutter and a fine outfit of type. I shall enclose you by mail a copy of our first little booklet, this being prepared to circulate among the poor white people, especially among the children of their families. I do not know that the form in which this is written is just the best, but we desire to interest them in the improvement of their homes and I really thought that this would be a good way to bring it before them.

We also have a nice outfit for the manufacture of foods, ^{health} but we find it quite difficult ^{in the South} to get good Graham flour. ^{that which} ~~That~~ we can buy at the present time, has all the life taken out of it ^{that} we used to have ^{with} in early days before they brought in the roller mills. I have recently bought a nice grist mill for \$39.00 the price being \$75.00. Today we have it set up and in operation in the College Printing Office.

8.

It grinds beautiful Graham flour. We will ship our wheat to Nashville and grind the flour which we and the S. D. As in the South use and also that which we use in our Health Food Business. Thus we can all the time have the freshest kind of Graham flour. We have a nice fanning mill to winnow out the grain with and this was also a donation to us. ^{this Graham flour makes the best bread we have eaten for years} We have a nice coffee roaster which will take in about two bushells at a roasting. The price is \$75.00 but the manufacturer gave it to us for \$36.00 which was just the cost of the material and labor, and so we are preparing for our work but I am so very glad that in a few weeks they will all be in operation under the charge of competent men and the money for operating will be furnished by the Michigan man who goes down with us to take charge of the work, (the financial part of it.) This, I believe is the way the Lord would have it. ^{We also have a gasoline engine and other appliances.}

One other good thing came to us last week. I have been for sometime looking for a buggy to be used by us at Nashville. But to get anything good and substantial, was going to cost nearly \$100.00. Bro. Palmer has been in ^{correspondence} with a large carriage factory and so I asked him to help me get a good one at a low price, on account of the work for which it was to be used. He stated that a Dr. Harvey had just got hold of the very thing I wanted in a trade and would probably sell it cheap. At my request he telephoned to him. The reply was, that the carriage was one that had been owned by one of the Wessels and that it had cost \$300.00 the year before. It is what they call a "trap" Ordinarily it is a single seated buggy, but there is a seat in the back, that by lowering down the end board, it turns up another seat, but those set with their backs to the ones who are sitting in the front seat. This is the most popular kind of a carriage in Nashville. It has rubber tires and has shafts or tongue, so that we can

use it for one horse or two. It is heavier than an ordinary buggy and is substantially built. The rubber tires make it ride a very ~~smoothly~~ ^{smoothly}. Dr. Harvey telephoned to Bro. Palmer that he would sell it for \$150.00. Bro. Palmer told him that there would be no use in quoting that price to ~~him~~ him for the carriage was for J. R. White to be used in the South. He immediately replied that for that purpose he would sell it for \$100.00. I ~~went~~ ^{went} down and examined it and although I liked it very much, I concluded that I could not pay so much for the carriage, matter how good it was, and so dropped it. In a little while I received a telephone message from Dr. Harvey asking me to call and see him about it, which I did. He then stated that he would sell it for \$100.00 and donate one half of that so you see it would only cost us \$50.00 really, but I paid him \$5.00 for the tongue, extra, making \$55.00 in all. It is really worth \$150.00. In Nashville, our home will be a mile and a half from the post-office and a horse and carriage will be absolutely necessary. I am very glad to get this substantial and useful vehicle. I am thankful to say that we are securing many things in this way.

My plan now, is to go to the camp-meeting in Kentucky, and from there go to Nashville, and then run down to Vicksburg where the new church is being built, and then return home by the way of Evansville, Indiana. At Evansville, two of the brethren have built them a boat in which they will live and do canvassing ~~work~~ ^{work} and missionary work ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ along the rivers of Kentucky and Tennessee. They will sell out Health Foods and books. My experience will help them some in equipping their outfit. They have been very fortunate in securing a boat nicely equipped and finished with large rooms in which two families can live, at a cost of about \$500.00. I believe that they will do a good work with this.

There has been something else suggested to me and that is, ~~that~~

that you would like to have the ~~xxx~~ General Conference held in some other place than Battle Creek, perhaps in the South further, where the climate will not be so cold at that season of the year. What would you think of Nashville? I think this would be a good place. You could live with us and have every convenience and I think we will have no difficulty in securing a place for the meeting.

Now, mother, there are some questions of ~~xx~~ very great importance which I want to ask you, and I would like to have you answer them as carefully and as fully as you care to do.

First:-- There is a question which is agitated considerably in regard to the white and colored people in the South holding their services together. Some have felt that this must be done at all hazards. I think you know the condition and the situation in the South, better than any other person that lives, but I will present to you the way that the matter appears to me, and some of the experiences that have been met along these lines.

To begin with Chicago, I will say that there is a serious difficulty which has arisen there and has been before the people for many years. The colored people of course are taken ~~to~~ ^{into} the church there and have the same church privileges as the white people, and there is this about these colored people, that they are absolutely and aggressively persistent in pushing what they claim to be their rights in spite of all reason, in spite of all injury that they may do to the work, and in ~~the~~ ^{the} of any number of people who may be driven away from the ~~church~~ ^{church} truth, in consequence of it. So in Chicago, instead of taking a position that would not make them conspicuous and not bring prejudice, they are bound to take their position in the most prominent places of the church and if strangers attend church, no matter if they are people who are there simply to investigate, they will plant themselves square by the side, if they can possibly do so, simply to show what they can do in our church.

colored felt in Chicago. suffered. I am confident a large colored church could be built up there if started as a colored church properly by itself.

There was one time when special efforts were being made in missionary lines for the White people of Chicago. Many were interested and many came to our church, but here, the colored people made themselves so outrageously offensive that those who would come once, would never come again. This thing practically broke up the special missionary effort in Chicago.

I find that there is an element among the colored people of the North of insistence for their rights and a jealous watching for slights, that makes it very difficult to have anything to do with them. If they think that anything should be tolerated in them they will insist upon that at whatever hazard or cost of the work or even to the interests of their own people. They are determined not to give one iota of their own rights as they claim them not even to advance the work among their own brethren of the South. This is the way it appears under such conditions in the North.

Now, in the South. At Knoxville, Tenn., they had two churches, white and colored. Pressure was brought to bear to make them unite in one, and now the spread of the truth among the white people is absolutely stopped. And in most instances, the colored people in gaining the point, begin to fall off, for they do not like meetings mixed with the white people as well as they do by themselves in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred. In Louisville, Ky. the same thing was done and the same results. Where a flourishing colored church is practically forced to unite with the white church, they lose their hold upon the work and finally begin to drop out. So under the circumstances both white and colored workers are handicapped. The white worker, cannot work in missionary lines with the white people and bring them into the church for if they do, their sense of the fitness of things are so outraged that they will turn bitter enemies at once, and of course in a mixed congregation, special efforts cannot be made to bring

12.

colored people in.

At Nashville, Tenn. this same thing was done. They had a nice church of colored people and they hammered away at it until the white people and colored people were both united. When I was there last spring the colored attendance had dropped off to only four or five, and the white work is checked.

I have talked this matter over with Southern workers a very much and those who know the situation of the South, and the opinion that ~~xxxx~~ the work in this line that might have been done years ago, is now practically, an impossibility. At the close of the war, the white people were accustomed to have colored people in their churches, but they have been ^{long estranged} ~~separated~~ from this, that while missionary efforts are necessary among the white people and colored people, I do not see how that they can be united in the same churches. In many places, I believe white people would be mobbed if they were known to be connected with the colored people in their church relations and worship as they are. The great cry against our work in the South at Yazoo City, was the white people were teaching the "niggers?"

I have not found anything in the Testimonies that we have received that make it obligatory upon us to attempt to force the two elements together, especially while missionary efforts must go forward with both classes. In Nashville, I shall make no effort to break up the present order of things, but I shall seek to establish a center for the colored people in another part of the city and when something of this kind is built up invite them to join it, but never will connect any colored effort with the white people's effort.

Now, mother, if I am wrong in that, I want to be set right. The Lord can enable us to do what he demands of us, but the instruction that we should make ^{no masterly effort} ~~any ministerial effort~~ to break down the prejudice in the South, ^{seems to apply} ~~is as strong~~ as strong on this

13.

Anything that comes in our work. In fact, I would not know how to work in the South if I felt compelled to unite the church work in both classes in ^{the same meeting} ~~meeting~~ and I do not think it can be done unless ^{substantially} ~~by~~ brought. I have tried to hold meetings for both classes together, even separating the two classes by a partition, and I have also tried working part of the time for the white people and part of the time for the colored people. I was met by a committee that had secured the Superintendent of Public Instruction to come with them. I found that it would not work and have never tried it since. I wish you would advise me in regard to the correctness of the position that I have taken.

If we raise up a colored church, let it be a colored church.
If work is done for the white people let it be done for them, even though there be two churches in the city. When the work is finally completed and the missionary ^{work} for both classes is done, and the Lord calls them to unite, he can ~~do~~ so work it that it can be done, and I see no other hope for it.

Now mother, I want to bring before you plainly some matters in regard to the work in which I am engaged. In fact, it is the financial part of it. Last fall, I wrote you for instruction in regard to calling for means. I received the plainest kind of instruction which was outlined to me, and I considered it my duty to go to the people and call for ~~means~~ means to carry forward the work of the Southern Missionary Society. The incorporation of the Society was also approved and in the workings out of the work, this step has proved just the thing needed. Our people responded nobly to the call for means. In previous letters I have told you what we have been able to ^{do} as the result, but the General Conference people have never been reconciled to this, and ~~where~~ ^{wherever} ~~they can~~ they slant out on my work, and they say that our calls for means are not in the proper order, and not in the regular channels.

14.

Now, under such circumstances I have concluded (and there are numbers that agree with me) ~~and that is~~ that we should not secure means in the future by asking for donations from our people, while the feeling exists with the General Conference as it does at the present time. I had a talk with Elder Irwin two days ago and he showed in that plainly ~~that~~ his feeling. I put some things very plainly to him. But I see very plainly that we must ^{not} make any further calls for donations, ^{for} ~~it~~ will bring serious opposition to us from the General Conference people. At least they will go as far as they dare in opposing it. We are trying to be quiet and go forward without making any noise so far as we can, but I now feel that other methods must be ~~per~~ ^{pursued} in bringing means for the work of the Southern Missionary Society. After the talk I had with Eld Irwin, I went home and passed a sleepless, terrible night. ~~Have~~ seldom passed such a night. The situation was upon my mind every moment and I could not see any way out of it; without either going in direct opposition to the General Conference or else giving up the work. I cried to the Lord for light, and before morning came, I began to see my way clear, and get some relief.

The situation is as follows:--

A Brother B. A. Rogers of Northern Michigan, who lives near Wright, has come ^{into} ~~into~~ considerable property of late. At the Michigan Camp-Meeting last year, I met him and he expressed his desire to enter into the work in the South. I approached him a few months ago upon the subject of his connecting with the work, in starting some enterprise with the money which he has recently fallen heir to from his father. I met him at the Greenville state meeting a few weeks ago and he stated he had two farms, one of which he desired to sell but that if he could not sell, he would rent it and go down anyway, but unless he

15.
 could sell he could not raise more than \$1000.00 to bring into the work. A few days ago, I received a letter from him stating that he had sold his farm and was ready to go South at any time and take up the work down there. His wife is a school teacher of experience and both of them are intelligent and he is a good business man and a level headed man financially.

As you see he will bring means to the work and he feels inclined to take up the Health Food Business and furnish the capital for it and help in other lines as well. We have also secured an excellent business man with years of experience who understands marketing goods, at a very low salary. When we get South we will start our Health Food Business. Bro. Rogers, will ~~with others~~ take all the care of furnishing all the money and ~~they~~ will take care of the business, and I feel sure that from this we will get a good income for our ~~business~~ ^{work}. This is one source of income for our work.

The Smouse Missionary Fund averages us about \$50.00 per month. This is another source of income. I have suggested to the business man who joins us a mail order business by which we can handle a few easy selling articles and through the columns of our paper advertise them and get our people to buy of us what they need, and interest themselves in selling to others. The experience with the wall pockets which have been supplied by Bro. Smouse shows us what may be done if the business is properly handled. This wall pocket business has already brought into the Society for its use over \$1300.00. This mail order business, we feel quite sure will bring us a good income, and we will get our people to sell and canvass for these articles throughout the whole United States, giving all the profits to the work. Through the columns of the paper we will continually present the needs of the field, and explain to our people that we think the better plan of raising funds will be

16.
 for them to give time to the missionary work and instead of appealing to the people for donations of money. I think there ^{are} hundreds and hundreds of them who will do this work, and while we do ^{not} appeal for money, I think they will send many donations, and in managing the work in this way the General Conference cannot, by any possibility, ~~be~~ finding any fault, and harmony, I am sure, will be the result. I candidly believe that we can build up a business in this way that will pay \$5000 or \$6000 a year. The business man who will connect with us when we go to Nashville is very much interested with this idea and I feel sure that he can manage this thing to good advantage. Some little enterprises which we have already started have done favorably well. The little ^{rubber stamp} linen marker which we have, has brought us in over \$150.00 and we are enlarging our work in this line of goods so that we may be able to do much more.

Another source of income, and one on which I feel sure that we can depend with great safety, is the books I already have on the market and those which I am preparing.

Now, Mother, I believe that with all this, in a few months we can develop a steady income of \$500.00 a month, or more. I am sure that when we present the financial interests to our people and they understand that this is the only source of income, for our missionary work, that they will rally to it, and I believe that by presenting it in this way that our leading men will second our efforts. These plans have been evolved after much care and consideration of the question. For nearly three years I have been planning for a Health Food Factory, and have been gradually collecting machinery and appliances until the necessary material is almost completed. These I have furnished from own money and have taken nothing from donations for either this or the printing office. I have supplied the funds for both and now just

17.

We are ready to open it, comes the connection of Bro. Rogers with us, with the money to carry it forward and with men provided to attend to the business. So it will be started without my doing violence to any directions I have received in doing the work.

My Brother, in his last letter, felt that I should have some understanding with Dr. Kellogg and arrange the business in some way that the Medical Missionary Society should not interfere in our food business as it has with the factory connected with the Nebraska College. I am glad to say that I have been in constant touch with Dr. Kellogg, in my preparation. He has expressed his sympathy in my effort to start this work, and in one of his letters he stated that he felt sure that we could realize a profit of not less than \$5000 a year on our cereal coffee alone, and I believe we can, and he more; but we shall not go into a large line ~~line~~ of foods such as is brought out by the Sanitarium. At the present, we shall only start two varieties. One is our Dixie Cereal, coffee, which is the only coffee that will keep in the hot climates. The other is a breakfast food in which some fruit preparations will be introduced to give it a flavor. It will be something of the nature of granola and be called "Fruited Wheat." This preparation cannot come in contact with anything that the Sanitarium is preparing as it is nothing like any of their preparations.

I like this plan of introducing only about two varieties at first and then concentrating our efforts upon these two. The wisdom of this is demonstrated right here in Battle Creek a man by the name of Post, practically stole the formula of the Sanitarium factory for making their coffee, and has been making this alone for years. He then started a breakfast food called Grape Nuts and concentrated his forces on these two and I have heard from ^{several} business ^{men} who know, that his

18.

profit on these two, has enabled him to bank \$1000 per day, for months at a time. At the same time the Sanitarium was dabbling into all kinds of foods, spending much money, and ~~inventing~~ ^{inventing} and perfecting machinery to carry these things out, and while it did make some thing out of it, it never made one tenth what Post was making.

Now, it is a poor man that cannot learn a lesson from experience. The machinery and outfit necessary for the manufacture of these two simple articles of mine, does not require a large investment. We can perfect our printed material for these two articles without a large expense. We can reduce the cost of manufacturing to the minimum, and can make a good profit and not fool it all away in hunting up something new. The South is ripe for Health Foods. The advertising of all these other firms for substitutes for coffee and for breakfast foods has created a demand, but there are no factories for these in the South. We have given our enterprise the name of "Dixie Health Food Company," and are located right in the South, and this will appeal to the people of the South as nothing else will. We have taken the name of "Dixie Cereal" for our coffee, and this name is sure to win. We have brought the name out in the way of a trade mark and I shall enclose a sample of the poster which we have brought out to put on the ends of our boxes, in which we put the coffee which we ship to the dealers. I think it is a beauty. But the great point in this is, we can advertise that this coffee will keep in any climate for any length of time without losing its strength or flavor and free from the attack of insects and worms. We have tested and know this.

Our breakfast food, we call, "Fruited Wheat." and the food will be just what we claim it to be. We are preparing to put this up in two styles of packages. One style will be the regular carton which is used in this country for this kind of work, and the other will be to

put it up in tin cans. We shall put it hot into the cans, and then ~~XXXXX~~ solder it up so that no germs or worms can get inside. This breakfast food will then keep for years perfectly fresh and dealers will not hesitate to put in a supply of it for they know it is prepared to keep through even the hottest weather.

One thing has troubled us considerably, and that was our getting good Graham flour in the South during the hot weather of the summer. Graham flour will not keep any length of time in the hot Southern climate. So when we start our business, we must be prepared to fill large orders, and so you see we must be so that we can have a good supply of Graham flour on hand at our disposal at all times. The mill which I have purchased for this is just the ~~xxx~~ thing. We can ship our wheat to the South and then grind our flour there and it will keep with us through the whole season. Thus, we can grind it just as we want it to use in manufacturing our health foods, or in baking, and in supplying our people all through the South in just such quantities as they want.

Our oven is a beautiful affair. It is so light that two men can carry it and yet it will bake 70 loaves of bread at a baking and the work is so superior to anything that can be done in a stove that my

wife brings her bread here to our office to bake, as we have the oven set up here. The bread tastes much different baked in this oven. The price of this oven is ~~\$150.00~~ ^{\$115.00}. It is made in Vermont. I got it for ~~mission~~ ^{mission} \$38.00 ~~xxx~~, but there I am writing a wonderfully gossipy letter, and so must turn to other things.

The point I had in all this is to show you that we are making plans by which our work can be made self-supporting and can stop this irrepressible conflict between our work and the General Conference.

But there is another thing which has come up, which I desire to have you express yourself about positively. The fact is, that

there seems to be an effort to keep every thing from going to the ~~XXXXXX~~ Southern Missionary Society that is possible. But, not to go into that, I have this question to present to you. If the Review and Herald has done an injury in regard to the Gospel Primer, and ~~it~~ has been stated to be so in reproofs which have come from you time after time, in regard to this restitution and where it should go. Now, let me draw out this point a little. If I have been robbed and the robber is to make restitution, can he do this by paying the money to somebody else?

Now, if the Gospel Primer has been robbed by the course of the Review and Herald and so the work of the Southern Missionary Society was crippled because of this, then if the Review and Herald office is to make restitution, should it not go to the very field that was robbed?

I make this plainer. If we had ~~had~~ had all that was coming to us on the Gospel Primer, it would have gone to us to be used in our work in Mississippi, but we were robbed of the money that we should have had to be used in this work, and so it did not get the money that it should have had. Now, when restitution is made, how can it be restitution unless it goes to the very field that has been robbed?

To illustrate this. The Sabbath School donations were taken by the General Conference. When the General Conference makes restitution, can it be restitution if they raise the fund and send it to carry on a mission in Switzerland, in England, in China or some other country? The principles that you have laid down show plainly that that would not be restitution at all.

Now, a book was brought out to help us in our work along the Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers in Mississippi. Wrong was done to that primer so that the work in that field was stunted and handicapped for

er. 21.

years on account of the wrong course that was taken. Restitution is called for. Now, I claim and so do others here that restitution can be made only by restoring the money to the very place which was robbed in the first place. I ask if I am right in this.

Now, to sum up the point, the Review and Herald ~~was xxxxxxx~~ ^{has and voted} decided to appropriate \$2500 in addition to what they had previously done in the way of restitution for the wrong done on the Gospel Primer but as the Office was in financial straits they decided that they must restrict the one to which this restitution was to be made, and that as the wrong was done in interfering with the book published for the work, ~~that the~~ ^{the} restitution of this \$2500 be devoted to bringing out books for this Southern work. This was perfectly satisfactory to me, but of course the money would have been more useful to ~~me~~ ^{the} but I really thought that they had tried to do the generous thing.

But right at this time came in the old spirit which has crippled our work for so long. ~~and~~ ^{Some} said that this fund should not be placed at my disposal but in the hands of the committee for the Southern work and let them dispose of it throughout the field and so the thing hung fire for several weeks. I talked the matter up with some of the members of the board and they saw the justice of it. I finally wrote out a letter to them and told them that the sale of the Gospel Primer had been injured by the course of the Review and Herald Office and that they had acknowledged it by making a ~~handsome~~ ^{handsome} restitution. I also stated that in consequence of the crippling of the sale of the Gospel Primer, I was now bringing out other books to take the field and bring out the money that I should have had from the Primer and that if they were going to make restitution as they had voted, that I could see no sort of righteousness in putting it into the hands of others to administer,

cher. 22

but that it should be applied in bringing out these books on which I was at work to take the place of the sales which were lost on the Gospel Primer. I further told them that I could not see how it was right for them to keep holding ~~it~~ back in this, because just now was the time when I needed the help, and that now, at this time, the money would ~~do the work~~ ^{be} more good than at any other time, and if they waited until we had struggled through and I got my books on the market that their restitution fund would be of little value to me. I further told them that their bills were eating up the royalties on ~~these~~ ^{my} books and the expenses were eating up all the little ~~xxxxxxx~~ money that I had left, and that unless something was done, I should be so crippled when my books came out that I could not go on with the work in the South. But more than that, I told them that my funds were so nearly used up that I would feel compelled to shut down the work unless proper action was taken in the matter.

I am glad to report that in a few days they had a board meeting and the matter came up and a unanimous vote was taken that this restitution fund should be placed at my disposal to be used in bringing out these books. Hence, I have been able to go forward and when my new books come out, they will not be encumbered by any debts as all the other books which I have brought out have been before this time. For this I am very thankful and I think the Lord has been working for us in this matter.

I would not have told you all this ~~fix~~ if it were not that I desired an expression from you in regard to the matter. To be plain, mother, it makes me feel that there is an utter failing with some of our people ~~in~~ when I look at the way they have acted in regard to the Gospel Primer, in the matter of the restitution. Because your testimonies have not stated that restitution should be made where the robbery had been done, the matter is quibbled over and pettifogged about to see if there is not some possible way to shut me out and the work which I represent,

ber 23.

from the benefits to be derived from the restitution. Your testimonies in regard to restitution were all quibbled over in this and no effort was made until it came so straight that by no sort of scheme could it be avoided. In fact, some have said that they had to be clubbed into it before they would do anything and now ~~the~~ ^{after} the restitution was settled then the effort comes to undo the whole thing by applying it somewhere where it does not belong any more than the ~~fund~~ funds received from the Sabbath School, belonged to the General Conference.

Mother, such things as this make me stand agast, and while I am quietly going about my own business, I ^{am} led to exclaim, "what next". At first, I did not want to say anything about who was connected with this, but will now say that Elder Irwin still adheres to it that this restitution should not go to me to be used in bringing out my books. He was gone to California when the board decided to ~~go~~ use it in publishing my books, but in my talk with him yesterday, I see that he feels just as he did before he went away. Of course, the deed is done and my work is going forward and the fund is paying for it, but I have felt so bad over this effort to turn this restitution from its proper channel, that I have finally decided to write you the full particulars of it.

An argument that is stated now by some is that you stated that the restitution fund should be placed in the hands of men to be properly administered. Now, I understood this (and so did others) to refer to the Sabbath School money that had been misused by the General Conference, but ~~as~~ I can nowhere find anything in your letters or writings where that restitution for the wrong that has been done me and the work in the South for the Primer, should go to anybody else or to anywhere than to myself, ~~to~~ ^{used in} the work which was robbed of it in the first place. You have ever

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ber. 24,

spoken of my work as the Southern work and have never spoken of my work as they seem to understand it. Their point of argument is, that they refuse to recognize me and my work as the Southern work, and when you write that the Southern field has been robbed from the income that I should have come to it from the books, and that restitution should be made, they immediately divorce me from all action with it because you place it upon the ground of the Southern field and they refuse to recognize this as referring to me and my work.

Now, mother, I have placed the matter before you as it really stands and I will tell you how I have regarded it. You have said that our work has been robbed by the wrong doings to the Primer and that restitution should be made. I have regarded the wrong as being done against me and my work which I represent. I have been unable to see how that restitution should be made, and how it was possible for it to be made, ~~that~~ ^{unless} it should come to me and the very field which I represent and which was the field which was robbed.

You have also said that a part of the profits at least, of the publishing houses that issued these books, should go also to this work, that is the profits on these books prepared for this field, and that is the statement that you have made. I claim that this means that if I bring out a book to help ~~the~~ the work in this field in which I am engaged that I should not only have my royalty, but that the publishing houses should also add to this royalty a portion at least of ~~the~~ ^{the} profits and that I should have the whole of this in carrying forward the work i

in the field which I represent and for which I prepared the books. ^{Am I right in this? This question has not arisen yet, because the offices and twisted I am sorry to say these things, but they are true, have both refused to give any of their profits whatever in these books. I say this because our work is suffering for righteous action to the work, but I can see that the matter is working somewhat, and}

if the Genl. Conf. was doing anything to me I would thank them. But they are doing nothing in the field, and are still unrepentant and guilty of opposing work of another missionary society.

er. 25.

am expecting some concession, and I expect an effort on the part of Elder Irwin and some others to gain control on the part of the offices to keep them out of control if possible. Now, mother, if I prepare books at a great expense and with great anxiety to advance the work which our Society is doing, and the Offices are instructed that they should give at least a portion of the profits on this book to carry forward the

*work, what right or justice is there in some other line of work coming
My books I am preparing will not go into any publishing house that refuses
in and taking these profits away from me to treat it in some other
I can control the matter this far.*

In the issuing of your new book of the "Parables" for the benefit of the schools, I find that in the apportionment from the receipts from this work that two states are set apart for the benefit of the Southern Missionary Society. Now, if this is right, why is it not just as much right that whatever can be earned from the books that I bring out for the same purpose shall go to this Southern Missionary Society and that with it should go whatever part of the profits, that the officers feel disposed to allow to these books to go to the work?

Why I write this is, there are some that cannot get a single principle out of these testimonies that have come from you. If the Testimonies say they must do a certain act they will do it when they can avoid it no longer, but no step further will they move. They will make restitution "when clubbed into it" as expressed by one party, but as you have not said in so many words, that that restitution should go where the wrong is done, they will endeavor to use it in some other place if possible. Now, mother, if you feel clear to do so, I would like to have you state where the returns should be made for the wrongs that have been done to me in the work which I represent in the publication of books. Further than this. If I bring out books for this work should not the receipts which come from these books go to the field

26.

which I represent? I ask this first, as your son, in whose work I know you to be interested. ^{seriously} Consequently, I ask it as in justice to the work in which I am engaged, and which is practically ~~authorized~~ ^{ostracized} in going to our people for financial support. Hence, you will see that we are driven to seek a support for our work and to rely upon such books as we can issue and on such financial enterprises as we can start, to secure means for our work for I have fully decided not to come in conflict with the General Conference in this matter ^{of calling for donations}. Of course, when you come, I expect that many matters will be straightened out, but I now desire to so shape my affairs and work that I can be in harmony with the feeling of the General Conference people and with the publishing houses if possible, and that this ~~skating~~ constant nagging may end sometime.

And now the question arises with some why the Southern Missionary Society should exist at all, but mother, I know the unwillingness of the General Conference through years to take any adequate action in regard to the work in the South. We have tried to step out and do the work according to the light given. They have tried to argue that they were doing this because they were paying a little salary to three or four men who were working among the colored people, but they have been organizing practically nothing and doing practically nothing. The industrial school at Huntsville, Ala., is about the only enterprise that they are carrying forward among the colored people. The means that we received in return from our appeals last fall has enabled us to open up many branches of work and it has advanced more in six months that it has in six years before. Just because we had a little money to use. Yesterday, in talking with Eld. Irwin, he pressed me quite hard on some things and then I stated to him that notwithstanding the light he brought from Australia, and the pointed testimonies which had been coming as to the necessity for immediate action in the work for the colored people of the South, that during the whole year that had passed, the

About Pioneers of the Black Work

ner. 27.

General Conference ~~was~~ ^{did} not enter one new field, did not inaugurate a single new line of this work, did not start a single school, did not lay any plans for any efforts among the colored people of the South.

I felt forced to bring the matter before him just as it was. It has not been for the ~~xx~~ lack of means, for they have been building new dormitory at the Huntsville School and have let us have \$800.00 to help build the church at Vicksburg, but I can see that there is no use of calling upon that fund to meet any of the running expenses of the Southern Missionary Society. They have now, over \$3000 or deposit at the Review Office for the Southern work and in addition to that have about \$1400 of donations coming at once from the Pacific Coast, so that they have about \$4000 or \$5000 cash at their disposal and yet as I stated, no move whatever is being made, and I stand dumfounded as I see the way this work is neglected as it always has been. I felt that I could not feel clear until I had made this statement to him and I hope it will gain something by which we may carry forward the work.

He replied to me at once, You are a member of the Southern Executive Committee, and are as much responsible as anybody for the work in that field. I told him that I expected that statement from him and I told him that when I was first appointed on the committee, I saw the opposition it would bring to me, and for a long time after I had been appointed, I fully intended to resign but finally felt that I might have some duty in the work and so did not do so. I finally told him that I was not the one to lead out in the work of that committee. That connected with the work as I was, it would not be proper for me to do so. The committee knew that I was willing to co-operate with them in every way that ~~it~~ was possible for me to and that there was no drawing off on my part and no lack of co-operation, that I had always been willing to co-operate with the general conference, and now that they had a

er. 28.

I desire to engage in this work and do something, I thought that whenever it was desirable for the committee to meet and act, I was ready to go and give the benefit of my experience that I had, and that I would work just as faithfully for the interests as it was possible for me to do, and there my duty ended. I told him that if the other members of the committee had been as active as I had since I had been on the committee and had as much to show for the work, that the General Conference would have a good showing for the work in the colored field. But I will not go further into this matter.

Since that time, Bro. Irwin has been very kind and pleasant to me. I think some things were brought to his mind that he never thought of. Of course I realize that he has heavy burdens to bear and I am perfectly willing to make allowances for these, but if this keeps him from doing his duty in regard to this Southern work so that he is not doing such as the Lord stated that he should do, I see no reason why he should endeavor to block the way of others who are trying to do the work which the Lord has appointed to them. To be frank, mother, if I had followed the desired of the General Conference I should have never have gone to the South, and would have never accomplished a single thing in the advancement of the Southern work. I desire to be respectful and desire to co-operate whenever there is anything to co-operate with but co-operation requires at least two parties. I would gladly co-operate with the General Conference in any way possible and it seems that this will be possible as the work goes forward.

I really believe that my talk with Elder Irwin has had the desired ^{effect} of stirring him up to do something, for last night he told me that he wanted Elder Lane and myself to go with him to the Kentucky camp-meeting and there meet two other members of the Southern Executive Committee to start plans for the advancement of the work. At first it

cher. 29.

seemed impossible for me to go. At the second thought, however, I felt that it was my duty and that it required me to go. If there was a feeling of willingness to do something, I felt that I should be with them and do all in my power to help them in the work and although I was straining every nerve to close up affairs here so that I could go South to Nashville very soon, I have endeavored to adapt my self to the situation and by working day and night, I feel sure that I can be ready to go with the rest. I hope to see a good result from this trip.

We shall reach the camp-ground Wednesday morning and spend two days in consultation. I shall go from there to Bowling Green, Ky. to see Elder Stone, president of the Conference, consulting with him in regard to the camp-meeting for the colored people. I shall then go to Nashville and look over the place and see if we can find a place for a permanent location for the Health Food Business and printing office. Being so far in the South, I feel it will be necessary for me to go on the Vicksburg and spend a few days with the workers there and counsel with them in regard to their situation. Shall then return to Battle Creek and close up matters for my removal to Nashville. I shall be very glad to get away from Battle Creek and into the field of active work. I am alarmed as I see the tendency for backward action spiritually while living in Battle Creek. I desire not to remain in Battle Creek any longer than I can get away. I must be engaged in active work. My soul then expands with the study of God's word and with the bringing of it to the people, and I feel there I will obtain spiritual growth. I fear ~~that~~^a would be spiritual dwarf as the result of my remaining in Battle Creek.

There are one or two other matters that I would like to speak of. First, in the letter from my brother, he has stated ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

er. 30.

that you do not use any of the moneys, personally, ^{that all} to carry forward the ~~work~~, received from America, and explained quite fully how you did use these funds. I was glad to hear his statement, and it was an interesting item, but I never for a moment thought anything different in regard to these monies. I have a number of times mentioned in my letters the ~~xxxxxxx~~^{considerable} sums of money that were being expended there while our Southern work was scarcely receiving as much as would go into the building of one of your churches. I fear that I was misunderstood in this for I have not had a moment of jealousy regarding the money going to Australia, but I did mention it in the way of comparison. I can see that your field needs means and am glad that it is getting it, and your testimonies also say that ~~xxxx xxxix~~ there is no more fruitful field than this very ^{Southern} field in which I am at work, and yet I find conferences that are paying their workers \$35000 or \$40000 a year and yet with scarcely a particle of interest shown in this Southern field. I have said if the Michigan Conference which paid \$35000 to its workers last year had reduced its force and done their work with \$30000 and sent \$5000 to our work, we would show better results with the \$5000 than they would with the \$30000. I have felt that while our people were doing so much for Australia, they should certainly take some interest in the South. I only mention this matter simply to show the disproportion than may be seen. I realize that this is necessary for I know that you ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ understand the field.

I treat the donations that come to our work in the same way. For three years I have been receiving donations for the Southern work. Most of the time I have been obliged to keep a stenographer to carry on the large correspondence which is forced upon me. For the last year, we have had a secretary to keep our books and look after

About Pioneers of the Black Work

ber. 31.

he work here at headquarters in Battle Creek. He has also made all the rubber stamps and done many other things that were necessary to the work. He keeps the ^{lists} ~~books~~ and mails the Gospel Herald. All these expenses, I have met from my own pocket with the exception of \$191.00. I have paid the fuel bills for our office for the past winter amounting to \$28.00. The Gospel Herald has been published from the very start at a loss. Since the last of October the deficit on the Gospel Herald has been ~~\$250.00~~ ^{about \$175.00}. This I paid from my own pocket and as stated before I have paid for all the outfit for the Health Food Business and also for the printing office. I have not felt at liberty to use any of these donated funds for this purpose, so I can appreciate the statements that were made by my brother. I am very thankful that my books have been quite successful that I have been able to clear off nearly all my debts here in the North and have yet two or three hundred dollars in the bank to pay for moving expenses and start the work at Nashville.

I am deeply interested in the work of the Battle Creek College. I am grateful for the deep interest that Prof. Sutherland and Prof. Wagan have taken in our work. I have been connected with these men for nearly two years, more or less, and I believe with all my heart that they are striving to carry forward their work according to principles which they feel that the Lord has been sending, and they are trying to carry on the school on right principles. They are struggling with a terrible load of debt and as energetic people are putting in strong work to pay off this debt. I can see no evidence that they are trying to pull down any other institutions and I do know that they are working with all their might to establish church schools according to the Testimonies, and if they make mistakes in their efforts in these lines, it is simply because they have not discovered the proper method where this

cher 32.

mistake was made and ^{here} they have made these mistakes, they are trying to rectify it. And if they have made ~~mistakes~~ in any line they stand ready to correct them. They would rather move forward and make some mistakes and do some thing even if they have to be reproved for them. Their efforts are untiring in getting young people interested and fitted for work as church school teachers, and they are trying to so shape their work in preparing teachers according to the light that has been given to them. Now, mother, I never knew people to work in such lines but what they were continually found fault with and vigorously opposed. I feel that I can overlook mistakes made by people who are working earnestly and who are trying to do something, but it is hard for me to have patience with people who are working, seemingly, to block the way of those who are trying to do something. It seems to me that there ^{are} those, some of whom are in responsible positions, that are ~~being~~ terribly afraid that some one will do something and especially something that is not originated by them, or which they are not especially interested in. I do not want to be hard on any one, but I have had a long experience in these lines myself. The professors have been criticized for moving out too strongly in their efforts to secure ^{and in church school work,} ~~means~~, but I know that they have never stepped out in these lines without first receiving the consent of the General Conference Committee. I speak of these things because I have had the opportunity to see how things are going and of experiencing some of the difficulties that surround these ~~difficult~~ College people.

Now, mother there one point regarding the first verse in the first chapter of Genesis that I would like to have you clear up for me, or rather, I think there ^{are} two points.

First, it says; In the beginning God created the heavens and earth. When is this beginning? Was it in the beginning of God,

Other 33.

or in the beginning of Christ, or in the beginning of all creation, or was it in the beginning of the creation of this world?

Second. The text says that in the beginning God created the heavens and earth, and it follows on to say, let there be light and there was light, then it goes on to state that the evening and the morning was the first day. I desire to get the right of this and know what was included in the work of this day. I have always understood that when it said in the beginning God created the heavens and earth that that meant that the work that he did on the first day of the six of creation and that on that first day he called into ~~the~~ existence, by the Word of his power, the very substance of which this earth is made, and that this work of the first day was included in the words of the Psalmist when he says; "He spake and it was done, he ^{Commanded} and it stood fast." Now, there is an opinion afloat that the creation of the material of which this earth was made was formerly in the beginning, which means, perhaps ages and ages before the first day of creation, and perhaps these countless ages had been employed in forming and collecting together this material, but the material may have been ~~created~~ created at once but that this was done ages before the account in Genesis, during the six days of creation. I understand that at least one of our leading ministers believe in this long period of creation. For myself, I cannot accept it. It is the first step in the line of the evolution ~~of~~ fallacy, and to me is carrying us back to the idea of the evolution of this earth through countless ages and that if we once accept such theory, we are opening the door of ~~the~~ science falsely so called in this day. I have searched in vain in your writings which show no inkling of this, though some claim to have found it. If it is plain in your mind, I would like to know it.

It is now getting quite late at night and I have dictated at

Other. 34.

at two hours steadily. I am not sure what kind of a letter it will be when finished but I am certain it will be long enough, but hope it will not tire your patience too much. Emma is feeling well and I am improving every day in health. One thing is doing me much good. I take a cold sponge bath every morning and feel much invigorated from it. I must close for it is getting late.

Your son,

J. E. White

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Ellen White on the Gospel and the Needs of the Southern Field

July 31, 1901.

Dear Children,--- (To James Edson and Emma White)

I am very weary this evening.

I have just closed up my mail for Australia. I sent off much more than I thought I would be able to. I have been writing important matter in regard to the condition of things in the Healdsburg church, and the principles brought out have a bearing on our churches in other parts of the world. As I ~~am~~ ^{am} look at the disorder of our churches in California, I realize that the same lack exists in all our churches elsewhere. Those who know the truth ~~have~~ have been indifferent to the condition of the Southern field, notwithstanding the need of this field has been kept before them ever since the emancipation of the colored people. Their neglect testifies to their selfishness. For many years they have had the light of truth, but they have not done the work God gave them to do. This work has been kept before ~~them~~ their notice, but they have scarcely touched it with the tips of their fingers.

It is a call to ~~adults~~ ^{adults and brotherly love}

The word of God is to be opened to the people of the South. This word is a book of sacred truth, addressed to men. In order to meet God's standard for us, we must accept the Bible as the rule of life and practise. Its saored truths must be our meat and drink. The more clearly we see the force and power of the truths it contains, the more clearly shall we reveal the faith that works by love and purifies the soul. Each one must grasp these truths for himself. And as God opens His word to us, we are to remember that we each have a responsibility to

bear in regard to those who have not yet been warned. God calls upon us to look upon the neglected, unworked fields, and do our part to carry to them the light He has given us. Many are in the darkness of error. How can they know what is truth till the word of God is opened to them by His instrumentalities? God's people are to preach the word. They are to confess the faith that makes them a peculiar people.

We were assembled in a large council meeting. All present seemed to be filled with an earnest desire to start the work in the South. Much was said in an effort to explain why the work that ought to have been done in the cities of the South has not been done.

How best to undertake the work in this field, is the problem before us. It seems difficult to begin a work that for so long has been criminally neglected. We are not to wait for eloquent preachers, talented men, but take up the work the Lord places before us. He will accept and work through humble, earnest men, even though they may not be eloquent or highly educated. Organize some plan for labor, and do not forget that to every man God has given his work. Do not take up the work with a feeling that you are capable and apt and keen-sighted. Begin and continue in humility. It is ^{with} the one who is humble and contrite that God abides.

I am weighed down as a cart beneath sheaves. Has God no message of mercy for the white people and the colored people of the South? Many of both classes are terribly degraded. Is no message of warning to reach them? The condition of the Southern field is a condemnation to the Christian churches of America. How can they stand guiltless before God? The

W-193-0
degradation and darkness of this field bears testimony against the Lord's appointed agencies. Had those to whom God has given such great light done their appointed work faithfully and unselfishly, there would to-day be memorials for God all through the Southern field,---churches, sanitariums, and schools. Men and women of all classes would have been called to the Lord's great gospel feast.

> God designed that a large work should be done in the Southern field. The present picture of this field is dishonoring to our Creator and our Redeemer. But shall it lead us to believe that the commission which Christ gave His disciples when He told them to preach the gospel to all nations, can not be fulfilled? No, no! Christ has power for the fulfilment of His commission. It is His people who have failed. The Holy Spirit has lost none of its efficiency. That the word has lost its power on hearts is shown by the present condition of the world. But it is because men have chosen to disobey, not because the word has less power.

How shall we answer to God for the work we have left undone? Every church that has been formed needs to be reformed. Believers are to be a living exposition of the truth. The word of God is to be the man of their counsel. Then the truth will go with power, and souls will be converted.

One equal with the Father came to this earth to roll back the sweeping tide of evil. He is fully able to do the work laid upon Him. To Him has been given all power in heaven and in earth. In the wilderness, armed with the weapon, "It is written," Christ met and ~~man~~ overcame the strongest temptations that the enemy could bring against Him. He proved the power
of the word of God.

W-193-1
"Unto the Son He saith, Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows."

"And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people, and His fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto Him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatic, and those that had the palsy; and He healed them."

"And there followed Him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judaea, and from beyond Jordan." And seeing the multitude, He gave, what is known to us as the sermon on the mount, in which is clearly defined the experience all may gain in the things of God. God expects great things of every believer, and in view of the light given in these wonderful words spoken by the Saviour, what excuse is there for any one to walk in the mist of uncertainty? What excuse has any one for being confused and unbelieving? The work of the Spirit is to bring the world in touch with Christ, that through His power men and women may be continually won to the truth.

Why has the Southern field been so terribly neglected by those who believe that we are living in the time when special light is to be given to the world regarding the closing scenes of its history? Great light has been coming to our world ever since the beginning of the proclamation of the messages of

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Revelation 14. Read and study the line of prophecy here outlined. "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to Him; for the hour of His judgment is come: and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." Our minds should be filled with the great, grand truths that Christ here unfolded to John. The words "saying with a loud voice" show the importance of the message.

"And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication." The words "Babylon is fallen" point to the spiritual fall of the professed Christian churches. "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture [of mercy] into the cup of His indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb."

These words are addressed to those who live in the last days of this earth's history. These messages are to be given to "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." Those who hear and receive them, working in harmony with them, will bear fruit to God's glory.

We are now to cease making finite man our god. Church-members are to be taught to take all their perplexities to Jesus. Why are our minds so easily diverted from the Source of power and efficiency?

We read: "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

This is our work. Most earnestly we are to strive to be faithful stewards of the grace of God.

In our work for God we shall meet with much opposition. By falsehood and deception the Jews strove to keep the people from believing on Christ. To-day false teachers will resort to any means to keep people from obtaining a knowledge of the truth. There are those who love error more than they love truth, because truth is opposed to their inclinations and their course of action. They refuse to repent and be converted, even though the evidence for truth is clear and convincing. They do not want to search the Scriptures, to see if those things are so. There lies the cross to be lifted, but they are unwilling to deny self. God asks them to keep holy His Sabbath, but they refuse to give up their own way.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily My Sabbaths ye shall keep: for it is a sign between Me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you. Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people. Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the Sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord: whosoever doeth any work in the Sabbath day, he shall surely be

put to death. Therefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between Me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day He rested, and was refreshed. What language could be plainer or more weighty than this? This is the truth we are to proclaim, trusting in Christ to impress hearts. He is all-powerful, and He has promised to be with His servants unto the end of the world. He will guide and strengthen all who put their trust in Him.

*to the
book's
file.*

A great and solemn work is before the people of God. They are to come close to Christ in self-denial and self-sacrifice, their one aim being to give the message of mercy to all the world. Some will work in ~~some~~ ^{one} way and some in another, as the Lord shall call and lead them. But they are all to strive together, seeking to make the work a perfect whole. With pen and voice God's servants are to labor for Him. The printed word of truth is to be translated into different tongues. To all peoples the gospel is to be preached.

"And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe; In My name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. ... And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

60-143

Christ says to those who are working for Him, "Let not self be exalted. In My name, in reliance on My power, go forth to labor for God. Make it plain that it is by the power of Me, your Redeemer, that you perform miracles." When God's servants are indeed one with Him in spirit and action, Christ removes the obstacles from their way, and gives them access to hearts. He accompanies the proclamation of truth with His power.

identity

Unconsecrated minds will place hindrances in the way of God's work, as they have done in the Past. But do not stop to enter into controversy and create disagreeable issues. If hindered in one way, be ready to honor God by working in a way that is open. In due time obstacles that now seem insurmountable will be removed. God can remove obstructions in ways most unexpected when He sees that by doing this He can best glorify His name.

Quarrel over nothing. Keep at your work in the spirit of true humility. Do not take the highest place. Work in humble ways. Do not keep self in view, fearing that you will not receive recognition. Look ever to Christ.

By no effort man may make can be thwart the purpose of God. "A man's heart deviseth his way; but the Lord directeth his steps." "There are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand."

Remember that if you walk humbly with God, not striving for recognition, the time will come when you will hear a voice saying, "Come up higher." Christ says to you to-day, "I am with you, co-operating with your faithful, trustful efforts, and giving you precious victories. I will strengthen you if you will sanctify yourself to do My will. I am the only One who

can give you success in the effort to awaken souls dead in trespasses and sins. I alone can convict and convince sinners, showing them what sin is, and turning them from darkness to light. I am the Sin-pardoner. I am the One who can blot out transgression."

Our success in God's work depends on walking in the footsteps of Jesus. The angels of the Lord excel in strength, whether for judgment or mercy. They do His commandment, hearkening unto the voice of His word. Safe them are all who draw nigh to God. Never do they draw nigh to Him in vain. Safe are all who trust in Him. Angels are near to help them. "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who shall be heirs of salvation?"

*circumstances
with
yours.*

O what a noble company you are in! Do not by rash speeches make the angels ashamed of you. Speak gently and calmly. Hasty speech brings no strength to a good cause.

Trials will come; for there are many who are walking at cross purposes with God. Be sure that you are walking before Him in meekness and humility. You may, yes, you will be misjudged, but the evil talkers will be ashamed if you constantly reveal the sweetness of Christ's character. You will be a savor of life unto life. By patient faith, humble trust, and sanctified endeavor you will win the crown of life that Christ, the righteous Judge, will give to all who love His appearing.

M.H.

Steal Away to Jesus

Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here.

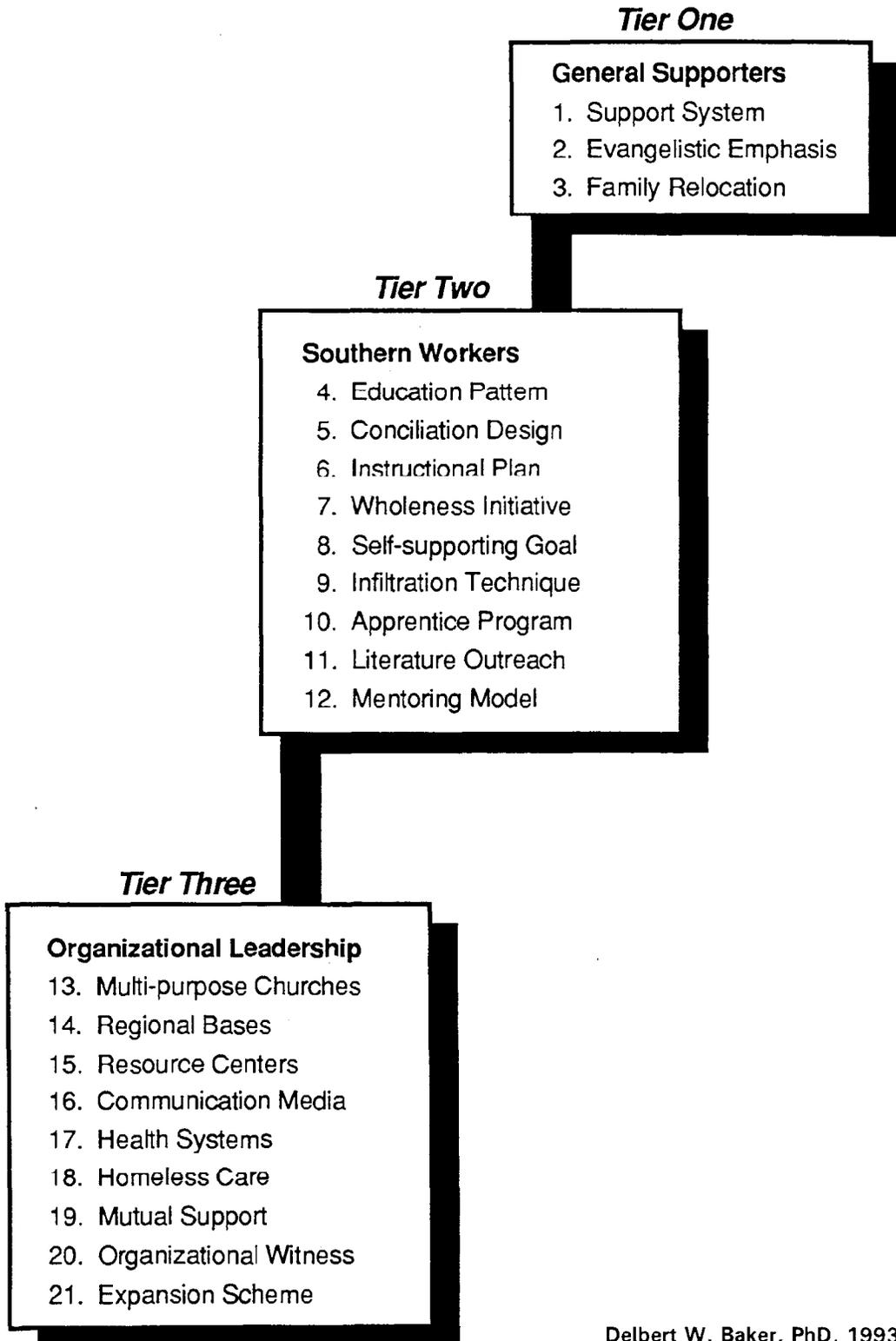
My Lord, He calls me, He calls me by the thunder,
The trumpet sounds within-a my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Green trees a-bending, po' sinner stand a-trembling,
The trumpet sounds within-a my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here,
Oh, Lord, I ain't got long to stay here.

**Action Principles for the Development of the
Black Work in the South:
A Spirit of Prophecy Blueprint (Model)**



**Action Principles for the Development of the
Black Work in the South:
A Spirit of Prophecy Blueprint (Definitions)**

Tier One: Programs for General Supporters (SDA Members, Etc.)

1. **Support system:** Willing SDAs and non-SDAs provide ongoing financial and spiritual support for the black work (i.e., missionary Enterprises, self-denial boxes, etc.)
2. **Evangelistic emphasis:** Share the distinctive teaching of the SDA Church as the way to create lifestyle changes that will improve temporal life and ensure eternal life.
3. **Family relocation:** Move SDA families South to model positive lifestyle and family principles for all people.

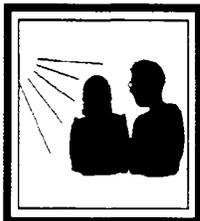
Tier Two: Programs for Southern Workers (White and Black)

4. **Education pattern:** Start small missionary schools (designed to become self-supporting) throughout the South to educate black youth and adults.
5. **Conciliation design:** Make effort to avoid arousing antagonism. Compromise and be conciliatory except where spiritual principle is involved. Avoid arousing cultural resistance that could retard the work.
6. **Instructional plan:** Develop suitable materials for blacks in the South, designed to meet their needs.
7. **Wholeness initiative:** Everything--teaching, community assistance, preaching, modeling--repetitiously emphasize the wholeness concept of the mental, physical, social and spiritual. All workers and members are encouraged to become effective medical missionaries.
8. **Self-supporting goal:** Every phrase of the Southern work has "self-support" as its ultimate goal.
9. **Infiltration technique:** Enter, start small, grow, divide at certain point and multiply through the South as numbers, means and circumstances allow.
10. **Apprentice program:** Create programs in which indigenous workers can learn a skill or trade that can provide livelihood.

11. Literature outreach: Provide a program in which SDAs can produce and sell literature to non-SDAs to both provide a witness to the recipient and a livelihood to the seller (i.e., Southern Publishing Association, etc.).
12. Mentoring model: Select exceptional persons and provide training so that they can have accelerated learning opportunities. Such persons are designed to be future leaders.

Tier Three: Program for the SDA Organization Leadership

13. Multipurpose churches: Functional churches provide facility for schools during the week and church services during the weekend.
14. Regional bases: Establish location where a major center for the South could be set up (i.e., Nashville). Other cities could serve as satellite centers throughout the South (i.e., Yazoo City and Vicksburg, Mississippi).
15. Resource centers: Development of major institutions that cater to the needs of blacks and perpetuate mental, physical and spiritual care (i.e., Oakwood College, etc.).
16. Communication media: Begin a communication organ to keep supporters and interested persons informed of the progress and the needs of the black work (i.e., *Gospel Herald*).
17. Health systems: Health centers such as sanitariums, hospitals, and health-care facilities throughout the South are to precede the religious emphasis.
18. Homeless care: Establish orphanages throughout the South to care for and train black homeless children.
19. Mutual support: All entities of the SDA organization assist and support other entities that are in need. Such support includes, resources expertise, prayers.
20. Organizational witness: Establish and model an aggressive organizational witness as an example to society.
21. Expansion scheme: Develop plan to map out how the South will be entered on a short- and long-term basis.



Charles M. Kinny

The year was 1866. The great American Civil War was over at last. The once proud Confederacy lay trampled in defeat, its treasured system of slavery outlawed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution. Thousands of Blacks streamed out of the ravaged South, eager to put many miles between themselves and the scenes of their former bondage.

One band of freed slaves moving westward



C. M. Kinny preaches at Riverside Hospital.



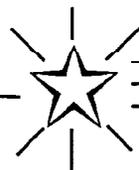
C. M. Kinny

contained a young boy about 10 or 11 years of age. Charlie, as he was probably known while a boy, was born a slave in 1855 in

what would later be the capital of the Confederate States of America, Richmond, Virginia. He longed for a different kind of life, a place where he belonged, a permanence he had never known before. At the same time, the boy was lonely and far from anyone he could call family. He would often lay in bed at night and listen to the lonesome wailing of the eastbound train.

Charles ended up in Reno, Nevada, an important point for raising cattle and shipping mine products. He was able to find odd jobs to support himself.

The years moved on. One evening in 1878, as he was walking home, Charles was attracted to a tent meeting. J. N. Loughborough, pioneer Seventh-day Adventist evangelist and leader, was preaching. His message touched the heart of the almost-grown young man. He also thrilled at the message from the book of John preached a few nights later by Mrs. Ellen G. White. Charles Kinny heard for the first time that God loved him enough to call him one of His sons. At the close of that evangelistic series, on the last Sabbath of



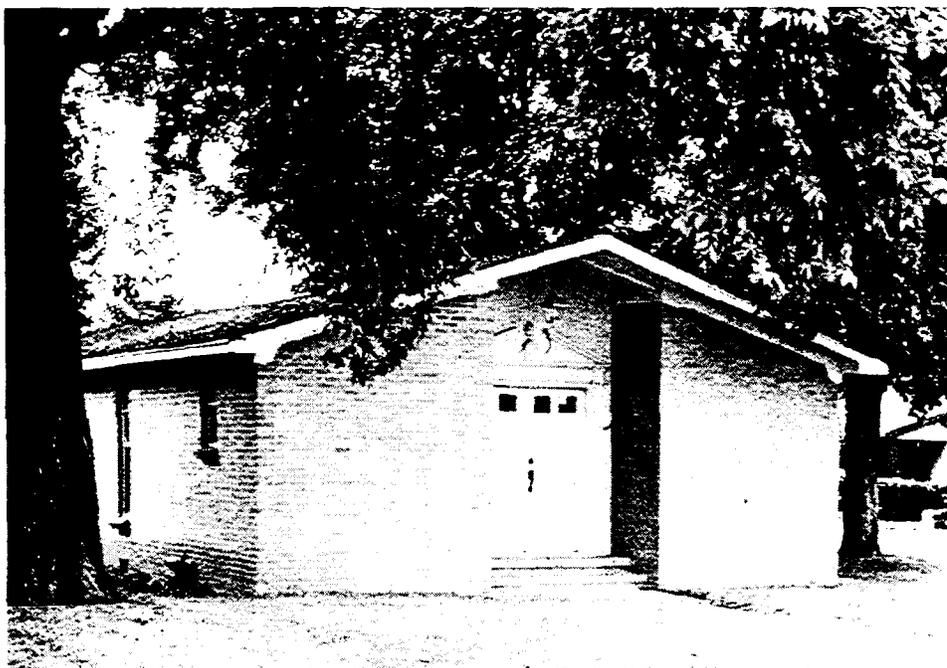
September, 1878, Charles M. Kinny was baptized as the first Black member of the Reno Seventh-day Adventist church.

Charles' earnest, dedicated nature soon saw him elected as secretary of the Nevada Tract Society. In that position, he was responsible for placing a complete collection of Adventist books and magazines in the Reno Public Library and the Reno Temperance Reform Club. This probably led to many conversions unknown to Charles.

Charles was so zealous that his work began to attract the attention of others. In 1883, Reno church members sent him to the newly opened Healdsburg SDA College in California. During his two-year stay at Healdsburg, Kinny again had the opportunity to hear the preaching of Mrs. Ellen White. Upon completion of his studies, Charles entered upon his long life of service to the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The conference brethren sent Charles to work among the Black people of Topeka, Kansas. These were tough-minded people who had come west to get away from folks telling them what to do. Charles certainly had his work cut out for him. In the May 25, 1886, REVIEW AND HERALD, Kinny reported that since the previous October, he had made nearly 650 visits, had distributed over 16,500 tracts, and as a result, five women in Emporia had indicated they would keep the Sabbath and two heads of families reported they were quite interested.

In this typical pattern of canvassing, door-to-door visits and preaching, Charles M. Kinny worked his way eastward through Kansas and Missouri. Reports of his work that appeared regularly in the REVIEW led administrators to conclude that Charles could reach people in places others could not. For this reason, Charles began popping up around



The Cottage Chapel Seventh-day Adventist church in Bowling Green, Kentucky, was organized by Elder C. M. Kinny on June 13, 1891.

the South and Midwest in districts such as St. Louis, Louisville and New Orleans. Companies and churches he had fostered began rising up all over that part of the country. During the 1880s and 1890s, Charles labored in New Orleans to found the fourth Black church in the SDA denomination and found time to get married in Nashville, Tennessee! He was, indeed, a busy man who never let much grass grow under his feet!

Probably the most important event in Charles' life took place while he was assigned to work in Louisville, Kentucky. In the summer of 1889 at the Southern District camp meeting, Charles M. Kinny became the first person of African descent to be ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister. He continued his untiring efforts as an evangelist until 1911 when his wife's failing health made it impossible for him to maintain a full-time schedule of activities.

One of the serious problems faced by Charles Kinny was prejudice on the part of White church members. While he was

working in St. Louis, his evangelistic efforts resulted in Blacks and Whites worshiping together. Mrs. Ellen G. White issued a special rebuke to those church members who criticized this biracial worship. And then on his own ordination day at the Seventh-day Adventist Southern District camp meeting, there was an effort made to segregate Charles and his members from the Whites. Kinny suggested that Black conferences be organized as a solution to this embarrassing encounter.

Charles M. Kinny, slave boy of old Virginia, first Black to be ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister, the founder of Black Seventh-day Adventist evangelism, and tireless worker for God, lived until 1951. He was 96 years old! Former Oakwood College students fondly recall seeing the little old gentleman sitting quietly in church on Sabbath. He lived to see the Black Seventh-day Adventist work grow from a handful of less than 50 to almost 50 thousand in the year he died! ☆

Source:

• Reynolds, Louis B., *We Have Tomorrow*, Washington, DC, Review & Herald Publishing Assn., 1984.

C. M. Kinny
 The First Official Effort
 for the Colored People

A copy of an original document written by C. M. Kinny

"August 1, 1878 Eld. J. N. Loughborough Tent -- in Reno, Nevada

Sept. I kept my first Sabbath.

Reno Church Fund \$40.00 for First Canvassing.

1883-85 Healdsburg College Reno Fund \$100 on my second years schooling.

1885 California Conference gave \$75.00 sent to Topeka, Kansas, to begin.

① Nov. 1883 Edgefield church organized (9 mem.) by Eld. Fulton.

② Feb. 16, 1890 Louisville church organized (10 mem.) by R. M. Kilgore.

③ June 13, 1891 Bowling Green Church organized (8 mem.) by C. M. K.

④ June 4, 1892 New Orleans church organized (10 mem.) by C. M. K.

⑤ Sept. 15, 16, 1894 Nashville church organized (10 mem.) by C. L. Boyd.

Fall of 1894 Eld. White began work in Memphis, then in Vicksburg and Yazoo.

June 19, 1896 Birmingham church organized (15 mem.), Eld. Hottel."

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 June 19, 1896 Birmingham Church, 15 mem., Eld. Hottel

21-1890-Kinney

Bowling Green, Dec. 27, 1890

Review and Herald,
Battle Creek, Mich.

Dear Brethren and Sisters

Knowing that you all are deeply interested in the welfare and progress of the precious cause of present truth among every nation and people, and that you are willing to help when called upon, I make this appeal to your liberality in behalf of the colored people.

The church of about 20 members in Edgefield Junction, Tenn. and the church in Louisville, Ky. of 14 members, not including the children, both need a church building in which to worship. Neither are able to build one without assistance ^{from} friends of the cause.

The Edgefield church has taken steps in this direction. One of the brethren has purchased two lots to ^{be} all paid for by the first of May. The church is then to purchase

from him enough to build on a church lot will cost forty dollars. Pledge on the lot and church to the amount of seventy dollars and fifty cents with other help have been made. Size of the church 33 x 22, twelve feet high from floor to ceiling, ceiling inside, weather boarded outside, shingle roof, no steeple, double door in front, stone foundation. The estimated cost when furnished will be (\$200) two hundred and fifty dollars. For the whole, lot and church about \$300. In Louisville a lot cannot be purchased for this sum.

The Edgefield church expects to use this building for a school also.

They are to do our white brethren the evils of sending their children to the public schools and that they very much desire to be able to teach them themselves. A church building will furnish them with one of the facilities of doing so. One of the deacons of the lot of this church is now in Fiske's University, Nashville, Tenn. preparing for a teacher.

We do not call for large sums, but

If a number equal to as many as are taking the Review sends us 25 cents each it will build the first and be a large beginning toward building the second and only colored Seventh-day Adventist Church in the world.

Any amounts larger or smaller will be gratefully received, immediately acknowledged by card, and surely ^{and} correctly appropriated.

Especially do we call on the friends in Tennessee and Kentucky. And also every colored Sabbath Keeper to whom this appeal may reach to send what they can. I hope our white friends will ^{call} their attention to this and tell them how to send.

The money should be sent by postal note or registered letter to be safe against loss. Send to my address, E. M. Kinney, Bowling Green, Ky. All should begin to send at once at least so as to reach ^{here} by the first of May, as it is probable I will not be here after that date. After May 1 you should send to Edgely

unction. Praying and hoping speedy and generous response I assure you a grateful appreciation of every favor received.

Yours in behalf of the world,
E. M. Kinney.

Obituaries

KINNEY. — Charles M. Kinney, born in Richmond, Va., in 1857; died at the Riverside Sanitarium, Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 3, 1951. After the Emancipation he worked his way to Reno, Nev., where attendance at a series of evangelistic services conducted in a tent by J. N. Loughborough and Mrs. E. G. White brought him in touch with Adventist beliefs. He was the only Negro member of the Reno Seventh-day Adventist church, and the church welcomed him warmly. He became active in their tract society, and was later appointed secretary. After two years' schooling at Healdsburg College in California, he was sent to Kansas in 1885 to sell religious publications and to develop church interests. In 1889 he was assigned by the General Conference to work in Louisville, Ky., and that same year was ordained to the gospel ministry in Nashville, Tenn. Because his wife's health failed and she became an invalid, Elder Kinney found it impossible to continue his full ministerial duties, and retired from the work in 1911. Sister Kinney died 26 years later, after which Elder Kinney moved to a private room at the Riverside Hospital, where he lived to the age of 96, inspiring others with his prayers and testimonies. He witnessed the organization of the first church of colored believers numbering 50, and at the time of his death there were some 26,500 colored Seventh-day Adventists in the United States.

REVIEW AND HERALD

September 27, 1951

"EIGHTY YEARS OF ADVENTISM"
Narrative by ELDER H. D. SINGLETON

About the year 1915 the Adventists built their church across the street from our home. My parents became friendly with and curious about these Saturday worshipers. So Bible studies followed, and acceptance of the faith came in due time.

G. E. Peters

In 1917 G.E. Peters and then the Union evangelist came to our town—Jacksonville, Florida—with a tent and baptized about sixty people, greatly enlarging the congregation. Then Union evangelist, Elder Peters, expanded the work in Charlotte, North Carolina. In 1922 he baptized about 242 people in Tampa, Florida. That was a record for those times. That same year he was called to Chicago, where he built the Shiloh Church and congregation. In later years, he built up the work in New York City before becoming director of the Colored Department at the General Conference. He served in that department first from 1929 to 1930 and then from 1941 until his retirement in 1953.

Pioneers

In Florida in 1915, M.C. Strachan and J.S. Green were ministers. Later Floyd Stevens pastored Jacksonville. Checking the yearbooks from 1908-1917 I found these names and ministers: W.H. Green, Sydney Scott, Page Shephard, John Manns, W.S. Willis, R.L. Bradford, W.D. Forde, Thomas Branch, S.M. Campbell, J.G. Dasent, C.G. Manns, W.H. Maynor, Thomas Murphy, M.G. Nunez, J.H. Laurence, H.N. Gemon, W.E. Strothers, T.B. Buckner, G.P. Rodgers, F.G. Warnick, N.B. King, L. Sheafe, William Winston. From this list I'll pick out a few about whom I can mention something special.

*W.H. Green became our first General Conference representative when in 1918 he became the first black to be head of the Negro Department. He worked out of his office, which was in his home in Detroit. He was known to have a railroad pass with which he traveled free of charge everywhere over the country. He used it well and wisely. He died in his sleep in 1928 and was succeeded for a short period by G.E. Peters during his first term with the General Conference.

*Sydney Scott was a successful evangelist who baptized over 100 in Wilmington, North Carolina, around 1913. He held successful meetings in Columbia, South Carolina, and New Bern, North Carolina as well as many other cities. He is remembered especially for his novel use of the old charts of the beasts of Daniel and Revelation in his advertising during tent efforts.

*John Manns was successful as an evangelist, baptizing nearly 150 in Savannah, Georgia. He apostatized taking the church property and a sizeable portion of the membership with him. He then organized the Free SDA group and spread out as far as the West Indies, succeeding in starting several groups. He used extensively certain statements about race relations found in Volume 9 of the *Testimonies*. He died, it appears, under peculiar circumstances. As a child I heard the rumor that one of his ministers by the name of Mosely caused his death so he could take over the organization. Remember that was just a rumor I heard as a child.

*W.S. Willis was sent to Savannah, Georgia, to pastor the ones who had not apostatized with Manns. Willis was transferred in 1916 to Washington, D.C. to stabilize the remains from the Sheafe apostasy. That was the beginning of the Dupont Park congregation.

*R.L. Bradford, Sr., and R.L. Bradford, Jr., were the grandfather and father of our well-known Charles Bradford, former president of North American Division.

*Thomas Branch was our first Black missionary to Africa

*J. Gershom Dasent became the first Black president of Lake Region Conference.

*J.K. Humphrey pastored many years in New York City and had a congregation of about 600 when he apostatized, establishing the Sabbath day Adventist organization. His story is well-known.

*C.G. Manns was the younger brother of John Manns, who followed him out of our organization. He was a powerful preacher and was responsible for bringing the well-known Fordham family into the church.

*J.H. Laurence was a great soul winner and well-beloved pastor. He served long and well in several locations. In a tent meeting in Pensacola, Florida, his preaching persuaded Frank L. Peterson, then a teenager, to become an Adventist. O.B. Edwards was also from Pensacola. I never knew what influence Elder Laurence had on him.

*B.W. Abney, father-in-law to E. E. Cleveland, was a very successful evangelist and raised up several church in the Carolinas. He was a missionary to Africa.

*Lewis Sheafe was recognized as one of the top men in the church, regardless of race. He was a gifted preacher who was called to speak at General Conference meetings. He worked largely in the Washington, D.C., area. He had a problem with the church over race policies. In 1907 he took his congregation, the People's Church, out, then brought them back in 1913. He took them out again around 1915 or 1916. The remnant that remained were organized into the Ephesus (now Dupont Park) Church. He later connected with the SDA Baptists, as did his friend Dr. J.H. Kellogg of Battle Creek.

Further Reflections

A lot of things can be shared about the Black work, but this is history and needed telling. I guess I and I alone am left to tell the story about men who were pioneers.

Well, I entered the ministry in 1929 as pastor of the Chattanooga Tennessee Church. At that time the Negro membership was about 8,000. Now I'll list some additional ministers who had entered the work by the 1930s. (This is not complete because I am going from memory only, no yearbook.)

F.S. Keitts, J.G. Thomas, Owen Troy, Sr., H.D. Green, J.M. Rowe, J.E. Cox, Sr., Elder Phipps, Sr., J.H. Wagner, L.H. Bland, F.L. Bland, H.W. Kibble, C.E. Moseley, A.B. Storey, H.J. Miller, A.E. Webb, A.W. Clark, M.M. Young, and many others. The list is too long but their stories are known by many now alive.

In those days a master's degree from Andrews University was not needed to enter the ministry. Many were hired because of natural ability; of course a few years at Oakwood were very helpful.

Regional Conferences

In the 1940s separate conferences were started. These conferences had been asked for by the Black brethren about 1930, but we were told at the General Conference session held in 1930 that administrators plus the Great Depression weakened our hope.

However, a new philosophy among Black Americans began rising. Integration was the hope. Black Methodists were rebelling against their black central jurisdiction with its Black bishop. The U.S. armed services were integrated. So our Black Adventist hopes began turning in that direction. Among our leaders with this hope was Owen Troy, Sr. He was, at that time, our Black leader in the Pacific Union. We hoped to see some Black ladies as secretaries in the conference offices, more nurses in training in our hospitals, more patients there also.

As a move to ease those pressures, the General Conference was ready to make a move toward Black conferences. So these conferences were organized in 1945-1947. However, the Pacific Union had remained under the existing conference structure because that had been the wish of our Black personnel— That is, the majority of them. Our membership was about 17,000 when conferences were organized.

We had grown to over 50,000 by the time I became director of the Regional Department at the General Conference in 1962, and our numbers doubled to over 100,000 by the time I retired in 1975. I don't have the figures, but I am sure we are now [well over 200,000] Black members here in North America.

Having Regional Conferences has not interfered with integration since the nation has passed civil rights laws and the denomination has accepted them. Our non-Regional Conferences and churches are quite integrated.

Here I close my story. This is a part of history that I think should be told. There are not many left who have been a part of the Adventist world for 80 years.

Note: The above narrative was shared in preparation for a special video series produced in 1995 in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Regional Conferences. Elder Singleton has recorded further reflections about the Black work in an extensive interview with Delbert W. Baker (1995).

Return to W. B. White, Jr. ①

STORY OF SUSA KNIGHT.

(As told to J. J. Spaulding, in Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 19, 22, 1914)

In the spring of 1891 I was somewhat discouraged with my surroundings, in looking over the situation of the country around me and the condition of the Negro people. Associated with the white people there in the country life as we were, I was very much dissatisfied with my surroundings, and took to novel-reading, --story-papers. The post-office was Sitona, Mississippi. We were six miles in the country from there. I took a paper whose name was "Comfort," ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ printed in Augusta, Maine. In that was a column headed, "Exchange," in which they advertised for correspondence and exchange of literature. It just occurred to me that that would be a unique way of getting away from home.

I was dissatisfied because of the oppression and the subordination of our men to white men. We had to rent a farm from white folks and either buy or mortgage or rent with mortgage on the crop. Cotton was five cents a pound.

I worked on the farm, and had a regular man's work, and when we girls would be working in the field, white men would be hunting around, just laying for us. I hated that thing. I carried two revolvers, and would have shot if I had been attacked. Doubtless I would have been killed afterwards if I had shot a white man, but I would have been there at the killing. There came over me a feeling of abhorrence and horror. I thought it unjust and wrong, and I would like to get out of it. I found some people well satisfied to stay there in that kind of surroundings.

I desired to go to school. There were no schools. We had some white folks, Knights, our kin-folks. They lived about a mile away. They were very friendly to us. I used to go over to their house on week-day nights, and stay all night with those girls, and study with them that way, till I got where they could not teach me. There were only about eight families scattered round there. All the rest were white people. I got my education as high as sixth or eighth grade from studying at night with these white girls and going there on Sundays. My mother sowed for a m, and would get over to teach me at night and on Sunday. That was my Sunday-school. That was the thing that discouraged me; I outgrew all the privileges I could get there. I desired to get out, and I thought that through this correspondence through the paper I could at least live a life outside my community.

So I wrote an advertisement to the paper. I really didn't know just how to do it; I just copied what was in the paper and put my name to it.

"Will some of the editors please send me some nice reading matter; would like to correspond it. Those of my own age. Your name, it. Age, 17."

I said I was 18, though I was really but 16. But I saw no others advertising so young as that, and I feared they would not notice a

-2-

sixteen-year old girl.

This was in April, 1891. So then I began to get all kinds of novels and story papers and letters, till I was corresponding with forty-four people. And out of those forty-four there were two Adventists. One was in Texas, J. W. Eastman, a canvasser. He saw my advertisement in the paper, and he thought that would be a good thing for him to send some of his good reading. A girl in the Tract Society at Oakland, California, was the other, Ida Embree, now Mrs. W. A. Russell. She graduated last year at Paradise Valley Sanitarium as a nurse. She sent me reading matter. Brother Eastman wrote me two letters, and Sister Embree kept up a continual correspondence. He sent me the Review, Youth's Instructor, and some of the old Medical Missionary Magazines. She sent me the Signs of the Times and also the Review and Instructor. She sent every week the new current number of the Signs, and marked the articles she wished me to read, and she wrote me many letters asking me what I thought of them.

There were two things about these Adventists that attracted me: In the first place, the Adventist papers were cleaner and better papers; and in the second place, their letters were different from other people's. To read at night, I had to sit by the fireplace and read by the light of pine knots; we had no lamp; were living in a one-room log cabin, with a shed on the side of it. There was also a gallery ^{plow} on one side, with a room cut off from one end of it. There were my mother, my older brother, and myself.

The Adventist papers were cleaner and came every week, and the paper being better and thicker, it was easier to read than, and the very fact that the girl marked the pieces she wanted me to read, with a blue or a red pencil, and then wrote me a letter-- there was one thing about her letters. I had had no instruction in penmanship (never have had); I was crazy about pretty writing. This girl was a nice writer. I noticed about her letters that the margin was always even, no blots nor misspelled words, nothing marked out. That taught me a lesson of trying to imitate and get that good thing from the letter-writing. So I used to practice in the shed, copying her letters out there in the road or the field with a stick; for I had no pen nor ink nor pencil. Some of the others of my correspondents wrote very beautifully too, but her letters came regularly, and the papers every week.

I used to get my mail on Friday or Saturdays, when we used to go to mill and get the mail. Then I had all day Sunday to read. Having no other recreation, there was nothing better for me to do than to practice over these letters. When I would read these marked pieces, and I would have to read them with sufficient attention to be able to answer those letters and tell her what I thought of them. So I used to try to pick flaws with them, especially the new things about the Sabbath. I would wait until all the country preachers, white and colored, came by, and ask them questions about it. They would tell me nothing of all that was true; that there were only some jumped-up people out there who were crazy; the idea of keeping Saturday for Sunday was absurd.

This girl, I must have written her some very foolish letters, but she would be very patient. One time she wrote me a letter

32 pages long, explaining a question I thought she could not answer, viz., How could she prove that Saturday was the seventh day of the week? I was interested most by the questions of the Sabbath and the coming of the Lord. I liked to argue in those days. She wrote and wrote, and then she slipped a little tract in and said, "Now you read this tract and look up all the references in the Bible, and if that doesn't answer your questions satisfactorily, let me know, and maybe I can send you something else."

She always quoted the Scriptures as well as gave the reference; and it was a good thing she did, because I did not have a whole Bible. We had an old Bible torn in two. It started somewhere in Genesis, and part of Revelation was gone, as well as pieces in various parts of the Bible. After I got so much interested, I went to my uncle, who was practically an infidel; he had a cheap little Bible, and I picked cotton for him and bought it.

And I struggled. It took me about six months, writing back and forth, before I came to any conclusion. I never wrote in my letters anything about our condition, because I was too proud. I would tell my correspondence about the country, the cotton, sugar cane, peanuts, etc., and brag about the good conditions we had, but never a word did I say about our old log cabin, having no school, nor that I was not white. I lived in these letters, and forgot the things I did not like.

I used to slip the magazines in my pocket and take them to the field with me, and then, when I had plowed up and down the rows of cotton and corn until I was hot and tired, I would sit down in the corner of the fence, take the papers out of my pocket and read it, instead of talking and telling stories, as the others were doing about me. Sometimes we would work in gangs, six or eight or ten of us in a field together. Others would sit down and chew tobacco and tell stories, yarns, and we would sit there about half an hour, until we would get good and cool.

We were buying a farm, and we had to work on shares. We had sufficient land cleared up on our own. We first had forty acres, then bought another forty, and nonextended an eighty, so we got 160 altogether.

My father is living out there, but he is a white man, and he could not help, though he did what he could. His white girls were much larger than we were. His white wife had left him on account of my mother.

It took about six months to get me thoroughly convinced. This girl, Miss Abree, went to Keokuk, to an institution. They had Bible instruction, and these lessons were printed on sheets, one lesson right after another, and seemed to be distributed to the students every day. She saved up a set of these Bible lessons and sent them to me, and she told me all about the institution. In this course of lessons was the 2300 days and the investigative judgment. In the meantime, ~~xxx~~ before she went there, she sent me "Steps to Christ," which was the first Adventist book I ever read. I sat up and read it through in two nights. By this time I had given up reading the novels which were sent me by other people. They were paper-bound and old, such as people had thrown aside and then sent me. I did not care so much for that; but the print was also poor, and hard on my

eyes. But "Steps to Christ" was brand-new, with a pretty red cover made of strong cloth; it was well divided into its subjects, so that I could find just what I wanted. My mother was somewhat religious, and I read it aloud to her, until she went to sleep. I remember I had to go out to the pile of wood twice to get more pine knots to keep the fire going so I could read. It made a very deep impression on me. I knew I needed Christ. I was a sinner.

I had gone to church once a month, when the circuit riders came about. The Presbyterian minister came through twice a year, the Hardshell Baptist came once a month. They were white people, but they allowed colored people to go in and sit in the back seats. I used to go because my mother liked to go to church. I never could believe their teachings, especially about hell fire. I didn't believe a thing could burn forever and never burn up, because I had burned logs and hogs and dogs, and burned them up; and if a man should die and go to hell, he seemed to me like any other creature which died and we burned it up. Those preachers did not use their Bibles much; they would take a text and preach from it their own ideas. They pictured the horrors of hell, and I saw no love of God in that. For myself I had enough beating and whipping at home, from my mother and the neighbors, whom if we were ever left with them, thought they could beat us as if we were their own. One time a woman knocked me senseless because I didn't get out of her way quick enough.

I was not religiously inclined, because there was no attraction about it. I went to church to see what folks wore and who were the newest neighbors. I did like to go to the Methodist church to prayer meeting on Sunday afternoon, because the old man came down out of the pulpit and put his hands on our heads, and said, "God bless the babes?"

When I was little, we would play on church when we got home. We would go out in the oak grove where we would not be seen, and out of hearing of the house; and we would pick up chips that hung together for our hymn books, and we would sing the hymns from memory. And I was the preacher, and I would preach about hell fire as though I believed in it, and urge the mourners if they wanted to escape damnation to come forward, and then I would pray for them. I was about eight years old, and they should give me their hands.

After I passed that stage, I was then a merchant. We built a town, and I was head man of the town, and I played the man's part. We had a telegraph system. We had been to Shubuta, 37 miles away. The railroad was just being built through then, and there was where I first saw the telegraph wire. When I wanted a telegraph in my town. It took a week to go there and back in an ox wagon, to sell our cotton and buy supplies. That gave me an idea of town life.

We bought a second reader there in Shubuta. It was when I was twelve years old, and it was the first book I ever owned. We had spelling matches, and I would spell everybody down, and there was nothing I could not spell in Webster's spellers. That got turned up, and I cried a week about it.

So we children built our town, put up strings for telegraph wires, and I ran the store. The next thing I had a school, and there was no play about this. My first school I taught on the gallery of our log cabin, when I was about 14 years old. I had four pupils, cousins of mine, but much younger. I taught them during the summer. My school lasted for six weeks. I had a blackboard. We took two twelve

inch boards four feet long and nailed them together on standards, and stood them up by the side of the house, got some soot and water and blacked them, and put them out in the sun to dry. It made a good blackboard. Then we went down into the reed brake; sometimes chalk banks there. We took the chalk out of the banks to write on the blackboard. I had the school two years, in the summer time for six weeks, at the time we laid by our crops to fodder time there were about six weeks when we had nothing to do, and then till cotton-picking time, six weeks from July to middle of October or first of November. At that time there was little I could do in the field until the cotton was ready.

I took my place at the plow when I was thirteen. My mother stayed at the house and cooked then, while before that she had worked in the field. From eight to thirteen I cooked and spun yarn from cotton and wool. We had sheep. We wove our own cloth. I used to spin two hanks a week; and I had to cook and to carry all the water from the branch a quarter of a mile away. Afterwards we had a well. In the summer time the loom occupied the house, while we lived out-doors. In the winter we put it out on the gallery.

The thing that really converted me was that investigative judgment. That is still one of the best subjects for me in giving Bible readings, because that was the thing that converted me. There was a cyclone in the summer time, forty miles long, three miles wide, this very summer that I was doing this reading, and it swept the ground clear about three miles away from us.

I had a girl relative (an aunt, but she was not much more than a year older than I); this girl was a Christian, had joined the Baptist church, and I went to her, and I said, "Now look here, suppose I had been in that storm and gotten killed, I would have been lost, wouldn't I?" And she said, "No, you wouldn't have been lost. If your people had prayed for you and been baptized for you afterwards, you could have been saved." I said, "Does the Bible say that?" And she said, "Yes." "Well, show it to me." This was one Sunday; we were out in the field, set down in the midst of the broom straw, talking. She went to the house and got an old fashioned Bible, big Bible, and she hunted and hunted. We spent two hours. I was better educated than she, but she was a Christian and knew the Bible better. Finally she found Peter, and it was there in Peter, the text that says Christ was put to death in the flesh, quickened by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison. That was her proof that there was preaching done to people after they died. I said, "It doesn't say that." I wanted to be sure, because I was uneasy because of that storm which had killed so many people. I understood language better than she, and I knew that text did not mean that. She answered "What does it say?" I said, "It says he was put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit. That don't mean his spirit; it means another, because it came to him and made him alive. 'And by which he went,'--not Christ, but the Spirit,--and preached to those folks when the ark was preparing in the days of Noah. It was the same spirit that did it."

Then I was in a worse boat, because when I went back there to read about the flood, then I found those people were all lost in the flood because they did not believe. And I did not believe anybody's preaching. Just at that time these Bible lessons came. Then--

I remember the night--everyone gone to bed except me. I was sitting up and reading about twelve and two o'clock. I read that through.

It took me a long time to find all these references. I found that Christ was in the sanctuary, the dead were being judged by the things written in the books of heaven, and they would be either condemned or saved according to the writing in those books. I knew I had never done anything good,--except I would tell the truth and pay my debts and keep my promises. But if things did not go to suit me, I would fight, I carried guns to shoot people. Suppose, I thought, God should come to my case tonight; I had heard so much about the horrors of hell. I sat there and decided that if it was to be done, that was the time. I had never prayed anything but the Lord's prayer, know no other prayer. That prayer did not seem to fit my need exactly just then, and I sat there trembling. It came over me with an awful shock and shudder, to think that Christ was then in the sanctuary in heaven, in God's presence, and people were actually being judged. I said, "Well, here, I have got to stop using bad language, stop fighting and disputing people and giving them the lie. If that's all written in heaven, I have got to stop that, and stop going to dances. Because if the Lord should come to my case now, he would surely damn me." That night I resolved to live differently. I never asked God to help me, except in the desire of my heart, because we had no family worship and I had no private worship, knew nothing about that. I sat there and said, "I have been breaking the Sabbath. Now then, I have got to stop all this and do differently."

It was winter time, and we did not have to work in the field, and I could do it. I began keeping the Sabbath by taking a bath and putting on my Sunday clothes and reading the Bible.

In the meantime this girl, Miss Sabree, had seen that I was so much interested, and feeling that she could not keep in close enough touch with me, she sent my name to J. Dyer Chambers in Chattanooga, and he had sent me the Sabbath-school lesson quarterly. When I told her I was keeping the Sabbath, she did this.

I could not study the Sabbath-school lesson in the house, so I would take my book Bible and the Review and the Signs of the Times and the Sabbath-school Worker and the lesson quarterly, and go off in the woods. I would cook the breakfast, and then I would deliberately go into the house. ~~xxxxxx~~ We had built a kitchen then; we had two houses. I would go into the big house and clean up, make the beds and sweep. Then I would take my mail and my Bible and go to the woods. I would not take anything to eat, but I would stay there in the woods till sundown and study my Bible and pray. I learned my Sabbath-school lessons by heart, till I could answer every question without looking at the Bible, and I had all day to do it. When I had learned that, I would read from the Review and the Signs and the notes in the Sabbath-school Worker. By that time the day was gone.

On rainy days I would have to stay at the house, and that was the most miserable day. My mother would quarrel every hour of the day when I was sitting down and reading those books. My dog and I spent the day in the woods. That dog would lie about twenty feet away from me and would not let a hog or cow get near me. He was a black dog. I would cut the wood and do the work in the night. Sunday I would cook, and Sunday night I would spend answering my

letters. But Sabbath I spent in study. When it was too cold, I would sometimes build a fire in the woods and build me a pine knot fire. And every Sabbath I would go to a different place, because I was afraid some hunters would find me. I always took my revolver. Other girls were raped, but I never was disturbed, because I sent out threats, and they were afraid of me. There were some colored men and the common white folks who threatened me. They used to say, "That Georgia's Anna Knight, she thinks she is somebody. We'll lay for her and fix her." Some would tell me this. I said, "You tell them I'm ready, and when they come they'll get a black eye or a bullet through their black hearts." I would send them the biggest words I knew; told them that when they met me, they would know it was me, that it was not some of these softies they were meeting.

I used to ride horseback through the country, and gallop the horse through the woods and shoot at spots on the trees, and never missed at fifty or a hundred yards. I got that idea from reading Buffalo Bill and the James Brothers. Then when we would want a chicken, instead of catching it, I would walk out and shoot its head off. People knew I could do it.

Then spring came, and I was still keeping the Sabbath; had been about six months. There was a long dry spell, and we could not get the crops in just when we ought to, and when we did get them in, there came a long wet spell, and then the grass grew, and then my folks made me work on the Sabbath one day. Then I thought I had sinned against the Holy Ghost. Then the real break came between my mother and my kinfolks and me.

They laid our neglected crops to me. They said, "You lay around here and sit in the woods, and let the grass grow." Then they teased me: "Who knows what you do out in the woods every Saturday? Going out to the woods at just the same time every Saturday, and no one knows where you are, no one can find you when they look for you. You make yourself out too high for common men, but who knows what you do out there in the woods?" They tried to stop my Sabbath-keeping that way.

It was cotton-chopping time, and hoeing and plowing and everything. I was the plow boy. I was now eighteen. Yet I had never risen up in independence. I would not quarrel either. Folks thought there was a wonderful change in me. I did not dance that Christmas. The whole neighborhood was spoiled because the fun was gone, the leader was out.

Well, this Sabbath morning they all began to quarrel, Howard my brother, his wife, and my mother. There was a four-acre field of cotton and to be run around to throw the dirt back. I was the one to do that work, to plow; and I said to myself, "Well, I know no way out of it." I had never read in the Bible where I was privileged to refuse to obey my mother. My father said so too; they were all working together. I was trying to be a Christian between two fires. Finally I got mad, lost my temper (I had an awful temper); I fussed with them that morning. I said, "Well, if I can't keep the Sabbath, it's no use to keep any day, and if I have to go and plow to-day, I will finish that field if I have to work all day tomorrow, or die."

I hitched up the horse; I was angry, and the horse was a wild, frisky horse, and we went over that field of cotton long before sundown. Then I was bound to break Sunday anyway; I was very mad; thought I could not now be saved. So Sunday morning I would not put on clean clothes, but hoed in the flower yard all the morning. Then they were sure I had gone crazy, and for fear I might do worse things, they did not force me to work after that. But I spent a miserable year. I had given my word that I would help make the crop. That Sunday I wrote to Mr. Chambers, and asked him what to do. He got the letter in time to reply, so that I got it the next Friday, and that was what made me keep the next Sabbath. He told me God would not hold me responsible; that I had not broken his law, that I had been forced to work. He told me children were to obey their parents in the Lord only. Then I stood up for my rights, and refused to work any more. I agreed to help make and gather the crop.

Brother Chambers invited me to come to Chattanooga and go to Graysville school. He did not know that I was colored. I gathered the crop, sold the cotton. My brother and I had a bale between us for ours, and I sold it; my part was enough, \$23, to pay my fare to Chattanooga and back.

Before I was forced to work on the Sabbath, I went to Chattanooga the first time. He thought I could go up and spend the winter in the Graysville school, and then go back home and work and be better fitted for the work.

I sold my cotton and went up there to go to Graysville school with money enough to bring me back home, but they would not consent to let me go. I was to go to Graysville in January and February. Bro. Chambers said he could arrange for my tuition and board if I could pay railway fare. My people would not let me go unless I would agree to come back and make a crop at home. Then I would be of age and would do as I pleased.

I took my cotton and did that. My father said, "I don't believe in your going off, but since your head is set, don't you let those folks know that you have any money. If they don't treat you right, come home." I had never been in a railway car before. I took his advice. He said, "When you get up there, they are going to ask you if you are a Negro. Tell them you are not, because you are not. A Negro means a black man, and you are not black, and you will be telling the truth." Now I always had the highest regard for him, and so I took his advice, and I did not tell them anything. They asked me nothing. They could tell I was mixed blood. They wanted to help me. Bro. Chambers and wife had a talk among themselves. He sent me his picture and he told me to have the Review in my hand, so he would know me. He met me at the station and took me home. I spent a week with him before I went on to Graysville. When I went there they all looked at me. Sabbath time came; the door of the church was open, and I went in. I joined the church because I wanted to be baptized. I went 365 miles to be baptized. That was my main object. I was baptized Sabbath afternoon. It was week of prayer. I joined with some of the Graysville students, and Brother Chambers vouched for me. It was sleeting and raining.

By that time they understood that I was colored, but the Adventist people said nothing. I went to school Monday morning, and the

Southern white students resented it, because I was put in their classes. They went to the principal and told him if I were not taken out they would mob me. They had a meeting. I did not know what they were doing. They called me in and asked me some questions. I followed my father's advice, and told them what he told me. They asked me for the names of persons they could write to to find out if I were telling the truth. They said they had no doubt of what I said, but they would like to have references which they could present to those who objected to my presence. I gave them some names to write to, white folks who I knew were my friends. They never replied to their letters; I knew they would not.

Elder Colcord, the principal, advised me to stay in my room and study, and not go to school until they should hear from Mississippi. He also wrote to Brother Chambers and told him the situation. I stayed at the school, and wrote letters back and forth. And Sister Hunt, she taught me privately, and I helped her with the cooking, and I studied in the home that way. I did not go back home until the time set for me to go back. When I did go back, I knew so much more than I did when I left that they believed I had been in school, though the tale had gotten out that there had been trouble about my getting in. My people don't know to-day that I didn't go to school. I have never told them.

It was a great cross to me. I had thought Adventists were saints. When I found they were real human beings, it was an awful disappointment. But I believed the truth nevertheless. I was sufficiently acquainted with things to know that even though people were Christians, others could force them to do things, and I did not fall out with the Adventists.

I went back home then, and that was when my troubles began. In the meantime, when they made me work Sabbath, Brother Chambers knew that I had gone through, and how I struggled through it, and cast no blame. He offered me to come and stay with them, and he would find a place for me, if my people forced me to leave home. Finally it got so bad until my mother told me straight I could either give up Saturday and stay at home, or I could keep Saturday and leave home, and I chose to go.

This year I had a bale of cotton, but because of some debts we owed and because she felt as she did about it,--I had a horse, a cow, some land, a bale of cotton and some other things,--I gave it all back to her, and said, "Now I will not stand up for my part of things; you may have mine; I'm going out to get an education and be a teacher." I felt so sorry for others like me, I was going some way to get an education and then help others. I gave back everything to her except my Bible, my ticket to Chattanooga, and five cents, and I spent that to buy a coconut to eat on the way.

Sister Chambers went to a sale and bought some cloth. She had a dressmaker in the house when I came on Wednesday, and she made me a Sabbath suit. When it came, I had a city made dress and went to church with them. I stayed there nine months. I wrote back home occasionally. There were some hard feelings between my mother and me over the religious question. They were Hardshell Baptists. It was so different from what I believed that there was no good feeling. Our family ties almost died out, but not quite. It was a struggle to leave home.

Brother Chambers taught me then. He told me I was way ahead in some things and behind in others, and advised me to take grammar and arithmetic, especially, and Bible. I spent all my time. He was a fine teacher. Gave me lessons regularly every night in grammar and arithmetic, so I was able to take up first year work in Mount Vernon Academy. Things had changed in Graysville, and they would have been glad to have me back there. He tried to get Chambers to send me to Graysville, but I did not want to go there, and they told me I could go either place. I chose to go to Ohio. I knew Elder Irwin, and he had gotten interested in me. So I went there. Bro. Chambers paid my expenses. Then I spent all my time studying there, working one hour a day the first year, academic work.

Then Brother Chambers got sick, and could not help me. But Dr. Kellogg sent two trained nurses to Chattanooga that year. The campmeeting came on. Bro. Chambers was secretary of the tract society. I was working with him, and did not know what I should do. These girls thought I ought to go to Battle Creek. They were Anna Washburn and Rosa Starr. They introduced me to Dr. Olsen, and these girls wrote letters of introduction to Dr. Kellogg, and Bro. Chambers wrote him, and they paid my railroad fare.

At that time Dr. Paulson and brother were opening the industrial department of Battle Creek Sanitarium. I entered that industrial school with the expectation that when I finished certain requirements in the work I was going to take up the nurses' course. This was in 1894. I took up some more arithmetic and grammar. Prof. Bell was our teacher. I finished arithmetic and took up bookkeeping under Mr. Hoover, the Sanitarium bookkeeper, because Dr. Kellogg thought we should know these things. I worked in the laundry and went to school for eight months, finishing the required work to enter the nurse's class. In the meantime I overworked. It was cold, and I had not sufficient clothing. I nearly died with tonsillitis, and was under censure because I worked when I was sick, and I could not speak but was still working, with a temperature of 104 and 105. I went to classes and could not recite, but would hear the others. One of the nurses, a friend of mine, was uneasy about me, and reported it to the head nurse, who took my temperature, and then told me I could never take the nurses' course. He quarantined me in 36, and had me under treatment two days. And I slipped out and went back to my room and went to work. They caught me again. I had a relapse. Then they put me on probation. So I gave up the idea of being a nurse. I thought I would be a missionary in the laundry. And then they had to beg me to go into the nurses' class the next spring. But we were still going on with this rhetoric.

After I had been in Battle Creek four years, I left there, before I would have graduated the next spring, but I had done all the work required, except the practice. They called for volunteers to go into mission work. I had sent pictures of the Battle Creek College and Sanitarium home, and my people were begging me to come home and teach them. So I volunteered to go out that winter, but I had nothing to go with. The M. M. & B. Association paid the fare and sent me down there with one hundred pounds of health foods. Then I started my school in Mississippi.

Everybody turned out, the whole neighborhood. Some folks came ninety miles to see me, kin folks, white people. They rode horseback to see me when I came. I started two Sunday schools and my day school. This day school I started in an old tumble-down log

oatin out in an old field. Nobody cared to live in it. The chimney was down to the shoulders, all the cracks were open. We had to bar up one door and go in at the other. There were no windows. In this old house I started school that winter. We had a fire trying to keep warm. I started with twelve children, all kin folks, colored and white. My half brothers sent their children, who were white, four of them; all the others were colored.

We had two seats, one just in front of the other. Just planks put on legs. And a big old open fireplace. We built the chimney up partly, with sticks and mud. The roof was leaky, but no one wanted to do anything in the wintertime. And besides, I thought I would build me a new school house. This cabin was in my uncle's field, and he let me use that for nothing and he sent his children to me.

I taught school in that place for two months that winter, and then I got some people at Battle Creek and Graysville interested. The church at Graysville sent me their second hand "Little Friends" to use in my Sunday-school, and the people at Battle Creek gathered up some old Gospel Primers and other books, quite a collection of them, and Dr. Kellogg had given me twenty of his primary health physiology, and I had an old Webster's speller.

We burned pine knots. The children sat on the front seat until they got warm, then the others took their turn. We had to have a fire to study by in the daytime to see by on rainy days. The doors had to be boarded up to keep out some of the wind. One cold snowy day the house caught fire. We had built a big fire to try to warm up things inside, and the chimney sticks caught fire. We knocked the chimney down and put it out, the children chunked it out with dirt and snow. It was too cold; no one would work on the chimney in that kind of weather.

There were some Mormons in there, and they objected. I had Sunday-school at this place in the afternoon. I walked six miles down to class Sunday morning, and had a Sunday school in the morning there at a colored Baptist church, and I had about fifty to sixty in that Sunday school. I taught the grown folks the lessons out of the Little Friend. I had my folks take up their Little Friend from the Sabbath before, which I would use the next Sunday. Then I would come back in the afternoon and teach Sunday school at this place.

The people liked it, but this Mormon preacher said a woman was not to preach and that was what I was doing. He stirred up the worst class of the white folks, who said they would waylay me on the road and kill me. Then I changed my plan. I went one way and came back another. I never passed the same way twice a day. I put my revolver in my bookcase with my Bible and my Little Friends. I had studied old Testament history, and I saw where Abraham took his trained servants and brought lot back, and I thought if I should be pushed, it would be all right for me to shoot. I let it be known that I had not forgotten how to shoot. This went on for a year, and I was not molested, but I was put to the test afterwards. The people became interested, even those who had been prejudiced. The Mormon lost out because I taught them against polygamy. He did not like that.

There was a moonshine band in there, and I taught physiology and got my people so they would not drink. That ruined the business. I told them it was a sin to dance, and they all stopped dancing. Then all that riffraff, both white and colored, were down on me. They joined together and sent me word to stop it. I told them I would not do it. A white woman brought the word. I sent back word by her that when they were ready to shoot, I was ready. I quit walking then. I used to have a cousin to walk with me. He got afraid. Then I got my mother to let me ride her horse, the one I used to own and had trained. I had taught this horse to run when I threw up my hand, and it had not forgotten the tricks I had taught it.

In this particular case, it was in the winter time, about February I had been there all one winter and the summer and another winter, and I had gotten out of the old log house. One of my nurse friends, Julia Luccock, who had visited Miss Bowen at Mt. Weigs and found she could not work there,--Julia had to go to Montgomery and nurse. She proposed visiting me this summer. And I was still teaching in that log cabin. She came there to spend one week. Instead, she spent three. I went through about forty deaths when I got her letter telling me she was coming. I had never told the conditions at my home, and now this girl, whom I loved above all, was actually coming to my home. I felt I could not have her come and see the surroundings. When her letter reached me, she was then on the train, on her last stage from Alabama to Mississippi, and she would be in Ellenville the very night I got the letter. I could not go to meet her, because I was teaching the school, and I had no way to go. I tried to get my uncle to drive. He said, "No sir, I would not meet that strange white woman from the North for nothing. I would not know how to speak to her." Finally I hired my cousin and my brother to go horseback. I gave them a dollar apiece if they would go and inquire for this girl. I showed them her picture. Those boys rode down there and let that woman sit there half the day before they had the courage to go to the hotel to meet her. I had not the courage, after my Graysville experience, to bring her into my home. I had never told anybody how things were at home, how my father and mother were not living together, and that she was colored and he white. I did not know, really, the depth of Christian experience and sympathy.

Miss Luccock saw my brother and my cousin standing around, and it occurred to her it must be my brother, so she went up to them and inquired if I had sent them, and they said Yes. They hired a hack to bring her out for five dollars. She came and instead of staying one week she spent three weeks with me; went with me to the school every day, looked at that old log cabin, that old field, the old ragged books and things. Finally she went away, but she stayed long enough to let the people know that the white folks were not like the Christian white folks down there. She lived with me, and we lay awake night after night and talked nearly every night. She went to her home in Iowa and some other places in Iowa, and solicited money and sent back to me.

I had a cotton crop, and we built the school house, ceiled inside with matched, kiln-dried lumber. It was 24 x 16. Four windows, stove in the center, blackboard in the farther end. I helped build that house. Her father was an architect, drew the plans and gave me some idea. This white brother of mine and some of my uncles and neighbors had a house-raising, all donating a day's work. I

took this brother, who had some knowledge of building houses. I and he built that house. I would teach school in the old log house until about three o'clock in the afternoon, then I would go over on my own land where this house was being built and help with that schoolhouse. During that summer we built the schoolhouse. I furnished his children their books, and they came to the school. I charged tuition and let them work it out. I was clearing a plot of land. I had by right forty acres. My mother let me build on the lot I chose. Then right in the front I laid out my street and set out my shade trees, then began to clear up for my vineyard. We first cleared over the spot for the schoolhouse. Then we began teaching school there in the winter.

The winter before I got no money except \$4 for his children. He is rich, my mother's brother. He paid for his children; that is all the money I got.

Now I taught my other cousins and this half brother's white children. Then these Mormon folks and the liquor folks, colored and white roughs, they did not like this improvement. They said, "This here woman has gone up North and got all these Northern ideas, and is bringing all this in here and getting these people stuck up, and trying to preach, going from one place to another holding meetings there and here. We will fix her." They intended to kill me, threatened it. These white men were running a distillery. I had gotten all my students to quit drinking. One was 17, another 16, 14, and one about 9. Even babies would drink. Children would get drunk, girls and boys. I ruined their business. They said, "We are going to stop her."

They would come to my Sunday school in the afternoon, some of them with their liquor in their pockets, and sell it to the grown folks there. When they saw those Kellogg charts up there, and I scared them about the liver and kidney and heart, they were horrified and they would not buy it; so those men lost out, and their business was killed. They sent word they would burn the school house and kill me.

I had a rule up not to spit on the floor. One Sunday they laid for me. I was riding horseback. I rode through the woods and across fords, and then came back the public highway. Someone had told them my trick of going one way and coming back the other. They watched one morning and knew I would be back the other way. There were eight to ten white men, drunk. They waited for me at the edge of their neighborhood, where it merges into ours, and where there is a long stretch of road, about two miles, through the pine woods. They got in there, and I heard them ahead, hollering and shooting pistols. They were looking for me. I was on this horse. I did not have my revolver that day; I had gotten religious enough to leave it behind. But I had to go through there. I had about a quarter mile to go through a lane before I struck the woods and the men, and I did not know what to do. But I just prayed a little prayer that the Lord would help me get through without being killed if they meant to kill me. Some of them came down the road, meeting me. I saw them. The others were back in the woods. I said, "Good afternoon, gentlemen," and they spoke to me. Then some of them crowded in behind me, and there was a crowd before me. The only thing I could do was to run through. When I got almost to the place where these men were.

We'll Soon Be Free

We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
When de Lord will call us home.

My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
'Fore we done sufferin' here?

It won't be long,
It won't be long,
It won't be long,
'Fore de Lord will call us home.

We'll walk de miry road,
We'll walk de miry road,
We'll walk de miry road,
Where pleasure never dies.

We'll walk de golden street,
We'll walk de golden street,
We'll walk de golden street,
Where pleasure never dies.

My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
'Fore we done sufferin' here?

We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
When Jesus sets me free.

We'll fight for liberty,
We'll fight for liberty,
We'll fight for liberty,
When de Lord will call us home.

THE SOUTHERN UNION CONFERENCE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Seventh-day Adventist church had expanded in the southern states to such an extent that by 1901 the General Conference officers felt that reorganization in that field would tend toward greater administrative efficiency, therefore, in harmony with the action of the Battle Creek Conference, the Southern Union Conference was organized in 1901 with a president and a secretary-treasurer and had for its territory the states of: Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, West Florida, West Tennessee, and Kentucky. This Union Conference defined the future work of the Southern Missionary Society to be that of establishing and maintaining mission schools among the colored people, engaging in Bible study with the people and doing colporteur work.¹ Four members of the Southern Union Conference Committee were members of the Southern Missionary Society board. The board acted on the location of workers, plan of schools, and the expenditure of funds which were handled by the regularly appointed treasurer of the Society.

During this same year the Mississippi Conference was organized with a president and secretary-treasurer. F. R. Rogers was the

¹Colporteur, a word of French derivation, originally meant one who carried on his neck. The specific connotation signifies one who distributes or sells books and tracts on religious subjects. The Seventh-day Adventists use this term interchangeably with the word canvasser. The general term applied to this type of work is colporteur. "Seventh-day Adventists distribute most of their book literature from door to door. More than 27,000 colporteurs every day travel the highways and byways of the world, taking the printed page from home to home." Alonso Baker, Belief and Work of Seventh-day Adventists, p-60.

superintendent of elementary education. The territory of this conference with its headquarters at Hatley,² Mississippi, was the entire state which had in 1901 a population of 1,551,371. Mississippi was not a state of large cities, for in 1900 none contained 25,000 inhabitants. According to the census of 1900 the Negroes in Mississippi ten years of age and above were about fifty per cent illiterate.³

From this state where opportunities for the Negro seemed at one time almost nil, have come some able gospel workers. One of those who became a successful missionary under remarkable circumstances, was Anna Knight. She was born in Gitano, Mississippi, and in 1895 while she was still a young girl she advertised in a paper called Comfort for some of the cousins⁴ to send her some good reading matter. Ida Embre, a girl living in California, marked some articles in a copy of the Signs of the Times, a Seventh-day Adventist publication, and mailed it to her. Miss Embre wrote Miss Knight that she belonged to a literature club; that the members of this club met and addressed the papers; prayed over them and mailed them; and she asked for the reader's reaction. Meanwhile, W. W. Eastman, a colporteur, sent to her the Youth's Instructor and the Review and Herald, other Seventh-day Adventists publications. Bible lessons were also sent to her but she could

²General Conference Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 3, Third Quarter, 1901, p. 527.

MISSISSIPPI		
Total Population	Illiterate	Per cent
640,424	314,617	49.1

³United States Census, 1900.

⁴Cousins was the word applied to those who distributed Christian literature.

not avail herself of them because she had no Bible. However, she was eager to learn and was ambitious enough to pick cotton and earn money to purchase a Bible. By the light from the fireside she studied those lessons and became convinced that Saturday, not Sunday, was the Lord's day, but did not understand clearly how to observe the Sabbath. Upon her request for more information on the subject, Miss Embre sent some tracts and a copy of a devotional book, Sunday and the Sabbath and Steps to Christ, by Mrs. White.

After reading this literature prayerfully for six months, Miss Knight began keeping the Sabbath. At first she observed it from noon on Saturday until noon on Sunday. Another subject which this new believer did not thoroughly understand was the relation of the final Investigative Judgment and the Sanctuary of the Old Testament and the book of Hebrews in the plan of salvation. As she continued study on this question she became more perplexed. This fact she disclosed to Miss Embre, who wrote to L. Dyo Chambers, secretary of the Seventh-day Adventist Tract Society in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and told him of the girl in Gitano, Mississippi, who was keeping the Sabbath as a result of reading literature.

Miss Knight continued to keep the seventh-day Sabbath, but to escape the fury of opposing relatives she went each Saturday to the woods, changing places week by week and remaining until the sun went down. In bad weather she spent the day in the hay-loft.

Mr. Chambers advised her to come to Chattanooga, Tennessee, and join the church in Graysville, Tennessee, which was not far away. When her crop was gathered she took half of the proceeds from a bale of cotton, which she and her brother owned jointly, and went to Chatta-

nooga. For identification, Chambers had sent her a copy of the Adventist weekly periodical, The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, and a picture which she was to have in hand. Mr. and Mrs. Chambers were very kind to her and took her to Graysville during a "Week of Prayer," a week of revival and special evangelism which Seventh-day Adventists observe annually in December. After breaking the ice in the river, G. W. Colcord, principal of the Graysville school, baptized her by immersion.⁵ Because she was not permitted to attend the school which was for white children, the matron taught her privately. After she had spent ten weeks there in study she returned home; only to hear from the lips of her mother that she must give up Sabbath-keeping or leave home. She chose the latter and attended Mount Vernon Academy in Ohio and the Adventist College at Battle Creek, Michigan. Here she entered the Battle Creek Sanitarium where she completed the nurses' course.

During the winter of 1896 Miss Knight returned to her home in Gitano, Mississippi, and began what was probably the first self-supporting mission school in Mississippi. Of her work she later writes:

I came here during the winter of 1896 and began a private school among ostracized white people. I taught school five days in the week and on Sundays I had a Sunday school, through which some of the colored people learned of my work and asked me to come to their school and teach them a Sunday school like the one I was teaching at my own school, and I did so. I now have two Sunday schools in which I teach our Sabbath school lessons from the Little Friend and give them the whole truth. These schools are six miles apart but I manage to attend them both, going to the one at noon and coming back home conducting the other from two to three P. M. Quite often I have to walk to and from this school, but I consider the work of carrying the message too

⁵Immersion is the form of baptism uniformly practiced by Seventh-day Adventists.

important to let anything come between me and the work.

There was no school here before, but I used an old tenement house for the winter and summer. By solicitation and personal efforts I secured sufficient funds to build a comfortable house on my forty acres of land and intended to make the school self-supporting and an industrial enterprise.⁶

In the year 1901 the Seventh-day Adventist Mission Board sent Miss Knight to India where for six years she served as a missionary. In 1907 she returned to the southern United States and has for approximately thirty years served as educational superintendent of Adventist schools, and secretary for the local Home Missionary and Young People's Missionary Volunteer departments of the church. With an office in Chattanooga, Tennessee, she is now an able assistant in the above-mentioned departments in the Southern Union Conference. Her territory comprises the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina.

The Adventists were willing to use any proper means for preaching their gospel message. Halls, schools, and a mission boat have been effective means in the south. Ever since the great western revival of 1798-1805 tents had been used as shelters for gospel preaching and the practice was adopted by Seventh-day Adventists in 1854.⁷ Since that time Seventh-day Adventists have used tents in-

* ⁶Gospel Herald, Vol. 3, No. 1.

⁷The idea of using tents came to Elder James White, an Adventist pioneer leader, as he was assisting in evangelistic meetings in Locke, Michigan, on May 20, 21, 1854. The school house in which the meetings were held was inadequate and the larger part of the audience was on the outside. The speaker stood by an open window so all could hear. Elder White told M. E. Cornell, another pioneer Seventh-day Adventist minister associated with him, that he thought they would have to secure a tent for meetings the next year. Cornell said, "Why not have one at once?" These men delayed the decision until they

My Way's Cloudy

O, bretheren, my way, my way's cloudy, my way,
Go sen'a dem angels down,
O, bretheren, my way, my way's cloudy, my way,
Go sen'a dem angels down.

Dere's fire in de eas' an' fire in de wes',
Sen' dem angels down,
Dere's fire among dem Methodis',
Oh, sen'a dem angels down.

Old Satan is mad an' I'm so glad,
Sen' dem angels down,
He missed de soul he thought he had,
Oh, sen'a dem angels down.

O, bretheren, my way, my way's cloudy, my way,
Go sen'a dem angels down.
O, bretheren, my way's cloudy, my way,
Go sen'a dem angels down.

**SUSTENTATION FUND
APPLICATION BLANK**

Applicant A. Barry No 72
Address Nashville Tenn. 1701 Lincoln St.

- In what conference are you now located? Southern Union Mission
- In what conference did you begin your public labors? General Conference
- How long were you connected as a laborer with that conference? 11 years
- In what other conferences or relation Bible have you labored, and how long in each? Mich. Syn. So. Miss. Soc.
- In what lines of work have you been employed? Ministerial
- What can you say of the success which has attended your labors? Raised up churches at Louisville & Lexington and have had some success in raising up deacons in various places
- From what source or sources have you received compensation for your labors? Gifts and gifts
- Give last rate of salary per week \$ 2.25 B. Has active work ceased on account of age or health? Age
- In the cessation from active work considered permanent or temporary? Permanent
- To what extent are you still able to labor in the message? Can do light work.
- What are your present opportunities for such labor? Have a number interested over here.
- Is your present location favorable for such labor, for inexpensive living, and for your health? Fairly so.
- Have you any suggestion or request to make in regard to transfer to a more favorable locality? No. Not now
- Who are dependent upon you for support? One by Joe at Oakwood
- Give age and sex of each dependent. Boy 14 yrs.
- To what extent are dependents able to contribute towards support? Works to pay tuition at Oakwood.
- Have you any private income? If so, please explain the character of it. None
- Are you the owner of a home or other real estate? No
- Are there special obligations resting upon you which should be taken into consideration? None
- Miscellaneous information and suggestions.

Obvrt

NOTE: A widow of a deceased laborer, applying to the Board of Missions, should give information concerning the deceased husband. Answers to all other questions should give information perfect upon her.

Signature of Applicant A. Barry

Remarks by Conference President Ed. Barry has been in the work for 11 years (colored) from the first and has always been loyal to the organized work. His condition and age renders the results of a future work doubtful. The Southern Union Mission Society has considered him on the pension list for some time.

In view of the above information, what rate per week do you advise? \$ 7.50

Signature Southern Union Mission
R. C. Talmer, Sec.

Remarks by Union President Ed. Barry is one of our oldest colored ministers. He had for several years been on the pay roll of the S. U. M. as a pensioner. The youngest son of the late Oakwood W. B. has been employed by Ed. Barry at the mission house and sending \$2 to Oakwood for the support of his wife. I think that from the boy's own work in the past year he has saved \$100. He has brought in a couple of dollars before lately and has several hundred dollars in the bank. He is a fine man and he cannot walk as he used to.

Signature W. G. McViegh
Union Pres.
& Supt. Mission

OBITUARY RECORD FOR 1914.

"They rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

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|--|--|
| Chas. T. Adams, February 15, 1914; California. | A. Schlotthauer, October 30; California. |
| A. Barry, February 19; Tennessee. | J. F. Jones, November 11; Oregon. |
| R. G. Stinger, March 28; Florida. | W. G. Bond, November 12; Spain. |
| K. Rasmussen, April 9; Iowa. | W. M. Lee, November 15; Florida. |
| A. P. Hancock, April 22; Arkansas. | B. C. Haak, November 25; Argentina. |
| Lola Gustis, April 24; Spain. | Lope Nirolas, December 10; Spain. |
| E. H. Wilbur, May 1; China. | Mrs. L. O. Maclean, December 24; Mass. |
| Mrs. G. B. Thompson, May 2; Takoma Park, D. C. | O. A. Olson, January 29, 1915; Chicago, Ill. |
| O. Lüpke, August 13; Germany. | J. L. Prescott, January 30, 1915; Takoma Park, D. C. |
| H. L. Cohoon, August 25; Michigan. | |
| C. C. Hedbrook, August 27; Colorado. | |

61 Lindsay Ave. Nashville, Tenn. Dec. 21 - 1909.

Eld. W. C. White,
Sanitarium, Napa Co. Cal.

Dear Brother;---

You have already learned, no doubt, that I have been appointed secretary of the North American Negro Department. There are some matters that I wish to get your judgment upon.

One is the location of the department office. It was considered at a meeting at Oakwood, and we voted to have it there. Also to unite the Gospel Herald and the Field Echo, making it an eight page byweekly and print it at Oakwood in order to give the students the work.

Now I wish to get all the light I can about the location of the office. Several of our leading brethren feel that we should not take steps that will cause several white families to locate at Oakwood. They feel that just enough white people there to actually do the work would not create prejudice, but to get several families there would give the world the idea that we were trying to establish social equality and hasten persecution.

They feel that the testimonies encourage Nashville as the headquarters of the colored work, and by giving the school the paper to print would be helping them about as much as to have the office there too.

With the present faculty, there are thirteen grown folks and six children. (Whites) The brethren above mentioned feel that we should not lay plans to take others there. I would like all the light you can give me on this matter.

Then in regard to the paper. Our brethren feel that to print the paper monthly will be much better for the present instead of every two weeks. Our reports come in monthly and it would take a good deal of time to put up a byweekly. What is your judgment in this matter?

There are other matters I would like to talk over with you but I will not trespass upon your time now. I shall always be glad to get council from you.

Thanking you in advance for what light you may be able to give me I remain, Yours in the closing work.

A. J. Haysner

Sanitarium, Cal.,

Jan. 3, 1910.

Eld. A. J. Haysner,

61 Lindsay Ave.,

Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Brother Haysner;---

Some days ago I received your short letter of December 21 in which you lay before me some questions about which you wish my counsel.

One is the location of the department office, which, according to the council held in Oakwood, was to be located there. You say that several of the leading brethren feel that you should not take steps that will cause several white families to locate at Oakwood, and you state the reasons for this. You also say they feel that the testimonies encourage Nashville as the headquarters of the colored work, and by giving the school the paper to print would be helping them about as much as if the office were there too. They also suggest that the paper be published monthly instead of once in two weeks.

It was not my privilege to attend this council nor have I heard very much about it; but when I read its report, I was profoundly impressed that God had been leading our brethren to adopt plans that would ultimately work out for the furtherance of the gospel. Of course, it would be easier at first and much more pleasant to have the headquarters of the Department in Nashville. There are brethren in Nashville who have had experience in this work whose counsel will be of value, and for a time at least, many of the meetings of those responsible for carrying forward the work of the Department, should be held where these brethren can have a part, and it would seem to be both a convenience and an

economy to have the headquarters at Nashville.

On the other hand, we must bear in mind that the school for the training of workers is the very head and heart of the Department. We must not forget that this training school, although it has been in existence for nearly twenty years, has not yet attained the growth which it should have had in the first six years. And why? Because the feeling has prevailed that there must not be too many white families near the colored school, because nothing has been done either in Huntsville or at Oakwood to make that the natural center where the leading men could often meet for counsel and where they could exert their influence in the school.

Please take a bit of paper, Brother Haysner, and set down a list of the numerous enterprises already in Nashville and its immediate vicinity. This list will include

- The Southern Publishing Association
- The Southern Union Conference office
- The Nashville Sanitarium
- The Rock City Sanitarium
- The Nashville Food Factory
- The Madison School and its manifold departments
- The Hillcrest School for colored workers

To accommodate these people it has three meeting houses.

Make another list of what there is centered in Atlanta:

- The Southeastern Union Conference office
- The Georgia Conference office
- The Atlanta Sanitarium
- The church school for white children
- The church school for colored children
- The Sanitarium treatment rooms

Now make another list of what we have in Huntsville and Oakwood, the educational center for the training of colored Christian workers. We have

The Oakwood School, and plans for the Oakwood Orphanage; also plans for the publication of a paper.

How does this list compare with the others?

Day by day Mother is telling me that the light given her is that we must establish centers of influence in many places; that we must not group too much in Washington, in Mt. View or any other place. It seems to me that this must have a bearing upon our work in Nashville as well as upon our work in other places.

For nearly twenty years we have dealt with the difficulties arising from the prejudice of the people in Alabama by a negative policy. How far would we have progressed in Nashville and in Atlanta if we had dealt with the difficulties in a negative way? When ought we to begin to deal with matters in Huntsville in a positive way? When shall we establish something in Huntsville itself that will bring our people in contact with the white people of that city and give us a reputation and a standing? Can we not have the Alabama Conference headquarters there? Can we not have the headquarters of the Negro Department either in the city of Huntsville or at Oakwood, conducted in such a way that it will allay rather than arouse prejudice? Can we not persuade some physician or trained nurse to establish treatment rooms in Huntsville?

Ought we not to consider the difficulty of making our periodical publication a success in Huntsville if the secretaries' office is in Nashville? I fear that it would only be a few months until there would be found abundant reason for shifting the publishing work to Nashville, where it would be in touch with the brains of the Department.

I am confident it will cost the Department something in the way of influence and difficulty in its work to establish its headquarters at Huntsville, but I believe that our denominational work would be greatly strengthened by so doing.

Yours very truly,

M. White

**KEY PERSONS AND INSTITUTIONS INSTRUMENTAL IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK SDA CHURCH IN AMERICA¹**

BLACK PEOPLE (12)

1.	Alphonso Barry	p. 130
2.	Thomas Branch	p. 178
3.	Otis B. Edwards	p. 418
4.	Harry E. Ford	p. 471
5.	William H. Green	p. 538
6.	Charles M. Kinny	p. 741
7.	Anna Knight	p. 743
8.	Harry Lowe	p. 816
9.	James L. Moran	p. 927
10.	George E. Peters	p. 1107
11.	Frank L. Peterson	p. 1108
12.	Sojourner Truth	p. 1503

WHITE PEOPLE (12)

1.	John Byington	p. 210
2.	John O. Corliss	p. 352
3.	Nellie H. Druillard	p. 402
4.	Albert J. Haysmer	p. 566
5.	George A. Irwin	p. 681
6.	Robert M. Kilgore	p. 737
7.	Elbert B. Lane	p. 763
8.	James L. McElhany	p. 822
9.	Ole A. Olsen	p. 1028
10.	Edward A. Sutherland	p. 1442
11.	Charles O. Taylor	p. 1463
12.	James Edson White	p. 1597

INSTITUTIONS (12)

1.	Breath of Life	pp. 192, 1332
2.	DISTRICT No. 2 (Southern Field)	p. 393
3.	Gospel Herald [1,2] <i>Message Magazine</i>	pp. 528, 869
4.	<i>MORNING STAR</i>	p. 928
5.	Northeastern Academy	p. 992
6.	Oakwood College	p. 1017
7.	Riverside Hospital	p. 1221
8.	Southern Missionary Society	p. 396
9.	Southern Publishing Association	p. 1400
10.	Southern Union Conference	p. 1403
11.	Pine Forge Academy	p. 1123
12.	Victory Lake Nursing Home	p. 1553

REGIONAL CONFERENCES/OFFICES (12)

1.	Allegheny East	p. 33
2.	Allegheny West	p. 34
3.	Central States	p. 250
4.	Northeastern	p. 993
5.	Lake Region	p. 758
6.	South Atlantic	p. 1371
7.	South Central	p. 1375
8.	Southeastern	p. 1371
9.	Southwest Region	p. 1404
10.	<i>Bermuda Conference</i>	p. 150
11.	<i>North Pacific Regional Affairs Office</i>	p. 1191
12.	<i>Pacific Union Regional Affairs Office</i>	p. 1191

¹This list is confined to those persons and institutions referred to in the 1976 edition of the SDA Encyclopedia (revised edition). See page references from same volume. DWB/1996

SECTION 5: *TELLING THE STORY . . .*

About Issues in the Black Work

“Be diligent to present yourself approved to God, a worker who does not need to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.”

2 Timothy 2:15 (NKJV)

The success of the mission of the SDA Church is tied up with a challenge to be incredibly diverse. Revelation 14 is clear in its expectations: “And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters” (vs. 6-7). The Church is challenged to take the Gospel to all people on every part of the globe. However, with that challenge come the complexities that accompany administering and governing a diverse group of people who may love the same Lord but view life from entirely different cultural perspectives. This is especially true of White and Black SDAs who come to the Body of Christ with the historical baggage of slavery and racial tensions. The Church is called on to exercise the wisdom of Solomon to resolve many of the resulting dilemmas. This section identifies some of the tough dilemmas that have surfaced and may still be an issue in the Black work.

CONTENT

“Adventists and Race Relations,” Warren S. Banfield	5/2
“An Appeal to the Leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,” Charles E. Bradford.	5/7
“The Civil War Vision, The Veil--January 12, 1861,” Robert W. Coon.	5/14
“The Appeal of SDA Teachings to the Freed Slave,” Delbert W. Baker.	5/21
“A Reason, An Excuse, and a Beginning,” Arthur W. Spalding.	5/22
Spiritual: “My Army Cross Over.”	5/30
“Organization,” Otis B. Edwards.	5/31
“A Progress Report Letter of the Southern Work,” Edward A. Sutherland.	5/32
“Financial Statement of the Southern Missionary Society,” Otis B. Edwards.	5/35
“The Evolution of the <i>Gospel Herald</i> to the <i>Message Magazine</i> ,” Delbert W. Baker.	5/36
“Announcement of 1896-97 Oakwood Industrial School,” Otis B. Edwards	5/37
Spiritual: “I Thank God I’m Free at Las.”	5/38
“Oakwood Junior College: Religious Life,” Otis B. Edwards.	5/39
“Mrs. White Visits Oakwood in 1904,” Otis B. Edwards	5/41
“Early Health Institutions,” Jacob Justiss.	5/43
“Riverside Sanitarium: Early History,” Jacob Justiss.	5/52
“A Better Way,” <i>Angels in Ebony</i> (pp. 136-144), 1975, Jacob Justiss.	5/58
Spiritual: “Go Down, Moses.”	5/62
“The Utopia Park Affair,” Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl.	5/63
“Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey,” J. L. McElhany.	5/73
Spiritual: “Deep River.”	5/86
“A Better Way,” Calvin B. Rock.	5/87
“Commitment vs. Capitulation,” Frank W. Hale, Jr.	5/92
“Regional Union Conferences,” E. Earl Cleveland.	5/97
“A Christian Declaration on Race Relations,” Southern New England Conference.	5/100
Spiritual: “Ride In, Kind Saviour.”	5/101
“Black Power and Christianity,” Emory J. Tolbert.	5/102
“Twisted Roots: The Curse of Ham,” W.R. Robinson.	5/105
“Roots of Ham,” W.R. Robinson	5/108
Spiritual: “Down in the Valley ”	5/110
“Insights on Blacks,” J. Paul Monk, Jr.	5/111
“A 1992 Regional Conference/World Division Tithe Comparison,” Harold Lee.	5/114
“Longevity: Ritual or Spiritual,” (editorial), Stephen P. Ruff	5/116
“After 50 Years,” (editorial), William G. Johnsson.	5/117
“The Morning Star: 100 Years of Miracles and Mission,” (editorial), Malcolm D. Gordon	5/118
“Resources for Diversity: Inspired Counsel,” Delbert W. Baker.	5/119
Spiritual: “We’ll Soon Be Free.”	5/129
“Triumph Over Trials,” <i>Message Magazine</i>	5/130

R Adventists and Race Relations

The Seventh-day Adventist Church arose in an environment strongly opposed to slavery. Such pioneers as Joseph Bates and John Byington supported the American abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad, while Ellen White counseled disobedience to the fugitive slave law, which required the return of runaway slaves (*Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 201, 202).

Although President Abraham Lincoln issued the proclamation emancipating the slaves on September 22, 1862, it would be more than a century before African Americans would enjoy full freedom. Only in the 1960s, under the impetus of the civil rights movement, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., would legislation be passed that would enable them to ride the same buses, drink at the same fountains, eat at the same restaurants, attend the same schools, and live in the same neighborhoods as Whites.

Sadly, among Adventists also integration came slowly and, like the civil rights movement, with struggle. Adventist churches and institutions were integrated only in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The 1980 General Conference session marked another milestone. The 27 statements of fundamental beliefs adopted there includes one entitled "Unity in the Body of Christ" (No. 13).



In part it states: "In Christ we are a new creation; distinctions of race, culture, learning, and nationality . . . must not be divisive among us. We are all equal in Christ, who by one Spirit has bonded us into one fellowship with Him and with one another; we are to serve and be served without partiality or reservation."

This issue's AR Seminar comes from Warren Banfield, a veteran of the civil rights struggle in both society and church. Elder Banfield, who recently retired from directing the Office of Human Relations at the General Conference, surveys the course of human relations in the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the past 20 years and evaluates our standing today.

ADVENTIST REVIEW
S E M I N A R

Race Relations: How Far Have Adventists Come?

BY WARREN S. BANFIELD

When we use the term *human relations* in reference to the late 1950s and early 1960s, we are talking primarily about Black/White relationships.

For generations Black Americans were socially and economically segregated from the American mainstream. We were, however, culturally integrated with it. We spoke the Anglo-Saxon tongue and worshiped the God of the Anglo-Saxon Christian. When permitted, we participated in their institutions and, in forming our own institutions, patterned ours after theirs. Our political ideals are those of our nation's founding fathers.

Because of the circumstances under which Black Americans were brought into the United States, because of the devastating effects of slavery and the alliances between slave masters and female slaves that created legal hassles over who was Black and who was not, and because of enforced racial segregation that lasted for generations after slavery officially ended, American Blacks refuse to make the slightest compromise with the American creed as stated by this nation's founders. The uniqueness of Black and White relationships in the United States owes more to differences in experience than in culture.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s several key factors resulted in a major turning point in the history of the Black experience in the United States.

The Fallout From World War II. Ten percent of the armed forces during World War II were Black. Black soldiers returned from overseas feeling that they were no longer willing to fight for a democracy abroad that they could not fully participate in at home. When they were discharged from the services, the GI bill enabled thousands of Blacks to get a college education who never would have otherwise. The impact of the July 26, 1948, Truman Executive Order 9981, ending segregation in the armed forces, set in motion an irreversible desegregation trend in the United States.

Jackie Robinson Breaks Baseball's Color Barrier. On April 10, 1947, Branch Rickey called Jackie Robinson to play with the Brook-

lyn Dodgers. This opened the door for Black athletes in all American sports.

Brown v. Board of Education. On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that "racial segregation in the public schools of America was unconstitutional." This was the most monumental decision of the decade. The later inclusion of private schools became inevitable.

The Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott. The refusal of Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Alabama, to vacate her seat on a city bus to a White person gave rise to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s involvement as this nation's chief civil rights spokesman. The group he headed initiated a boycott of buses by the Montgomery, Alabama, Black community, which began December 5, 1955, and ended December 13, 1956, with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that Alabama laws requiring segregated seating on public conveyances were unconstitutional.

The March on Washington. On August 28, 1963, four major civil rights groups (NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC) sponsored a civil rights march on Washington, D.C. More than 250,000 protesters attended this largest single protest in U.S. history. There Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., made his historic "I Have a Dream" speech.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act. On July 2, 1964, during the Johnson administration, Congress voted the sweeping Civil Rights Act, covering voting, public accommodations, public facilities, public schools, federal aid, employment, statistics, the courts, conciliatory services, and other miscellaneous racial issues, and establishing the Civil Rights Commission. This act gave teeth to civil rights laws.

Voting Legislation. On May 26, 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which abolished literacy, knowledge, and character tests; and the March 25, 1966, U.S. Supreme Court ruling officially outlawed the poll tax.

The Impact of the Black Power Slogan. In 1966 Stokely Carmichael, a militant civil rights leader, coined the phrase "Black power." This phrase, even though divisive,

The trend indicates that mission support from North America will reach a plateau, and other divisions will have to become economically more self-sufficient.

took hold in the Black community. Many moderate civil rights leaders, including Dr. King, took issue with this phrase as running counter to the predominant nonviolent civil rights philosophy. Eventually "Black is beautiful" gained the ascendancy and gave the Black person a new sense of pride in his Blackness. The wearing of Afro hairstyles, the African dashiki, and the cornrow hairstyle gave emphasis to this newfound pride. Being Black was now "in," and no longer something to be ashamed of.

This social and political environment impacted on the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the late 1950s and early 1960s—a turbulent time characterized by protest marches, sit-ins, freedom rides, violent ghetto riots, bombings, and shootings, as legal segregation in the United States suffered an agonizingly painful death.

During this period I accepted an invitation to become president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Prayer, cooperation from the city fathers and the courts, and peaceful nonviolent sit-ins and marches made ours a model city for social change in an era of violence and turbulence. **What Was the Human Relations Situation Within the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s?**

The Black membership of the North American Division amounted to approximately 6 percent in 1944. Under the leadership of the regional conferences, which began at that time, Black membership grew to 11.6 percent in 1955 and 15 percent in 1965. During the late fifties and early sixties the Christian church in the U.S. was charged with being the most widely segregated institution in America, with Sunday morning being the most segregated hour of the week. Nor could Adventists escape this accusation. What was the racial situation in our church at this time?

The unions, the North American Division (NAD), and the General Conference (GC). Blacks were practically invisible at these levels of church leadership.

Segregated Public Facilities. In many areas of the South, union meetings among SDAs were held in segregated public facilities. This created seating, eating, and lodging problems for Black workers.

SDA Colleges and Universities. A few Black students attended our NAD White colleges and universities. In most instances they had to contend with quota barriers and racist policies and practices. With few exceptions, our edu-

cational system was totally segregated.

Segregated Churches. In many areas of the NAD, churches excluded Blacks from membership and relegated Black visitors to the back seats or the balcony, if they admitted them at all.

Church Confrontations. Several civil rights confrontations took place within the church during this era, climaxing in public demonstrations at the July 26-August 4, 1962, San Francisco GC session and on the Boardwalk and in the convention center at the June 11-20, 1970, Atlantic City GC session.

Changes in racial relationships within the church were the result of internal and external pressures and did not come easily. Ending the practice of segregation initially met with much resistance.

What Progress Have We Made Since That Time?

It depends on whom you talk to. Many who came through the civil rights conflicts of the later 1950s and the 1960s, especially in the die-hard areas, see significant progress. Others who came later don't. Some of the changes that can be cited:

Blacks are much more visible in administrative and departmental positions on the union, division, and GC levels now.

Very few, if any, churches or schools overtly exclude Blacks today.

Racist attitudes and practices still exist, but they are not as extensive or rampant as they were in the late 1950s and the 1960s.

More and more, White leadership is attempting to understand and respond to Black and other minority needs. Black members and leaders today may be just as vocal in attacking perceived racism, but they are less militant than they were.

For a variety of reasons, a significant number of Blacks have voluntarily migrated into predominantly White churches, conferences, and institutions, though the reverse has not happened.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, nearly all levels of church structure, from the local church on up, have voted church civil rights recommendations and policies. Some were voted under duress and may not always be followed. Nevertheless, they are there to prick our conscience and to serve as legislative guidelines.

What Are the Major Issues the Church Needs to Address in Regard to Human Relations Today—Dealing With the Total Scope of the Subject?

ADVENTIST REVIEW
S E M I N A R

The human relations landscape of the church is constantly changing. The number of major issues the church needs to address is increasing, and the prospect for conflict is on the rise. For example:

Rapid and Diverse Minority Growth. Rapid and diverse minority growth has serious implications. Blacks must now share position, power, and available economic resources with other racial, cultural, or ethnic groups. This is happening at a time when the White membership and economic base is not growing as rapidly as in the past, and the cost of operating their own churches, conferences, and institutions is escalating. Not only is there less to spare with others, but there is sometimes less willingness to share as a result of high operating costs and slower growth.

Many Blacks no longer feel that real, meaningful integration is an achievable or even desirable goal. Many influential Black leaders still prefer and contend for Black unions. In the Pacific Union, Black and Hispanic workers have lately discussed the possibility of having regional and Hispanic conferences organized on the West Coast. Rapid Black membership growth and occupation of traditional White leadership positions, accompanied by continued Black aggressiveness, alarm some non-Black members and in some cases prove the envy of other minority groups. In the NAD and some of its unions and local conferences, some Hispanics, feeling left out, are becoming more vocal.

Employee-Employer Conflicts. The complaints that came to my office in the late 1970s and early 1980s were predominately in the area of racial, ethnic, and cultural conflicts. Today approximately 80 percent of them fall in the employee-employer conflict category. These are the most litigious complaints. They concern fair treatment; upward, lateral, or downward mobility; the kind and method of discipline; wages; and the quality of business and professional ethics displayed by leaders. Employees have legal and moral rights and privileges that must be respected, or we may get into grave trouble.

The Role of Women. Presently our church grants equal educational opportunities for women. More women graduate from our colleges and universities than men, and many of them have professional degrees. On the other hand, they do not have the same employment opportunities.

Since most women find themselves having to work whether they want to or not, they don't want to be limited to lower-paying jobs.

In this area women as individuals and groups are becoming more and more vocal and better organized. They don't intend to be ignored. The ordination of women has proved to be a highly polarizing issue and will not go away any time soon.

Liberal/Conservative Polarization. A growing rift exists between so-called liberals and conservatives in the church. In the North American Division we have 10 colleges and 2 universities, which have resulted in a rather highly educated constituency. The educated generally are keen on logic, reason, and experience; do not readily respond to indoctrination; think independently; are questioning, doubting, and skeptical; will examine beliefs and traditions, and subject them to personal reflection and evaluation. They will put ideas to the test and reject or modify them if they don't measure up.

The educated mind is uncomfortable in an intellectual straitjacket. It prefers dialogue to directives and consensus to edicts. It is more pragmatic and less idealistic, more rational and less emotional. It can be appealed to and reasoned with, but it is difficult to force.

With this kind of constituency we run into problems in the area of academic freedom and the freedom of discussion. In general, intellectuals feel that the church is more restrictive than it should be. Conservatives are often viewed as being the opposite in most of these areas.

In the wake of the liberal/conservative polarization come such controversial issues as congregationalism or decentralization versus a rather highly centralized form of church government; theological pluralism; independent ministries and journals; the erosion of uniform SDA standards; and our ability to maintain constituency loyalty and financial support.

North American Division Versus General Conference. As other divisions outside of North America continue to grow faster than North America, the representation, voice, and power of the North American Division in the General Conference will diminish as that of the other divisions grow stronger. When slower economic growth and higher operating costs at home are added to this, the trend indicates that mission support from North America will reach a plateau and other divisions will have to become economically more self-sufficient.

Even though the North American Division may establish a stronger, more visible identity as a division, a diminished North American voice in the General Conference may prove a traumatic experience for us in the future. We'll

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ADVENTIST REVIEW
S E M I N A R

have to learn to compete in a world that we no longer dominate. I don't think we have fully realized yet what this means.

These human relations problems did not exist in the mid-1950s and early 1960s. They now need attention.

What Resources Do We Have to Deal With These Current Issues—People, Attitudes, and Structures, as Well as Facilities and Finances?

In dealing with social issues, I believe that we have adequate people, facilities, and finances to improve our present performance and with which to face the near future. I am less sanguine about attitudes and structures.

It's a matter of will, foresight, and courage. More than this, it's a matter of prayer, consecration, and openness to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Here are some possibilities for the present and future:

Give the social aspects of management equal priority on our administrative agendas with the technical, fiscal, and political aspects of management. Tap into the knowledgeable and resourceful people in our pews and institutions who are willing to share their time and skills with the church, but are not being called upon. The Office of Human Relations is in the process of arranging an ongoing working relationship with the behavioral science and business professionals across the North American Division.

Become more proactive and less reactive in dealing with social issues. When it comes to money, finances tend to follow interests. You have an Office of Human Relations in the North American Division. It's at your service. Evaluate it, equip it, empower it, and use it to advantage. Unfortunately, the people who are using it most now are those who for one reason or another are at odds with the church or its leaders.

The new NAD Conciliation and Dispute Resolution Procedures is a tool for dealing with a variety of grievances. Where it has been studied and used it has produced good results.

It is humanly impossible to establish rules and guidelines that will cover every phase of human relations; therefore, techniques and methods constantly undergo change and modification. Innovation and creativity become necessary as we seek to operate on the principle of the golden rule. The following steps may serve as broad guidelines in resolving human relations issues:

1. Admit problems and their need of attention.
2. Try to determine and understand the cause, nature, and extent of the problem.

What effect is it having on you? What effect is it having on others?

3. Seek human and divine counsel and resources.
4. Develop as many options as possible for resolving the problem. Evaluate your options. Based on your evaluation, decide on the best possible plan of action.
5. Follow through with the plan of action that has been decided on. As contingencies arise, modify your plan if necessary. Be committed. Foresight coupled with action rather than reaction in dealing with social conflicts is half the battle.

What Is Your Vision for the Next Decade in Terms of the Adventist Church Growth in Human Relations, and How Would You Like Us to Achieve This Vision?

I think this is our future. We will continue to be reactive and crisis-oriented, rather than proactive, for a while. We will continue to give the social aspects of management low priority on our administrative agendas for a while. We will have difficulty knowing what to do and will be reluctant to make difficult changes for a while.

Our priorities and values will continue to remain static for a while. We will continue to be governed more by emotion and impulse rather than by logic and reason for a while. We will continue to neglect making these issues a matter of prayer and fasting for a while.

But the way things are shaping up, and as our options become limited, it will eventually dawn upon us, Red and Yellow, Black and White, male and female, employer and employee, liberal and conservative, laypersons and clergy, that we are all in the same boat. We will begin to realize our interdependence and will eventually discover that cooperation is necessary for survival.

Ultimately, we will become repentant and seek God's help, and He will hear and answer our prayers. I believe this because I believe that despite its defects and failures, God still loves His church, and that Jesus Christ is still our captain. With Him at the helm, we will sail safely through troubled waters to His safe harbor.



Warren S. Banfield, before his retirement, directed the General Conference Office of Human Relations.

A growing rift exists between so-called liberals and conservatives in the church.

AN APPEAL TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
TO GIVE SPECIAL STUDY TO THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST
IN AMERICAN SOCIETY AND IN THE CHURCH

By C. E. Bradford

The Second Reconstruction

It is clear to all who have eyes to see that this nation is in the midst of a second reconstruction — having already passed through the second emancipation. There is the dangerous possibility, as was the case a century ago when the Emancipation Proclamation freed the slave but ignored the Negro,¹ that the nation will feel that it has discharged its duty toward its Negro citizen by the mere passage of laws, while ignoring the fact that the terrible inequity that exists as a result of wrongs done will not adjust itself. In heaven's economy a man is justified by his faith in Christ and in a judicial sense stands before God as if he had never sinned, but this does not mean that he is a well-developed, fully-matured Christian. He will need massive help from heaven to stand an overcomer in every sense of the word. So it is with the Negro American. As far as the letter of the law is concerned, he is a free man with the power of the franchise — free to participate in the American dream, but in reality he comes to life's race with the most serious handicaps.

Whitney Young states it much better than I:

"To most white Americans the headlines, reporting the crescendo of victories against discriminatory practices, are clear evidence that the Negro citizen is on the threshold of equal participation in American life. This observation is unfortunately, inaccurate. For at this moment in history, if the United States honestly drops legal, practical, and subtle racial barriers to employment, housing, education, public accommodations, health and welfare facilities and services, the American Negro still will not achieve full equality in our lifetime.

"The reason is that the 'discrimination gap' caused by more than three centuries of abuse, humiliation, segregation, and bias has burdened the Negro with a handicap that will not automatically slip from his shoulders as discriminatory laws and practices are abandoned. The situation is much like that of two men running the mile in a track meet. One is well-equipped, wears track shoes and runs on cinders. The other is barefoot and runs in sand. Seeing that one runner is outdistancing the other with ease, you then put track shoes on the second fellow and place him on the cinder track also. Seconds later it should surprise no one to see that the second runner is still yards behind and will never catch up unless something else is done to even the contest."²

I have been asked by several leading Caucasian Seventh-day Adventist churchmen in recent months by letter and in conversation, "Just what is in the offing for the Detroit General Conference Session as far as the regional brethren are concerned? What legitimate gripe could the Negro brethren possibly have, especially since the recent Autumn Council recommendations?"

All of us should be thankful that the Seventh-day Adventist church has at least caught up with the nation in its official stand. Now comes the time for the church to search its heart and its record to determine whether or not her present program is meeting the needs of this hour. To

¹Attributed to Wendell Phillips.

²Whitney Young, To Be Equal, (1965)

put it bluntly and frankly in as few words as possible, "Are we as a church discharging our duty to the Negro American both in and outside our ranks?"

Mrs. E. G. White had more than human insight into the problems of the first Reconstruction. Her thinking was far in advance of many liberals of her day, and above all, so very reasonable and balanced. She recognized what many have failed to see even in our day, that any issue concerned with human rights is a moral issue. "The Lord Jesus demands our acknowledgment of the rights of every man. Men's social rights, and their rights as Christians, are to be taken into consideration. All are to be treated with refinement and delicacy, as the sons and daughters of God."¹ "We have been very neglectful of our colored brethren, and are not prepared for the coming of the Lord."²

Mrs. White Appeals to the Church

Mrs. White called for a positive program to help the recently freed slaves to become good Christians and useful citizens. She never subscribed to any foolish and unworkable solutions to racial problems such as the African colonization scheme, etc. She recognized that the Negro American's future, good or bad, was in the land of his birth and that the nation was obligated to help the freedman in his struggle for first-class citizenship. During the 1890's and early 1900's she used the columns of the Review to make direct appeals to the church, both leadership and laity. The servant of the Lord did not equivocate.

"Upon the white people of the United States the Lord has laid the burden of uplifting this race. But, as yet Seventh-day Adventists' have done comparatively little to help them."³

"There needs to be concern created for our colored brethren at the great heart of the work."⁴

"The American Nation owes a debt of love to the colored race, and God has ordained that they should make restitution for the wrong they have done them in the past. Those who have taken no active part in enforcing slavery . . . are not relieved from the responsibility of making special efforts to remove, as far as possible, the sure result of their enslavement."⁵

"This kind of work calls for laborers, and the duty rests upon our responsible men to set men to work in that field, and to sustain the work with a portion of the means supplied by tithes and offerings from the believers in all parts of the world."⁶

Some may ask, "Are the quotations relevant? What do these words of counsel have to do with the present racial crisis? Is the prophet's counsel pertinent?"

Effects of Slavery and Segregation

The results of slavery and segregation (a conscious, deliberate and systematic attempt to dehumanize the Negro in order to exploit him) differ only in degree but not in kind. One hundred years after emancipation, the Negro's plight is best described in one word — desperate.

"The Negro citizen begins life with higher odds against him. He is more likely to die in infancy than the white baby. In fact, the death rate in 1958 was 92 percent above that for white infants — a rise from 66 percent above that in 1950. This is largely because Negro women receive less prenatal care, more Negro babies are

¹ Ellen G. White, Gospel Workers, p. 123.

² Ellen G. White, Review and Herald, December 17, 1895.

³ Ibid., September 21, 1905.

⁴ Ibid., December 3, 1895.

⁵ Ellen G. White, Review and Herald, January 21, 1896.

⁶ Ibid., December 1, 1896.

born prematurely or without hospital care and are more likely to be delivered by midwives rather than doctors.

If the Negro baby lives, the chances of losing his mother in childbirth are relatively high — the maternal mortality rate was four times as high as for white mothers in 1958.

The Negro baby comes into a family that lives in the city (72 percent of the Negro population does) in the Negro ghetto. It is a family that is larger than the white counterpart (4.4 persons vs. 3.6) and is jammed into housing that is dilapidated — quarters structurally unsound or unable to keep out cold, rain, snow, wind, rats, or pests. In other words, housing that is a danger to life or limb. Half of all Negro rented dwellings are dilapidated or lack adequate plumbing. In owned housing, every sixth Negro home is dilapidated, a rate five times the white proportion.

With more mouths to feed, more bodies to clothe and more needs to satisfy, the Negro family is forced to exist on a median income of \$62 per week, just 55 percent of white family income. This proportion has actually slipped since 1952 when Negro family income was 57 percent of the white family's.

Negro men now earn 60 percent as much as white men, and Negro women earn only slightly more than half as much as white women. One reason for this is that three out of four urban Negroes work in low skill jobs, those that are at the bottom of the pay scale, the type that automation is gobbling up at the rate of 35,000 per week. Only one out of three white workers is in this category. Another limitation is that one out of ten Negro workers is illiterate — four times the rate among whites.

But if the breadwinner is working, the Negro youngster is truly fortunate, for in every fourth Negro home the worker is jobless, compared with about one white worker out of twenty. In Detroit, 60 percent of the unemployed are Negroes. So it often happens that the Negro family has to depend on welfare. In many major urban centers the welfare roles consist largely of Negroes. In Chicago, where welfare costs the city more than \$16 million annually, Negroes constitute 85 percent of those supported; every fourth Negro family is on relief — some for the third generation!

When the Negro youngster goes to school he starts down a path that has proven no avenue to adequate living, much less to fame or fortune. He averages three and a half years less education than white children. And because Negro children are generally taught in slum schools with inferior teachers, equipment, and facilities, the real gap is closer to five or six years. (In Chicago and New York 90 percent of the teachers in 'Negro schools' are new, 'problem' probationary teachers.) Across the nation, only 7 percent of high school graduates are Negroes.

So, the Negro youth is likely to be a dropout or a 'pushout' — out of school, out of work, out of the home and without a future. On street corners and in alleys in cities across the country, one million youths are idling away their time. Half of these youths are Negroes, more than three times as many as there should be, relative to population.

Historically, in the matriarchal Negro society, mothers made sure that if one of their children had a chance for higher education the daughter was the one to pursue it. Twice as many Negro girls as boys are in college, just the reverse of the situation among Jews in the United States. But if the Negro completes his college work, what can he anticipate? His lifetime income will be less than that of a white who has finished the 8th grade. Finally, when all other factors are accounted for and all the facts are in the Negro dies seven years earlier than his white counterpart."¹

¹ Whitney Young, *op. cit.*

Mrs. White in fewer words goes to the heart of the matter: "Those who study the history of the Israelites, should also consider the history of the slaves in America . . . The condition of the colored people is no more helpless than was the condition of the Hebrew slaves. The children of Israel were addicted to licentiousness, idolatry, gluttony, and gross vices. This is ever the result of slavery."¹ The terrible result is highly visible today.

Theodore H. White has something to say in his book, The Making of the President — 1964. He speaks boldly.

"One must begin this morbid subject with a word that is common currency among Negro intellectuals, 'castration', by which they mean the lack of pride of so many Negro men. Centuries ago, marauding white bandits and African black chieftains tore apart Negro family life by buying and selling human bodies. For 200 years thereafter in the New World white men defiled the bodies of Negro women and violated the spirit of Negro men powerless to protest. Responsibility was stripped from Negro men; they could only agonize. And so, the theory goes, the responsibilities of parenthood and family have become less important to Negro males than to white males.

"To this historic 'castration', say Negro intellectuals, have been added the newer castration of industrial city life which has too few jobs for Negro males. Negro women can become school-teachers, collect tolls on highways, become clerks or secretaries. But for the uneducated Negro male the doors are closing. Too many Negro fathers are less and less able to support a family."²

Can anyone deny that we are in the midst of the second reconstruction? Could it be that the problems we failed to solve in the last half of the 19th century have returned to challenge and test us in the last half of the 20th century?

Education the Key

The Lord's servant saw at once that the key to raising the level of the Negro was education. She called for a program of instruction culturally oriented to the needs of the people, carried out in an atmosphere of freedom, understanding, and brotherly love. Mrs. White sounds very modern when she speaks:

"They will put forth painstaking efforts to develop the capabilities of the people. The cotton field will not be the only resource for the livelihood of the colored people. There will be awakened in them the thought that they are of value with God, and that they are esteemed as His property. The work pointed out is a most needful enterprise. It is the best restitution that can be made to those who have been robbed of their time and deprived of their education."³

"The whole system of slavery was originated by Satan, who delights in tyrannizing over human beings. Though he has been successful in degrading and corrupting the black race, many are possessed of decided ability, and if they were blessed with opportunities, they would show more intelligence than do many of their more favored brethren among the white people. Thousands may now be uplifted, and many become agents by which to help those of their own race."⁴

"Many among this race have noble traits of character and keen perception of mind. If they had an opportunity to develop, they would stand upon an equality with the whites."⁵

¹ Ellen G. White, Review and Herald, December 17, 1895.

² Quoted in Readers Digest, November, 1965, p. 70.

³ Ellen G. White, Review and Herald, January 14, 1896.

⁴ Ibid., January 28, 1896.

⁵ Ibid., December 17, 1895.

Has the Seventh-day Adventist church made a serious and considerate effort to educate its Negro children and youth? Has the Seventh-day Adventist church carefully surveyed the needs of its Negro youth? Have we analyzed and evaluated our present program? Are we missing the mark? Wherein could we do more?

The national mood today is one of realization that we must come to grips with the problem that we have evaded too long. Mr. Moynihan (Author of the celebrated report, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.") speaks the mind of many enlightened Americans when he says, "The all-important fact is that neither is it going to be enough simply to pay the Negro American his back wages. The wrong done him — before emancipation and since — has been greater than that."¹

The nation no longer asks, "What shall we do with the Negro?"; but, "What shall we do for the Negro?" (Address by F. W. Hale, Jr., before American Association of University Professors, February 13, 1965.) The Roman Catholic Church and the great Protestant bodies and philanthropic foundations are asking the same question. Is the Seventh-day Adventist church willing to face the question?

Need for Special Study

This denomination has upon it the responsibility of putting its best minds to the task of conducting a thorough study of the position of its Negro membership. This denomination has guidelines and insights denied the world. The servant of the Lord challenges the church to take the lead and "give to the world a representation of our work that will be an object lesson." Such a report, placed in the hands of the leadership of this denomination, would help the responsible brethren to make those crucial decisions necessary during this critical second Reconstruction period.

The Negro Seventh-day Adventist is perforce affected by the tension and the drama of his people's struggle for justice and equal rights. Half measures and token gestures do not satisfy now. In sight of the goal, he becomes even more restive. To tell him that he is better off than somebody in another part of the world, will not do. He measures his progress by the standards of the culture of which he is a part. The question, "What does he want?", is best answered by another, "What do I want?" The Golden Rule, the Sermon on the Mount make uncompromising demands upon us.

However, the Negro Seventh-day Adventist's expressed desire for freedom and equality within his church and his nation is not an indication that he is disloyal to his church or his country. The same God who gave us life gave us liberty. If the Negro Seventh-day Adventist is disloyal to the church, then his sacrificial support of the church is contrary to all known laws that govern and motivate human action. According to our Lord, "Where your treasure is there will your heart be also." In spite of the severe economic strictures imposed upon him, the Negro Seventh-day Adventist's financial support of his church's world program (not counting contributions to the local church) during 1964 was in excess of \$5,100,000. His positive witness to his faith won 4,516 of his neighbors to make the blessed hope their own!

It is to be expected that Negroes will react to a given situation with whatever tools and methods of expression as are at hand and to use whatever channels of communication available. As Charles Silberman puts it: "In view of the fact that the Negroes have been denied their rights not as individuals but as members of a group, whites can hardly complain when Negroes try to establish their rights and improve their positions on a group basis."²

¹Chicago Sun-Times, December 5, 1965.

²Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, (1964).

SUMMARY

- 1) The leadership of this denomination should keep open all channels of communication and maintain continuing dialogue with all groups in its multiracial fellowship. We must not forever banish to the limbo of the unpardonable any and all who in the past may have made protest in sheer desperation against what they felt to be inequities and injustices.
- 2) The leadership of this denomination must recognize the gravity of the situation and not allow precedent or established policies to hamper positive remedial action. Or as Abraham Lincoln put it in his first Inaugural Address, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present . . . Let us disenthral ourselves." We must not be afraid of new concepts and imaginative programs. A little aggiornamento may be in order.
- 3) The leadership of this denomination must restudy its entire financial structure, especially the matter of tithing percentages with reference to regional conferences. I submit that the Negro Seventh-day Adventist is carrying a very heavy share of the denominational load in relation to his real ability. I submit also that in the matter of church appropriations he is not getting a fair share. (Scores of unhooded churches) This denomination may have to follow the lead of the United States government and give special attention to the financial needs of its regional conferences and churches. We must not stop with the very fine recommendations of the human relations committee as adopted by the Spring and Autumn meetings of 1965. To rely on pronouncements, without the accompanying positive action that brings results, is to court failure and disillusionment. The conditions under which some of our churches are forced to worship would make a good mission appeal for certain overseas divisions.

"It is not proper to pile building upon building in localities where there are abundant facilities, and neglect fields that are nigh and afar off . . . Instead of closing our eyes and senses to the wants of those who have nothing, instead of adding more facilities to those that are already abundant, let us seek to see what we can do to relieve the distresses of the poor, bruised souls of the colored people."¹

- 4) The denomination's concern for the education of its Negro youth should lead it to evaluate the present system and its effectiveness. A program of cultural enrichment beamed to children who must live in city ghettos is an urgent consideration. Here is one place where this denomination could lead the way. There is a great field for experimentation in our large cities where the majority of Negro Seventh-day Adventists live.
- 5) The leadership of this denomination should recognize the problems of evangelism in the "inner city". Is it not a fact that there are very few Caucasian Seventh-day Adventist churches in our large cities? The increasing urbanization of the Negro with the resulting exodus of whites to suburbia leaves the major burden of "inner city" welfare services and evangelism to Negro Seventh-day Adventists. With amazing prescience the servant of the Lord speaks of "thousands of colored people" in "these congested centers" — calling for a "thousand workers where there is now but one" to meet the tremendous need. Today's Negro communities in the large ghettos of the United States, seething with discontent and frustrated by the threat of a new technology, bear striking resemblance to the working class communities of Europe during the industrial revolution. Some historians feel that England was spared the violence of the French revolution because of the restraining influence of the Wesleyan revival. The Advent Message is the best hope of the Negro — it is the best hope of all mankind.

"But many (Negroes) are not satisfied. They hunger for something they have not. Were they so educated that they could read the Bible, they would draw comfort from the plan of salvation as it is revealed in Jesus Christ. The influence of the truth would work for the enlargement of their minds and the strengthening of their facul-

¹ Ellen G. White, Review and Herald, December 24, 1895.

ries. Thus they would be enabled to grasp other branches of knowledge, and prepared to receive information of a general character."¹

- 6) The leadership of this church may well address itself to the problem of denominational employment for Negro youth. There is a reason for the very small number of capable Negro Seventh-day Adventists who choose denominational employment. We must go to the root of the problem and then make suggestions that will help change the trend. It is regrettable that the number of Negro Seventh-day Adventists in overseas missions has remained static for years. There are some young seminarians who would consider overseas mission work if called. Overseas divisions should be instructed to consider Negro youth in placing calls for ministerial labor because there is an oversupply in the home base. (Regional Conference presidents are afraid to encourage their young men to study for the ministry because of their inability to offer them employment.)
- 7) This denomination must recognize the delicate problems of Negro leadership today. I agree with the executive secretary of the National Urban League when he said, "The day of 'missionary work' or helping the Negro on condition that he accept and be obedient, is past. The white liberal must trust the Negro leader to have both the desire for a better destiny and a pretty good idea of how to achieve it." A Negro leader who is articulate on matters of race should not be immediately suspect. It may prove that the best interests of the cause of God have been served by men who called our attention to our faults, rather than by those who only told us what we wanted to hear, and said all is well.
- 8) The leadership of this denomination has a responsibility to all of its members to make available to them the "whole counsel of God" on the matter of race relations and not to suffer sin upon the body of Christ. In other words the denomination must realize that the salvation of many white believers is at stake. False conceptions, myths, old taboos, and the tissue of falsehood that has distorted our view must be swept away and a united people must emerge to be wondered at by the world, fulfilling the specifications of prophecy and meeting the description of the remnant found in the book of Revelation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Who should conduct such a study as is called for in this paper? It could be done under the auspices of the officers of the General Conference or the aegis of the Education Department of the General Conference. It could be sponsored by the Regional Department of the General Conference. The seven Regional Conference presidents could initiate and continue it. Perhaps the better way would be the first suggestion. However, busy administrators, who have neither the time nor the technical skills, are not the ones to do the actual research and collating of materials. Sociologists, economists, and research experts are the logical persons to engage in the type of exhaustive and definitive study called for.

The personnel engaged in the study should be biracial or multiracial; however, because the Negro and problems peculiar to his status as citizen and church member are the primary object of the project, it may be better to keep the group biracial (Negro and Caucasian). Non-Seventh-day Adventists should be excluded as personnel, but the group should consider facts and materials from every available source. It would be interesting to know the position of the Negro in other church organizations, his contribution to the general treasury of his denomination, the denomination's policy and practice with regard to the Negro members' education, church building and construction, employment, etc. In other words, how does the Negro Seventh-day Adventist stand up vis à vis his counterpart in other Christian communions?

The study group should be commissioned to set goals and make recommendations, both short-range and long-range. Its approach should be both idealistic and practical. To state it in a different way — compensatory and massive remedial measures are necessary to bring existing Negro institutions and facilities up to date and to prepare more Negro youth to serve the church. We may say this is a short-range goal. The long-range objective and the ideal is the complete erasure of those walls Mrs. White speaks of which will fall only when the church is completely under the control and domination of the Holy Spirit. This may be at once and the same time cause and effect of the latter rain.

¹Ellen G. White, Review and Herald, December 24, 1895.

THE CIVIL WAR VISION “The Veil”

January 12, 1861

THE majority of Ellen White's visions were probably recorded fairly soon after the prophet received them. Sometimes, however, there might be a delay of days, weeks, or even months, in the writing out of details. This was the case of the 1890 Salamanca vision in New York, and the 1894 “plowed furrow” vision of an incident on land that later became Avondale College's campus in Australia.

Occasionally the Lord's messenger never did get around to writing out a comprehensive account of a vision at all, in which case we today are dependent upon the records of an eyewitness. A good example of this category would be the first health reform vision, given in the autumn of 1848. It was reported by her husband, James White, some 22 years later, in an article in the November 8, 1870, edition of the *Review and Herald*.¹

So also with the background and contents of Mrs. White's first vision revealing important information concerning the yet-future U.S. Civil War. That vision was received at Parkville, St. Joseph County, Michigan, on Sabbath, January 12, 1861.

Fortunately, SDA historian J. N. Loughborough was present on the latter occasion. He provides a detailed account in his first book, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*. Although this work was not published until 1892, we may presume that Loughborough wrote down the incident immediately after it took place. In his preface the author states unequivocally, “Since November 1853 I have kept a diary of daily occurrences. The narrative [in this book] from that date is from the record of this diary.”²

Parkville is a small village some 30 miles south of Battle Creek,³ a town so insignificant that today it does not even appear in the *Rand McNally Road Atlas* map of the state of Michigan.⁴

J. N. Andrews and J. N. Loughborough conducted an evangelistic campaign in Parkville in 1859,⁵ and as a result raised up a small company. That group is identified in the *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* as “the first legally organized SDA church,” referring to a ceremony that took place on May 13, 1860.⁶

Since the corporate name “Seventh-day Adventist” was not adopted until October 1, four and a half months later,⁷ at “one of the most significant SDA gatherings up to that time,”⁸ this congregation was obliged to choose its own name. Their “articles of association” reveal that they selected the rather cumbersome title of “Parkville Church of Christ's second advent: taking the Bible as the rule of our faith and discipline!”⁹

Doubtless with tongue in cheek, Loughborough, in reporting the event, gently suggested that “perhaps a more appropriate name will be chosen by us as a people; but the church at Parkville concluded to take this name for the present.”¹⁰

A church edifice was constructed subsequently, and an announcement of dedication services, set for January 11 and 12, 1861, duly appeared in the columns of the *Review and Herald*. It invited top church leaders to attend, “and as many more as can come.”¹¹ At the time appointed, an impressive array of church officials appeared to grace the occasion: James and Ellen White, J. H. Waggoner, Uriah Smith, and Loughborough himself.¹² A “large congregation” assembled to hear them and to enjoy the festivities.¹³

Waggoner, who had written three books on SDA doctrine before 1860 (reportedly “with clarity and precision”), and who was also known to be an “eloquent” speaker,¹⁴ was chosen to preach the sermon. James White offered the dedicatory prayer. Ellen followed with “a very powerful exhortation.” Moments after she had sat down she was taken off in vision, the duration of which was reported to be “some 20 minutes or more.”¹⁵

A Spiritualist Discomfited

Present in the congregation at Parkville that Sabbath was a Dr. Brown, who was a local physician and a spiritualist. (Such practitioners, which flourished in Mrs. White's day, were generally known

either as “electric physicians” or as “magnetic healers.”)¹⁶ Dr. Brown had moved to this town in the interim between the close of Loughborough’s 1859 evangelistic campaign and the dedication of the church’s new edifice on January 12, 1861.¹⁷

Interestingly, Brown had sent out his own personal invitations to fellow mediums to attend the dedication, when it became known that Mrs. White would attend and speak. His announcement included these words:

“Mrs. White is to be there, and you will hear something good, for she consults with a higher grade of spirits than we do. . . . If Mrs. White comes, she will probably have a vision. If she does, I know just what it is, as a physician; and if she has a vision, I will bring her out of it in a minute.”¹⁸

While Ellen was in vision her husband stepped forward, as he so often did under similar circumstances, and explained the background and nature of his wife’s experience. He invited any present who wished to examine her to do so. This not only provided graphic demonstration of the fact that the supernatural was presently at work, but it also served to destroy the credibility of critics who continued to hurl charges of fraud at the Whites.

Witness Loughborough picks up the story at this point: “Just then someone in the back part of the house, where the doctor stood, said, ‘Doctor, go ahead and do what you said you would.’ We knew not, as yet, what that meant. Brother White, on learning that there was a doctor in the house, invited him to come forward.

“The doctor started in a confident, pompous manner; but when he was about halfway down the aisle, he suddenly stopped, turned deathly pale, and began to shake from head to foot. Brother White urged him to come forward, and he advanced about half of the remaining distance, but stopped in more terror than before.

“Brother White then went to the doctor, put his hand on his shoulder, and urged him forward. The doctor made a careful but hasty examination of the pulse, heart, and breath, and said, ‘Elder, her heart and pulse are all right, but there is not any breath in her body.’ Of course, he found a different case than he expected.

“When he had finished his examination, he made all haste for the door, trying to get out of the house. Those at the door would not let him out, but said, ‘Go back, and do as you said you would.’ Brother White, seeing the man trying to get out, said, ‘Doctor, please report

to the audience the result of your examination.’ The doctor said, ‘Her heart and pulse are all right, but there is not a particle of breath in the woman’s body.’

“The people near the door said, ‘Doctor, what is it?’ He replied, ‘God only knows. Let me out of this house.’ They stood back from the door, and he fled. We saw no more of him in our meetings.”¹⁹

Judge Osborne, who was present, then said to Loughborough, “It was evident to all of us that the spirit that controlled the doctor as a medium, and the Spirit that controlled Mrs. White in vision, had no sympathy with each other. The doctor’s actions made us think of the evil spirits that wanted to know if the Lord had come to torment them before their time [see Matt. 8:29].”²⁰

What the Prophet Saw

What did Mrs. White see in this vision (for she was totally oblivious to the excitement created by Dr. Brown and those who were baiting him during this 20-minute vision)?

After coming out of vision, Mrs. White addressed the congregation, according to eyewitness Loughborough, and said: “There is not a person in this house who has even dreamed of the trouble that is coming upon this land. People are making sport of the secession ordinance of South Carolina, but I have just been shown that a large number of states are going to join that state, and there will be a most terrible war.

“In this vision I have seen large armies of both sides gathered on the field of battle. I heard the booming of the cannon, and saw the dead and dying on every hand. Then I saw them rushing up engaged in hand-to-hand fighting [bayoneting one another].

“Then I saw the field after battle, all covered with the dead and dying. Then I was carried to prisons, and saw the sufferings of those in want, who were wasting away. Then I was taken to the homes of those who had lost husbands, sons, or brothers in the war. I saw there distress and anguish.”²¹

Then, surveying her audience, Ellen slowly added a foreboding note: “There are those in this house who will lose sons in that war.”²²

It is important at this point to place this vision and its content in a chronological context:

- December 20, 1860—South Carolina secedes from the Union.

- January 9, 1861—Mississippi secedes.
- January 10, 1861—Florida secedes.
- January 11, 1861—Alabama secedes.
- January 12, 1861—*Ellen White's vision at Parkville, Michigan.*
- January 19, 1861—Georgia secedes.
- January 26, 1861—Louisiana secedes.
- February 1, 1861—Texas secedes.
- February 4, 1861—Constitution of Confederate States of America drafted.
- February 18, 1861—Jefferson Davis inaugurated president of the C.S.A.
- March 4, 1861—Abraham Lincoln inaugurated president of the U.S.A.
- April 12, 1861—C.S.A. military fires on Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina.
- April 15, 1861—Lincoln calls for Union troops to retake Fort Sumter. The C.S.A. regards this act as a declaration of war. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee subsequently join the Confederates.

When Ellen White received her first vision of the U.S. Civil War on January 12, 1861, she, as everyone else in the nation, was aware that South Carolina had seceded from the Union 23 days earlier. However, she may or may not have known of the secession of Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama during the three days immediately preceding her Sabbath vision at Parkville.

It matters little, however, for the firing on Fort Sumter by the Confederate forces—generally considered by American historians as the opening of the Civil War—was still exactly three months future from the day of this vision.

Contemporary Public Opinion

The majority of American historians would probably agree that on the day of her vision the prevailing mood in the North—the “conventional wisdom”—was to the effect that there would most likely be no civil war and if there were, it would be an exceedingly short one, with Union forces winning a quick victory that would summarily end it all.

Illustrative of this attitude (as well as helping to shape it) was Hinton Rowan Helper's 1860 book *The Impending Crisis of the*

South. In a calculated manner it sought to reinforce Northern prejudices that their Southern adversaries were a cloddish, doltish race, with little mechanical aptitude, and virtually incapable of illustrious deeds.

He described a Southern funeral in which the hearse was from the North, the harness on the horses was from the North, the coffin was from the North, as was also the horsewhip in the hands of the driver of the hearse!²³

Also influential were the published views of Horace Greeley, who editorialized in his *New York Tribune* in late 1860 that it was preposterous for South Carolina to think of separation from the Union.

He told the story of a Scot lad who had made a hole in his neighbor's backyard hedge, the better to slip through and steal fruit from the neighbor's orchard. As the lad began to emerge on the other side, the owner—till now hidden from view—cried out, “Where are you going, son?” Whereupon the boy began a retreat as he called out, “Going back again.”

The point was clear; but in case the reader missed it, Greeley made the application: All that was necessary was for someone “with the sternness of Jackson” to say, “South Carolina, where are you going?” And they allegedly would quickly reply, “Back again into the Union!”²⁴

For good measure, the next week Greeley continued his harangue: “Talk of South Carolina going out of the Union! A few old women with broomsticks could go down there and beat out all of their rebellion!”²⁵

Indeed, after war with the North seemed inevitable, Lincoln clearly envisaged a brief campaign. In his appeal mobilizing militia regiments from loyal states to snuff out this “insurrection,” he sought only 75,000 troops, and those were called up for only a mere 90 days.²⁶

In the face of all this “no war” or “quick war” popular sentiment, Ellen White, three months to the day before war actually broke out, made three predictions: 1. There *would* be war. 2. It would be a *long* war (large armies on both sides, extremely heavy casualties, prisoners of war languishing in enemy camps, etc.). 3. Parents in her immediate audience that day would lose sons in that war.

Predictions Fulfilled

The history of the Civil War is today so well known by Americans that documentation of the fulfillment of her first two points seems superfluous. Concerning the third, Loughborough reports two incidents in which he was personally involved, which are both interesting and germane.

1. Almost exactly one year after the Parkville church dedication, Loughborough returned there for another speaking engagement. Present with him were two men who had heard Ellen White's prediction of a certain, long war, with local SDA families suffering casualties. Their immediate reaction to her words had been total disbelief. Now, a year later, they simply sat there with their heads in their hands sobbing aloud, as Loughborough reminded the congregation of the earlier prediction.

Only six weeks previously one of these men had buried his only son, a victim of the war. The man sitting beside him had lost a son in the war and had a second one facing an extremely doubtful future in a rebel prisoner of war camp.²⁷

2. In the autumn of 1883, more than 20 years following Ellen White's prediction of war and tragedy, Loughborough again returned to Parkville, this time to seek out the layman who had served as local elder in 1861 and who was present at the dedication.

"Do you remember her prediction?" he inquired.

"Yes."

"Will you tell me how many you know who were in the house that day who lost sons in the war?"

Whereupon the elder briefly reflected, and then named five families who had so suffered, adding that if he had recourse to his records, which were at home, he thought there might be an additional five families in this category.²⁸

In 1891, in preparation for publication of his first history of the SDA Church, Loughborough sought out Martha V. Ensign, then living in Wild Flower, Fresno County, California. From her Loughborough obtained a signed affidavit attesting to the veracity of his account of the prediction and its tragic subsequent fulfillment. Signed on January 30, 1891, the affidavit was published in chapter 21 ("The Civil War in the United States") of the *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*.²⁹

As the Civil War progressed, Ellen White was given more visions dealing with that conflict.

Second Civil War Vision

On August 3, 1861, less than eight months after the first Civil War vision, Mrs. White was given an updated view of the conflict while attending a conference of SDA leaders and members at Roosevelt, New York. That date was a day nationally set aside for "humiliation, fasting, and prayer" on behalf of the war effort. In "Slavery and the War," subsequently published in the first volume of *Testimonies for the Church*, she made these particular points:

1. Slavery was a "sin," and laws upholding it were "in direct opposition to the teaching of Christ."³⁰

2. God was using the Civil War to punish *both* sides—the South "for [practicing] the sin of slavery"; and the North "for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence."³¹

3. Those who still expected a short war, with the North "to strike a [decisive] blow and end the controversy," would be both surprised and disappointed.³²

4. Both North and South were deceived concerning each other. Southerners, in reality, "are better prepared for war than has been represented," with "most of their men" being "well skilled in the use of arms, some . . . from experiencing in battle"; in this "they have the advantage of the North." On the other hand, Southerners "have not, as a general thing, the valor and the power of endurance that Northern men have."³³

5. If the North had taken "active measures" when hostilities first broke out, "this rebellion would have been speedily crushed out." As it had not, however, the South utilized the time to strengthen its position militarily, until "it has become most powerful."³⁴

6. Proslavery men and "traitors" in the North, professedly in favor of the union, were extremely influential in government decision-making circles; and some of the actions taken "even favor the South."³⁵

7. By far the most amazing revelation in this vision concerned the mysterious and "disastrous battle" at Manassas Junction, Virginia. This battle is known in Union military circles as the "first Battle of Bull Run"; among Confederates it is known as the "First Battle of Manassas."³⁶ (Many Civil War battles have two names; the Confed-

crates tended to name them after the nearest civilian settlement, while Northerners generally preferred to name them after the nearest body or stream of water!)³⁷

An Incredible Revelation

First Bull Run/Manassas was the first major land battle of the Civil War. It was fought near Washington, D.C., in northern Virginia, on July 21, 1861, by armies of nearly equal strength. In vision Ellen White witnessed this “disastrous” battle, characterizing it as “a most exciting, distressing scene.”³⁸

While both North and South suffered horrendously large casualties, at one point the North was pushing ahead when “an angel descended” from heaven to the battlefield “and waved his hand backward. Instantly there was confusion in the ranks. It appeared to the Northern men that their troops were retreating, when it was not so in reality, and a precipitate retreat commenced. This seemed wonderful [amazing] to me.”³⁹

Then her angel explained that “God had this nation in His own hand, and would not suffer victories to be gained faster than He ordained.” The North was not to be allowed to win a quick, decisive battle, thus ending the war abruptly, because it was to be punished for condoning slavery before the war and also for not making abolition the principal ethical issue in the war.⁴⁰

(At first Lincoln was entirely willing to permit the continuation of slavery, if the Union might thereby be preserved. It was not until January 1, 1863—two years later—that he finally came to the point of making abolition the main stated purpose of the war and issued the Emancipation Proclamation.)

As God “would not permit” an early Northern victory, He “sent an angel to interfere. The sudden falling back of the Northern troops is a mystery to all. They know not that God’s hand was in the matter.”⁴¹

Many American Civil War historians recognize a mysterious element in this battle, though understandably, virtually all fail to see a supernatural element in its genesis.

Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, in their highly respected *Growth of the American Republic, 1000-1865*, characterize this battle as “a scene of extraordinary confusion. For hours it was anyone’s battle, although the famous stand of the Stonewall Virginia

brigade probably averted a Union victory. Union retreat turned to rout.”⁴²

Extraordinary *confusion!* This was the very word Ellen White employed in 1861 to describe the scene, after the arrival and interference of the angel!

C.S.A. Lt. Col. W. W. Blackford’s personal account of the day’s developments supports the account of Ellen White—minus, of course, the descending angel. He had been with “Stonewall” Jackson’s forces when, at about 4:00 p.m., “the battle raged with unabated fury. The lines of blue were unbroken and their fire was as vigorous as ever while they surged against the solid walls of gray, standing immovable in their front.”

Blackford’s attention was momentarily distracted in another direction, when he heard someone shouting, “Look! Look!” He looked back, and “what a change had taken place in an instant. Where those well-dressed, well-defined lines, with clear spaces between, had been steadily pressing forward, the whole field was a confused swarm of men, like bees, running away as fast as their legs could carry them, with all order and organization abandoned. In a moment more the whole valley was filled with them as far as the eye could reach.”⁴³

Yale University’s Ralph H. Gabriel reports tersely, “The Federal assault at first succeeded. The Confederates gave ground and even showed signs of incipient demoralization.” But then suddenly, inexplicably, a Southern victory. Gabriel attributes the Confederate success to the brigade of Gen. Thomas Jonathan (“Stonewall”) Jackson (who earned his sobriquet that day) as he “stood fast.”⁴⁴

Gettysburg College’s Gabor S. Boritt⁴⁵ and Rice University’s Frank E. Van Diver also posit a nonsupernaturalistic explanation, the latter adding a generally accepted assessment that the battle had twofold significance: (1) the North, for the first time, was convinced of the war’s seriousness, ending all talk of a “short, quick” war, realizing it faced a long fight ahead; and (2) the Confederate’s overconfidence in final victory soared and remained unrealistically high for the next two years,⁴⁶ in its own way doubtlessly perpetuating hostilities a bit longer than perhaps otherwise might have been the case.

Third Civil War Vision

On January 4, 1862, some 51 weeks after her first vision on the

subject, Ellen White was given her third revelation on the conflict. At this time she was residing in Battle Creek. "I was shown some things in regard to our nation," she soberly reported. They included the following points:

1. Buchanan's administration, which preceded Lincoln's, actually planned and enabled the South to steal Northern weapons of war, so that when hostilities broke out the South would be better prepared than the North!⁴⁷

2. The North did not understand the deep feelings of contempt and hatred the South bore toward them because of its interference in abolition, nor the depth of Southern determination to maintain their "peculiar institution" at all costs.⁴⁸

3. Despite pious mouthings in the North concerning the integrity of the Union, slavery "alone . . . lies at the foundation of the war,"⁴⁹ in the estimate of Heaven.

4. After one year of war the North was no nearer to victory than when it began (the clear implication being that God would not allow a Northern victory until slavery—not merely the preservation of the Union—was the number one issue). And all accumulated loss of life and property in the war thus far was therefore a tragic waste.⁵⁰

5. Incredibly, proslavery Northern military commanders deliberately exposed antislavery soldiers and officers to hostile fire, and then drew back, so that death would silence their voices and activities!⁵¹

6. Since the North had not yet made abolition *the* issue, all its official governmental appeals for national fasting by the populace and days of prayer in support of the war effort were—in the eyes of God—"an insult to Jehovah. He accepts no such fasts."⁵²

7. Had abolition been the main goal of the North, Great Britain (whose parliament had prohibited the slave trade in 1807, and abolished slavery in the British colonies between 1834 and 1840)⁵³ would have sided with the Union. Now, however, the British sought their own national interests and were considering siding with the South.⁵⁴

8. Finally, ominously, Ellen White declared, "This nation will yet be humbled into the dust."⁵⁵

Role of Spiritualism

God's angels were not the only ones directly involved in the

American Civil War. Satan and his angels played a major role too. In "The Rebellion,"⁵⁶ published in early 1863⁵⁷ and based upon an undated vision, Mrs. White reiterated many points made in earlier statements, but this time added an entirely new element: the military were riddled with spiritualism.

"Very many men in authority, generals and officers, act in conformity with instruction communicated by spirits. The spirits of devils, professing to be dead warriors and skillful generals, communicate with men in authority and control many of their movements. One general has directions from these spirits to make special moves and is flattered with the hope of success. Another receives directions which differ widely. . . . Sometimes those who follow the directions given obtain a victory, but more frequently they meet with defeat.

"The spirits sometimes give these leading men an account of events to transpire in battles in which they are about to engage, and of individuals who will fall in the battle. Sometimes it is found to be as these spirits foretold, and this strengthens the faith of the believers in spiritual manifestations. And again it is found that correct information has not been given, but the deceiving spirits make some explanation, which is received. The deception upon minds is so great that many fail to perceive the lying spirits which are leading them on to certain destruction.

"The great leading rebel general, Satan, is acquainted with the transactions of this war, and he directs his angels to assume the form of dead generals, to imitate their manners, and exhibit their peculiar traits of character. And leaders in the army really believe that the spirits of their dead friends and of dead warriors, the fathers of the Revolutionary War, are guiding them."⁵⁸

Again, "Satan has, through his angels, communicated with officers . . . [who have] given up their own judgment and have been led by these lying spirits into very difficult places, where they have been repulsed with dreadful slaughter. It suits his satanic majesty well to see slaughter and carnage upon the earth. He loves to see the poor soldiers mowed down like grass.

"I saw that the rebels have often been in positions where they could have been subdued without much effort; but the communications from the spirits have led the Northern generals and blinded their eyes until the rebels were beyond their reach. And some general would rather allow the rebels to escape than to subdue them.

They think more of the darling institution of slavery than of the prosperity of the nation. These are among the reasons why the war is so protracted."⁵⁹

Conclusion

Hundreds of years before the birth of Christ, the Old Testament prophet Amos had declared that "surely the Lord God will do nothing but he revealeth his secrets unto his servants the prophets" (Amos 3:7). God certainly did reveal many "secrets" concerning the American Civil War to His servant Ellen G. White!

Notes and References

¹ Mrs. White did write in 1851 that tobacco was harmful (letter 5, 1851), and in January 1854 that tea and coffee had been contraindicated by the angel (*Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, p. 42), but in neither instance were these counsels tied to a specific vision in the autumn of 1848. It remained for her husband to bring everything all together in his more comprehensive statement in the *Review and Herald*, Nov. 8, 1870.

² P. iii. This work was revised in 1905, under a new title, *Great Second Advent Movement*.

³ 1Bio 462.

⁴ 1990 ed.

⁵ J. N. Loughborough, "Sketches of the Past—No. 122," *Pacific Union Recorder*, Mar. 14, 1912. (Arthur L. White incorrectly dates this evangelistic campaign in the summer of 1860 in 1Bio 462.)

⁶ RH, May 29, 1860; SDAE 1044.

⁷ RH, Oct. 23, 1860.

⁸ SDAE 1044.

⁹ RH, May 29, 1860 cf. SDAE 1044.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ RH, Dec. 18, 1860; cited in 1Bio 462, 263.

¹² William C. White, "Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen White: XXXVIII—The Civil War Crisis," RH, Nov. 26, 1936. (Arthur L. White omits the name of Uriah Smith in his account in 1Bio 463.)

¹³ Loughborough, "Sketches of the Past—No. 121," *Pacific Union Recorder*, Mar. 7, 1912.

¹⁴ SDAE 1564.

¹⁵ Loughborough, "Sketches . . . No. 121."

¹⁶ "Shall We Consult Spiritualist Physicians?" RH, June 27, 1882, cited in 5T 198.

¹⁷ Loughborough, "Sketches . . . No. 122."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2. (For earlier accounts, cf. RPSDA 97, 98; GCB 1893, p. 60; and GSAM 210, 211.)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹ RPSDA 236, 237; cf. GSAM 338; GCB 1893, p. 60; "Sketches . . . No. 121." Martha D. Amadon, who saw Mrs. White in vision upon a number of occasions, wrote down her recollections on Nov. 24, 1925, at the age of 91 years. She recalls two visions, (a) "the year before the civil war" [1860] and (b) "the last year of the war" [1863]. In the former, Mrs. White spoke in a tent, which would seat about 50, pitched in a pasture by Martha's father, John Byington (in 1863 he would become the first president of the first SDA General Conference). At that meeting Mrs. White is reported to have predicted, "This country will be deluged with blood." The White Estate is unable to confirm the authenticity of this memory statement. The event, if indeed it occurred at all, would have had to take place at least one year earlier than Mrs. Amadon dates it. At her advanced age such confusion as regards dates is quite understandable.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Cited in Loughborough, "Sketches . . . No. 121" cf. RPSDA 235, 236.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, cf. RPSDA 236.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ "First Battle of Bull Run," *Encyclopedia Americana* (1983), vol. 4, p. 758; "Civil War," *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 786.

²⁷ GCB 1893, p. 60.

²⁸ RPSDA 238, 239.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³⁰ 1T 264.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 267, 268.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

³⁶ "First Battle of Bull Run," *Encyclopedia Americana*.

³⁷ "Civil War," *World Book Encyclopedia* (1990), vol. 4, 625.

³⁸ 1T 266.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² New York: Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 664, 665.

⁴³ *War Years With Job Stuart* (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1946), pp. 32-35; cited in 2Bio 36-38 (cf. DF95G).

⁴⁴ "First Battle of Bull Run," *Encyclopedia Americana*.

⁴⁵ "Civil War," *World Book Encyclopedia*, pp. 614-635, esp. p. 626.

⁴⁶ "U.S. Civil War," *Academic American Encyclopedia* (1983), vol. 5, pp. 15-34; "Battles of Bull Run," *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 558, 559.

⁴⁷ "The North and the South," 1T 253.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁵³ *World Book Encyclopedia* (1990), vol. 17, p. 505.

⁵⁴ "The North and the South," 1T 258.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-368.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 716, appendix note to p. 355.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 364.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 367.

The Appeal of SDA Teachings to the Freed Slave
by Delbert W. Baker, PhD

The SDA Church was uniquely positioned to appeal to the newly freed Black race. The timing was fortuitous and the stage was set. During the 1860s, simultaneous with the Emancipation Proclamation and the freeing of the slaves, the SDA Church adopted its name (1860) and officially organized (1863)—positioning itself to fulfill its mission of spreading the Gospel and sharing the liberating teachings of Christ—for both of which Black people were in desperate need. Unfortunately the Church did not begin any initiative to address the needs of the Black race from an evangelistic or humanitarian standpoint for more than a quarter of a century. Essentially the Church avoided the issue in spite of Ellen White's appeals for action and the appeals of a few others who spoke out on behalf of providing outreach for Blacks in the South.

How ironic it was that when the Black race was in need of a complete system of truth that could improve the total person—mentally, spiritually, and physically—the SDA Church had just such a system. Each of the SDA teachings was uniquely suited to fulfill the needs of the members of the Black race recently freed from bondage.

Why were SDA teachings ideally suited for Blacks? While challenging in their distinctiveness, the teachings of the Church were innately suited to be understood by the masses—teachings that were especially suited for Black people searching for meaning and direction. Following the end of the Civil War Black people needed help and assistance like never before. They were free with nothing and nowhere to go. Ellen White eloquently described their situation in 1891 (SW pp. 14, 15):

God cares no less for the souls of the African race that might be won to serve Him than He cared for Israel. He requires far more of His people than they have given Him in missionary work among the people of the South of all classes, and especially among the colored race. Are we not under even greater obligation to labor for the colored people than for those who have been more highly favored? Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them, forcing them to disregard the law of marriage, breaking up the family relation, tearing wife from husband, and husband from wife? If the race is degraded, if they are repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? The truth must be carried to them. They have souls to save as well as we.

Christianity offered general help for the recently freed slave but SDA teachings had the specific system of truth needed. In every particular, Adventism offered Black people the essentials to successfully make it though this life to eternity to come:

BENEFITS OF THE SDA SYSTEM OF TRUTH TO THE FREED SLAVE

- Slavery destroyed self-esteem-----The **Scriptures** offered hope and direction
- Slavery separated families----- Christ as **Savior** provided a Friend and security
- Slavery manipulated spiritual desires-----**Salvation** facilitated reformation and eternal life
- Slavery encouraged abuse-----**Stewardship** nurtured health and wholeness
- Slavery discouraged values-----**Standards** taught a positive lifestyle
- Slavery bred hateful revenge-----The **Sanctuary** encouraged trust in God's judgment
- Slavery forced continual labor-----The **Sabbath** facilitated physical and spiritual rest
- Slavery ridiculed faith -----The **Spirit of Prophecy** focused on providence and protection
- Slavery fostered spiritualism-----The **State of the Dead** teaching pointed to the resurrection
- Slavery cultivated hopelessness-----The **Second Coming** promised deliverance

In spite of the need for Black people to be exposed to the SDA teachings the period following 1865 was characterized by sporadic and individual efforts from lay missionaries and ministers of Southern origin. During this period SDAs made little, if any, effort to evangelize Black people. Rather, White ministers such as Elbert B. Lane (1840-1881) Sands H. Lane (1844-1906), Charles O. Taylor (1817-1905), Robert M. Kilgore (1839-1912), Dudley M. Canright (1840-1919) and John O. Corliss (1845-1923) conducted evangelistic meetings for Whites in various Southern cities. Black people often attended these meetings although they were uninvited. They often would stand outside or sit in the back of the meeting place.

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-134-

A REASON, AN EXCUSE, AND A BEGINNING

In the training and uplifting of the freedman, Christian influence was supreme. It was the deciding factor in Lincoln's act ("I have promised my God," he said, "that I would do it."), it was the light that guided Armstrong, it was the leaven in Southern society that encouraged the training of the Negro, it was the impelling power in the formation of the various philanthropic freedmen's aid societies, and its influence was most evident in the preponderating presence of the agents of religious organizations. All the great evangelical denominations of the North took a part in the work of teaching the ex-slave, and if in some of their efforts the influence of sectarian prejudice was apparent, it was a negligible factor in the great work they did accomplish.

The smaller bodies of Christians, who might feel too weak to undertake separate missions, yet had their part, through the individual benefactions of their members; for it was to the great heart of Christianity and not to sectarian pride, that the cause appealed. That something was lost, however, through the lack of organization of these small bodies, is not to be doubted; and if all, however insignificant in numbers, could have had the old-time zeal of the Moravians of Herrnhutt, how much greater results might not have been obtained!

Among the smallest of the Christian bodies at the close of the war was the Seventh-day Adventist church. It started no work and it had no agent among the freedmen. While its individual members had a deep interest in the slave, holding, indeed, abolition sentiments and doing service on the underground railroad, the part they acted for the freedman was not great, and found play only through other organizations.

There were reasons for this. In the first place, the denomination was young and small. Its first beginnings dated only from 1846, its first organization was effected in 1861, and its members at the close of the war numbered fewer than five thousand. It had no training school until 1874, none of its afterwards famous health institutions until 1866, and no corporation whatever except one lone publishing house at Battle Creek, Michigan. Starting in New England and New York, its faith had found firmest root in the middle West, and Iowa and Minnesota were then its frontiers. Stopped by slavery, which it unalterably opposed, it had made no progress into the South.

Another fact prevented the knowledge that inspires action. It was the soldier and the army chaplain who saw the freedman in his rags and his ignorance, and either engaged himself or incited others to engage in the Negro's behalf. But Seventh-day Adventists, like the Quakers, were opposed on principle to war, and few of their members had been in the army; of such as there were, probably none dated their connection with the body from a point before the war.

More than this, the sect being new, was more concerned in presenting the truths it regarded as vital to the Christian world, than in dealing with social problems. The members were for the most part poor, and their slender resources seemed scarcely equal to the enterprises then on foot. It did not seem good policy for so small a body, precariously entrenched in recently occupied territory, to stretch its wings over the troubled field of the South.

Nevertheless, while the above statement may present a plausible reason for the neglect by Seventh-day Adventists to enter upon a work for the freedmen, it is rather, in view of the policy of that church, but an excuse. For it is the genius of Seventh-day Adventist work to inspire every member with the sense of responsibility and personal initiative wherever a need is presented. Its polity, while containing a plan for the support of salaried workers, also looks upon every

member not merely as a supporter, nor even as a reservist, but as a soldier enlisted in active service where God may direct him. That responsibility has been held before its members from the beginning, and to that policy has been due its people's successes. The government of the denomination is peculiarly fitted to the need: With a compact organization and efficient supervision, it provides for individual freedom in Christian service through many avenues, and relies for control upon education and the one authority of the Word of God.

This spirit of service has received special encouragement and direction by the presence in this church of the gift of prophecy. Among the followers of William Miller, prior to 1844, there was in Maine a young woman named Ellen Harmon, to whom, shortly after the Adventists' disappointment in that year, were given revelations of comfort and counsel for the dispirited and scattering believers. The sweetness, sanity and spirituality of these counsels and views, give them high rank in devotional literature, and, when considered in connection with the untoward circumstances under which they were delivered, are no small evidence of their inspiration. (fn. cf. "Early Writings of Mrs. E. G. White," and "Life Sketches.")

In 1846 Miss Harmon was married to James White, a minister among the Adventists. Their union, shortly afterward, with Joseph Bates of Massachusetts, and with certain investigators in western New York, upon points of doctrine that differentiated them from other Adventists, laid the basis for the Seventh-day Adventist church. Thus the inspired counsels of Mrs. E. G. White, in regard to purity of doctrine, plans and methods of work, and spiritual living, have been the favor granted to the Seventh-day Adventist church from its very inception to the present time.

Among the early counsels of Mrs. White to the young church are found these words:—"The great work now to be accomplished is to bring up the people of God to engage in the work, and exert a holy influence. They should act the part of laborers. With wisdom, caution, and love, they should labor for the salvation of

neighbors and friends. . . . The brethren err when they leave this work all to the ministers. The harvest is great, and the laborers are few. Those who are of good repute, whose lives are in accordance with their faith, can be workmen. . . . They must not wait for the ministers, and neglect a plain duty which God has left for them to perform." (fn. Testimonies for the Church, Vol. I, p. 369.) "There is a mighty power in the truth. It is God's plan that all who embrace it shall become missionaries. Not only men, but women and even children can engage in this work. None are excused." (fn. Historical Sketches of S. D. A. Foreign Missions, p. 151.)

And of this same character was specific counsel that followed: "Brethren who wish to change their location, who have the glory of God in view, and feel that individual responsibility rests upon them to do others good, to benefit and save souls for whom Christ withheld not His precious life, should move into towns and villages where there is but little or no light, and where they can be of real service, and bless others with their labor and experience." (fn. Testimonies for the Church, Vol. II, p. 144.) "We wish that all the Lord's servants were laborers. The work of warning souls should not be confined to ministers alone, but brethren who have the truth in their hearts, and who have exerted a good influence at home, should feel that a responsibility rests upon them to devote a part of their time to going out among their neighbors and into adjoining towns to be missionaries for God." (fn. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 57.) "We are to be interested in everything which concerns the human brotherhood. By our baptismal vows we are bound in covenant relation with God to make persevering, self-denying, self-sacrificing efforts to promote, in the hardest parts of the field, the work of soul-saving. . . . God says to those who profess to believe in Him, Go forth into all parts of the world, and diffuse the light of My truth, that men and women may be led to Christ. Let us awake to our duty, and do all that we can to help forward

the Lord's work. Let superficial excuses be blown to the four winds. Let decided action commence on the part of all who can help. Let them co-operate with the angels sent from the heavenly courts to minister to those who shall be heirs of salvation. Forget not the words, 'We are laborers together with God.' No longer grieve the Spirit of God by delaying." (fn. MS, 1901.)

It is indeed only by taking heed to such counsel that Seventh-day Adventists can expect to do their part in the evangelization of the world. Because of the unpopularity of the two doctrines which chiefly distinguish them from other evangelical bodies,—the speedy coming of Christ and the Judgment, and the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath,—they can never expect to be great in numbers (fn. Their present strength is 60,000 in the United States, and 110,000 in the whole world); but with the unreserved consecration of their whole force to the work, they can accomplish their mission. So far as this course has been followed, it has brought some of the greatest results. And if it had taken sufficient hold upon even the small company that existed in 1865, the call of a needy people would have been answered from among them by the type of worker that has accomplished the most in Christian missions.

When at last work was begun in the South by Seventh-day Adventists, it was largely through the lay missionary. Silas Osborne was a Kentuckian who had moved to Iowa in 1851, and there had accepted the views of Seventh-day Adventists. In 1871 he went back to Kentucky to visit his brother. He was not a minister, but because he had written freely of the new truths he had embraced, his brother, with the Kentuckian's readiness to bestow honor and titles, before his arrival made an appointment for the Rev. S. Osborne to speak upon the prophecies of the Bible at the neighboring schoolhouse. When Mr. Osborne arrived, he was dismayed to find himself in such a dilemma, and protested that, never having spoken in public, he could not now begin. His brother, however, was inexorable, so the meeting was held, and the private in the ranks, variously addressed as

Reverend, Elder, Squire, Judge, and Colonel began in this abrupt fashion his long labors in Kentucky.

Within the next few years, work had been opened by laymen and ministers in Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, as well as in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas.

The only Seventh-day Adventist school among the freedmen reported was on the west side of the Mississippi, and was begun more than ten years after the close of the war. In February, 1877, Mrs. H. M. Vanslyke sends an interesting account from Ray County, Missouri, of a school which she was conducting for colored people, young and old. (fn. Review and Herald, Feb. 22, 1877.) No further account of this school appears, but two or three reports are received from a school in Texas which Joseph Clarke and wife began, first in a tent and later in a schoolhouse the colored people succeeded in building. (fn. Review and Herald, March 22, May 17, and May 24, 1877.)

In Kentucky, however, some colored people began to accept the faith after hearing Elder Osborne preach, (fn. Review and Herald, Jan. 1 and April 1, 1875) and a Georgian lawyer and planter, W. F. Killen, who became an Adventist in 1877 (fn. Review and Herald, Oct. 25, 1877) brought with him many of his colored laborers (fn. Review and Herald, Jan. 3, 1878), some of whom had been his slaves and bore his name. Among them was a Negro preacher, Edmund Killen (fn. Review and Herald, Mar. 14, 1878, Aug. 30, 1881), who began to exercise his talent among his people. Whether there were any results from his preaching does not appear, but Brother W. F. Killen, who shortly began a self-supporting ministry, himself baptized a number of Negroes into the faith.

In various states, partly by hearing preaching, and partly by receiving literature, there were a few Negroes who accepted the faith of Seventh-day Adventists; and in Kentucky especially they grew to considerable numbers, particularly

in Louisville, and included some persons of refinement and education.

At this point the lack of experience in Southern conditions presented some stumbling blocks to the Northern brethren. Elder Osborne and Elder Killen, being Southern men, had no difficulty in dealing with their converts, to the satisfaction of both races. In Georgia, indeed, the color-line question hardly appeared, the colored members being few and scattered. In Kentucky Elder Osborne formed the two races into separate companies and churches. Upon Elder Osborne's visit to Battle Creek in 1877 (fn. Review and Herald, May 31, 1877), he laid the question before Elder James White, then president of the General Conference, who listened to his presentation of conditions and resulting necessities, and agreed with him in his plans. (m. O. C. Godmark.) But a few years later, Northern laborers being sent to aid in the work in Kentucky, and one of them being elected president of the little conference to succeed Elder Osborne, insistence was made that the two races be joined in the churches. Neither of these laborers stayed long, but the results of their work remained in enfeebled churches, injured public feeling, and conditions which were a source of weakness till long after the superintendency of the Southern field was assumed by Elder R. M. Kilgore in 1890. When Elder Osborne, saddened and oppressed by this state of things, wrote an appeal to headquarters, the response of the General Conference, under a new regime, was anything but favorable.

The matter, however, did not come prominently to the attention of the denomination, because it was in only two or three places that the difficulties were acute, and the cause in the South was not extensive enough in those years to take overmuch of the time of the annual conferences.

But instruction, received from Mrs. White, cleared the way for successful work to be done for both races in the Southern states. In the North, and in sections where public opinion was not adverse to a mingling of the races in worship,

there could be found no reason in Christian hearts for excluding colored brethren and sisters from white meetings, and to do so could argue nothing but a pride and a prejudice opposed to the spirit of Christianity. Thus she wrote, "When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host. He is made a joint heir with Christ. Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ, whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family. The ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the heathen and the slave, white or black,—Jesus paid the purchase money for their souls. If they believe in Him, His cleansing blood is applied to them. The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color can not elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man." "You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them. At the same time we must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question. Some would think it right to throw down every partition wall and intermarry with the colored people, but this is not the right thing to teach or to practice." (fn. Testimony of March 20, 1891, See Appendix.)

But as the work progressed in the South, it would become evident that a message to reach all classes must not ignore the conditions existing and the safeguards which experience had taught the dominant race to throw about its intercourse with the other, or ride roughshod even if there should be found unwarrantable restrictions and prejudices. As this progress was made, the following instruction was given: "We are to avoid entering into contention over the problem of the color-line. If this question is much agitated, difficulties will arise that will consume much precious time to adjust. We can not lay down a definite

line to be followed in dealing with this subject. In different places and under varying circumstances, the subject will need to be handled differently. In the South . . . we could do nothing in presenting the truth, were we to deal with the color-line question as we can deal with it in some places in the North. . . . Let white workers labor for the white people, proclaiming the message of present truth in its simplicity. They will find openings through which they may reach the higher class. Every opportunity for reaching this class is to be improved. Let colored laborers do what they can to keep abreast, working earnestly for their own people. I thank God that among the colored believers there are men of talent who can work efficiently for their own people, presenting the truth in clear lines. There are many colored people of precious talent who will be converted to the truth, if our colored ministers are wise in devising ways of training teachers for the schools, and other laborers for the field. The colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people. The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem. . . . The work of proclaiming the truth for this time is not to be hindered by an effort to adjust the position of the Negro race. Should we attempt to do this, we should find that barriers like mountains would be raised to hinder the work that God desires to have done. If we move quietly and judiciously, laboring in the way that God has marked out, both white and colored people will be benefited by our labors. . . . We must sit as learners at the feet of Christ, that He may teach us the will of God, and that we may know how to work for the white people and the colored people in the Southern field. We are to do as the Spirit of the Lord shall dictate, and agitate the subject of the color-line as little as possible. We must use every energy to present the closing gospel message to all classes in the South. As we are led and controlled by the Spirit of God, we shall find that this question

will adjust itself in the minds of our people." (Testimonies for the Church, Vol. IX, pp. 213-216. See Appendix.)

The position which Seventh-day Adventists, therefore, have assumed in the race question is to recognize and conform to existing conditions which do not involve transgression of God's law. Injustice and oppression are repugnant to the Christian; pride and disdain are foreign to his heart; but his Christian experience should not therefore lead him to start a crusade against customs which do not interfere with the Christian's duty.

It may be said that the attitude of Seventh-day Adventists in this matter is shaped by policy instead of principle; it is, rather, built upon a principle of policy instead of a principle of pleasure. The converted Seventh-day Adventist, whether North or South, can not have in his heart prejudice toward another on account of color, culture, or social status, but his duty to the world leads him to conform to certain practices which society—whether or not to an exaggerated extent—has found necessary to establish.

It is therefore the policy of both white and Negro Seventh-day Adventists, in their church as well as other social relations, to accord to the proper degree with public sentiment. In doing this, both recognize that distinctions are made, not because of comparative personal worth, but that the gospel may not be hindered. So long as the world is not wholly Christian, it must for its own preservation submit to laws political and social which are abhorrent to abstract Christian principle, and in this sense social orders, as well as civil governments, are ordained of God. The white Christian will not from overzealousness seek to break down social barriers, and the black Christian will not have any sense of injury to cause him resentment against necessary distinctions. The mind of the true Christian is not upon personal vanity, but upon the salvation of men; and to this end, rather than to the placing of all classes upon an artificial social equality, will the efforts of the Christian be directed. In the transformation that comes in the Kingdom of Grace on earth various distinctions must be admitted

to the end of the world. In this the Negro Christian, as well as the white Christian, will, for the sake of Christ's work, gladly acquiesce.

The correctness and the value of this position have been established not only by instruction, but by experience. The Northerner has difficulty at first in conceiving the actual relations which two races, occupying on the whole a superior and an inferior position, mutually establish toward each other, and in his zeal to show his catholicity of Christian love, he is apt to bump very uncomfortably into some rock-ribbed laws of nature whose existence he had not suspected. His philanthropy may be as completely misunderstood by the Negro as by the white man. The early Seventh-day Adventist workers going from the North to the South, were for the most part cautious learners, and, not obtruding their sentiments, came in time to adjust their ideas to those of the sections they had entered. But occasionally an enthusiastic and inexperienced worker required a rough experience before he could see eye to eye with his white well-wishers in the South. One such experience, which may serve for an example, is thus related by one of the participants:—

"In response to a call of the General Conference in 1888, my brother, my wife and myself came to the South in March. After some preliminary work, visiting the brethren in Georgia and Florida, we began tent meetings in a town not far from Atlanta. Our first town was an educational center, a female seminary being located there. I started out at the first to find a musical instrument; and in one of the stores of the town was inquiring where there might be found an organ for rent, stating that if it should be out of repair, I could put it in order. The principal of the school happened to be there; and hearing me say this, he asked if I could tune pianos. I told him I could, so he asked me to examine their two pianos, which I did, and put them in perfect unison. They were so highly pleased with the work that notice was made of it in the paper, and that public notice gave me entrance into the homes, including the home of the mayor.

While I was tuning pianos, my brother was talking the truth to them. Our stay at this place seemed finally to accomplish no great results, except to make a friendly impression, which extended through the country, and caused a cordial invitation to come to us from another town named Social Center.

"Here the people received us in a very friendly manner, and showed us many kindnesses. We had no stove, and were cooking over a gas torch light. One day when we returned from making a visit, we found sitting out in front of our tent a full equipment, a brand new cook stove, with pots and skillets and kettles and pipe, everything complete. The citizens had made up a purse and bought a complete outfit.

"As soon as we began our meetings, there arose a splendid interest, the best people, and all classes crowding the tent. The colored people would come out behind the white people, and lie round in hundreds in the grass about us. We were in a large open meadow, having some shade, right at the edge of the village.

"We, of course, were anxious to do something for both colored and white. So my brother went to the mayor of the city, and said to him, 'Now, we are strangers here in the South, and while we are from the North, we are here to preach, of course, to the white people, and we have no desire to do anything at all contrary to the customs of the Southern people. Yet if there is anything we can do to reach these colored people, we should be glad to do so.'

"The Mayor replied that probably the way we were then doing would accomplish as much for the colored people as anything we could do; they were listening and taking it in; though, he said, if we could at any time go out in the country and hold meetings in their houses, that would be all right. But he was afraid if we held meetings in the tent for them, it would hurt our influence with the white people, and also with the colored.

"But we rather pressed the matter with him, and asked if it would not be proper for us to give one night in the week to the colored people in the tent.

He stated that if we announced it fully, so the white people would understand it, it would not necessarily raise any special prejudice, but it was a question in his mind whether it would be best; it would hurt our influence with the colored as much as with the white.

"We didn't see how it could hurt us with the Negroes, for they had been coming to the tent during the daytime to talk with us, and to buy our literature, and we thought if we should show them special favor, they would come much more freely. So we publicly announced that each Thursday night we should hold a meeting especially for the colored people. We announced this about a week ahead.

"Immediately our attendance decreased, both of white and colored people, and the colored people quit coming to the tent to visit us in the daytime. And when Thursday night came, instead of hundreds of colored people flocking out to hear us, as we had expected, and as they had come before our announcement, not a soul showed himself, either colored or white. We thought maybe they did not understand about the meeting, so we raised the walls of the tent all round, and we played the organ and sang as loud as we could, to make every one think the meeting had begun. But only one little old colored woman put in an appearance, leading two little children.

"She sat down on the back seat, looked at us dubiously for about five minutes, and then went out of the tent as though shot out of a gun. Never a colored person came near us after that. The Negroes immediately started the story that we were low-down white trash that had been run out by the respectable people of the North, and had come South to live off the colored folks. They reported that we did not believe colored men had any souls, and so forth.

"At that time a colored woman was doing our laundry. She had our washing out this week, and she refused to bring it home. I had to walk four miles in the hot sun down to her cabin and actually demand of her to finish the washing. I sat out in the front yard under my umbrella while she ironed the clothes, and

then through the broiling sun I toted them home myself on my back. Beautiful corroboration it was to the colored people of the report that we were low-down white trash! After that we could get our washing done only by the courtesy of a white woman, who took it in with hers for a colored woman to do.

"That closed our interest out. We stayed there about two weeks, but our interest was dead. The whites treated us kindly, but did not come to hear us, after having given us the stove, and all that!

"My brother now felt that he had a call to survey the country, from North Carolina to Alabama, to find opportunities for good tent efforts; while I, with an English brother, essayed another one of the good tent efforts at another town in Georgia. This time it was our English brother, a little more unused than ourselves to Southern Americanism, who, under stress of a rainstorm and Christian philanthropy, again put us in bad odor with both races. This time we were not only left with our empty tent, but received a scathing denouncement in the county paper. We heard that yellow fever had broken out somewhere in the South, and we felt that it was time to leave for the General Conference at Minneapolis, which fortunately just then offered a plausible reason for closing up our work.

"Ours was a flat failure, and it affected us sadly. We felt the field was impossible, and we did not come back. It was thirteen years before I gained the courage and the sense to return, and start to learning before I tried to teach."
(fn. Dr. O. C. Godsmark.)

In 1890 Elder R. M. Kilgore was appointed as superintendent of "District No. 2," which included all the Southern states east of the Mississippi, except Virginia and Maryland. Elder Kilgore had already a considerable acquaintance with the South, having been a captain in the Federal army, with such advantages of observation, besides as was afforded for some months by a war prison in Georgia. He had labored as a minister in Texas during the larger portion of the '70's, and had been chiefly instrumental in creating a flourishing conference there. His

genial nature very successfully expanded in the warmth of Southern climes, and his life, given for nearly a quarter of a century thereafter to the South, endeared him to both black and white, to many of whom he was familiarly known as "Uncle Robert."

His initial journey, over these states, visiting and inspecting, presented clearly before him many of the problems which confronted the worker; and at the succeeding General Conference he presented an earnest plea not only for the white work but for the neglected colored work. In his report he said:—

"In all the educational work connected with the denomination no provision has been made for the development of workers to labor especially among the colored people. Here is one race of people within our own borders, for whom we as a people have done very little.

"We therefore urge upon this conference the consideration of this matter, and ask this body to make some provision for the training of workers from the rank and file of this people, to labor effectually with those of their own race. We repeat, that in no section of the country can there be a more pressing demand, or a louder call for school advantages, than that which comes from this portion of our land." (fn. General Conference Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 21.)

Two years passed. At the next General Conference session, when Elder Milgore was called upon to submit a report of the progress made among the colored people in the South, he said:—

"The Southern District is a field peculiar to itself. As missionary territory it affords ample opportunity for most aggressive work, and offers to consecrated men and women an open door to 'show forth the praise of Him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.' We are moved and our sympathies are stirred by the Macedonian cries for help in foreign fields, and our hearts are especially touched by the plaintive pleas for light we hear from those in heathen darkness.

"But what have we to say, and what are we doing to answer the imperative demands made upon us from the destitute mission fields within our own borders—the loud calls at our doors? Can we excuse ourselves if we permit these appeals which are echoed and re-echoed in our ears year after year from the millions in our own land, to go unheeded without more active and aggressive work on our part? The Lord has spoken to us . . . especially concerning our duty to the colored people. . . .

"How what are we doing? At present there is but one ordained minister and one licensed missionary laboring among the colored millions of the South. There is not a school where one of them can receive any Bible instruction; and only one where even the common branches are taught by our people. One of our sisters, at Graysville, Tenn., has opened the doors of her home and is teaching a small class of colored youth. We plead most earnestly that this conference take immediate action in regard to this matter. We must do something toward educating workers to labor among this people, and to provide facilities whereby the children and youth of our colored brethren and sisters may have equal advantages with those of fairer complexion." (fn. General Conference Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 1, Feb. 21, 1893, pp. 311, 312.)

In response to these appeals and this presentation of the needs of the field, the General Conference took action that "local schools for white students and for colored students be established at such places in the South, and on such a plan, as may be deemed best by the General Conference Committee after careful investigation of all the circumstances." (fn. S.D.A. Year Book, 1893, p. 62.) And the Conference appointed a special agent, Elder H. S. Shaw, to superintend and foster the work among the colored people.

Up to this time practically nothing had been done by Seventh-day Adventists to attack the real problem of the needs of the Negro. Individuals had here and there taken an interest in persons or in the people as a whole, in some isolated

communities, and a few men of talent had been garnered from among them. One of these, C. M. Kinney, had been ordained as a minister, and two or three other colored men were working in other ways for their people. There had been no permanent schools established, nor any concerted action taken for that betterment of social and economic conditions which must be the accompaniment of successful religious work for the Negro.

The action of this General Conference presaged an advance in policy and an increase of energy in work for the Negro, and the next few years saw some progress made by official agency. But, as always among Seventh-day Adventists, the solution of the problem required a popular movement to sustain it, and individual initiative to begin and continue it. The time was ripe, over-ripe, for the inauguration of a stronger work; and with the time came the man.

My Army Cross Over

My army cross over,
My army cross over,
O, Pharaoh's army drowned!
My army cross over.

We'll cross de mighty river,
My army cross over.
We'll cross de river Jordan,
My army cross over.
We'll cross de danger water,
My army cross over.
We'll cross de mighty Myo,
My army cross over.

My army cross over,
My army cross over,
O, Pharaoh's army drowned!
My army cross over.

ORGANIZATION

"1. a. That the General Conference Committee select one of our representative colored ministers to fill the office of secretary of the Negro Department.

"b. That this secretary locate in Washington, having his headquarters at the General Conference office.

"c. That in giving general supervision to the colored work throughout North America, he work under the counsel of the General Conference Committee, as do all other General Conference departmental secretaries.

"2. a. That in each union conference where there are as many as 500 colored believers, except in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern, a Negro Secretary be elected, this secretary to be a member of the union conference committee.

"b. That the union secretary, together with the secretaries of the Southeastern, Southern and Southwestern Union Conferences, be invited to attend such Autumn Councils as the local conference presidents may be called to attend. Thus they would receive the encouragement to be gained by contact with the leaders of our world-wide work, and would carry back to the colored churches in their fields the appeal on all our activities throughout the field the world around.

"c. These secretaries, together with the union secretaries of the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern Unions, and such other persons as the General Conference Negro Department advisory committee, to counsel over matters pertaining to the colored work.

"d. These secretaries would work under the direction of the union conference committees. When laboring in a local conference, they would work under the counsel of the local conference president, just as all other union departmental secretaries do.

3. The primary responsibility of these secretaries would be to build up the colored constituencies:

"a. By holding evangelistic efforts when advisable.

"b. By assisting evangelists with their efforts when advisable.

"c. By helping to train young preachers and workers.

"d. By helping to foster real soul-winning work in each of the churches and conferences.

"e. By co-operating in all lines of departmental and church activities.

"4. That where the colored constituency in a local conference is sufficiently strong and is represented by a colored minister of experience, we recommend that he be made a member of the local conference committee.

"5. That the Negro work in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern Union Conferences be organized on the following basis:

"a. That the Negro committee of the union conference be composed as follows: The president of the union conference; the secretary-treasurer of the union; the president of each local conference; the Negro union secretary; the Negro Missionary Volunteer, educational, and home missionary secretary, where there is such a secretary; and the Negro evangelist of each local conference; said committee to have full administrative charge of the colored work.

"b. That the Negro committee of the local conference be composed as follows: The president of the Conference; the secretary-treasurer of the conference; the colored evangelist of the conference, and two Negro members to be elected.

"We recommend, 6. That in conferences receiving appropriations for their colored work, the proportionate share of local conference administrative expenses be on a ratio of one-third to the colored and two-thirds to the white work, this calculation to be based on a practically equal constituency of white and colored membership, and that where the proportion of constituency varies from that of equality, either up or down, the proportion of administrative expense be varied on the same ratio up or down."

Battle Creek College.

A Training School for Christian Workers.

Battle Creek, Michigan.

April 25, 1899.

Mrs. H. G. White,

Sunnyside, Coorambong,

N. S. W., Australia.

Dear Sister:

I have just returned from a visit to the South, and knowing your intense interest in the southern work, I felt that it might be well for me to write you a short description of our trip. The College has a number of students who are anxious to work in the southern field. We have found it difficult in the past to get laborers into this field because of the financial embarrassment; that is, the General Conference has not been situated financially so as to do very much in the work. It seemed to us that in justice to the students who were in the College whose minds had been led out, we believe by the Lord, to prepare for this work, the school itself should make some effort to open up avenues of work for them in this field. With this end in view, Prof. Magan and myself spent nearly two weeks in that field. We contemplate planting a small missionary station in some favored locality, where students who have received all the training we can give them can spend a short time in actual work under the direction and instruction of those who have had an experience in the southern work. There will not be many students at any one time in this station, but there will be a constant stream, we trust, flowing through it. We shall endeavor to plant a school wherever we can find a farmer and his wife who are true missionaries who will be willing to teach farming, cooking, etc., and use their small farm to help sustain the school work. This, with the station, will support a teacher. We find a number who are already willing

to enter the work in this way. We thought of locating at Jackson, Miss., but after spending some little time in looking over the ground, talking with the people, we concluded that it would not be wise to open up the work there at the present time. The citizens were very friendly, especially the better class of white people, but I was afraid they would expect altogether too much from us in the way of large buildings, etc., which we would not wish to erect, and I thought we would better begin in a more modest way in a quiet place, where we could solve some of the hard problems that will soon be met.

Eld. J. E. White spent some time with us at Jackson, and after counseling, we decided to connect with him in his work. We decided to locate in a small place called Calmar, where Eld. White has been doing considerable work and has a very nice company raised up. They have built a neat chapel and have purchased ten acres of land, which is being brought under cultivation. I never met a company of people which seemed to appreciate the truth any more than this company of colored people. A good work is being done for them. The place which we have selected is about two hundred feet above the river, overlooking the river and quite a scope of country in one direction; to the rear are hills. It is a beautiful place, and I believe that the advantages in scenery are such as to make it a place that will teach the truth in many ways. Calmar is in the center of a large negro district. The Yazoo River, with its tributaries, will give us access to almost any part of the country. Eld. White will transport the members along the river, so that the expense will be small. Since I have returned, Eld. White has written me that one man, who controls one thousand acres of land under cultivation, was so deeply impressed by a talk that I gave on Bible farming that he is changing his entire system of cultivating the soil, and is going to allow the colored people to plant other crops than cotton. He will also take a cash rental for his land, which will give the colored

W. 3.

people the privilege of raising their own crops and work themselves out of debt. The old system of taking a share of the crop and furnishing everything, is another form of slavery which is bound to keep the colored people in bondage as long as the white man wishes to be dishonest with him. Bro. White says a grand victory has been gained by this man's taking this position.

It is very evident to anyone who visits the South at the present time that the people are fully prepared to receive the Third Angel's Message; I mean the message in its fulness, such as true education, health reform, farming, etc. They are growing weary of the instruction that their ministers have been giving them. They say that when they attend ^{our} meetings, they receive something that is intended to help them to live better lives. They want to study their Bibles. It would have done your heart good to visit Sr. Osborne's school in Vicksburg and have heard the poor old colored people reading their Bibles. They could not read a sentence without spelling some of the words, but I was told that they learn very rapidly. It made my heart leap for joy to see this work done, for when they once learn to read their Bible, the colored ministers, who are their worst enemies in many respects, will not have such complete control over them. So many of the older people are anxious to read. I am sure that the Lord will bless us in starting small schools on the self-supporting plan in the South. Our students are intensely interested in the work, and many of them meet in weekly meetings to study the South and to pray that the Lord will lead them into the right studies that they may be prepared to do the work that God wants done in that barren field.

I feel that we have been very fortunate in finding a location that is so near Eld. White. He has shown us every favor that was possible to give. From the very beginning he has manifested an intense interest in our plans of trying to do something for the South. At first I was somewhat prejudiced

4.

things that he has done, and I did not feel that I wanted to connect with him, although I felt it would be well to be near him and receive the benefit of his experience. But after looking over his work carefully and remaining with him for several days, and studying his plans, and seeing the results, I came to the conclusion that he was doing more to develop the work in the right way in the South, and has already accomplished more than any other person who is there, and I do not think I would be overstating it if I should say that he has accomplished more than all the rest put together. His plans are large and sensible. They are far reaching, and are intended to bring in good results, and instead of trying to compel the people to accept the Sabbath the first thing, he has adopted the system of leading them into the truth in a more natural way, and now they are beginning to take hold of the Sabbath in considerable numbers. Little companies, where he has done work, are springing up and calling loudly for help. So all at once it seems that the fruit of his work is appearing, and I feel to praise the Lord that we have the privilege of uniting with one who has had this long experience, and whose whole heart and soul seem to be wrapped up in this work. I do not write this because he is your son, but I felt that it might be encouraging to you to know just how I viewed the work, as no doubt he has gone through some severe struggles and has met many difficulties. I am sure there are many who would not have been so persevering. He has come into touch with a large number of people along the Yazoo river and its tributaries, and wherever I could I inquired of natives in regard to his work, and find that without an exception all speak highly of what he was doing and the good that had been accomplished by the "Morning Star." Mind you, this is not the report of our own people, but those who did not know that I was even acquainted with Eld. White. It seems that the influence of the boat and the workers has gone all through that country and has prepared the way so that there is almost an unlimited territory for our work. The field is ripe, and we are praying earnestly now as a school that

W. 5.

the Lord will open the way for many to go into that field. The students this morning decided to set aside two days for prayer and fasting, that the Lord lead us in the right way, and that we might understand the work better. Some of the students and teachers will visit our brethren in neighboring churches, and in this way we trust that many will be interested in the work who have not in the past.

The health of Bro. and Sr. White is not the best. They remained there during last summer, and I think it has been too much, especially for Bro. White. Sr. White was away for awhile. Sr. White, however, says she has improved lately, and they are both doing their regular work. They have connected with them a health food factory. It is on a barge that is by the boat, and they are making coffee and several health foods. They are planning to put in quite a large oven which will enable them to do a more extensive work. They find that the people are ready now to receive instruction in regard to diet, and to change their ways of living. I believe that they will accomplish much in the health food work.

The school at Calmar, which is under the direction of the "Morning Star," has about 170 pupils. It is taught by a former student of Walla Walla College and his wife, and surely the Lord is blessing them. They are very much crowded, and need room. It was interesting to meet in this school mothers with little children, all attending the school together. The mothers are just as anxious to learn as are the children. When I took charge of several recitations, I found that they are as bright as the average white children who are surrounded by the same circumstances. They seem to be very much alive to spiritual truths, and can be touched more quickly through their hearts than through their heads. That is, they are emotional. They can be reached very easily by singing or by giving them instruction that will bring in many illustrations such as you find in nature, physiology, etc., but when you begin to give it to them in an

G. W. 6.

abstract way, as it is often given by our ministers, they lose their interest. Their reasoning faculties are not very well developed.

Please pardon me for writing this if it has wearied you, but I thought you might be interested in it, and so have ventured to write.

Miss Ella, one of our former workers, will be with you by the time this letter reaches you. She is a good woman, and one who fears the Lord. I trust that you will help her in every way you can. She is a Jewess, came to us about two years ago, accepted the truth, and has been one of the most firm believers that we have. I think you will find her a very worthy person. Trusting that this will find you enjoying good health, I remain

Yours in the work,

E. A. Sutherland

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
OF
THE SOUTHERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

223

This approximate statement includes all received from the Restitution Fund, gifts, legacies and from all outside sources. It covers a period of eight years, with the exception of \$300 assistance received for the first church building in Vicksburg. It does not extend beyond January 1, 1903.

Total received from donations	
Appropriations, etc.	\$19,448.59
Profit on sales and	
Business enterprises	2,193.92
Total Receipts	21,642.51

RESOURCES

Vicksburg Property	5,000.00
Hildebran School Property*	
Hildebran, N. C.	3,400.00
Yazoo City School Property	800.00
Columbus School Property	500.00
Yazoo City Lot	300.00
Wilsonia Lot	100.00
	\$10,100.00
Invested in Nashville, Tennessee	
Colored Sanitarium	2,109.50
School and Industrial Equipments etc.	400.00
Office Fixtures	160.25
Stock in Business Enterprises	64.69
Bills and Accounts Receivable	815.33
Cash in Bank	135.84
Total	\$ 3,675.41

*The Hildebran school referred to in the financial statement of the society was a mission school for the white people of the Piedmont Valley. Elder D. T. Shireman was the founder but the project grew beyond his capacity to manage it properly and therefore he sold it to the Southern Missionary Society. A strong work was developed in Nashville, Tennessee, by the Southern Missionary Society.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
OF
THE SOUTHERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

LIABILITIES

Bills Payable	\$1,788.00
Accounts Payable	1,060.73
Total	\$ 2,828.73
Leaving a Present Worth	\$10,946.68

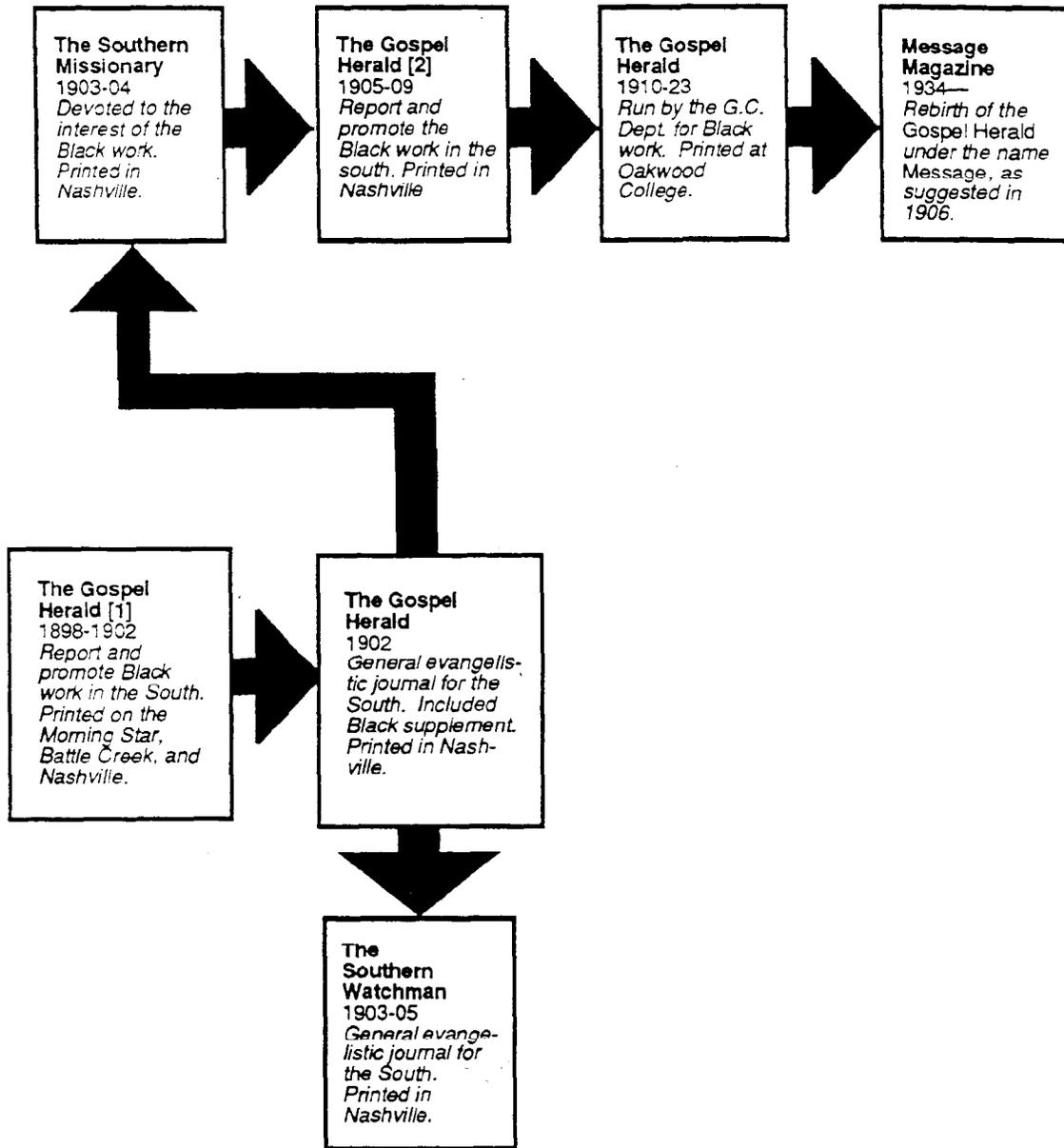
It will be seen that the present worth of the society represents more than half the entire receipts for eight years. The remainder has been paid out in the necessary expenses of the work. Out of those running expenses we would mention the following:

Aid given to the needy	\$2,299.35
Headquarters Expense	2,210.37

The remainder of all receipts have been expended in the field work of the Society.

The Southern Missionary, p. 67.

**The Evolution of the *Gospel Herald*
to the *MESSAGE* Magazine (1898-1934)**



ANNOUNCEMENT OF 1896-97

OAKWOOD INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

Huntsville, Alabama

Executive Committee:

G. A. Irwin
 O. A. Olsen
 S. M. Jacobs, Superintendent

OAKWOOD INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL: At a regular meeting of the General Conference Association of Seventh-day Adventists, held at Battle Creek, Michigan, during the autumn of 1895, it was unanimously decided that an industrial school should be established in the south for the education and training of young people of the colored race. Accordingly a committee of three consisting of G. A. Irwin, O. A. Olsen, and H. Lindsay, was appointed to select a location for the school and purchase suitable property for the purpose.

NAME: The name Oakwood was given the school because of the large number of fine oaks on the campus. It would be hard to find a more suitable place for an industrial school than the one chosen. The scenery is beautiful, the climate mild and healthful, and the soil very productive.

OBJECT: The managers and many other deeply interested persons have desired to see a school established in the South, where worthy young colored men and women might be educated in the lines of moral, mental, and physical culture, which prepare for the practical duties of life. In attempting this work, the managers have not had in view pecuniary profit, but have been wholly influenced by philanthropic motives.

Without doubt, hundreds of young colored people would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity for obtaining the education which such a school affords, provided the advantages offered were placed within their reach.

NIGHT SCHOOL: Probably a large proportion of those who attend at Oakwood will, from lack of funds, be obliged to work their way through school. For such, special arrangements will be made. For the first year such students will be employed to work on the premises during the day, using the evening and early part of the night for study and recitation. The work done under this contract will be paid for at the rate of \$8.00 a month for boys who do full work and at \$5.00 a month for girls doing full work; they are also to be furnished board, washing, room-rent, and tuition. From the wages thus earned the student will be permitted to draw each month an amount not to exceed \$2.00 in clothes, books and other necessaries. The amount due each student at the end of his or her first year, will be retained in the school treasury, to be applied on the following year's tuition when they enter the regular day school. With the first year's earnings to start with and with what may be earned while attending school and during vacations, an industrious student may complete his course of study and leave school free from debt.

EXPENSES: Any student who expects, on entering to enter upon a complete course of study which will occupy the time of the day-school, will be able to go through the first year, on the payment of \$60.00 in advance, provided he or she works for the school twelve hours each week, at some occupation carried on at the institution, and provided such student starts the year with a good outfit of clothing. The regular price of tuition, board, washing, mending, and a furnished room heated and lighted for students taking full studies, is \$3.00 a month in cash, and twelve hours of work each week. These twelve hours of labor required of each student every week, are not simply for the purpose of meeting expenses, but for discipline and instruction as well. All labor performed by students covering more than twelve hours a week, will be paid for at the rate of \$8.00 a month.

STATEMENT: This being the first announcement of Oakwood Industrial School, the managers regret that the industrial, and other facilities of the school are not as yet entirely complete. It is their intantion, however, to add these as far and as fast as the demand for them is seen, and the friends of the institution furnish the necessary funds. They confidently believe that the school will receive the substantial support from the friends of industrial education that its merits deserve, and that ever increasing prosperity will attend its work.

THE STUDENT'S CONTRACT: Each student is enrolled as a member at once, upon presenting himself to the school, thereby pledging to observe all its rules and regulations. A special contract is prepared, and must be signed by those who work their way through and attend the night-school. If the pledge, or contract, is broken, it is understood that by such violation the student forfeits his membership, and if longer retained, it is only by the sufferance of the school managers.

RELIGIOUS BASIS: The school is a denominational institution, founded and managed by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist, yet in no way will religious views be forced upon any one. Such religious meetings will be held during the week as will be deemed most conducive to the spiritual growth of those in attendance. The seventh day of the week will be observed as the Sabbath, and all are expected to conform to this plan so far as not to interfere with the observance of the day in its proper spirit. The Bible will be one of the regular studies taught in both the day and the night school. There will be a students' prayer-meeting and a students' missionary society organized at the beginning of each school year, which all are invited to attend. All students are expected to attend the regular meetings on the Sabbath, or present satisfactory excuse for absence.

ADMISSION: All applicants for admission, of either sex, to be eligible, must be over fourteen years of age, and before entering the school, must pledge themselves faithfully to observe all its rules and regulations.

Any one who is known to use profane or other unbecoming language, or to indulge in the use of tobacco or alcoholic drinks, or to be in any way vicious or immoral, will not be admitted to the school. And should it appear that after being admitted, any one is found guilty of any of the aforesaid misdemeanors, he or she will be liable to be sent from the school and the premises. The first year of all students is expressly probationary, and any one may be expelled during that time for continued indifference in class work, for unsatisfactory behaviour or for evil influence exercised upon associates.

THE SCHOOL YEAR: The school year begins the first Wednesday in October, and closes the first Tuesday in May.

Ellen G. White, *Miscellany*, Vol. 1.

I Thank God I'm Free at Las'

Free at las', free at las',
I thank God I'm free at las'.
Free at las', free at las',
I thank God I'm free at las'.

Way down yonder in de graveyard walk,
I thank God I'm free at las'.
Me an' my Jesus gwineter meet an' talk,
I thank God I'm free at las'.

On-a my knees when de light pass by,
I thank God I'm free at las'.
Thought my soul would arise and fly,
I thank God I'm free at las'.

Some o'dese mornin's bright and fair,
I thank God I'm free at las',
Gwineter meet my Jesus in de middle of de air,
I thank God I'm free at las'.

OAKWOOD JUNIOR COLLEGE: RELIGIOUS LIFE

Denominational schools endeavor to perpetuate a religious atmosphere and build up the spiritual life of their students while they are receiving their training. The first announcement of the Oakwood Industrial School expressed the desire of the officers to establish and maintain a wholesome spiritual tone and it also provided for a students' prayer band and a students' missionary society.¹

At the time of Mrs. White's visit in 1904, she showed a very sincere interest in the students and assured them that Christ was able to transform their lives: "Students, God will help you, but you must not think you can retain the unchristlike traits of character you naturally possess. You must place yourselves in the school of Christ."²

After Mrs. White returned to her home in California she remembered the Oakwood students in an inspirational letter:

"Elmshaven," Sanitarium, Calif.
January 1, 1905

TO THE STUDENTS IN THE HUNTSVILLE SCHOOL

Dear Young Friends:

Are you daily preparing for graduation into the higher school? Are you daily becoming better fitted for entrance

¹See p. 8, above.

²Information on file in the Treasurer's office, Oakwood Junior College.

into the heavenly courts? Are you making the most of your privileges, seeking earnestly to overcome all evil habits? At the great examination day, one wrong habit unconquered, will keep you from receiving the overcomer's reward. Do not let sin obtain the victory over you. Strive to enter in at the strait gate. "Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat." "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

There is a special and important work for you to accomplish. Clear directions are given in the word of God regarding the part that you are to act. "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God."

"When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory. . . Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness longsuffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And above all these things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body; and be ye thankful. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by Him."

Be kind in all you do and say. If any one speaks harsh, irritating words to you, do not retaliate. Speak gently, and thus help those around you to bear the cross after Jesus. In every perplexity ask God for advice and counsel, and it shall be given. When your mind is troubled, go to the Lord Jesus, and ask Him to give you His grace. Cast all your care upon Him who cares for you. "In everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God. And the peace of God, which passeth understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

Ask yourselves, "Why am I obtaining an education? Is it not that I may be better fitted to work for the Lord? I must make the very best use of my school days, honoring

God by developing a character like the character of Christ. Then when I return to my home, I can be a help and a blessing to those around me."

Watch and pray, and keep the heart always in a condition to discern and receive all the good that God has for you. Ask Him for the wisdom that will enable you to turn from the evil that you may see and hear. Learn from Christ how to keep your souls in harmony with His. When the peace of God fills the heart, thank God, praise His holy name, and keep yourselves where you can receive still more of the Holy Spirit. Thus you will make friends with God, and He will make of you true Christians.

The peace of God is worth everything to you. It is your privilege to be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. While a student here under human teachers, remember that you are also a student under the great Teacher, who gave His life for you, that you might learn of Him to be meek and lowly. He desires you to realize that His yoke is easy and His burden is light. In time of need, the true Christian will realize the keeping power of God. He who asks help from God will receive it. The student who is learning to serve God acceptably will be a blessing to those with whom he associates.

God will guide all who desire to be guided. In the time of temptation He will hide them in His pavillion. Do your best. Be faithful in word and act. Give evidence that the efforts made in your behalf are not in vain. Then God will greatly bless you, and will help you to make a success of your work. Give yourselves, heart, mind, and soul to the work of obtaining a fitness for God's service. Co-operate with your teachers. Respond to their efforts in your behalf. Give them evidence that their efforts in your behalf are not in vain. Thus you will disappoint the enemy, and cause rejoicing among the angels of God.

Pray and believe, and the Lord will be to you a present help in every time of need. Trust in the Saviour. Ask Him for what you need, believing that He will hear and answer you, that He will receive and bless you, because you confess and forsake your sins.

We are praying for you in Huntsville--praying that the Spirit of God may come upon you, to encourage you, to make you apt students, that you may know and do the will of God and magnify the truth. Angels have charge

over you, and they are ever ready to help you, to give you light and faith and courage. Submit yourselves wholly to God's guidance, and you will be established in the truth, and will gain a fitness to teach those who know not the truth.

Yours in the blessed hope of Christ's coming,

Ellen G. White³

M. H.

³Copy in the writer's private library.

should become. All that is done by those connected with this school, is to be done with the realization that this is the Lord's institution in which the students are to be taught how to cultivate the land and how to labor for the uplifting of their own people. They are to work with such earnestness and perseverance that the farm will bear testimony to the fidelity with which this donation of land has been cared for. This is the Lord's land and it is to bear fruit to His glory. Those who come to this school to receive instruction on the farm or in the schoolroom, are to be taught in right lines, and are to live in close connection with God.¹⁵

The vocational training in 1906 included blacksmithing, carpentry, broom making, agriculture, carpet weaving, poultry raising, dairying, apiology, horticulture, cooking, plain sewing, and dress-making. By the fall of the same year teachers and students had completed a tool house and cistern and had laid seven hundred feet of sewer line.¹⁶

The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin for 1916 gives this report of the industrial life at the Oakwood Manual Training School:

An elementary school with a few pupils in secondary subjects. Tuition is free and the institution provides employment and instruction for most of the pupils in a number of commercial enterprises.

The officers are energetic, hard-working men and women who insist upon thoroughness in all work. Religious training is emphasized.

The industrial activities are tent making, printing, blacksmithing, sawmilling, farming and canning. The boys are employed in these industries according to the school needs. The girls are instructed in cooking and sewing, with ample practice in the boarding department. The nurse training department is small. While much good training is given to the pupils, there is a lack of system in the educational phases of the work.¹⁷

¹⁵ The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, Vol. 95, No. 36, September 5, 1913, p. 10.

¹⁶ Ibid., Vol. 82, No. 40, October 5, 1905, p. 19.

¹⁷ United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 39, 1916.

Mrs. White Visits Oakwood in 1904

From July 20-23, 1904, the members of the board, the faculty and students had the very rare privilege of seeing and hearing Mrs. White in a lecture. She spoke well of the work that had been done by Principal Jacobs and encouraged the faculty to continue the agricultural training that was being given at the time of her visit:

Several years ago Brother S. H. Jacobs was in charge of the farm, and under his care it made great improvement. Brother Jacobs put forth most earnest disinterested efforts.

In regard to this school here at Huntsville, I wish to say that for the past two or three years I have been receiving instruction as to what it should be, and what those who come here as students

Principal Boyd's report to the North American Division Conference council in 1917 gave recognition to the manual training work that was being given at that time:

A few manual training classes are carried, but the larger part of the industrial knowledge gained by the student comes from actual work. They learn to do by doing. It has been the policy of the institution since it has been established to make the school serve its own needs just as far as possible. On our farm we endeavor to produce such things as we consume. The girls make their own uniforms, and the larger part of our sewing is done in the sewing department. With a very few exceptions our buildings have been constructed by student labor under the leadership of their teachers. While the workmanship in every instance has not been the very best, yet our boys and girls always point with pride to work which they have done themselves. Last year we produced from our farm thirty-two bales of cotton, two thousand bushels of sweet potatoes, and produced and canned small quantities of other fruits and vegetables. We have twenty head of mules, horses and colts; twenty head of cattle and over two hundred hens on the place.

We did \$1,252.59 worth of printing last year. The sawmill earned \$768.89 from custom work. \$3,000 worth of tents were made by the tent department. An effort is made to have things thoroughly practical. Thrift, economy and simplicity characterize our work. We are teaching our students how to work with more intelligence, and how to live under more sanitary conditions; that true greatness does not consist in doing extraordinary things, but in doing ordinary things in an extraordinary way.¹⁸

When wages were high as they were during World War I, it was not an easy matter to persuade boys to remain at Oakwood during the summer and engage in the industrial program. However, there were some who always had enough interest in the welfare of the school to remain, and President Beardsley commended this spirit in his report to the constituency meeting in Birmingham during the winter of 1919,¹⁹ and spoke at length on the products of the farm.

¹⁸ The Oakwood Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 1, April 12, 1917, pp. 8, 9.

¹⁹ The Oakwood Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 1, February 3, 1919, pp. 45. See also pp. 7-9. Exhibit 34, Appendix pp. 288, 289.

Other Alabama schools were promoting sound industrial progress, and brought some of their industrial exhibits annually to the Alabama Teachers' Association. Oakwood has always sent representatives to this association. In the year 1922 President Beardsley took the exhibits to the association meeting and later wrote in the Gospel Herald that the manual training and industrial exhibits of the various schools were interesting and instructive. He also added that while Tuskegee had many agricultural and handicraft exhibits, Oakwood was the only school with exhibits on penmanship, notebooks and fine art work.²⁰

The industrial departments were a great source of help to the many students who were working to defray part of their expenses. Of these, the departments that furnished the greatest opportunity were the boarding club, farm, laundry, sawmill and shop.²¹

Before the close of the third decade of this century many schools in the south were eager for accreditation and therefore gave more emphasis to their scholastic life. Since 1930 a number of them have almost abandoned their industrial pursuits. However, some still endeavor to educate "the head, the heart and the hand." The practicality of this type of education is emphasized by many outstanding educators.

Dr. Philander P. Claxton, internationally known educator who served as United States commissioner of education from July 8, 1910 to June 1, 1921, stated in a commencement address at Madison College, Tennessee,²² on September 1, 1940:

²⁰ The Gospel Herald, Vol. 16, No. 5, p. 6, May 1922.

²¹ Exhibit 35, Appendix p. 290.

²² Seventh-day Adventist school which has from the beginning maintained a strong industrial department.

It has been observed that the missionary work in the South as in many other mission fields started with volunteers. They entered as laymen the needy field of labor and through consecration to the task, through prayer and through a firm faith in the future, they laid a sturdy foundation for those who followed. Well-regulated programs and institutions were later developments which established the work of the faithful few who dared blaze the trail. The stimulus for the building of small health centers in conjunction with other phases of the Seventh-day Adventist work in the South came from Mrs. E. G. White.

In no place is there greater need of genuine gospel medical missionary work than among the colored people in the South. Had such a work been done for them immediately after the proclamation of freedom, their condition would have been very different. Medical missionary work must be carried forward for the colored people. Sanitariums and treatment rooms should be established in many places. These will open the door for the entrance of Bible truth.

This work will require devoted men and means, and much wise planning. Years ago we should have been training colored men and women to care for the sick. Plans should now be made to do a quick work. Let promising colored youth - young men and young women of Christian character - be given a thorough training in this line of work. Let them be imbued with the thought that in all their work they are to proclaim the third angel's message. Strong, intelligent consecrated colored nurses will find a wide field of usefulness opening before them.

¹ Ellen G. White, *Special Testimonies*, Series B, No. 12 (Takoma Park: Washington, D. C.: Archives of Ellen G. White Pub., 1909), p. 6.

As stated above, Huntsville, Alabama had already become the home of the educational work. Special testimonies now linked it with the training of colored youth for health work among their own people. "The students of the Huntsville school are to be given a training in many lines of service. They are to learn how to present the truth for this time to their own people."²

This statement coupled with other statements led to the inaugurating of a strong health program at Oakwood. There were established at this school two institutions, an orphanage, and a sanitarium. Earliest counsel concerning the orphanage comes from a letter written by Mrs. White in 1909:

The question has been asked if the orphanage for colored children ought to be located on the Oakwood school farm.

Long before I visited Huntsville, the Oakwood school farm was presented to me, both as it was then and as it might be in the future if wisely managed and properly cared for.

The presentation of what the place ought to be, included an orphanage and a sanitarium. I was also shown cultivated fields, gardens where vegetables were raised, and orchards bearing abundance of fruit.

Instruction was given me that the Lord would have consecrated, unselfish Christian workers connected with the Oakwood school, who would use skillfully the advantages of the Oakwood farm for the benefit of the students in the school and the children in the orphanage. These advantages were to be used wisely in helping supply the necessities of the orphans, and in obtaining for them an education and training that would be pleasing to the Lord.

I have been instructed that for the development of the Oakwood enterprises, the very best class of workers should be secured, because a special work is to be done here in revealing what religious

² Ibid.

education will do for the orphans and the outcasts through the labors of consecrated and skillful teachers. The teachers connected with the school must bear in mind that they are dealing with the purchase of the blood of Christ, with souls who through earnest, God-fearing labors may become members of the Lord's family. . . .

When this light was given me I had never seen Huntsville. I was shown that Huntsville would be a place of special interest to those who would set their part to help the colored people.³

The orphanage was located on the west portion of the three hundred acres of the school property. Probably about 1910 the orphanage began its operation under Mrs. Gossam as matron.⁴ The attendance was twelve orphans. The children did regular chores and attended school. The means of support for these unfortunates came at first from the farm and school garden. At a later date, however, appropriations by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and affiliated bodies maintained the orphanage.⁵

In 1913, Mrs. E. I. Cunningham became matron of the orphanage. She was followed by a Mrs. Wade. Personal interest was shown the

³ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴ There is no document bearing the actual founding date; the best approximation is the agreed-upon date, 1910. The orphanage is discussed first because of its smaller part in the development of the sanitarium scheme.

⁵ A. J. Haysmer, secretary of the Negro Department, presented the question of the support of colored orphans at Oakwood: Voted, that as a provision of support for the orphanage for colored children at Huntsville, Alabama, we invite the Southern, Southeastern, and Southwestern Union Conferences to appropriate 50% of their April offering for orphanage work to the Oakwood Orphanage, and that we invite the other Unions or Conferences in America to appropriate 25% of their funds from the April Orphanage collection to the same purpose. General Conference Minutes, October 26, 1911.

children by friends who sent clothes, and in keeping with a suggestion in the writings of Mrs. White, the orphans were put in the homes of good Christian people as soon as possible.⁶

That the work among colored orphans never became self-supporting is shown by the small number receiving help and the early call to the General Conference for support. By 1921, the number of orphans had dwindled to such an extent that the Board and workers at Oakwood requested that the interest of the orphanage be laid upon the colored believers. The Oakwood Board was asked to furnish whatever help and information available.⁷ It was hoped this action would spur the colored constituency to greater effort. During the fiscal year 1924, the income for the orphanage was \$634.03.⁸ There are no further records of this orphanage to furnish comparisons, but this sum seems incredibly small for a year's work. Furthermore the Orphanage Trust Funds amounted to only \$50.⁹ By 1930 capital expenditures were \$129.59 and only \$10.80 had been spent for equipment. This same year, 1930, witnessed the final chapter in the faltering history of the orphanage. The enrollment had shrunk to the pitiful number of two, a girl and a boy.

⁶ Ellen G. White, Testimonies to the Church, Vol. VI, p. 267.

⁷ General Conference Minutes, May 5, 1921.

⁸ Oakwood Bulletin, September 1, 1924, p. 3.

⁹ Idem.

The boy was sent to Pearson's School, Sterretts, Alabama, and the girl was put in the college dormitory.

At present the orphanage building sparkles in its ocat of white with green trimmings. In its rooms where orphans learned by exemplification the practical value of "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me,"¹⁰ three families of teachers live, for in 1943 the orphanage was converted into an apartment building.

The decline of the orphanage can be assigned to no one factor. Although the Oakwood Manual Training School was located in the Black Belt, it was a small school of a small denomination and not as widely heralded as Hampton, famed Tuskegee or even Normal, just a few miles distant. The work of Seventh-day Adventists in the South was just becoming organized and little large-scale work had been done for Negroes; hence the few converts, scattered as they were, did not feel the responsibility.¹¹ Depression years and low wages of course played their part. But significant is the passing of what we might term the Missions Era of the late "nineties" and early 1900's. By 1930, the "Sawdust Trail Evangelists," "Flop houses" and city missions were going

¹⁰ Matthew 25:40

¹¹ Colored members in the Southern Union in 1909 numbered only 328. The number in 1918 was only 1104. Statistics collected by Otis B. Edwards, and found in his notes.

the way of the interurban railway, the model T Ford and other highlights of earlier years. The orphanage, a mission institution, died a natural death.

Contemporaneous with the orphanage was the Oakwood Sanitarium. Like the former, it was founded because of both general and specific testimonies by Mrs. White. The necessity for the training of colored workers foreseen by Mrs. White and recommended as a way to avoid racial friction was becoming increasingly evident. Prejudice was making the work hard in some places. Mrs. White wrote:

For the accomplishment of the Lord's work among the colored people in the South we can not look wholly to white laborers. We need colored workers, O, so much to labor for their own people everywhere and especially in those places where it would not be safe for white people to labor. Without delay most decided efforts should be made to educate and train colored men and women to labor as missionaries.¹²

Oakwood Manual Training School was the place where this was to be accomplished: "The students of the Huntsville school are to be given a training in many lines of service."¹³ By this Mrs. White did not mean merely the teaching of health subjects, but actual sanitarium work:

As our example, Christ linked closely together the work of healing and teaching and in our day they should not be separated. In our schools and sanitariums, nurses should be trained to go out as medical missionary evangelists. They should unite the teaching of the gospel of Christ with the work of healing.

¹² Ellen G. White, Special Testimonies, Series B, No. 12 x, pp. 34.

¹³ Ibid., p. 4.

The Lord has instructed us that with our training schools there should be connected small sanitariums, that the students may have opportunity to gain a knowledge of medical missionary work. This line of work is to be brought into our schools as part of the regular instruction. Huntsville has been especially pointed out as a school in connection with which there should be facilities for thoroughly training consecrated colored youth. . .¹⁴

More and more insistent became the messages. Note the imperative tone of this instruction prepared for circulation at camp meetings held during the summer of 1908:

Medical missionary work must be carried on among the colored people. At the Huntsville school some new buildings must be erected, one of which should be a small sanitarium. In connection with the training center, we desire to see a strong work done in preparing the colored people of the South to accomplish that which must be done for their own race. Among the most promising youth are those who must be trained to work as canvassers, missionary nurses, hygienic cooks, teachers, Bible workers, and ministers.¹⁵

The General Conference took cognizance of these messages and in 1909 voted money to realize the plans of a small sanitarium building. On the ground floor was a parlor, kitchen, dining room, and two rooms for medical offices, with a large porch in front and a small rear porch. The second floor had seven rooms for patients. When equipped the net value was set at \$20,204.18, against the original cost of \$15,157.96. In the spring of 1910, the General Conference

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

asked M. M. Martinson and his wife to connect with the work as physicians, to teach in the school, to train nurses at the sanitarium, as well as to do some medical missionary work. In this same year a large basement treatment room was finished. Professor C. J. Boyd, school president, was quite successful in securing furniture as gifts from several business firms, and the sanitarium program became a working reality in the summer of 1910. To aid in sanitation and in the giving of hydrotherapy treatments, heating and sewer systems were installed.¹⁶

The sanitarium was off to a good start, and for several years operated successfully. As previously stated, W. J. Blake, M. M. Martinson, and Lottie C. Isbel gave health lectures and all early Oakwood graduating classes contained some nurses. It must be kept in mind, however, that the sanitarium was on the same campus and operated under the same health program as the orphanage. The same forces were at work to upbuild it or conversely to hinder its progress. Let it also be remembered that the colored constituency in the South numbered less than five hundred, that these were poor, that hospital care was still an unaffordable luxury to most colored people at that time, and that for reasons previously stated "hospittles" did not have a very good connotation. Despite the fact, therefore, that everything was done to make the sanitarium work a success, patients were few. When M. M. Martinson left in 1912, E. D. Haysmer was the physician for a short while. Soon, however, in order to cut down expense,

¹⁶ Oakwood Bulletin, Vol. 12, November, 1925, No. 12.

a nurse was put in charge, but this plan formed for the sake of economy did not succeed as hoped.¹⁷

Troubles began to multiply for the struggling sanitarium. In October, 1918, when the great influenza epidemic was sweeping the country, the Madison County Health Department asked Oakwood Manual Training School to close for two weeks to help shield its one hundred fifty students. Miss Reeder, head nurse, prevented a general school epidemic by keeping students out-of-doors. No one was allowed to leave or to come on the campus. By November 20, several girls became ill. Ninety-five cases in all developed. The fact that only a few died was accredited to the good supply of simple drugs, medicine, dressings, and first-aid supplies in the small pharmacy.¹⁸

Because teaching nurses without giving them practical experience is not a successful method, the board decided in 1924, to secure a physician and to give a two-year practical nurses course. Among the courses offered were to be anatomy, physiology, and hygiene, and simple treatments. M. M. Martinson and his wife were recalled, and began their work at the beginning of the school year.

But between the years 1918 and 1924 the sanitarium had ceased to function as a health institution. The Oakwood Bulletin of November 1, 1925, states:

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Now while the Sanitarium was used as a boarding house most of our equipment was stored. A number of things are missing and others have been worn out. That which has been found is being cleaned up and placed in proper places for work.¹⁹

The Oakwood Bulletin of September 1, 1924, lists under "Income" \$1,221.57 "from the Sanitarium Boarding Club."

Upon the return of the Martinsons, life again flowed through the veins of the sanitarium. New paint, plaster and minor repairs made it glow without and within. The general use of electricity brought with it new machines. Heavy wires were installed to operate the physiotherapy equipment. Two new photophors, or electric light heaters, were put into use, material was collected for a new electric light cabinet, and current was wired to a thousand watt phototherapy light. Dr. Martinson brought his own equipment from Chattanooga, Tennessee, and this together with the new equipment gave the sanitarium a complete physiotherapy unit with the exception of a local water actinic ray lamp and x-ray outfit. By buying carefully and by installing only such instruments as were practical and economical, the Oakwood managers equipped the bathrooms so as to give hot and cold sprays, salt glows, shampoos, six full baths, fomentations and electric light and sweat baths. In the physiotherapy room, high frequency treatments, diathermy galvanic and sinusoidal electricity and radiant heat treatments could be administered.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

All of this cost money, much more than was on hand; yet when a plea was made it was for patients.

We are trying to be careful to buy and install only such instruments that are practical and will come within our means so as to have a full complete outfit of the latest physiotherapy treatments or surgery. We shall have to have some help to get some of the things that are missing and a few new ones to make our outfit complete, but we have been assured of this help.

We are not coming to you to ask for money to build and equip a sanitarium. We have that. We believe that those who are interested in this work will help make it a number one institution so far as equipment is concerned. The General Conference is at great expense keeping doctors here to teach and supervise the medical work. We have a fine class of people who desire help with everything that is to be done.

We have the buildings, equipment, the doctors and the help. What we need just as soon as the equipment is installed is the patients. If we can have the support of the colored people and patients, the work will be a success. Not only will the Sanitarium be a success but the nurses class will be a success and the medical missionary work in the field will advance. To learn how to farm well and go into the homes of the people and teach them how to live is work of the highest order.²¹

It will be recalled that the orphanage was at this time in eclipse. The whole situation is a paradox to most missionary endeavors where the laborers and equipment are few but the calls for help are many. Here were two equipped institutions failing from lack of support by the needy colored population. This cannot be laid wholly to lack of means, for the same condition prevailed throughout years of national prosperity. As with the orphanage so with the sanitarium. Patrons were not forthcoming and the Martinsons left.

For a period of years, until 1933, non-Adventist physicians,

²¹ Ibid.

white as well as colored attended the needs of the student body. In that year L. L. Holness, a young colored physician, tried to revive the sanitarium. He attracted patients from Huntsville and even out of the state. In 1936 the school operated a clinic that was open to the community. In 1937, however, the board was forced to reduce the budget and the sanitarium was closed. Holness left, eventually to enter private practice in New York City. As had been the fate of the orphanage the building was converted into a residence and became the president's home.²² With it ended the era of institutional missionary work and nurses training at Oakwood Junior College. The failure of the sanitarium was significant in that more than a sanitarium failed. The sanitarium was secondary to the establishment of a training center for nurses. With the failure of the sanitarium, hopes for nurses training at the school ended. It had been clearly demonstrated that the territory surrounding Oakwood would not support a nurses training center. There could be no hopes that further efforts here would net better results. Henceforth any efforts to establish a sanitarium and nurses training school would have to be considered apart from the denominational center at Huntsville. Moreover a nurses training center would have to depend upon orientals coming from beyond the immediate vicinity. A rural community could not support such an institution.

It must not be thought that a change of locality to a more popu-

²² Information received in an interview with Mrs. E. I. Cunningham, Oakwood College, Huntsville, Alabama, April 4, 1945.

lous center for the colored medical institution would be the panacea for all ills. This was disproved by the experience with the Hillcrest School Farm, called Hillcrest Sanitarium by some. It was established near Nashville, in 1907, as a direct answer to Mrs. White's instructions. These directions called specifically for a colored school and health unit to be located near Nashville, Tennessee:

The Lord has set the seal of approval on the efforts to establish memorials to His name in the city of Nashville. He has signified that from this important center the light of truth for this time shall radiate to every part of the Southern Field. Nashville is a natural center for our work in the South. And the influence of the various educational and publishing institutions established makes the city a favorable place in which to carry as many lines of our work. In Nashville much interest is taken in this race. In and near the city are large schools for the colored people. . . . There should be given a representation of our work that will be an object-lesson in genuine Christian education and medical missionary training.²³

O. R. Staines, who had been teaching at Oakwood Manual Training School for a number of years left in 1907 to start a school in Nashville. He counseled with E. A. Sutherland and P. T. Magan before he submitted his plans to Mrs. White. After she had approved, he met the Southern Union Conference Committee and upon their approval purchased a farm located on White Creek's Pike six miles from Nashville. The sixty acre tract cost \$6,250. Funds were solicited in the North for the support of the enterprise. Floyd Brailiar, principal of the Stewart Industrial Academy in Iowa, became principal of the new school. Class work began January 1, 1909. The school, the enrollment of which never exceeded thirty-five or forty, offered a curriculum of general education with instruction in simple health treatments. Practically

²³ Lights and Shades in the Black Belt, p. 285.

every student that came to Hillcrest had to earn every penny of his expenses and "many of them had to have dental and surgical work done before they could accomplish much."²⁴

The location was used as a vacation and resting place for ministers and denominational officials. A conference minister wrote: "As I am spending a rest from the heat of the city for a few weeks at the Hillcrest School it was my privilege to be present at a very impressive baptismal scene last Sabbath."²⁵

Several men now well-known in the denomination were connected with the school: O. R. Staines, editor of the medical paper of the College of Medical Evangelists, Loma Linda, California; Floyd Brailiar, present vice-president of Madison College, Madison, Tennessee; C. O. Franz, secretary of the Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Elder Fred Kelitts, one of the leading colored ministers, received a major portion of his education there. Not being under General Conference ownership or support, the faculty and students had to depend upon the farm as the sole source of income. When this proved inadequate, the institutions was forced to close its doors in 1914.

While Hillcrest could properly be listed as a step toward training colored workers, it has been listed under sanitarium development because it was more than a school. It was besides a place of rest which provided also surgical and medical treatment.

²⁴ Personal correspondence of the author with Professor Brailiar dated May 21, 1945, Madison College, Madison, Tennessee.

²⁵ Gospel Herald, September, 1911.

By far the most determined effort to operate a sanitarium in Nashville before the establishment of Riverside Sanitarium was that made by James Edson White.²⁶ He invited F. M. Young and wife of Rockford, Illinois, to act as manager and matron of the Nashville Colored Sanitarium, a small institution he founded in 1901. Miss Susie Willis, a nurse trained at Battle Creek, and Miss M. Grant, assisted a non-Adventist physician, J. H. Wilson, who was engaged to furnish whatever medical supervision needed. In the summer of 1902, a few months after its opening, Lottie C. Isbel, recently graduated from Battle Creek Medical College, was asked to connect with the institution under the usual contract which provided maintenance but no salary. The sanitarium located on Cherry Street, and flanked by a Jewish boarding house and an undertaking establishment, occupied one side of a double house.

The equipment consisted of a bath tub, a shower and spray apparatus, electric light cabinet, faradic battery, and several compartments for treatments, supplied with tables. There were accommodations for four or five patients. Lottie C. Isbel was secured because the local physician who had been helping had opened a rival institution of his own on the other side of town and diverted whatever prospective patients the Nashville Colored Sanitarium might have had to his own

²⁶ It will be noted that the development has been from a logical rather than chronological standpoint. Several of the institutions were operating simultaneously and in the course of time persons trained in one institution helped in the operation of another.

establishment.²⁷

Partly because of the attitude of the doctor and for a variety of reasons, active opposition to the sanitarium developed. Despite this, several prominent people continued to find the sanitarium a place of physical and spiritual rest. It counted among its patients and friends Mrs. J. C. Napier, wife of a former Registrar of the Treasury, several business and professional women from cities as far distant as Mobile, Memphis, and Atlanta, R. Councell, president of Normal College near Huntville, Alabama, and quite a few teachers. Comparatively few local persons were patients because medical services in Nashville were and still are very cheap.²⁸

In 1904, the location in Nashville was changed to one not much more favorable on Third Avenue, then College Street. Succeeding Miss Willis as nurse were Miss Flora Stewart and Miss Virginia Taylor Warnick. A small stipend, hardly a salary, was paid the workers. The physician received ten dollars per week and the nurses, of course, less. But no small institution could well challenge the great medical schools of Nashville. Consequently, in 1905 the Nashville Colored Sanitarium ceased to operate.

Nashville, however, seemed destined to be the home of a colored

²⁷ Personal correspondence of the author, letter from Dr. Lottie C. Isbel Blake, dated May 20, 1945, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

²⁸ In 1902, there were four medical schools offering free clinical services, a large free city hospital and about sixty colored doctors; hence, fees were extraordinarily low or even nil. Personal correspondence of the author, letter from Dr. Blake and corroborated in an interview with Dr. E. A. Sutherland, April 1, 1945.

sanitarium, and James Edson White was a determined man. Following the closing of the sanitarium in Nashville, Lottie C. Isbel had gone to Birmingham, Alabama, and opened in 1906 the Birmingham Sanitarium on Enon Ridge. J. H. Lawrence, now pastor of the Cedar Avenue Church, Cleveland, Ohio, served as business manager. After her marriage in 1907 to D. E. Blake, the two were asked by James White and W. O. Palmer to take charge of a proposed new sanitarium. Upon their acceptance the Rock City Sanitarium was opened in the latter part of 1908.²⁹ This new location on the corner of Foster and Stewart Streets was much more suitable. The ancient two-storied house was remodeled at a cost of \$5,000. and better equipment was installed. It was also equipped with an operating room and had more rooms for patients than had the previous sanitarium. It was decided that a few young people should be taken in to train as nurses. Among those serving as nurses at one time or another were Mamie Isbel, Frances Worthington and Louie Oden Allison.

A fair patronage was enjoyed with most of the patients coming from various points outside the city. Some were recommended to the sanitarium by their physicians. As a rule, treatment of these cases, usually chronic or surgical was successful. The sanitarium was unique among the medical institutions in Nashville in that no drugs were used unless prescribed by the surgeons, who were for the most part non-

²⁹ "Rock City" is the name applied to Nashville, Tennessee because of its rocky terrain.

Adventists. The Blakes, Battle Creek physicians, were not trained to use drugs, so dependence was placed upon physiotherapy and surgery where necessary. The sanitarium enjoyed relative success for three years. But when D. E. Blake graduated from Meharry Medical College in 1912 he decided to seek a position where better remuneration was offered. His resignation left the institution without doctors, and it was forced to close sometime early in 1913.

The reasons for the failure of the sanitariums in Nashville were basically the same as the failure of the attempts at Huntsville. In summing up the reasons for failure, Lottie C. Blake now practicing in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania says the first endeavor failed because of "novelty of methods, lack of funds to finance the project, the novelty of a woman physician, superfluity of medical men and service in Nashville, and a poor sanitarium location; the second endeavor a better location, but most of the former conditions still remaining."³⁰

This final effort by James Edson White to establish a sanitarium and nursing school for colored people was the last organized effort until Mrs. Druillard began her work on the outskirts of Nashville, Tennessee, almost fifteen years later.

³⁰ Personal correspondence of the author, letter from Dr. Lottie C. Blake, dated May 20, 1945, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

RIVERSIDE SANITARIUM: EARLY HISTORY

42

The history of Riverside Sanitarium and Hospital has been a complex and eventful one. Its early history frames the later years of a denominational figure, Mrs. N. H. Druillard, who founded, fostered, and endowed the sanitarium. A brief sketch of her life will suffice as a background to the events that led her to found a sanitarium for the colored.

Reared in Wisconsin, Mrs. Druillard fulfilled her desire to be of service to mankind by accompanying her husband as a missionary to Africa. During their stay it was their fortune to receive as a gift from Cecil Rhodes property that is now the Bulawayo Mission of the Seventh-day Adventists. After a strenuous tenure of mission duties, her health began to fail with the result that she and her husband returned to the United States to take up residence at Battle Creek, Michigan, then the denominational headquarters. It was at this time, 1901, that P. T. Magan, E. A. Sutherland, Bessie de Graw, and others moved Battle Creek College to Berrien Springs, Michigan, under the name of Emmanuel Missionary College, for the purpose of developing the practical side of the denominational educational program free from the counter-acting influences of the city. Mr. and Mrs. Druillard joined the group. When, in 1904, two years after Mr. Druillard's death, Magan and Suther-

land decided to leave Emmanuel Missionary College to establish a school in Tennessee, Mrs. Druillard joined them. She was at this time sixty years old. In the group that helped to pick the site, now Madison College, were L. A. Hansen, W. C. Strachan, J. E. White, Mrs. E. G. White, W. Halladay and O. Sebastian. Pleased with the location of the school, Mrs. White urged medical work as a definite part of the program. In compliance Magan and Sutherland attended Vanderbilt University for further medical training, while Mrs. Druillard capably tended the little school which through her financial aid was beginning to prosper. To her keen business sense is credited the laying of a good foundation for the food industry, now an integral part of the college.¹

Having finished their medical work, Magan and Sutherland returned to the sanitarium. Due to the race problem little was done for the colored. This worried Mrs. Druillard, who as a result of her African sojourn had come to realize the meaning of the Bible text, "Of a truth I perceive God is no respecter of persons."² Later while attending the General Conference meeting in San Francisco, California, she was hit by an automobile. She was then eighty years of age and little hope was held for her recovery. However, she promised the Lord if He would heal her that she would do whatever He wanted her to do. She was impressed

¹ Information received in an interview with Dr. E. A. Sutherland at Madison, Tennessee, April 1, 1945.

² Acts 10:34

that she was to build a sanitarium and give colored youth a one-year nursing course. So certain was she that this was to be her work, that she sent for her nephew, E. A. Sutherland, to come and take her back to Nashville. Once home she recovered rapidly and set about realizing her plans.³ She chose a beautiful site in 1920, but could not gain a clear title to it. It was therefore relinquished in 1924 for a site on the Cumberland River. Here for the next twelve years "Mother Dee," as she was affectionately called, operated a nurses training school for the colored.

She was successful in her endeavor. Every year she enrolled eight to ten students, and their quality was a credit to her. Boyd and Hale on the staff of Hale Hospital recognized her work as outstanding. In all it is estimated that she trained between seventy-five and eighty practical nurses, both men and women. Patients were so few that the greater portion of the expenses for building and maintenance of the little sanitarium was borne by Mrs. Druillard. The little physical plant consisted of a sanitarium building, dining hall and kitchen, girls' dormitory and boys' dormitory, office, chapel, and an additional patients' cottage, Conser cottage. Fortunately, early in life she had invested in land in Nebraska. The returns from this enabled her earlier to advance money for struggling Madison College and now to

³ Often before entering into a missionary endeavor she would ask her friend, Mrs. E. G. White, concerning the advisability of the venture. Mrs. White was wont to answer, "You don't have to but there's a blessing in it." Information received in an interview with E. A. Sutherland, M. D., April, 1945.

finance the sanitarium and nurses training school. It is estimated that in all she spent for educational and religious objectives, \$75,000 of her own money.⁴

In the years 1931-1933, the Negro constituency took special note of the long standing disparity between the ample facilities for care of the sick and for nurses education available to the white constituency and that available to the colored believers. As a result they began a strong agitation to secure similar opportunities for themselves. The Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists took an active part in trying to foster some movement to secure a site for a sanitarium. On hearing of this effort, Mrs. Druillard, now ninety-two years old, offered her sanitarium. She gave several reasons for so doing. First, she realized that her age and strength forbade her carrying on the work much longer. Second, she did not want to see fail the work she had struggled so hard to establish. In 1935 she offered to donate to the General Conference the whole plant, valued at \$30,000 for a colored sanitarium and nursing school. Earlier in that year, at the Spring Council of the General Conference Committee, study had been given to a memorial from the Negro Department regarding the establishment of a negro sanitarium and nurses training school. A committee appointed to the task of selecting a site visited several places before finally deciding to accept Mrs. Druillard's offer. E. A. Sutherland, president of Madison College, was delegated to make an investigation

⁴ Sutherland, Interview of April 1, 1945.

into the attitude of the people of Nashville toward the establishment of a negro sanitarium and nurses training school near the city. He made contact with a number of leading doctors, city and state health officials, lawyers, financiers and others. All looked with favor upon the establishment and promised to lend their interest.

At the Fall Council of the General Conference, November 4, 1935, Dr. Sutherland gave a report of his investigation. Mrs. Druillard told of the burden she had carried for years to help the colored people of the South, and of her willingness to turn over to the denomination for ownership and control the buildings and land of her sanitarium. The General Conference Committee recommended that the reserve fund of \$1960.20 which was received as a collection for the Northern Negro Training School be appropriated to the projected nurses training school.⁵ It was, however, the action of this committee to provide

for the establishment of a sanitarium and nurse's training school for the colored people near Nashville, whose board of control shall be identical with the board of the Oakwood Jr. College with certain modifications.⁶

that created, at least on paper, the long-sought sanitarium and nurses training school. Future developments were to show that only by much work and worry were the plans to come to fruition. It was also recommended that a committee be appointed to decide on the location

⁵ It had been planned to have a school in the North for northern students, reserving Oakwood Junior College for southern students.

⁶ Minutes of Meetings of General Conference Committee, Nov. 6 to Nov. 11, 1935.

and report to the minority committee. On November 11, 1935, a committee was appointed to join the members of the Oakwood Junior College Board in Nashville to investigate the entire situation. It was not only a question of the acceptance, if advisable, of the property offered by Mrs. Druillard. The committee was also to decide whether or not to purchase the adjoining property known as the Cumberland Club, on which a \$3,500 option was held. This committee also was to bring back to the minority committee recommendations as to the exact personnel of the board of the new institution.⁷ This committee met in Nashville on December 3, 1935, and three days later submitted a report.

The report recommended that Mrs. Druillard should deed the property known as the Riverside Sanitarium to be used as a nurses training school for colored people. But it was with the understanding that if at any time the General Conference ceased to use it for that purpose, the property, or its appraised value of \$50,000, would be returned to the Layman's Foundation, of which Mrs. Druillard, E. A. Sutherland, and Mrs. Scott were trustees. To clear the title it would be necessary to pay Mrs. Druillard \$1,000, whereupon she would settle all claims in full. The committee also recommended the purchase of the Cumberland Club property for \$3,500, in order to avoid its becoming a nuisance, and that a hospital building be erected on this property. It recommended further that a fund be raised for the erection of the hospital. A certain portion of this money was to be raised by the Negro Department,

⁷ Ibid.

and the remainder by the General Conference. It also recommended the appointment of a committee to work out details of transfer of papers, budgets, building program, and operational staff. These details were voted after careful consideration, and Mrs. Druillard was asked to execute a warranty deed transferring the property to the General Conference Corporation. Hereafter the institution was to be known as the Riverside Sanitarium and Hospital.⁸ The raising of the \$50,000. necessary for the establishing of the hospital was to be divided as follows: \$20,000. to be raised by the Negro Department and \$30,000. by the General Conference. The plans for the raising of the money were to be worked out by the General Conference officers and L. A. Hansen. A committee on papers, budgets, etc., was appointed.

Careful plans were being laid whereby the ill-nourished pygmy among its better fed sister sanitariums might be nurtured to its full stature. The General Conference Committee voted that the Oakwood Junior College Board, which was made the controlling board of the sanitarium, take over the property from Mrs. Druillard, January 1, 1936. The institution would then be temporarily closed, but with a caretaker to prepare the ground for the next year's crop. H. E. Ford was to join the colored constituency in raising their portion of the \$50,000. A committee was appointed to work with the Layman's Foundation in drawing up a contract to effect the transfer of the Druillard property.

The economic condition of the country seemed destined to in-

⁸ Minutes of Meetings of General Conference Committee, Dec. 6, 1935.

fluence the plans of Riverside Sanitarium. The following recommendations were introduced to the General Conference Committee by the General Conference treasurer and adopted:

Whereas, The present time does not seem the opportune time to launch an effort to raise funds in the white churches of North America for a colored sanitarium owing to the heavy program on this year to raise funds both for home and foreign work; therefore,

We recommend, That the effort be postponed until such time as the Autumn Council shall advise.

Whereas, In the year 1929, \$20,000. was set aside from our general funds for a colored school in the North to be made available when a like amount was gathered by the Colored people; and

Whereas, this fund when not used for the purpose designated would revert to the general funds in harmony with the working policy of the General Conference; and

Whereas, Owing to the exigencies of the case and the earnest desire of the colored people that this provisional appropriation be made available for the Riverside Sanitarium

We recommend, That this desire be granted and that the \$30,000. set aside for the Colored school in the North be made available for the Riverside Sanitarium with the understanding that this will be made available dollar for dollar as a like amount is raised by the Colored people up to \$20,000.⁹

To give impetus to fund raising among the colored constituents, H. E. Ford and F. L. Peterson were to visit churches to outline the program. The total amount was allotted to the Union Conferences on the basis of colored membership as follows:

Atlantic Union	\$2,525
Columbia "	5,210

⁹ Minutes of Meetings of General Conference Committee, January 13, 1936.

Central Union	\$1,070
Lake "	3,050
Southern "	7,270
Southwestern	2,420
Pacific "	1,795

Total \$23,340¹⁰

While H. E. Ford and F. L. Peterson were campaigning to raise the funds, advanced steps were being taken in other lines. At a meeting of the Oakwood Junior College Board on March 2, 1936, recommendations from the General Conference Committee were approved. This body had wisely foreseen the difficulties which would arise if a joint board controlled the Sanitarium and Junior College. It was decided that the best method of selecting a joint board recommended by the Autumn Council was to provide for the election of this board by the General Conference Committee at the next Autumn Council. Pending the election of the board the General Conference Committee nominated an interim joint board.

At the initial meeting, the board voted G. A. Roberts to be chairman, and H. E. Ford Secretary, Treasurer and Manager. The Committee on Staff recommended a list of sanitarium personnel and it was approved as follows:

T. R. M. Howard	Staff physician
Miss Ruth Templeton	House physician
A Kimbrough	Gardener
Richard Ford	Mechanic
Mrs. Ida Ford	Stenographer

¹⁰ Ibid., February 3, 1936.

Ruth Frazier	Nurse Instructor
Alma Tibbs	Natron
Price Pearson	X-ray, laboratory technician, pharmacist
L. E. Ford	Head male nurse ¹¹

As to actual work on the physical plant, it was voted that the building operations begin only when the full amount (\$20,000) was raised. The specifications of the building were worked out with necessary details and precautions.

Two anticipated problems that have continued as problems in actual operation were those of gas and of sulphur water. It was suggested that the committee make an investigation into the cost of piping city water and gas to the sanitarium property; and as an alternative, the cost of purifying the river water.

In preparation for the nurses training school, it was voted that Miss Ruth Frazier attend summer school at Pacific Union College to work toward a degree in Nursing Education, that the requirements of the nurses' training school be governed by the requirements of the Department on Nursing Education of the State of Tennessee, and that the sanitarium and hospital be equipped with the necessary medical and teaching facilities as funds were made available for the training school. Such announcements were heralded with great joy by the Colored constituency and by the Autumn Council of 1936, there were applications from 150 young women who were eager to take nurses training.

The immediate problem was the raising of the funds necessary

¹¹ Ibid.

51

to erect the buildings. The General Conference had covered two-thirds of its \$30,000 with the funds previously allotted to the Northern School. It now remained for the Colored constituency to raise its \$20,000. The date for the final report had been set for the Autumn Council, 1936. At this council F. L. Peterson and H. E. Ford reported \$28,000 in cash and pledges, but only \$8,583.85 in cash. The board voted, therefore, not to begin building operations until the full amount was in hand. It was then decided to put in shape the buildings already on the grounds so that the sanitarium work could begin.¹³

In November, 1936, the reconstruction program began. The boys' dormitory became the surgical building; the girls' dormitory, the medical building; the chapel, a nurses' home; and Conser cottage an x-ray unit, laboratory and office for the Director of Nurses.¹⁴

The incorporators, J. K. Jones, M. N. Campbell, G. A. Huse, V. G. Anderson, and H. E. Ford hoped that by March 1937 the building program would begin and soon thereafter the nurses' training school could be started. Despite the expenditure of \$8,700 to remodel and to purchase equipment, which costs the General Conference and the colored constituency shared equally, it was felt that financially the time was not opportune to establish the nurses' school. In fact, by October 1937, the sanitarium was in such need of funds that the General Conference Committee voted that the colored secretaries as far as possible be released from other

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Essay (anon.) "A Brief History of Our Sanitarium Work for Colored People," prepared for "Riverside Day," May 13, 1943, filed in Riverside Sanitarium folder in files of Negro Department of General Conference.

duties during the months of January and February 1938, to unite with the pastors of the colored churches in soliciting and collecting the funds pledged.¹⁴

Despite the trials and seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Riverside Sanitarium and Hospital was at last an actuality. Even though it still lacked the long-sought-after nurses' training school, it had joined the sisterhood of world-wide sanitariums.

¹⁴ Minutes of Meetings of General Conference Committee, October 26, 1937.

"...A BETTER WAY."

The Christian church from the beginning has had to struggle with the obsolete. Jesus was constantly in conflict with those who cherished the outgrown idea that Israel was still sole recipient of God's favor. Paul had to fight the strangling hold of circumcision.

The Protestant churches today are still involved in this conflict. Whereas the major issue from the 1840s through the '60s was the obsolescence of slavery and saw the split of almost every major American Protestant church, the major issue of the 1940s through '60s was the refusal of black Americans to continue to accept the obsolete standard of second class citizenship. Be it said to the credit of the churches that their response to the issues and tensions in this century's social revolution did not cause the ethical, theological and ecclesiastical upheaval of that other generation.

Two facts may be kept in mind that greatly contribute to this. One is that most church-goers share the conviction that the most important changes which the world has undergone, socially and otherwise are now taking place. They have accepted the fact that most of the deeds and so-called wisdom of the past must be re-examined to determine its pertinence with the present. Change as a way of life is being accepted.

The other fact is that the church following naturally the population trend is now an urban one. It is likely to be more educated and more sophisticated, ready for more youthful input and exposure to worldly pressures than ever before.

The record shows that many communions recognizing the needs of the Afro-American community had begun educational, philanthropic and ecclesiastical reforms even before the epoch-making decision of Brown vs Topeka by the U.S. Supreme Ct. urged all facts of American Society to abrogate racial separation "with all deliberate speed." Along with them the Seventh day Adventist Church had begun and is continuing to adjust theology, teaching and organizational structure with this new attempt of squaring man with the "ultimate."

W.H. Branson one time administrator in the south where he had known many of the Negro pioneers was now General Conference president. In 1954 he wrote a letter to the management of all General Conference institutions requesting them to seek ways of working along more liberal lines.

Almost 7 years later R.R. Fighur chaired an ad hoc committee on Human Relations in the spring of 1961. J.H. Wagner, H.D. Singleton, other regional

men as well as representative whites met together. Their recommendations led the Fall Council, 1961, to adopt a statement of brotherhood as believed by the church and set up a Human Relations committee at the General Conference level. On September 7, 1965, seven representative laymen were elected to meet with the committee.

Following the recommendations of this committee, the Spring and Fall Councils of 1965 outlined the procedure for implementing the principle of brotherhood. Part of the recommendations were that membership and officers in all churches, admission to and employment in schools and institutions be without regard to race. (Minutes of Spring Council) The Autumn Council sought implementation of an educational program through Review and Herald articles and reprints, and by holding more Human Relations meeting, pulpit exchanges, and appropriate Church Manual statements setting forth the position of the church. (This latter was accomplished by the General Conference meeting at Atlantic City).

R.R. Fighur, President of the General Conference closed an article in the Review and Herald, November 4, 1965, by quoting from the 1961 Autumn Council, p. 13.

We believe that a denial in any form of this universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of men would eat the heart out of a world movement and stifle as nothing else could the spirit of "Abba Father."

We therefore rededicate our denominational purpose to these basic principals of God's universal church.

The General Conference, in fact, chose to do more than merely speak - it led the way. For a long time it had been known that black administrators lacked upward mobility. There was not the same job opportunity as white administrators - to the colleges, the unions or the echelons of the General Conference. The following chart shows how the General Conference opened its ranks:

- 1918 W.H. Green, Sec'ry. Negro Dept.
- 1929 G.E. Peters, Sec'ry. Negro Dept.
- 1930 F.L. Peterson, Sec'ry. Negro Dept.
- 1941 G.E. Peters, Sec'ry. Negro Dept.
- 1950 G.E. Peters, Field Sec'ry. of General Conference.
- 1951 C.E. Moseley, Assoc. Sec'ry. Regional Dept.
- 1953 C.E. Moseley, Field Sec'ry. General Conference
- 1954 F.L. Peterson, Sec'ry. Regional Dept.
- 1954 E.E. Cleveland, Assoc. Sec'ry. Ministerial Dept.

1959 Owen Troy, Assoc. Sec'ry. Sabbath School Dept.
 1962 F.L. Peterson, Vice-President General Conference.
 1962 L.B. Reynolds, Assoc. Sec'ry. Sabbath School.
 1962 H.D. Singleton, Assoc. Sec'ry. General Conference, Sec'ry. of Regional Dept.
 1962 F. Bland, Assoc. Sec'ry. Regional Dept.
 1966 F. Bland, Vice-president General Conference.
 1966 W.W. Fordham, Assoc. Sec'ry. Regional Dept.
 1966 A.V. Pinkney, Assoc. Temperance Dept.
 1967 Walter Starks, Sec'ry Stewardship and Development
 1970 C.E. Bradford, Assoc. Sec'ry. General Conference
 1970 W.W. Fordham, Director Inner City Program.
 1970 G. J. Millet, Assoc. Educational Dept.
 1970 M.T. Battle, Assoc. Lay Activities.
 1971 C.D. Brooks, F. Sec'ry. General Conference.
 1972 C.D. Henri, Vice-president General Conference.

Of course a mere chart cannot portray the emotions that follow epochal events, the congratulations, the tears, the handshakes, the reading and rereading of *Time* when F.L. Peterson was elected first negro vice-president of the General Conference. A generous program was adopted toward church building programs. When Cleveland finished his successful Montgomery effort the Conference gave liberally toward housing the new congregation. Almost simultaneously J.E. Cox and W.W. Fordham secured a generous grant for Dallas, The Union and the General Conference gave W.L. Cheatham and me in the hundreds of thousands for the DuPont Park Evangelistic Center.

Policy has practically been set aside in the upgrading of Riverside Sanitarium and Oakwood College. Recently C.B. Rock addressing the Ethnan Temple in Pittsburgh stated:

The General Conference is very good to Oakwood. I happen to have the responsibility of meeting with the various sectors. The average endowment or operation fund given to a black church college by their denomination is something like \$75,000 a year. I'm talking about Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, etc. For the last three years the General Conference has given Oakwood from \$900,000 to one million dollars. We think our churches ought to know this.

Elder Joseph Winston new administrator at Riverside Sanitarium also spoke of the largess of the General Conference toward the Sanitarium. This well bears out a financial survey read to a large group of Regional ministers by F.L.

Bland which purported to show that for several years the Regional Department had received for Regional projects as much as it had contributed to the work.

The Unions accepting the council of the General Conference began to place qualified Regional men on their rosters:

Atlantic Union: A.N. Brogden, Sec'ry.; Leon Davis, Public Relations, Youth Director; George Rainey, Evangelist, Min. Sec.

Columbia Union: W.A. Thompson, Sec'ry; C.D. Brooks, Ministerial; L.W. Grant, Youth Director, G.W. Anderson, Assoc. Pub. Sec'ry, Donald Walker, Assoc. Auditor.

Central Union: W.S. Lee, Sec'ry.

Lake Union: F.L. Jones, Sec'ry; Charles Woods, Asst. Treas.; Joseph Winston, Temperance Secretary; R.E. Barron, M.V.

Pacific Union: M.C. White, Assoc. Sec'ry.; G.W. Banks, Regional Secretary; Richard Simons, Assoc. Treasurer.

Southern Union: W.S. Banfield, Assoc. Sec'ry.; C.L. Brooks, Sabbath School Secretary; M.G. Cato, Assoc. Publishing Secretary.

Southwestern Union: V.L. Roberts, Treasurer.

The men have been cordially received and their training in the Regional Department has made them assets wherever they have been placed.

Much of the good reception could be laid to a series of Human Relations Workshops conducted throughout the Unions. Among the good papers presented was a most informative one upon the history of Human Relations in the Adventist Church by H.D. Singleton.

The colleges changed policies. Emmanuel Missionary College had a few years previously abandoned its separate dining table for negro students. Now, in 1955, Columbia Union College accepted Harriet Mosely as its first American Negro student and the Washington Sanitarium, Mary Breech as its first American Negro student. Southern Missionary College also opened its doors. Now, Natelka Burrell, Phd. who has taught every grade but one in the Adventist educational chain teaches at Andrews University along with several other Afro-Americans. In fact almost every North American senior college has black personnel on its staff, and negro physicians and nurses are on the roster of most medical institutions.

No single document could sum up more completely the steady, consistent and gratifying progress toward racial adjustment and accord than the sixteen points passed by the General Conference Committee on Regional Conferences and Human Relations, April, 1970. Many of these now being effectively practiced are aiding greatly in a great reconciling and restorative work in the

church of God. Because of its breadth and pointedness I have included it in its entirety.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church should be an object lesson and a spectacle to the world of what Christ can do with surrendered and converted lives in establishing true fellowship, respect, and oneness in the gospel. It is time for the remnant church to show its true Christian colors by revealing to a divided, polarized America that our church is capable of true brotherhood in Christ. With these principles in mind the Spring Meeting of the General Conference Committee passed the following proposals:

1. Seventh-day Adventist churches open their doors to any would-be worshipper or prospective member regardless of race or color and welcome such with brotherly love and concern. Where it is felt that this principle is violated it is the duty of the next higher organization to investigate and recommend effective measures to correct.

2. The following additions to the baptismal vow and Church Manual are being recommended to the General Conference session (the **bold type** portions will show the new wording to be adopted):

"6. All who enter the kingdom of heaven must have experienced conversion, or the new birth, through which man receives a new heart and becomes a new creature. **Thus regardless of ethnic or social background, he becomes a member of "the whole family in heaven and earth."**

This paragraph is in the section dealing with the basic instructions and indoctrination of baptismal candidates.

"13. Do you believe that the Seventh-day Adventist church is **the remnant church of prophecy into which people of every nation, race, and language are invited and accepted, and do you desire membership in its fellowship?"**

This paragraph is a part of the baptismal vow that is presented to a candidate prior to administering the rite of baptism.

3. Conferences selecting qualified spiritual leaders as pastors shall not be limited by race or color. Should some black pastors be appointed to white churches and some white pastors to black churches, a very desirable example of church fellowship and understanding would result; therefore programs to this end should be undertaken with the support and guidance of unions.

4. In order to make our public ministry more effective and to help members and potential members realize the importance of this brotherhood, conference administrators are urged to make clear to pastors and evangelists that it is their duty to teach these principles as a part of the gospel and our special message to the world. We further recommend that prospective members be so instructed either in the baptismal class or in personal Bible studies.

5. Special emphasis should be given to human-relations workshops to implement resolutions, which unless carried out are useless. These workshops should include all workers - field, educational and institutional, and leading laymen from both black and white conferences and churches. It is recommended that union and/or conference-wide human-relations workshops be conducted in every union in North America before the 1971 Autumn Council.

6. Where normal entrance requirements are met, all Seventh-day Adventist schools from the elementary to the university level shall admit Seventh-day Adventist youth to the school of their choice without regard to race, or color. Where a church-supported school fails to follow the counsel of the church as stated on this, it is the duty of the next higher organization to investigate and recommend corrective measures.

7. A biracial commission of not more than seven members shall be appointed in the North American Division to deal with complaints of discrimination or exclusion and other problems that may be appealed to it for help. This commission in cooperation and in counsel with the union conferences and/or the local conference and/or institution shall have authority to act immediately, making a thorough investigation and seeking solutions to these problems.

8. On the union conference level positive steps should be taken to open doors in the area of administrative and departmental leadership for those who have demonstrated their ability and qualifications to serve all segments of the church. In Unions where there are Regional conferences or where there is an organized Regional department, the administrative officer level should include black leadership.

9. Black personnel shall be selected to serve in our publishing houses, hospitals, academies, colleges, universities, and other denominational institutions on the staff and/or administrative levels. Where it seems advisable, institutions should institute training programs for the development of black personnel in technical and administrative skills.

10. There is a missionary magazine dedicated to the black community in North America. The circulation of this journal is primarily the responsibility of the Regional churches. The Autumn Council of 1967 voted to help finance an associate circulation manager for The MESSAGE MAGAZINE. We reaffirm that recommendation on the basis of the 1967 agreement on union participation and ask that this be implemented in the immediate future.

11. At the time of the annual North American union conference presidents' meetings one or more black administrators on the union level will be invited to

participate, as well as representation from the Regional Department of the G.C.

12. In order to provide opportunity for the presidents of Regional Conferences (including the secretary of the Regional Department of the Pacific Union) to consult together regarding problems distinctive to their work, Autumn Councils will schedule two meetings of this group each year, under North American Division administration.

13. The next edition of the ministers' Manual should include as a part of the ministerial candidate's examination before ordination questions regarding the candidates attitude toward human relations.

14. We recommend that the General Conference lay plans to provide literature that would be useful in operating human-relations workshops, setting forth standards, guidelines and procedures in this area.

15. We recommend that the General Conference officers develop some plan whereby reports of progress in human relations may be publicized throughout the constituency in North America on local as well as general levels.

16. We recommend the adoption in principle of the following plan of increased financial relationships involving Regional work:

It is suggested that in addition to funds provided by existing policies and union appropriations for Regional work, a new fund be set up by the General Conference which would be reverted to the unions, who in turn would allocate amounts to the Regional work to be used only for capital improvements and denominational scholarships. The amounts reverted to the unions would be in proportions to tithe income received by the G.C. for each union. The fund would be known as the Regional Capital Reversion Fund.

In practice it comes to 20% or better of the union's tithe share from the Regional churches and we have already recorded administrator's testimony as to its inestimable value.

But all of this has not occurred without some input by laymen. In 1959 Frank Hale asked interested laymen to meet with him in Columbus, Ohio to protest segregation within the church. The organization that evolved The Laymen's leadership Conference of SDA held protest rallies at the 1962 and 1966 General Conference sessions and projected some very ambitious plans, most of which were aborted so as not to hurt the public image of the church at a general session. One most rewarding project was the reprinting of **Southern Work** which contained Mrs. White's original plea **Our Duty to the Colored People**. After Hale was elected president of Oakwood College at the 1966 session, Burrell Scott and Mylas Martin did not continue the militancy of the

organization. This was pursued by the Street brothers who picketed Convention Hall with the International Laymen Action Committee for Concerned Adventists at the 1970 Atlantic City convention. Perhaps like the National Assn. for the Advancement of World-wide Work among Seventh-day Adventists and the National Association for the Advancement of Advent Youth it, The Leadership Conference, had served its purpose. One thing was certain - all could agree - the denomination had found "a better way."

A movement toward greater togetherness at the bench level has begun. Some regional conference members have joined the large city congregations in some sections in noticeable numbers. Some whites are joining regional churches. A notable congregation is the Dale Wright Memorial Church of Allegheny West which has had as high as fifty percent white membership. But in the winter of 1969 a series of events led to a new departure.

Dr. Josephine Benton asked Dr. Lyndrey Niles and me to cooperate in a class on the "Black Experience" in the Sligo Elementary School Adult Education Classes. Niles and I decided to use material from our program "The Afro-American" which we had broadcast over station WAIT and correspondingly the course title was changed to "The Black Experience in the Adventist Church." The classes expanded from the original six weeks to nine weeks as this material was presented. Finally Robert Bainum suggested organizing an integrated congregation. A worship committee of Dr. Benton, Paul Clark, Dr. Niles and I led out in the planning. Upon the assent of Elders N.C. Wilson and Cree Sandefer and the local conference presidents with one exception, they opened the Church of International Brotherhood. First officers were the worship committee as elders, Joe Coleman and Byron McNeil, deacons, Ernest Bradham, clerk, Caroline Crump, treasurer and Jean Brown, first layman to attend, usher.

Several months later Dr. Joseph Rhyne and a medical group of black and white invited me to Nashville to help form a similar group there. Now there are two other bodies, one at Columbia University, another at Loma Linda and one forming at Battle Creek, Michigan. The original group was officially accepted into the Potomac Conference, May 26, 1973, with fifty-one charter members. Dr. Benton was ordained as the first woman local elder in N. America and several months later achieved another first - associate pastor of Sligo Church. Whether this is the beginning of a movement really is not the point which is the rejection of so-called tokenism and regionalism for de facto integration.

One of the features of the Brotherhood church is its after-service meal. It is a blessed communion with all discussing the sermon or news of the church. What a grand privilege to enjoy the fellowship of the brethren.

Some day soon it'll all be over - the service ended if you please, the sound of the great Amen at last re-echoing down the mighty corridors of the universe. All of God's communicants will be asked to dinner. What a great privilege to enjoy the fellowship of the saints. May all of those whose names are found written in this little book and the many unintentionally omitted find a place at that welcome table - some of these days.

Go Down, Moses

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egyptland
Tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go.

When Israel was in Egyptland
Let my people go
Oppressed so hard they could not stand
Let my people go.

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egyptland
Tell old Pharaoh
"Let my people go."

"Thus saith the Lord," bold Moses said,
"Let my people go;
If not I'll smite your first-born dead
Let my people go.

No more shall they in bondage toil,
Let my people go;
Let them come out with Egypt's spoil,
Let my people go."

The Lord told Moses what to do
Let my people go;
To lead the children of Israel through,
Let my people go.

Go down Moses,
Way down in Egyptland,
Tell old Pharaoh,
"Let my people go!"

The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern BLACK ADVENTISTS

Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl

"United Sabbath Day Adventists. An offshoot led by J. K. Humphrey, pastor of a large Negro SDA congregation in the Harlem section of New York City."

Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia



EVEN before Seventh-day Adventists existed as a group, there were blacks in the Advent movement. Early Adventists were strongly anti-slavery, and some of them had actively worked for abolition. But following the end of the Civil War, the church was slow in starting work among black people. By 1894 there were only about fifty black Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, with five organized churches, all in the south.

The first Adventist work among blacks in the east began in New York City in 1902. A black layman named J. H. Carroll, a recent convert from Catholicism, began to hold meetings in a home. He made contacts among Methodist and Baptist churches, and several baptisms resulted.

One of his first converts was James K. Humphrey, an ordained Baptist minister. A native of Jamaica, Humphrey was a natural leader with considerable charisma. He was both a musician and a scholar, with a special talent for organizing people and getting things done. When Carroll's group was formed into a church, Humphrey was chosen to be the pastor.

Under his direction, the work spread rapidly. Humphrey worked in both Manhattan and Brooklyn and founded the First Harlem SDA Church. By 1920 its membership was about 600, and he had also started three other congregations.

Because of his prominence, Humphrey was invited to speak at the 1922 General Conference in San Francisco. He spoke on suffering the evening of May 23. Said Humphrey: "Every man who has ever made up his mind to please God has to suffer. This is God's program."

He went on to tell the story of a man who had encouraged him to break loose from the denomination in 1905. In telling the story, he did not explain the arguments this brother had used. But he did state his answer unequivocally: "I flatly refused to do it . . . I refused then to do it, and I refuse now to do it." Those words would return to haunt him.

Humphrey continued his ministry in New York, baptizing about fifty persons each year. In December, 1924, the Second Harlem Church was officially formed. The future looked bright.

But things were not as ideal as they seemed. Humphrey had become somewhat unhappy working in New York City, and at both the 1918 and 1922 General Conference sessions he had asked to be transferred. Both times he was turned down. Because of his success, the conference wanted him to stay where he was.

At the same time, a change had begun in Humphrey's mind. He had always been concerned about the situation of blacks within the church; his sermon on suffering had made that plain. But thus far he had solidly affirmed his loyalty to the organized church, and made up his mind to accept whatever came. But as time passed and things did not change, his frustration began to build.

The only Seventh-day Adventist institution for blacks in the United States at this time was the Oakwood school, which had become a junior college in April,

During the past academic year JOE MESAR taught history at Woodstock Prep, a free school in Leominster, Massachusetts. TOM DYBDAHL is co-ordinator of the Inner-City Program of the Seventh-day Adventists of Greater Boston.

J. K. Humphrey is white haired man in center of picture.



1917. There were no other schools where blacks were normally admitted. They were not allowed in any Adventist sanitariums or treatment rooms — even as laborers. Blacks had given their tithes and offerings to support these institutions, yet they could not take advantage of the benefits.

In early 1929 the Spring Council met in Washington, D. C. One major item on the agenda was the question of how the work among blacks should be organized. Elder W. H. Green, the Secretary of the Negro Department, had died suddenly the previous October, and his position had remained unfilled.

Humphrey attended the council, along with other black leaders. A majority told the brethren they believed that the best way to work among blacks would be to organize black conferences. In these conferences, they could handle their own money, employ workers, develop institutions, and generally promote the work along their own cultural lines. These conferences would have the same relationship to the General Conference as the white conferences.

The General Conference Committee did not accept the proposal, but neither did they reject it outright. Instead, they appointed a Negro Commission to make a survey of the black constituency and to study the subject of black conferences, and then make a recommendation to the Fall Council. Of the sixteen members on the commission, eleven were white and five were black. Humphrey was appointed as a member.

Fall Council was scheduled for October in Columbus, Ohio. A meeting of the Negro Commission was called just prior to the Council. During the interim, Humphrey had not been asked to confer about the situation, although some of the other commissioners met with the presidents of the various conferences that would be affected. When announcements of the commission meeting were sent out, Humphrey sent word that he was sick and would not attend. Speaking later of the incident, Elder Louis K. Dickson, President of the Greater New York Conference, remarked: "So far as could be found out, his sickness consisted of promoting his own scheme."

That "scheme" was what became known as the Utopia Health Benevolent Association. It was to become the concrete cause of the split and was to bring to the surface the tensions that had long been hidden.

Humphrey had returned from Spring Council with the feeling that the General Conference had "absolutely refused" to accept the recommendation of the black ministers. (He was substantially correct; the Fall Council decided to continue the previous system.) He felt that the only way the needs of the blacks could be met was to start their own program. He began to do precisely that.

His idea was to establish a place owned and operated by blacks, where they could develop their own institutions. He wanted to include an orphanage, a home for



James K. Humphrey protested the subordination of blacks in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Courtesy Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.

the aged, a training school, an industrial area, plus private residences with recreation and health-care facilities. It would be called Utopia Park.

The first plan proposed that Utopia Park would be in Wappingers Falls, N. Y., a resort area south of Poughkeepsie. But when that property was unavailable, they decided to buy the Hosford Estate at Atlantic Highlands, N. J., a small town on the Jersey shore about forty-five miles south of New York City by road.

Humphrey felt certain that if he told the conference what he planned, they would not allow him to do it. He believed that the attitude and the decision of the church at Spring Council had closed the door on separate institutions for blacks, and that if this idea were to become a reality, he would have to do it alone.

So he began to actively promote Utopia Park — without conference knowledge or support. He issued a promotional brochure, calling Utopia Park "The Fortune Spot of America for Colored People." It was to be "absolutely non-sectarian," but would be exclusively for blacks.

The aim, according to the brochure, was to "provide healthful recreation for thousands of colored people who are interested in the care of their bodies and the betterment of their minds." Among the sports advertised were boating, tennis, handball, archery, ice boating, skating, and baseball. Swimming was to be a major attraction, using any of Utopia Park's three lakes — "three beauti-

ful sheets of water that shine like silver cloths in the summer sun. In the large lake there is room for bathing for five thousand people, if necessary."

To finance the project, the estate would be subdivided, and lots sold. To be eligible, a person was required to be "of good moral standing." Lots were 25 by 100 feet, and there would be electricity, gas, and septic tanks. Residence lots were priced at \$600, with corners going for \$650.

The primary need was money, so Humphrey and his congregation began to work. They solicited in the streets, signed up interested people, and sponsored fund-raising events. On October 21, they had a benefit dinner and an "intellectual review," and sold tickets for \$12.50 each. By November, they had raised \$8000, which was deposited in Humphrey's name in the Harlem Branch of the Chelsea Exchange Bank.

But prior to this, the conference president, Elder Dickson, had heard rumors that questionable activities were going on at First Harlem. He was uneasy, because it was not the first problem he had had with the church. Some months earlier, five leaders — not including Elder Humphrey — had come to talk with him about the feelings of the members at First Harlem. They told him that the reason for their decline in financial support was not Humphrey's doing, but an increasing unwillingness on the part of blacks to support institutions that discriminated against them. Dickson, however, still blamed Humphrey, and in anticipation of trouble, a new pastor, Matthew C. Strachan, was brought in to build up the Second Harlem Church.

To find out what was happening, Dickson wrote to Humphrey on August 13.

The report has come that you and the officers of your church are promoting this project among your members, with the object of finally establishing a colored colony, sanitarium, and old people's home. Of course, these are merely reports and I must come to you for facts. . . I am totally in the dark regarding the facts. I would be glad to have you drop me a line, setting me straight on this matter, and giving me any other information which you think will be helpful in explaining what may be going on.

Humphrey replied one week later.

It is true that some of us are interested in this effort to help the colored people realize these institutions which we so sorely need.

It is not a denominational effort, inasmuch as our people are unable to maintain one. I thank you very much for your expressions of kindly interest and your desire to cooperate in this good work, but it is absolutely a problem for the colored people.

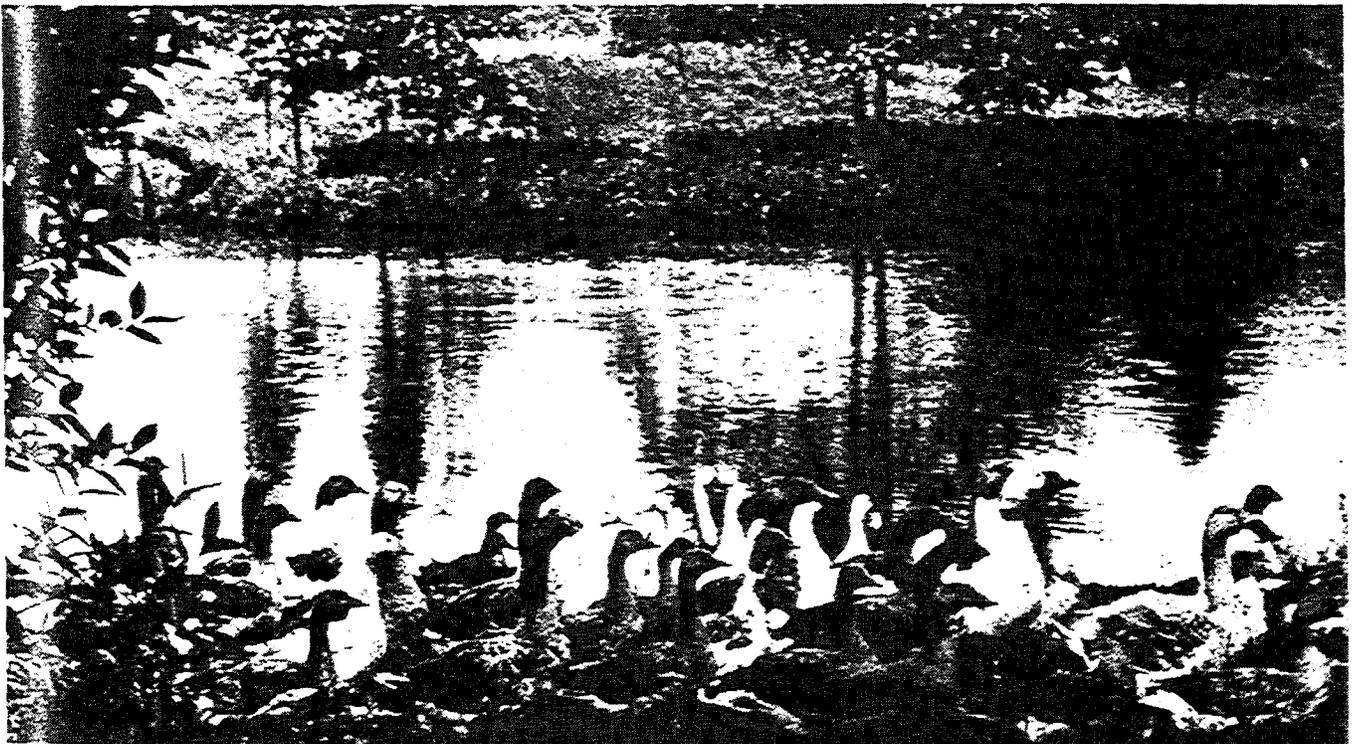
Dickson was very much upset by this answer, and he responded immediately.

I cannot think that you are ignorant or unmindful of your obligations as an employee of the conference to counsel upon such important projects as planning for institutions for our people before such plans are launched in the church of which you are appointed pastor.

I think it is obvious to you from the foregoing that your answer to my letter was entirely unsatisfactory and disappointing. I am, therefore, now repeating my request to you for an explanation of this project which you are launching, as you say, in behalf of the colored people.

Humphrey did not reply. Consequently, Dickson decided to bring the matter up at the conference committee meeting on September 5. Humphrey was present, and according to Dickson, was "given the privilege of asking counsel of his associates in the ministry, but no such request came. A few statements regarding the

The dream of Utopia Park never materialized. Courtesy Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.





New Boulevard and
High School
Leonardo, N. J.

Aims and Purposes

UTOPIA PARK is being designed to provide healthful recreation for thousands of colored people who are interested in the care of their bodies and the betterment of their minds.

To provide a social intercourse that will bring out the best in their natures, thereby creating happiness and contentment.

To allow the creating of an ideal rustic community - - by the provision made for the selling of lots for bungalow and cottage sites. A real country home.

Climatic Conditions

DUE to the elevation of this property and its close proximity to the Ocean, it is continually fanned by breezes during the entire summer.

The health giving Ocean breezes act as a clarifying tonic to those jaded in body and spirit.

It is a well known fact that homes, bordering or near the Ocean have a climate 5 to 10 degrees warmer in winter.

When this Estate was originally laid out by the Hosfords everything was taken into consideration that might tend to ideal living conditions.

THE ridge upon which Utopia Park is situated is the high point in healthful locations of Monmouth County.

project were made, but such a meager statement it was that we were as much in the dark as to the real status of the situation as we were before." After some discussion, they decided to refer the matter to the Atlantic Union Conference Committee, of which Humphrey was also a member. The meeting was to be held on October 27.

Some time before then, the situation became even more troublesome in the eyes of the Greater New York Conference. In order to carry on its regular street solicitation during the Christmas holidays, the conference was required to obtain a permit from the Commissioner of Public Welfare. When one of the employees went down to get the permit, the Commissioner called him

in and asked if he knew James K. Humphrey, and whether or not Humphrey was a Seventh-day Adventist minister. When the man answered yes to both questions, the Commissioner asked him for more information about Humphrey. Reluctant to answer, the man instead made an appointment for Elder Dickson to meet with the Commissioner the next day.

At the meeting, the Commissioner showed Dickson twenty-seven typewritten pages of material that he had collected in a hearing on the Utopia Health Benevolent Association. He said he was surprised that the denomination had not taken any action about one of its representatives being involved in a scheme such as this one. The conference president was embarrassed and felt compromised in the eyes of the Commissioner.

Humphrey did not attend the Union committee meeting on the 27th, but he was the main subject under discussion. After talking over the situation, the committee decided "that we hereby acquaint Elder Humphrey of our disapproval of his course of action in connection with this enterprise, and further that we counsel the Greater New York Conference Committee to revoke his credentials until such time as he shall straighten out this situation in a way that will remove the reproach that his course has brought upon the cause. The vote was unanimous. The action also stated that "we hereby place our unqualified disapproval upon this whole enterprise and solemnly warn our church members to beware of this and all other such projects."

Four days later, on Thursday afternoon, the Greater New York Conference Committee met again, with Elder Humphrey present. They discussed the matter further, and appealed to Humphrey to reconsider, but his mind was made up. So they announced their decision. He was informed that he was no longer a Seventh-day Adventist pastor or a member of the Union and Conference Committees.

The next major step was to explain the decision to the members of the First Harlem Church. At Humphrey's request, a meeting was set for the following Saturday evening, November 2. Elder Dickson was the main speaker, but he brought along plenty of support. The General Conference President, Elder W. A. Spicer, was called up from Washington to attend, along with Elder C. K. Meyers, the Secretary of the General Conference. Elder E. K. Slade, President of the Atlantic Union Conference, was also present.

In his address to the church, Dickson recounted the events leading up to their action regarding Elder Humphrey. He placed the emphasis, not on any specific wrongdoing associated with Utopia Park, but on the attitude of Humphrey and where it was leading. Said he: "We wish to emphasize to you that we are not arguing the merits or demerits of any real estate enterprise, but must insist that the conference cannot allow any of its representatives to commit it to an enterprise which has never been considered by the conference. . .". He contended that Humphrey had used his position and the church's name to promote his own project.

Dickson's strongest appeal was on the subject of church unity.

Throughout all the history of the church, the cause has prospered in direct proportion to the perfection of the organization, and the loyalty of God's people to the same To disregard the most fundamental principles of the organization is to open the gate wide to the assaults of Satan. To trample under foot the body of Christ is to crucify Him afresh and put Him to open shame. This we cannot do and be blessed of heaven.

In his speech, Dickson also sought to refute Humphrey's contention that he had acted because the denomination had not cared for blacks. He pointed out that Humphrey had not waited for the Fall Council to take action on the various recommendations, and rather than joining "in the study of this problem, he has chosen rather to launch an enterprise independent of conference and General Conference counsel." He urged the church members "not to be moved from the truth, and from the relationship which acceptance of the third angel's message involved."

The five-hour meeting was an extremely stormy one. Church officials reported that "conference representatives were constantly interrupted," "strong and loud denunciations of the entire denomination were made," and "a majority of the audience present kept up the wild confusion and uproar in disrespect of the presence, counsel and advice of the leaders of the denomination."

From any viewpoint it was a wild scene. The New York News reported that "the meeting soon became uncontrollable and bid fair to develop into a riot, which was prevented by the quick action of the pastor himself."

One thing, however, was perfectly clear. The church was solidly behind Humphrey. Even the conference men agreed. "It was made very clear by the apparently unanimous vote of the people that the entire church was opposed to the conference The former pastor was upheld and sustained in all his activities and attitude by the membership of the First Harlem Church."

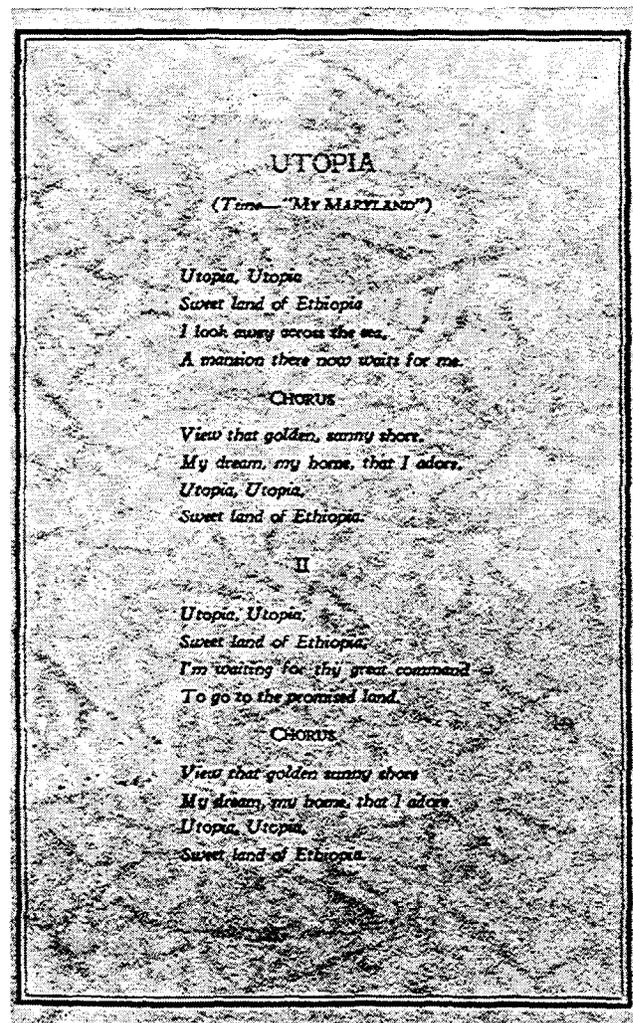
After this meeting, the conference officials decided that they would have to take action on the whole church. On January 14, 1930, there was an Executive Committee meeting of the Greater New York Conference. A resolution was adopted unanimously that they drop "the First Harlem Church from its sisterhood of churches, and that the former First Harlem Church no longer be recognized as a Seventh-day Adventist Church." They also voted that any members who made "public profession of their loyalty to the denomination and of their desire to continue therein" would be organized into a new church.

The committee also voted to send a copy of the resolution to the members of the First Harlem Church. They invited representatives from the church to come to the Biennial Conference starting on January 27 "to present such facts in its defense as it may desire or think

proper." No delegates from First Harlem came to the conference.

Meanwhile, the legal difficulties of the Utopia Park enterprise were being resolved. After completing its investigation, the Welfare Department asked the District Attorney's office to investigate the matter further. On November 16, 1929, the New York World reported on the situation. "Assistant District Attorney Lehman began yesterday an investigation for possible graft in the operation of the Utopia Health Benevolent Association which has been planning a Negro health resort at Wappingers Falls, N. Y."

The investigation continued for about two weeks, and ended on December 3. The reason Lehman closed the investigation, said the New York Times, was because "no complaints of alleged wrongdoings had been brought to him." The World added that "no charges were pending against the promoters or anyone else connected with the association."



Humphrey felt that this was a vindication of his efforts and tried to get the Utopia Park project going again. But there were other difficulties, and the adverse publicity proved to be too much. The remaining money was returned to the investors, and the project was dropped.

Shortly after the incident, both parties issued defenses for their actions. The General Conference was first, publishing a pamphlet entitled "Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey." It was signed by J. L. McElhany, Vice-president of the General Conference for North America.

The pamphlet opened with a lengthy quote from Humphrey's sermon at the 1922 General Conference, in which he had stated that he had "never seen in the Word of God a precedent for any man, under any circumstances whatever — of hardships and trials and troubles, of wrong treatment by his brethren — to turn aside from God's organized plan of work, and succeed." It then went on to recount the SDA view of the events from August, 1929, through January, 1930, that had led to Humphrey's dismissal and the separation of the First Harlem Church.

The statement alleged that one of the reasons that Humphrey had broken away was because he had personal ambitions for himself. He was said to have desired the position of secretary of the General Conference Negro Department, and was "greatly" disappointed when this seemed unlikely. They added that Humphrey "likened himself to Moses, who would lead the colored people of the denomination out of the slavery of white domination into a 'land of promise.'"

In response, Humphrey's supporters issued a pamphlet called "Attitude of the Church." In it, they stated their belief that church leaders felt "that Negroes are incapable of leading and governing themselves in any respect." They claimed that conference officials had gone about trying to ruin Humphrey's reputation because of his attitude. They justified his actions on the grounds that it was the only way anything would be done for blacks within the church.

They strongly denied that Humphrey had any ambitions to be the secretary of the Negro Department. It could not be true, they argued, because he had opposed the idea of continuing the department and had voted instead for black conferences.

Because one of the major issues was the use of funds, the Humphreyites cited conference reports showing how much their church had contributed in tithes and offerings to the work of the church. They felt they had been treated unfairly.

It is very evident that during all these years in which the colored people have been associated in conference relationship with the white people, their funds have been drained and depleted without disposition on the part of the white presidents to give them an equal chance in developing talent along all cultural lines in this denomination. These funds should have been used to develop the work among colored people.

The General Conference had anticipated this charge, since it had been one of the sore points all along. And shortly after he had lost his credentials, Humphrey had declared in a newspaper article that the Seventh-day Adventists were doing nothing for colored people. It was a charge that needed to be answered.

To refute this accusation, the General Conference statement contained an article by Elder R. A. Ogden, president of the Antillian Union Conference. Ogden spoke at length of the support and help the church had given to the work for black people outside the United States, but made no reference at all to the contributions for blacks in North America. He, too, emphasized the unity theme: "We cannot think that you will allow yourselves to be deceived and led to follow any man who leads out on the pathway of rebellion and opposition to this great movement."

In closing, the statement included a listing of the actions taken at the 1929 Autumn Council affecting the North American Negro Department. There were a large number of recommendations, but the basic structure remained unchanged. There would be no black conferences, and black officials would continue to be under the control of white conference leadership.

Some of the other recommendations of the Autumn Council were particularly interesting. One provided for study to be given to establish a school for training colored youth. The stated purpose was so that they could "receive a Christian education without embarrassment to anyone." With regard to medical training, it was asked that "where possible" our sanitariums accept colored young people into the nurses training course. There was no mention of medical school.

No doubt Humphrey would have been amused by this last recommendation. The last part of his defense contained two letters that blacks had received refusing them admission to Adventist institutions.

One was written by Martha Borg, director of the School of Nursing at the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University). In the letter, dated January 8, 1929, she informed Mrs. Beryl Holness, a black, that

we do not see our way clear to accept you to the nurses course because of your nationality. We have had some difficulty in training students of your nationality before. While they may have done very excellent work in many ways, yet many complications have arisen in connection with their training which, we feel, would not have arisen in institutions and schools of nursing further north.

The other letter was from Harvey A. Morrison, president of Union College. Writing to a Mr. J. E. Jervis, on August 22, 1919, he stated: "It is not our policy generally to receive colored students outside our own territory unless there is some very special reason why this should be done." Then he further clarified their position: "Ordinarily we do not have colored students in our school, even from our own territory."

The letters alone were eloquent arguments, but by

this time most of the controversy had been played out. After the church was dropped from the conference, they formed a new organization. The First Harlem Church became the United Sabbath Day Adventist Church, with J. K. Humphrey as bishop. For a time there was strong support for Humphrey among black Adventists, but much of it gradually died out. George E. Peters, who had been chosen as the new secretary of the Negro Department, was sent to Harlem to help stabilize the situation. Under his direction, the Second Harlem Church became the Ephesus Church and grew rapidly.

The last act of the drama centered around the former First Harlem Church building at 141 West 131st Street. The church went to court, trying to get the deed to the property, since they had paid for most of it. A lower court ruled in their favor, but the State Supreme Court overruled the decision. They were told that the only way they could keep the building would be to return to the conference. Forced to choose once again between the church and their pastor, they opted for the latter.

Shortly afterwards, the conference sold the church to a Baptist congregation. Meanwhile, the Sabbath Day Adventists were looking for a place to meet. Ironically, their first regular place of meeting after the split was their old home church. They rented it on Sabbaths from the Baptists.

With the conclusion of the law suit over the church property, Humphrey's formal dealings with the church came to an end. The effect of his actions, however, had a wide-ranging influence on the main Adventist body in its efforts to minister to America's blacks.

For one thing, the Utopia Park controversy dramatically underlined the point that the problem of church race relations was national in scope. No one solution could apply to every local situation.

Humphrey's departure drew attention to the difficulties facing blacks in the North. In turn, the dispute surrounding his church was a clear indication that the "Negro work" could no longer be regarded largely in Southern terms.

This view, forged during the 1880's and '90's, was an understandable one. At that time most blacks lived in the Southern states. The church naturally concentrated its missionary efforts for black people in the area below the Mason-Dixon line.

The Southern Missionary Society, formed by James Edson White in 1895, was the first organization set up by the church to promote the gospel among the nation's blacks. The Society's journal, the *Gospel Herald*, graphically described the economic and spiritual needs of blacks in the Mississippi Delta. Edson White recruited Northerners to move South to help operate mission schools throughout the Black Belt. So completely were efforts for the black man identified with the Southern setting that Ellen White's thin volume on the subject was entitled *The Southern Work*.

The beginning of the Adventist work in the South virtually coincided with the passage of the famous Jim Crow laws. These laws sharply reduced the black man's social and political rights and enforced a system of rigid race segregation. The fact that the church's first sustained ministry for black people began in the South in the 1890's meant that the pattern of Adventist race relations was set in an area and at a time of great hostility and conflict.

This conflict severely hindered the work of the fledgling Southern Missionary Society. Its leaders tried to avoid confrontation on the race issue to preserve the fragile beginnings they had made among the black population. Gradually a system of separate churches developed in the South.

The Society faced other problems. Most serious among them was a lack of general support among white Adventists in the North. A number of white leaders, notably Ellen White, urged that the work for blacks be given greater attention, but this was not done.

In 1891, she wrote: "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people." Over a decade later, she noted that the money spent for this purpose was still inadequate.

The work to be done for the colored race is a large work, and calls for a large outlay of means. My heart aches as I look over the matter that has already been printed on this subject, but which upon many minds has no more weight than a straw. Like the priest and the Levite, men have looked indifferently on the most pitiful picture, and have passed by on the other side.

In 1915, at the time of Ellen White's death, the work among blacks in the South was still meeting opposition in many quarters. Throughout the early 1900's, the "Southern field" always existed on a tenuous basis, never quite moving to the center of the church's missionary concern.

The organization of the Negro Department in 1909 was an attempt to remedy this situation. It was to oversee the opening of new territory, publish reports on the progress of the Negro work, and in general represent the needs of black Adventists at the General Conference level. A white man, John W. Christian, was chosen as the department's first secretary. An executive committee, including J. K. Humphrey, was formed, and an initial appropriation of \$40,000 was granted.

Until 1918, when W. H. Green was appointed secretary, the Negro Department was administered by white men. This same pattern held true on the local conference level as well. In the South a bi-racial Negro committee handled the affairs of the black membership. In practice, however, this group merely ratified decisions reached previously by the all-white conference committee.

In the North, a few black ministers like Humphrey sat on conference and union committees. These men

Continued on Page 53

UTOPLA PARK, from Page 41

had a somewhat greater opportunity to influence actions taken concerning their churches. Humphrey's pamphlet leaves little doubt that in his mind, at least, this arrangement did not satisfactorily meet the needs of black congregations.

This, then, was the organizational background against which the events of 1929 occurred. Despite the dedicated service of many whites, the black work in the Adventist church was generally regarded as an area of secondary importance. Its main focus was in the South. Its organizational structure was based on the Southern experience. Beyond the local church level, it was rarely administered by blacks themselves.

Humphrey wanted to reverse these trends. As early as 1909, he had appealed for funds for Harlem in the pages of the *Review and Herald*. He also had repeatedly urged that blacks be provided with a greater share of the church's funding and personnel. His proposal for the formation of black conferences was designed to bring about these changes. In addition, the black conferences would insure indigenous leadership for black institutions.

It is likely that Humphrey's desire for greater autonomy for black churches was reinforced by the trends within the black community at large. The 1920's brought a resurgence of black nationalist feeling in Harlem, most vividly seen in Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement. In his pamphlet Humphrey concluded with a passage from a Claude McKay poem, calling his people to stand "like a strong tree against a thousand storms." McKay was one of the leading figures in the black literary revival known as the Harlem Renaissance.

In turn, the actions of the First Harlem Church received considerable publicity in the black community. In the black press the church's split from the Greater New York Conference was pictured as part of the black man's larger crusade against white injustice.

Within the church, the influence of Humphrey's ideas continued long after the First Harlem Church was disfellowshipped. Because of Humphrey's successful ministerial career and his prominence in the denomination, his arguments could not be dismissed out of hand. The leadership, as we have seen, took great care in preparing its response to questions concerning the affair.

The impact of the schism was even more powerful for black Adventists. The charges of discrimination raised by Humphrey could not be ignored. His plan for black conferences, once it was separated from the Utopia Park incident, gained support among black clergy and laymen.

F. L. Bland, E. E. Cleveland, and W. W. Fordham, black ministers currently associated with the General Conference, have stated that Humphrey's break with

the church was the catalyst that sparked demands for the regional conference system. Humphrey's struggle left blacks with a single concrete goal around which to organize.

Despite their efforts, the change did not come until 1944. It was precipitated by a concrete instance of discrimination. In the previous year, a black woman was refused admission to the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital. Spurred by this incident, a group of black laymen, led by Joseph Dodson and Addison Pinkney, issued a pamphlet containing a list of grievances. This *ad hoc* committee proposed sweeping changes in church policy.

Their recommendations included many of Humphrey's earlier concerns. For example, the black laymen urged fairness in church hiring practices, and in the admission policies of Adventist schools and hospitals. They pressed the question of black conferences with arguments reminiscent of 1929. Going even further, they requested an end to segregated facilities at the General Conference Headquarters.

Because of the pressure exerted for these changes, the General Conference scheduled a special series of meetings to discuss the whole issue. These sessions were held in conjunction with the Spring Council of 1944.

At that time, the black conference idea was thoroughly debated. Some whites opposed the plan, desiring to retain the status quo. A number of blacks agreed with them. Some of these men favored integration at all levels and suggested that separate conferences would defeat that goal.

In the end, the influence of the General Conference President, J. L. McElhany, proved decisive. McElhany, who had compiled the church's defense against Humphrey, now became the most effective white spokesman for the plan. He argued forcefully that blacks who pastored large churches supervised a bigger membership than some white conferences. With McElhany's support, the black conference resolution passed. Later in that year, after local approval was obtained, the first black conferences were organized.

The blacks in the Atlantic Union, Humphrey's old territory, were united into the Northeastern Conference. In the mid-fifties, some of the officers of the conference made an attempt to bring the Sabbath Day Adventist Church back into the main organization. William Samuels, Humphrey's successor as bishop, invited the conference president to present the idea to his congregation. The appeal was made in a Sabbath sermon that emphasized the need to forget old differences. Nevertheless the church voted overwhelmingly against the merger.

In part, this rejection stemmed from a feeling that the black conferences were not nearly so independent as Humphrey envisioned. In particular, the limits placed on local conference financial policy by the General Conference were unacceptable to the Sabbath

Day group. An even bigger obstacle was the fact that in the intervening years Humphrey's followers had rejected Ellen White as a divinely inspired messenger.

Despite the acceptance of many of their ideas by the larger church, the Sabbath Day Adventists have not been concerned with influencing the church from outside. Instead they have been consistently occupied with the survival and growth of their own church.

They encountered problems almost immediately after the split. One faction within the church soon broke off over personal difficulties with Bishop Humphrey. A small remnant of this group with nearly identical beliefs still meets on 138th Street in Harlem.

After renting from the Baptists at their old location for some time, the Sabbath Day Adventists acquired a home of their own on 135th Street. This building allowed the members a greater range of services and activities. They remained there until after Humphrey's death in 1952. When the City of New York bought the building for \$135,000, the group was forced to move again.

At this point there was much disagreement about the proper course of action for the church. Most of the members, led by Samuels, favored buying property with the money from the recent sale and building a new church from the ground up. A sizable minority opposed this plan and also Samuels' proposal to use tithe money for the construction of the church. Rather, they wanted to purchase an apartment building and remodel it into a small worship hall. Failing to persuade the rest of the membership, this smaller group split off and relocated in the Bronx. This group still exists, although they have had to borrow money from Samuels' church in order to survive.

Bishop Samuels and the main congregation bought land on 110th Street and built on it their present church for \$144,000. It was completed in 1955. A low stone structure facing Central Park, it is the only black Adventist church in New York constructed and financed by its own membership.

In 1956 this congregation united with another small Adventist company to form the Unification Association of Christian Sabbath-keepers. The Association now has members in Trinidad, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Antigua, and Nigeria.

Bishop Samuels, a native of Antigua himself, is still a vigorous pastor at 81 years of age. It was our privilege to hear him preach on the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Unification Association. It was a powerful sermon full of Christian hope, faith in the Scriptures, and an urgent sense of mission. It was a sermon that any Seventh-day Adventist preacher would have been proud to deliver.

In this way and many others the services at 110th Street are similar to those one might attend a few blocks farther north at the Ephesus Church. There are, of

course, differences. Sabbath School classes, for example, are conducted with the aid of the Unification Tutor. This small pamphlet is a kind of stripped-down Sabbath School Quarterly, done in question and answer style, without the Ellen White quotations.

On one of the Sabbaths that we visited, a young man walked into the church off the street. After being greeted by the deacons, he left briefly and returned with his wife and small child. At the end of the service a deacon appealed to the congregation for money to help the young man and his small family through difficult times. The deacon prayed for the couple and then handed them the special offering just collected. The young man could barely express his thanks when he was surrounded by members wishing him well and asking him to return. Whether he did or not, the spontaneous gift was a moving moment that is hard to forget.

This incident reveals a good deal about the Sabbath Day Adventists today. Most of the members are not really concerned about the church's tumultuous past. Few of them, in fact, are aware of the events of 1929. Rather they seem determined to improve the church's quality of life in 1973. □

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STATEMENT
Regarding the Present Standing
of
ELDER J. K. HUMPHREY



Published by
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Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey

Numerous inquiries have come to us regarding the present standing of the Harlem Number One Church in New York City, and also regarding the relationship of Elder J. K. Humphrey to the Greater New York Conference.

In order to supply the information in answer to these inquiries we are presenting in the following pages a number of statements bearing on this matter.

On the 3rd of May during the 1922 session of the General Conference Elder Humphrey was invited to preach to the entire session of this world gathering. In the course of his sermon he said:

"I have determined, my friends, like the Apostle Paul, I shall allow nothing to separate me from the love of God—nothing!

"In 1905, a brother came to my house and urged me to cut loose from this the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. That man was about twenty years my senior. I flatly refused to do it. I had been only three years in the truth. I refused then to do it and I refuse now to do it. I gave him my reason. I told him that I had never seen in the Word of God a precedent for any man, under any circumstances whatever—of hardships and trials and troubles, of wrong treatment by his brethren—never a precedent for any man to turn aside from God's organized plan of work, and succeed. I therefore said, 'I cannot go with you.'

"That brother went away, and the next thing I heard of him, he had written a letter to the General Conference, withdrawing from this denomination. There is nothing to his movement today. Since that time, others white and black, have apostatized from this denomination; and some have come up to New York City and endeavored to split that large church in two. There are four colored churches in the Greater New York Conference, under my supervision. Not eight men have left that conference to connect with the apostate movement. Backsliders, disgruntled members, and those who have been of absolutely no use to the church, found a home there. And only that kind of people can dwell with apostasy. Men and women who love the truth and honor the cause of Christ cannot afford to lower the standard of truth and righteousness, and no man can ever dwell and live in apostasy unless he tells that which is not true. Apostasy is built up on falsehood. . . .

"Every man has his difficulty. Every man has his trouble, and every man suffers. There is not a Christian in this building tonight who has not suffered. Presidents of the General Conference, secretaries, every secretary of every department, has been a sufferer. Presidents of unions, presidents of local conferences, pastors of churches, every man of God, high or low, rich or poor, white or black, every man who becomes a child of God, suffers; and we shall meet on that one common platform. There is a bond of unity and a bond of sympathy, because we are pilgrims and strangers here below."

During 1929 Elder Humphrey became engaged in a real estate promotion and colonization enterprise that resulted in an investigation by the authorities of New York City. Our conference leaders were called in by the authorities and questioned as to their responsibility in permitting one of their ministers to engage in such an enterprise. However, before our brethren knew anything about the fact that he was under investigation by the city authorities, they endeavored to give him counsel regarding the danger of his course. This counsel he refused to accept. The matter was referred to the Atlantic Union Conference Committee for study and counsel. This committee met the 27th of October, 1929. In spite of the earnest endeavors of the brethren to secure his presence at this meeting, he refused to attend; whereupon the union committee took action advising the Greater New York Conference Committee to revoke his credentials until such time as he desisted from the course that he was following.

Before the recommendations of the union committee were put into effect by the Greater New York Conference Committee, Elder E. K. Slade, president of the Atlantic Union Conference, with other members of the Union Committee, sought a personal interview with Elder Humphrey. They earnestly entreated him to desist from the course he was following and to work in harmony with the counsel of his brethren. He spurned all their appeals and refused to heed their counsel and indicated his determination to follow the course he had chosen.

It was then arranged for Elder L. K. Dickson, president of the Greater New York Conference, to meet with the First Harlem Church and to present the actions of the Union and Local Conference Committee. This meeting was held Nov. 2, 1929. Elder Dickson was accompanied by Elder E. K. Slade, president of the Atlantic Union, and Elder Andrews and Brother Macmillan of the Greater New York Conference, and Elders W. A. Spicer and C. K. Meyers of the General Conference.

The following statement was read to the church by Elder Dickson:

ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE FIRST HARLEM CHURCH
RE: J. K. HUMPHREY

November 2, 1929

We have come to you upon the invitation of the church to talk over with you as brethren a matter which is of great importance to you and to us and to the cause of God. We are glad to have this privilege of meeting with you, and especially to have with us on this occasion representatives from the General and Union Conferences, as well as our own local conference. These brethren are here to assure you of their interest in the welfare of this church, and to express to you their feelings and convictions regarding the future of the work in Harlem, as well as the present situation which confronts you.

Our first concern at this time is regarding some very recent developments which involve your pastor, Elder J. K. Humphrey, one of our ministering brethren whom we all love and regard as a man of large ability, and who, in times past, has been greatly blessed of God in his evangelistic and pastoral work. I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of us all as leaders in the work of God when I say that our hearts have been made sad to learn of some efforts which Brother Humphrey has been making in connection with a project involving large sums of money to be invested in real estate. This sadness has not come to us simply because of the speculative deal with which he seems to be dangerously involved, but especially because of his attitude toward the denomination which he has been willing to represent as a minister, as seen by his disregard for the well-established policies and regulations of the denomination.

As a denomination, we have counted as one of our most sacred legacies and our most potent weapons against the assaults of the enemy of all truth the harmony and unity brought to God's great cause, by His Spirit, through the organization of the body of Christ, which is one. Throughout all the history of the church, the cause has prospered in direct proportion to the perfection of the organization, and the loyalty of God's people to the same. Without that loyalty to God's plan of organization, the cause would find itself face to face with a foe, deeply entrenched and organized to the last point for individual and concerted action. The safety and success of the great closing work of the remnant church, to whom has been vouchsafed the sounding of the third angel's message throughout the world, is very vitally connected with the attitude of our ministers and people to the organized body of Christ. To disregard the most fundamental principles of the organization is to open the gate wide to the assaults of Satan. To trample under foot the body of Christ is to crucify Him afresh and put Him to open shame. This we cannot do and be blessed of heaven. This course cannot be tolerated

by any true lovers of God's truth and who have any conception of the sacredness of that for which the church is responsible before God.

Because of some of these things, it has been necessary for our local conferences to take notice of recent developments in connection with one of its employees, whom they had appointed as pastor of this church. These developments, so far as the real estate proposition is concerned, you are familiar with, but I fear that you are not so familiar with the attitude which Brother Humphrey has manifested toward these supremely important and vital principles to which I have just referred, and which has caused us to take decided action which we are here to announce to you as a church tonight.

Before reading to you the action which we have felt impelled to take in order to preserve the integrity of the cause we all love best, let me first of all recount to you the steps which have led up to the much-to-be-deplored crisis to which we have come.

It was sometime in August, I believe, that my attention as president of the conference was first called to a plan which was reported to have been launched by Brother Humphrey through his church and to some extent from his pulpit to establish a colony and certain institutions connected therewith in a place called Wappingers Falls, N. Y., about seven miles this side of Poughkeepsie. Since that time, we understand that the Wappingers Falls project has been abandoned and the movement transferred to Atlantic Highlands, N. J. Soon after hearing these things, I wrote Elder Humphrey as follows:

"August 13, 1929

"Elder J. K. Humphrey
141 W. 131st Street
New York, N. Y.

"Dear Brother Humphrey:

"Recently information has come to me regarding a plan which you are said to be connected with in connection with some property matter in the Upstate.

"The report has come that you and the officers of your church are promoting this project among your members, with the object of finally establishing a colored colony, sanitarium, and old people's home. Of course these are merely reports and I must come to you for facts. Naturally, questions arise and criticisms are offered, and I am in no position to disillusion anybody's mind upon it as long as I am totally in the dark regarding the facts. I would be glad to have you drop me a line, setting me straight on this matter, and giving me any other information which you think will be helpful in explaining what may be going on.

"Assuring you of my sincere desire to cooperate in every good thing, with kindest regards, I remain

"Sincerely your brother,"

Following is the letter I received in reply from Elder Humphrey:

"August 20, 1929

"Elder Louis K. Dickson
120 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

"My dear Brother:

"Your letter of the 13th inst. came to hand. I was very glad to hear from you. I understand from your letter that you were informed of a project on foot in the purchase of some property up State by the colored people, upon which a sanitarium and old folks' home are to be built, and in which I and some of my members are interested.

"It is true that some of us are interested in this effort to help the colored people realize these institutions which we so sorely need.

"It is not a denominational effort, inasmuch as our people are unable to maintain one. I thank you very much for your expression of kindly interest and your desire to cooperate in this good work, but it is absolutely a problem for the colored people.

"With best regards, I remain

"Yours sincerely,

(Signed) "J. K. Humphrey"

Under date of August 26, 1929, I wrote my second letter to Elder Humphrey as follows:

"Elder J. K. Humphrey
141 West 131st Street
New York City

"Dear Brother Humphrey:

"Since receiving your letter of August 20th, in response to mine of the 13th instant, it has been difficult for me to believe that you can feel it proper to launch any such plan as you mentioned without the knowledge, counsel, or consent of your associates in the ministry and in the conference. I cannot think that you are ignorant or unmindful of your obligations as an employee of the conference to counsel upon such important projects as planning for institutions for our people before such plans are launched in the church of which you are appointed pastor.

"Am I to understand by your response to my letter that you are intentionally withholding from the president of the conference the facts which he requested from you? And further, am I to conclude by your statement 'it is absolutely a problem for the colored people' that definite and detailed information of the plan cannot or is not to be given to the conference by the one who, in launching the plan,

takes advantage of his credentials given to him by the conference and accepted by him on the basis upon which they are issued?

"I think it is obvious to you from the foregoing that your answer to my letter was entirely unsatisfactory and disappointing. I am, therefore, now repeating my request to you for an explanation of this project which you are launching, as you say, in behalf of the colored people. If this is not a denominational effort, will you kindly inform me as to what kind of an organization, outside of the denomination, this is, the interests of which you have felt free to promote through your pulpit?

"Trusting that you will favor me with an early reply, and with kindest personal regards, I remain

"Sincerely your brother,"

Having failed entirely in my efforts to get Brother Humphrey to counsel with the conference, as any conference employee should, there was no other recourse for me to take than to bring the matter before the conference committee, which I did on September 5. At that time Elder Humphrey was again given the privilege of asking counsel of his associates in the ministry, but no such request came. A few statements regarding the real estate project were made, but such a meager statement it was that we were as much in the dark as to the real status of the situation as we were before. After counselling with the president of the union conference, who was present at that meeting, the committee finally took action to refer the whole matter to the Atlantic Union Conference Committee for counsel, inasmuch as Elder Humphrey was a member of that committee which was the higher body.

Between September 5 and the date of the union committee meeting, October 27, it became necessary for us to apply to the Commissioner of Public Welfare for another permit for street solicitation which we have been carrying on during the Christmas holidays for the last two years. When one of our office employees took our application to the Public Welfare Commissioner, he was called over to one side and shown a number of publications which had been placed in his hands, which advertised the Wappingers Falls project, having the picture of Elder Humphrey on them and his name printed as Rev. J. K. Humphrey, Trustee. The Commissioner asked our young man if he knew this man Humphrey. He said he did. Then he was asked if Elder Humphrey was a minister of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He said, "Yes." "Well," said the Commissioner, "Tell me what you know about him." The young man said he would prefer to have the conference men do that. So the Commissioner said, "Have them come to this office at eleven o'clock tomorrow." The next day Brother Macmillan and myself went down, and the Commissioner placed before us 27 pages of closely

typewritten matter on full legal sized paper which reported what had been brought out through a hearing which the Commissioner had conducted for several days. He told us that the situation looked very serious. He seemed to be much surprised that the denomination had not taken any action regarding its representative who was carrying on such a business as he had found in the investigation of the Utopia Benevolent Association. Of course, we were embarrassed, because we had taken no action, and had been refused the information which we tried to get from Elder Humphrey. This, of course, compromised us in the eyes of this public official.

On October 27 the union committee took the question under advisement. After careful and sympathetic study, taking all angles into consideration and after repeatedly trying without success to get Elder Humphrey to attend the meeting, it was finally voted to recommend a certain course of action to our local committee. This was presented to our brethren here in New York, and the following action was taken, which is an exact copy of that taken by the union committee:

'WHEREAS, during the recent weeks a serious situation has developed in connection with the work of Elder J. K. Humphrey, whereby it becomes evident from his own public advertisements, that he is engaged in a speculative real estate development, and

'WHEREAS, it is contrary to the established policies of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination for its ministers to engage in such enterprises or sidelines; and

'WHEREAS, up to the present time he has declined to make any satisfactory explanation of his course to the Greater New York Conference Committee, and

'WHEREAS, this situation is of such a serious nature that we hereby place our unqualified disapproval upon this whole enterprise and solemnly warn our church members to beware of this and all other such projects; and

'WHEREAS, we disapprove the course of action taken by Elder J. K. Humphrey in entering upon this enterprise that bids fair to involve him in legal action, and which brings the cause into disrepute; and

'WHEREAS, Elder J. K. Humphrey has refused to attend regularly called committee meetings, and after repeated efforts to get in personal touch with him regarding these serious matters have proven unsuccessful and seemingly thwarted; therefore,

'Resolved, That we hereby acquaint Elder Humphrey of our disapproval of his course of action in connection with this enterprise, and further that we counsel the Greater New York Conference Committee to revoke his credentials until such time as he shall straighten out this situation in a way that will remove the reproach that his course has brought upon the cause.

"Voted, Unanimously by all present to adopt the recommendation as the resolution of this conference committee."

Upon my return to the city, a committee meeting was called on last Thursday afternoon, at which time the announcement of this action was made to Brother Humphrey, and this meeting tonight was called at his request so that we might inform you as a church body of our decision.

This action, however, was not read to our brother until after the most earnest efforts had been made by the brethren of our committee, and by Elders Slade and Jones, of the union committee, who met with us at the suggestion of the union committee members, to help Elder Humphrey to see his mistake and to let him know that we as his brethren would do all we could to help him if he would but turn from the course he has taken. This strong plea to his heart failed, as had all our efforts recently to counsel him. There was, therefore, nothing left for us to do than to announce to him our action. It was further explained to him that this action in revoking his credentials meant discontinuing his ministry as a representative of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, discontinuing his pastorate to which he had been appointed by the conference, and also the dropping of his name from membership of the Union and Greater New York Conference Committees.

Now, Elder Humphrey represents that he has taken this course which he has pursued because the denomination had not cared for his people. I think I should at this time point out to you that Elder Humphrey did not wait for the denomination to decide what they could do before he launched into this present deal. At the time of the Spring Council of the General Conference all of the leaders of our colored work in America were called to meet with the General Conference Committee in studying the proposition of the advisability of organizing colored conferences. Elder Humphrey was present and remained through the meeting. Let it be noted that this Spring Meeting did not turn down the proposition of the colored ministry, but rather, seeing that there were grave problems to solve in connection with the plan, appointed a Negro Commission made up of both colored and white leaders to make a survey and study through the question, and bring a recommendation to the Fall Council for action. Upon this Commission Elder Humphrey was appointed as a member.

A meeting of this commission was called for just prior to the Fall Council to meet in Columbus, Ohio. Elder Humphrey received an announcement of this meeting, but failed to appear. A special request was sent to him from the meeting, but he still did not appear but stated he was sick. We greatly regret that Brother Humphrey did not see fit to join us in the study of this problem, but has chosen

rather to launch an enterprise independent of conference and General Conference counsel. I'm sure that it will appeal to all our brethren and sisters that it would be impossible to maintain order if each minister chose to follow such a course.

You can readily see that the conference itself is involved in any project of this kind launched by one of its representatives. All of us work under counsel, and seek to represent the conference in whatever affairs may be thought to minister to the welfare of our members. It is impossible that we should divide and work independently. We have, therefore, appealed to Brother Humphrey to reconsider his course, and to work in harmony with the counsels of the committee placed in charge of the conference activities of which he himself has been a member. We still appeal to him to reconsider. We appeal also to the Seventh-day Adventist believers of this church to take their stand as loyal supporters of order and organization in the church of Christ. Our allegiance is to God and to His church, and not to any individual. In all our history it has been demonstrated repeatedly that prosperity does not attend any group which severs its connection with the body of which Christ is the head. We plead with the brethren and sisters not to be moved from the truth, and from the relationship which acceptance of the third angel's message involves.

We wish to emphasize to you that we are not arguing the merits or demerits of any real estate enterprise, but must insist that the conference cannot allow any of its representatives to commit it to an enterprise which has never been considered by the conference. The world itself holds every organization for what its representatives do, and this lays upon every representative the responsibility of placing all such matters under the counsel of the organization.

By a majority action the church decided to uphold Elder Humphrey in the schismatic and rebellious attitude he had taken toward the conference. They immediately broke off all relations with the conference. Elder Humphrey's name began to appear in the columns of many newspapers throughout the country. In many cases the editors of these papers did not take the pains to discover whether the sensational and highly colored stories they were printing were the truth or not. In some cases they printed articles from our loyal colored workers contradicting the statements they had previously published.

The church continued in a state of open rebellion up to the time of the regular session of the Greater New York Conference, which was held Jan. 27 and 28, 1930. Elder Dickson had prepared a statement on the situation, which he read to the delegates in conference session. In some particulars this statement is a repetition of the statement he read to the Harlem Church. It is given here in full.

The Conference Committee also prepared a series of resolutions which they presented to the conference session for its consideration. The statement and resolutions are as follows:

STATEMENT RE:
FIRST HARLEM CHURCH

The present situation in the First Harlem Church and the relationship of its former pastor, James K. Humphrey, call for some statement of facts before this delegation. Inasmuch as our conference committee, upon the approval and counsel of the General and Union Conferences, found itself compelled in duty to the work to withdraw credentials from the former pastor of the Harlem Number One Church, and largely as a consequence of this action the present situation in the church developed, it is fitting that you should know the reasons which made necessary our decision to withdraw Brother Humphrey's credentials.

During the past year the desire of the colored ministry of the denomination for the formation of colored conferences had been made known to the General Conference. At the time of the Spring Council of the General Conference held in Washington, this request of the colored brethren was studied with all of the leading colored ministers of the denomination present. Brother Humphrey was present and took an active part in sponsoring this plan. Prior to this meeting, Elder W. H. Green, the secretary of the Negro Department of the General Conference, had died, thus leaving a vacancy in the heading up of the colored work in America. Who should fill this vacancy was also to be considered in connection with this Spring Council meeting.

We were told that it was understood among the colored ministers and some of the colored constituency during the meeting and after, Brother Humphrey had ambitions for the position of secretary of the General Conference Negro Department. At the Spring Council it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that Humphrey would not be the one selected. This appeared to disappoint him greatly. At this meeting the colored conference idea was studied most carefully and sympathetically by the General Conference Committee. The problems seemed so great, however, to the minds of the Committee that it was agreed by all present, colored and white that a Negro Commission should be formed to make a survey of facts and figures of the colored work, and bring a recommendation to the Fall Council to be held in Columbus, Ohio. Brother Humphrey was named as a member of this Commission.

Brother Humphrey, however, while leaving the Spring Council in full harmony with this commission plan, so far as we could see, went right back to Harlem and launched his own plan for solving the

matter which involved a speculative real estate scheme supposedly sponsored by what was called the Utopia Benevolent Association. This scheme held out before the First Harlem members and others a colored colony in which our believers and others were solicited to buy lots on the installment plan, payment for which was to be made to J. K. Humphrey only. Institutions, such as sanitarium, industrial school, old people's home, etc., were promised. All these things he represented to his congregation the dominating white men of this denomination had refused to the colored people. While this charge was made to influence his congregation, as well as the colored people generally, he professed to be promoting his scheme as a non-sectarian proposition. The first location for his Utopia was Wappingers Falls, about seven miles from Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Opposition of adjoining property owners caused him to relocate his proposed Utopia in Atlantic Highlands, N. J.

It was reported that Humphrey likened himself to Moses, who would lead the colored people of the denomination out of the slavery of white domination into a "land of promise." Without waiting for the denomination to accomplish the thing they had started to do for the colored people, in which Brother Humphrey was asked to help, he launched this ill-conceived independent personal plan. This he did while the Negro Commission in Columbus, Ohio, was calling for his attendance. The brethren of the General Conference hesitated to proceed without his counsel, and repeated their call for his help. He sent word that he was sick. So far as could be found out, his sickness consisted of promoting his own scheme, for during this time he conducted meetings to promote his Utopia in our church and filled his pulpit.

Prior to the Columbus meeting, and sometime in August of last year, the attention of the conference was first called to this proposed plan involving the real estate development and the gathering of the money of our people to back it.

Now, let us notice here that there has come to this people very definite instruction concerning such an independent course as our brother had chosen, found in the Spirit of Prophecy, as follows:

"There have ever been in the church those who are constantly inclined toward individual independence. They seem unable to realize that independence of spirit is liable to lead the human agent to have too much confidence in himself, and to trust in his own judgment, rather than to respect the counsel and highly esteem the judgment of his brethren, especially of those in the office that God has appointed for the leadership of His people. God has invested His church with special authority and power, which no one can be justified in disregarding and despising; for he who does this despises the voice of God.

"Those who are inclined to regard their individual judgment as supreme are in grave peril. It is Satan's studied effort to separate such ones from those who are channels of light, through whom God has wrought to build up and extend His work in the earth. To neglect or despise those whom God has appointed to bear the responsibilities of leadership in connection with the advancement of the truth, is to reject the means He has ordained for the help, encouragement and strength of His people. For any worker in the Lord's cause to pass these by, and to think that his light must come through no other channel than directly from God, is to place himself in a position where he is liable to be deceived by the enemy and overthrown."—*Gospel Workers,* pp. 443, 444.

The principles involved in this whole matter are so vital and far-reaching that we can do no better than to give consideration to the writings of one of our own authors, who has also written upon the danger of independent action. We quote from this writer as follows:

"In our form of church organization into which the Lord had led us, both by application of Bible principles and by instruction of the Spirit of Prophecy, it is recognized that as the Scripture says, 'No man liveth unto himself.' We are members of one another. Just as the believers in the one faith join together composing the local church, so the churches located closely together are joined together in a brotherhood of churches which makes a conference.

"Several times during the history of the last sixty years a minister has seen fit to break away from the conference, and sometimes has led a majority of members of a local church to join him in severing connection with the conference. Any tendency on the part of a minister to draw the flock to himself instead of to the cause of God must be due to a failure to heed the principle laid down by the apostle Paul, 'For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.' 2 Cor. 4:5.

"No minister walking in the light of the advent message could ever think for a moment of breaking with the brotherhood of churches in the conference and leading a flock to separate from the organized movement. It requires no exertion and no submission to the spirit of the Gospel to break the unity. The effort in the local church and in the brotherhood of churches in the conference, and in our relation as workers in the union and the general must ever be to fulfill the scriptural command:

"Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' Eph. 4:3-5.

"Inasmuch as no man liveth unto himself, we are all subject to counsel. Wherever men in associate effort refuse to counsel with

brethren and insist upon taking an independent course, the unity is broken. This scriptural organization for unity is to prevent any worker in general, union or local position from being a law unto himself and setting aside the counsel of the body which is the counsel of God. The moment the independent course is taken there is nothing left save self-appointed supremacy of a person or a group. This is not the rule that obtains in the Church of God and is not the spirit of the workers who build for eternal permanency upon the sure foundation. Some counsels from the Spirit of Prophecy state the scriptural principles of organization.

"We are coming to a time when, more than ever before, we shall need to press together, to labor unitedly. In union there is strength. In discord and disunion there is only weakness. God never designed that one man, or four or twenty, should take an important work into their own hands, and carry it forward independently of other workers in the cause. God wants His people to counsel together, to be a united church, in Christ a perfect whole. The only safety for us is to enter into the counsels of Heaven, ever seeking to do the will of God, to become laborers together with Him. No one company is to form a confederacy, and say, 'We are going to take this work, and carry it on in our own way'—*Gen. Conf. Bulletin, 1891, p. 259.*

"The world is filled with strife for the supremacy. The spirit of pulling away from our fellow-laborers, the spirit of disorganization, is in the very air we breathe. By some, all efforts to establish order are regarded as dangerous,—as a restriction of personal liberty, and hence to be feared as popery. They declare that they will not take any man's say-so; that they are amenable to no man. I have been instructed that it is Satan's special effort to lead men to feel that God is pleased to have them choose their own course, independent of the counsel of their brethren.—*Testimonies to Ministers,* pp. 488, 489.

"In every kind of associate work, whether religious or secular, it is universally recognized that membership in any association brings responsibility to represent the spirit and aims of that organization. In the conference work the president of the conference, or the secretary, is not at liberty to choose his own course in matters that pertain to the conference. So with every member of a conference committee and with every work laboring under conference direction. Nowhere in general, union, or local conference service is one at liberty to shape a course independent of counsel, which may adversely affect the interests of a local flock or of the conference, or bring questioning on the part of people of the world as to the standards for which the church as a whole should stand. Therefore it is that in all our work, conference or institutional, general or local, God

has provided committees of counsel so that all may work together. It is the spirit of organization which comes from heaven. 'For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints.' 1 Cor 14:33."

We told the members of the First Harlem Church sometime ago, in discussing the whole matter before them, "You can readily see that the conference itself is involved in any project of this kind launched by one of its representatives. All of us work under counsel and seek to represent the conference in whatever affairs may be thought to minister to the welfare of our members. It is impossible that we should divide and work independently. We have appealed to Brother Humphrey to reconsider his course, and to work in harmony with the counsels of the committee placed in charge of the conference activities of which he himself has been a member. We still appeal to him to reconsider. We appeal also to the Seventh-day Adventist believers of this church to take their stand as loyal supporters of order and organization in the church of Christ. Our allegiance is to God and to His church, and not to any individual. In all our history it has been demonstrated repeatedly that prosperity does not attend any group which severs its connection with the body of which Christ is the head. We plead with the brethren and sisters not to be moved from the truth, and from the relationship which acceptance of the third angel's message involves.

"We wish to emphasize to you that we are not arguing the merits or demerits of any real estate enterprise, but must insist that the conference cannot allow any of its representatives to commit it to an enterprise which has never been considered by the conference. The world itself holds every organization for what its representatives do, and this lays upon every representative the responsibility of placing all such matters under the counsel of the organization."

After being informed as conference officials concerning our brother's scheme, we communicated with him personally as follows:

August 13, 1929.

"Dear Brother Humphrey:

"Recently information has come to me regarding a plan which you are said to be connected with in connection with some property matter in the Upstate.

"The report has come that you and the officers of your church are promoting this project among your members, with the object of finally establishing a colored colony, sanitarium, and old people's home. Of course, these are merely reports and I must come to you for facts. Naturally, questions arise and criticisms are offered, and I am in no position to disillusion anybody's mind upon it as long as I am totally in the dark regarding the facts. I would be glad

to have you drop me a line, setting me straight on this matter, and giving me any other information which you think will be helpful in explaining what may be going on.

"Assuring you of my sincere desire to cooperate in every good thing, with kindest personal regards, I remain,

"Sincerely your brother."

"August 20, 1929.

"Elder Louis K. Dickson,
120 West 42nd Street,
New York, N. Y.

"My dear Brother:

"Your letter of the 13th inst. came to hand. I was very glad to hear from you. I understand from your letter that you were informed of a project on foot in the purchase of some property up State by the colored people, upon which a sanitarium and old folks' home are to be built, and in which I and some of my members are interested.

"It is true that some of us are interested in this effort to help the colored people realize these institutions which we so sorely need.

"It is not a denominational effort, inasmuch as our people are unable to maintain one. I thank you very much for your expression of kindly interest and your desire to co-operate in this good work, but it is absolutely a problem for the colored people.

"With best regards, I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

(Signed) "J. K. Humphrey."

Under date of August 26, 1929, we wrote our second letter to Brother Humphrey, as follows:

"Dear Brother Humphrey:

"Since receiving your letter of August 20th, in response to mine of the 13th instant, it has been difficult for me to believe that you can feel it proper to launch any such plan as you mentioned without the knowledge, counsel or consent of your associates in the ministry and in the conference. I cannot think that you are ignorant or unmindful of your obligations as an employee of the conference to counsel upon such important projects as planning for institutions for our people before such plans are launched in the church of which you are appointed pastor.

"Am I to understand, by your response to my letter, that you are intentionally withholding from the president of the conference the facts which he requested from you? And further, am I to conclude by your statement—that it is absolutely a problem for the colored people—that definite and detailed information of the plan cannot or

is not to be given to the conference by the one who, in launching the plan, takes advantage of his credentials given to him by the conference and accepted by him on the basis upon which they are issued?

"I think it is obvious to you from the foregoing that your answer to my letter was entirely unsatisfactory and disappointing. I am, therefore, now repeating my request to you for an explanation of this project which you are launching, as you say, in behalf of the colored people. If this is not a denominational effort, will you kindly inform me as to what kind of an organization, outside of the denomination, this is, the interests of which you have felt free to promote through your pulpit?

"Trusting that you will favor me with an early reply, and with kindest personal regards, I remain

"Sincerely your brother."

In the meantime your conference officers were called in by the authorities of New York City, and questioned as to their responsibility in permitting one of their ministers to engage in such an enterprise. I may explain here, that Brother Humphrey had been called before the Public Welfare Commissioner because of a complaint filed by the City Charities Organizations who had discovered some of the members of the First Harlem Church out with cans on the street soliciting in the name of this denomination for funds from the public unlawfully, and without a permit, for the benefit of this Utopia scheme. Not only was he deceiving the public into believing our denomination was backing his scheme, but we are informed that the collections obtained were credited to the person soliciting upon the purchase of his individual lot.

The Public Welfare Commissioner showed us many pages of testimony describing Brother Humphrey's activities which reflected unfavorably on the denomination. The Commissioner thought that these were so serious that he sent them to the district attorney. We are informed that none of the people from whom Brother Humphrey had gotten money desired to start criminal proceedings and therefore there being no complaint the matter was dropped. Brother Humphrey considers this vindication. We must leave it to you whether you consider such an escape from prosecution should be called a vindication.

Having failed in our brotherly effort to get Brother Humphrey to follow our counsel, we followed the counsel given in the Spirit of Prophecy, and asked the advice of the Atlantic Union Conference Committee. This committee met the 27th of October, 1929. In spite of the earnest endeavors of the brethren to secure his presence at this meeting, he refused to attend, whereupon the union committee took action advising the Greater New York Conference com-

mittee to revoke his credentials until such a time as he desisted from the course that he was following. After submitting the counsel of the union committee to the General Conference for their approval, which was given, your conference committee took the following action:

WHEREAS, during recent weeks a serious situation has developed in connection with the work of Elder J. K. Humphrey, whereby it becomes evident from his own published advertisements, that he is engaged in a speculative real estate development; and

WHEREAS, it is contrary to the established policies of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination for its ministers to engage in such enterprises or sidelines; and

WHEREAS, up to the present time he has declined to make any satisfactory explanation of his course to the Greater New York Conference Committee; and

WHEREAS, this situation is of such a serious nature that we hereby place our unqualified disapproval upon this whole enterprise and solemnly warn all our church members to beware of this and all other such projects; and

WHEREAS, we disapprove the course of action taken by Elder J. K. Humphrey in entering upon this enterprise that bids fair to involve him in legal action, and which brings the cause into disrepute; and

WHEREAS, Elder J. K. Humphrey has refused to attend regularly-called committee meetings, and after repeated efforts to get in personal touch with him regarding these serious matters have proven unsuccessful and seemingly thwarted; therefore

Resolved: That we hereby acquaint Elder Humphrey of our disapproval of his course of action in connection with this enterprise, and further that we counsel the Greater New York Conference Committee to revoke his credentials until such time as he shall straighten out this situation in a way that will remove the reproach that his course has brought upon the cause.

Before announcing to our brother action of the committee, earnest efforts were made for several hours by the brethren of the committee, and by the representatives which the union committee had sent to New York for that purpose, to lead him to see his mistake and to let him know that we as his brethren would do all we could to help him if he would but turn from the course he had taken. This strong plea to his heart, with tears in some cases, failed as had all our efforts recently to counsel him. Therefore, there was nothing left for us to do than to announce to him our action. It was further explained to him that this action in revoking his credentials meant discontinuing his ministry as a representative of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, discontinuing his pastorate to

which he had been appointed by the conference, and also the dropping of his name from membership of the Union and Greater New York Conference Committee.

Upon the request of Brother Humphrey the president of the conference appeared before the First Harlem congregation on November 2nd to announce our action to the membership. With us for counsel were taken Elders Spicer, Meyers, Slade, Andrews and Brother Macmillan. During the five hours stormy meeting, it was made very clear by the apparently unanimous vote of the people that the entire church was opposed to the conference. The conference representatives were constantly interrupted. Strong and loud denunciations of the entire denomination were made by the officers of the church, and many of the members, while a majority of the audience present kept up the wild confusion and uproar in disrespect of the presence, counsel and advice of the leaders of the denomination. The former pastor was upheld and sustained in all his activities and attitude by the membership of the First Harlem church, while constant denunciation of the conference and denomination was heard from the leaders and people on every side.

It has been reported since that meeting that Brother Humphrey has continued to publicly denounce the denomination, publishing hostile interviews in newspapers. He has brought legal proceedings against the denomination to compel his reinstatement on false representations of facts. At the same time he caused his church to bring proceedings to examine the officers of the denomination with a view to ascertain what legal course of action the First Harlem Church might have against the denomination.

It is said that Brother Humphrey plans to form a colored S.D.A. denomination with himself at the head. To hold his church behind him, he promised them he would secure title to the property in which they were worshipping. He appealed for thousands of dollars to pay lawyers. Despite the fact that he failed on the first two proceedings, he has just started a new suit, ostensibly in the name of the church, to compel our denomination to deed over the property, and has asked the Supreme Court to restrain the denomination from interfering with his possession of the denomination's church property until the trial of the action.

Some of the members of the First Harlem Church who are loyal to the denomination, and who have dared voice their opposition to his conduct, say that he is intimidating other less courageous believers who opposed him. If something is not done to remedy the situation, we will be in the position of having members of the First Harlem Church, who are loyal to the conference, being disfellowshipped, because of their loyalty, by a disloyal church.

The problem is now presented to this conference as to what they

will do with a sister church a controlling faction in which are apparently intimidated by a pastor rebellious to the denomination. Will they permit a church, so dominated, to disfellowship the minority members who through this trying ordeal look to the denomination for protection in their stand against expulsion from the church of their belief because of that very loyalty? Certainly, none will maintain that we can have a rebellious church in a position to disfellowship loyal Seventh-day Adventists.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE GREATER NEW YORK CONFERENCE OF S. D. A. ON JANUARY 14, 1930

WHEREAS, the first Harlem Church has for some months past refused to fulfill its obligations to the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, and has acted inconsistently with the teachings of this denomination:

Be it resolved, That this Executive Committee recommend to the coming biennial session of the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 1

WHEREAS, the former pastor of the First Harlem Church of Seventh-day Adventists, after admitting he was promoting a speculative real estate development and after declining to observe denominational regulations, had his credentials revoked by the denomination; and

WHEREAS, the first Harlem Church has seceded from the denomination by acclamation, by upholding its former pastor in his rebellion against the governing authority of the denomination, by recognizing him as pastor after his credentials were revoked, by since ignoring all its obligations to this conference, by instituting a suit at law against the denomination and by various other acts,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That with deep regret the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists drop the First Harlem Church from its sisterhood of churches, and that the former First Harlem Church be no longer recognized as a Seventh-day Adventist church.

Resolution No. 2

WHEREAS, there has been dropped from this sisterhood of churches constituting the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, the church formerly known as the First Harlem Church of Seventh-day Adventists; and

WHEREAS, some of the former members of that church are loyal to this denomination, and not in sympathy with the hostility displayed to this denomination; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of this denomination to continue numbering in the fold the members of the former First Harlem Church who are loyal to the cause,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the officers of this conference be instructed to arrange that those members of the former First Harlem Church who make public profession of their loyalty to the denomination and of their desire to continue therein, be reorganized into a new church to continue the work of the denomination.

And, be it further resolved, That the secretary of this Executive Committee of the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the First Harlem Church, that it may be prepared at the coming biennial conference to be held in the Washington Avenue Seventh-day Adventist Church, corner Washington and Gates Avenues, Brooklyn, N.Y., beginning January 27, 1930, to present such facts in its defense as it may desire or think proper.

These resolutions, disfellowshipping the Harlem Number One Church were unanimously adopted by the delegates. At the same time an action was taken providing for the church membership of those members of this church who desired to remain loyal to the principles and organization of the body. There was a full representation of delegates from all the colored churches in the Greater New York Conference present when these actions were taken. The Harlem Number One Church did not send any delegates to attend the session.

In an article appearing in a supplement to the Jamaica Visitor Elder A. R. Ogden, president of the Antillian Union Conference, answers the charge made by Elder Humphrey that Seventh-day Adventists are doing nothing for the colored people. Elder Ogden's article is as follows:

"Seventh-day Adventists believe in and teach the gospel of love. Individuals in the church may not always represent this, nevertheless true Christianity is love. 'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one for another.' John 13:35.

"Jesus was the only perfect example of this principle, but as His followers we should endeavor in all our relations in the church and in the world to make fundamental the principle of Christlike love. 'We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death.' 1 John 3:14. 'Whosoever hateth his brother is a liar.' 1 John 4:20. Surely, therefore, every true Christian will endeavor to make all his words and actions demonstrate this very fundamental principle of Christianity.

"Seventh-day Adventists as a denomination of Christians are

showing their interest and love for men of every race and people of the earth by raising millions of dollars and sending forth thousands of its members as missionaries of the Cross to carry this gospel of love, light, and salvation to perishing humanity. Hundreds of these self-sacrificing workers have paid the supreme sacrifice, laying down their lives for the fields to which they have gone. Their graves in many lands witness to their devotion. This is especially true in Africa and the Orient, as well as the islands of the sea; and the Lord's appreciation of this is expressed by His stirring eulogy—"Greater love hath no man than that he lay down his life."

"This gospel of love will draw all men together rather than create alienation, discord, strife, and separation. It will unite the members of God's great family. Love is of God—for God is love. But elements of strife and division come from 'beneath,' see 1 John 4:8 and James 3:14-16.

"Recently one of the esteemed ministers in the United States has started out in an endeavor to turn the people of God away from this great principle of love, and the result is seen in a movement to undermine faith, love, and unity. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' It is always sad to see men who have been trusted servants of God turn against the church and the message which they have endeavored to build up. To show that this is the spirit and aim of his work, I have only to quote from an article published under his signature in the 'New York News,' under date of December 21, 1929, in which he says: 'We owe allegiance to no denomination or organization.' We fail to see, however, how such a declaration can be made in view of the plain teachings of the Gospel. Does the Remnant Church stand for nothing? How can a person be a member of any body as an honorable man and not give allegiance to it? No one is compelled to belong to any church or organization, but certainly, if he does maintain membership, he owes to it his allegiance. 'Any betrayal of the church is treachery.'—'Acts of the Apostles,' p. 10.

"The tenor of the whole article referred to shows that this brother has started a campaign to get people of the colored race to form an independent and separate organization. There have been several such movements begun in the past, but they have all ended in failure and the loss of souls who have been lured astray. But we pray that God may preserve the loyalty, love, and fellowship of all our dear Jamaican people and that none will allow themselves to be entrapped by any such false and unchristian agitation.

"In any great world movement, mistakes may be made at times by individuals. This is true of both the colored and the white people. Yet we cannot reject the evidences which demonstrate that God is

leading the Seventh-day Adventist body in the greatest work of love and mercy that has ever been carried on in this world. For years we have coveted the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit that taught the gospel to people of a dozen languages. But here we are, in the short time of our history, teaching nearly four hundred languages of earth's inhabitants, who are today uniting in the bonds of Christian fellowship and preparing for the soon coming of our Lord Jesus.

"The article referred to declares that Seventh-day Adventists are doing nothing for the colored people. He knows as all may know that a large part of the annual appropriations of the General Conference is being used for the colored races of the world. The amount allocated to Africa this year alone amounted to over three hundred thousand dollars. To the Inter-American Division, which consists mostly of colored people, another two hundred and forty thousand dollars is given. During the last third of a century many hundreds of thousands of dollars have been appropriated to Jamaica, and we are still dependent upon the General Conference for substantial gifts for the carrying forward of the work in this island. Outside of the small fees of the students, the General Conference pays all the expenses of maintaining the West Indian Training College at Mandeville. White people collected nearly half of the Harvest Ingathering receipts which are now used for Jamaica church schools, and church buildings for our colored people. How terrible then for a man to declare that "in no instance has the colored people gotten any returns or benefits from the white people for their money." Mr. Humphrey must know that for every pound raised by the colored people (and we credit them with doing their best loyally) many pounds have been raised and contributed by our white brethren. And is this not a very tangible expression of their love for the colored people, not only of Jamaica and the United States, but also of all nations and races?

"Our dear people, you who have been brought out of darkness into God's most marvelous light, we cannot think that you will allow yourselves to be deceived and led to follow any man who leads out on the pathway of rebellion and opposition to this great movement. The Jamaica Conference has had to meet similar issues in the past, as others have started to agitate against the Advent movement as it is organized. But their campaigns have failed. God is either leading in this great work, or He is not; and if it is God's message and work, He cannot at the same time be leading men to build it up and tear it down. No! Every one who breaks rank today will soon see their mistake, and with sadness and shame because of their mistake, either seek re-admission to the remnant body, or give up in despair. The Lord cannot and will not bless

any work that counters His plans and purposes. There is nothing that can stop His great message until His work is done.

"Oh, may God greatly bless, keep and protect every member of our churches from any step that may lead them into disappointment and sorrow—and possibly loss of eternal life. The people whose hearts have united with the remnant of God in this earth, will soon stand with the same united fellowship of eternal joy upon the Sea of Glass. There they will unitedly sing the song of Moses and the Lamb; and there they will unitedly rejoice in the reward of loyalty and love unending."

The action of the Columbus, Ohio, Autumn Council, dealing with the different phases of the colored work in North America are as follows:

ACTIONS TAKEN AT THE 1929 AUTUMN COUNCIL Affecting the NORTH AMERICAN NEGRO DEPARTMENT

A commission appointed at the time of the Spring Meeting of the Committee had met a few days prior to the Council, and had formulated plans and recommendations relative to the future conduct of the Negro work. These recommendations were now submitted through the Plans Committee, and after full and free discussion were adopted as follows:

The Commission on Negro Work appointed by the 1929 Spring Council of the General Conference, having considered the various plans and suggestions for the future conduct of the work, hereby submits the following recommendations and plan of organization for the Negro work in North America:

ORGANIZATION:

1. (a) That the General Conference Committee select one of our representative colored ministers to fill the office of secretary of the Negro Department.

(b) That this secretary locate in Washington, having his headquarters at the General Conference office

(c) That in giving general supervision to the colored work throughout North America he work under the counsel of the General Conference Committee as do all other General Conference departmental secretaries.

2 (a) That in each union conference where there are as many as 500 colored believers, except in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern, a Negro secretary be elected, this secretary to be a member of the union conference committee.

(b) That the union secretary, together with the secretaries of the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern Union Conferences, be

invited to attend such Autumn Councils as the local conference presidents may be called to attend. Thus they would receive the encouragement to be gained by contact with the leaders of our world-wide work, and would carry back to the colored churches in their fields the appeals on all our activities throughout the field the world around.

(c) These secretaries, together with the union secretaries of the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern Unions, and such other persons as the General Conference may appoint, would form the General Conference Negro Department advisory committee to counsel over matters pertaining to the colored work.

(d) These secretaries would work under the direction of the union conference committees. When laboring in a local conference they would work under the counsel of the local conference president, just as all other union departmental secretaries do.

3. The primary responsibility of these secretaries would be to build up the colored constituencies:

(a) By holding evangelistic efforts when advisable.

(b) By assisting evangelists with their efforts when advisable.

(c) By helping to train young preachers and workers.

(d) By helping to foster real soul-winning work in each of the churches and conferences.

(e) By co-operating in all lines of departmental and church activities.

4. That where the colored constituency in a local conference is sufficiently strong and is represented by a colored minister of experience, we recommend that he be made a member of the local conference committee.

5. That the Negro work in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern union conferences be organized on the following basis:

(a) That the Negro Committee of the Union Conference be composed as follows: The president of the union conference; the secretary-treasurer of the union; the president of each local conference; the Negro union secretary; the Negro Missionary Volunteer, Educational and Home Missionary secretary, where there is such a secretary; and the Negro evangelist of each local conference; said committee to have full administrative charge of the colored work.

(b) That the Negro Committee of the local conference be composed as follows: The president of the conference; the secretary-treasurer of the conference; the colored evangelist of the conference and two Negro members to be elected.

6. *We Recommend*, In conferences receiving appropriations for their colored work, that the proportionate share of local conference administrative expense be on a ratio of one third to the colored

and two thirds to the white work, this calculation to be based on a practically equal constituency of white and colored membership, and that where the proportion of constituency varies from that of equality, either up or down, the proportion of administrative expense be varied on the same ratio up or down.

COLORED SCHOOL IN THE NORTH:

WHEREAS, The colored constituency in the North has greatly increased in recent years; and,

WHEREAS, The large numbers of colored youth demand that suitable facilities for a boarding school of academic grade be provided where the youth of the colored race can receive a Christian education without embarrassment to any one;

We Recommend, 1. That a committee be appointed at this Autumn Council whose duty it shall be to study the question of location, student capacity, suitable industries, etc., of such a school, and that this committee report to the General Conference Minority Committee.

2. That the Autumn Council be asked, through the proper committee, to provide a plan for financing the purchase and equipment of the school plant in harmony with the policy of the General Conference governing the establishment of all new projects.

COLPORTEUR WORK AMONG COLORED PEOPLE:

WHEREAS, The soul-winning opportunities presented by our colporteur work are well known to us all, and is a gateway of service equally open to the colored and to the white missionary worker; therefore,

We Recommend, 1. That renewed efforts be made to direct the attention of our colored people generally to this line of work, and that our young people particularly be encouraged and trained to enter it with the twofold object in mind of winning souls and securing a Christian education by earning scholarships.

2. That in sections of the country where there are large numbers of colored people consistent effort and encouragement be given toward the development of colored assistant field missionary secretaries who can aid in the development and success of colored colporteurs.

MEDICAL WORK FOR COLORED PEOPLE:

WHEREAS, There is a growing need for the development of our medical work among the colored people; and,

WHEREAS, Many of the young people in our colored churches are desirous of receiving a training as nurses; therefore,

We Recommend, 1. That where possible we urge our sanitariums to follow the practice of receiving as many colored young people into the nurses training courses as can be provided for.

2. That where physicians or nurses are available, classes be organized in our colored churches for the study of home hygiene and care of the sick as outlined in the General Conference course for home nursing.

3. That local conferences, in which large colored city churches are located, give careful study to the possibility of establishing, in connection with such churches, and where doctors or trained nurses are available, medical missionary units for treating the sick and for giving practical instruction in our principles of treatment.

4. That the General Conference Minority Committee give study to the establishment of a hospital dispensary unit for colored people, in connection with which a nurses training course be conducted. The detailed plans for this enterprise as to location, size, method of financing, maintenance, etc., to be submitted to the next Autumn Council for final approval.

Conclusion

We recognize the right of any individual or group of individuals who are not of us, to go out from us. In issuing this statement we have no thought or purpose of engaging in controversy with anyone. However, for the sake of the great body of loyal members who believe in the unity of the church and who are devoted to the principles of the everlasting gospel as expressed in this great threefold message, the information contained herein is sent forth. We pray that God will establish every believer in the truth and help us all to do our part in giving the message to the world in preparation for a soon-coming Saviour.

J. L. McELHANY,
*Vice-president of the General Conference
for North America.*

Deep River

Deep river, my home is over Jordan,
Deep river, Lord; I want to cross over into camp ground.

O, don't you want to go to that gospel feast,
That promised land where all is peace?

Deep river, my home is over Jordan,
Deep river, Lord; I want to cross over into camp ground.

A Better Way

CALVIN B. ROCK

21

The title of this article¹ is lifted from a statement written by Ellen G. White at the turn of the century. The thought in essence is that because of the tensions between the races, the rigors of Jim Crow, white and black believers would be wise to build and operate separate facilities — "till the Lord shows us a better way."²

It is my opinion that there are but three milestones left for us to pass before victory will be complete. The first milestone is *righteousness by faith*. Like the Jews of old, far too many of our members still depend too much on the law and too little on the merits of Jesus. The second milestone is marked *pilgrim ethic*. Like Little John, in the tales of Robin Hood, who disguised himself and went into a chosen city to spy out the land for attack, but who became so comfortable with the ease of city life that he forgot to return, some of us have forgotten our temporary status in this present society. In short, we have lost our pilgrim ethic. The third milestone is *brotherhood and togetherness*.

For as it is true that we cannot triumph until we have overcome ritualism, salvation by works, and the creature comforts that rob us of divine incentive, it is also true that the Holy Spirit can never supply that measure of power commensurate with Matthew 24:14³ while yet we remain a psychologically and structurally divided people. Because of this fact and because we know that our present segregated operations are not ideal, and because Ellen White implies that God will show us "a better way," we do well to assess our situation occasionally to see if the time has arrived for a more practical and efficient way — in short, a better way of doing God's work.

I

Two questions arise.

First, what is this better way? I believe it is the way of open fellowship

22

and complete desegregation by Seventh-day Adventists on all levels of communion, administration, and worship.

Second, are not we — who, with prophetic eye, go through the sweep of history dissecting kingdoms, analyzing the present, and outlining the future, who sing so blithely, "we are not divided, all one body we" — are not we ready for just such a fellowship? The answer is, sadly but emphatically, *No!* Our long, discouragingly weak record of race relations clearly negates any optimism.

Black Seventh-day Adventists were not accepted in the Washington Sanitarium until the late 1940s. Black people could not eat at the Review and Herald cafeteria until the early 1950s nor stay in the main units of the Florida Sanitarium or the Hialeah Hospital until the early 1960s. It was against regulations for blacks and whites to room together on our campuses until the middle 1960s. And it was 1965 before the largest white Seventh-day Adventist church in Detroit, if you please, would accept its first black member. Add to these the long-practiced quota system of accepting students in our institutions. Add that the brightest black missionaries have returned from service overseas with successful and lengthy records, only to have their tenure and accomplishments untended within the structure while many of their white counterparts were immediately given positions of responsibility. These facts are but a sampling of what the past has been like.

But it is not only the past that speaks to us. More relevantly the present tells us that we are not ready. We are not ready because black Seventh-day Adventists cannot sit on the same pews with white Seventh-day Adventists in Mobile, Alabama. We are not ready because little black Seventh-day Adventist children cannot go to school with little white Seventh-day Adventists in Atlanta, Georgia. We are not ready because black administrators in the local conferences around the country know that there is little or no chance of vertical mobility within their respective structures. We are not ready because, although blacks have almost one-third of the combined membership of the Southern, Atlantic, and Columbia Union Conferences, we are not represented in the administrative structure of these bodies. (What goes on in these regions is no worse than what goes on in the rest of North America — and in fact may be somewhat better.)

II

Exactly what are the sociological, psychological, and theological forces that have produced this present state of affairs?

SPRING 1970

23 *First*, Adventists are a conservative people who have evidently taken their conservatism too far. We shun drastic changes in dress and diet. We are cautious in our financing and in other matters of policy. And well might we be. But to carry our conservatism into the area of human relations is to pervert and misapply an otherwise healthy tendency.

Second, Adventists are fundamentalists, given more to dogmatic views and authoritarian preachments that confirm our positions than to understanding principle. Of course, our stated doctrines are correct and our officially announced positions, even on human relations, are good. But because many leaders and lay members spurn the refining, broadening processes of research, relying more on text than context, and more on slogans than scholarship, we ought not be too surprised that we are slow to change any social or theological position. Neither conservatism nor fundamentalism is wrong. Jesus was a doctrinal conservative and was steeped in the fundamentals of the scrolls. But also he was a bold liberal in his social teachings and an outright radical in his social contacts.

Third, a significant factor in our approach to social change is this: having concluded that the world is hopeless and that we shall never be able to solve all the problems of society, we have evidently decided that we do best to stay out of social problems and keep busy carrying on "the work of the church." To this end we have not balanced our college and university courses of theology, education, business, and the natural sciences with sufficient offerings in the social and behavioral sciences. Thus our white church leaders are ignorant of the residual effects on the black man both of slavery and of the nitty-gritty problems of survival in the black community. Many white leaders believe it is a waste of time to study these issues, much less to provide the massive reparations due the black man for past indignities suffered at the hands of the slaveowner and the generations that succeeded him.

Now I do not suggest with Augustine that we strive to create a City of God here on earth. Nor do I agree with Walter Rauschenbusch, the father of the social gospel, when he says that we can expect to elevate society to the place where God can adopt us and confer immortality on the whole human race. I do not agree even with Martin Luther King, Jr., who foresaw a time when "justice will reign from the majestic hills of Pennsylvania to every molehill and mound in Mississippi."

But I do say that it is highly regrettable that the children of God have been dwarfed — in government, by such sons of mammon as John and Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson; in religion, by Pope John XXIII,

who wrote in his encyclical *Pacem in Terris* so eloquently about the social issue; and in education, in business, and in every other stratum of society, by other convicted and concerned men. The church will never solve all the ills of humanity. But as the moral conscience of the nation, the church is obligated — yea, duty bound, in the parlance of prayer meeting — not only to speak out against man's inhumanity to man, but to dedicate our finances, our votes, and, if necessary, our very lives to the freedom and dignity of the human body and spirit.

24 *Fourth*, yet another reason that we have come to this seeming social impasse is that historically we have beamed our evangelistic approach to the upper-lower and lower-middle class of citizens, the very segment that the President calls the "silent majority." Since most white church members come from this group, and since this is the white segment most threatened (in their jobs and in their neighborhoods) by the mobility of the Negro, we should not be too surprised that many white Adventists adore Barry Goldwater, praise George Wallace, hire Paul Harvey, believe David Lawrence, subscribe to the *U. S. News and World Report*, vote for Richard Nixon, cheer for Spiro Agnew, hate the Supreme Court, ascribe all liberal legislation to some sinister Kremlin plot within our midst, and persist in thinking that Martin Luther King, Jr., was a Communist.

Of course, the strongest deterrent, other than a misuse of the Bible ("Be ye not unequally yoked together") is a misapplication of Ellen White's statement referred to. In fairness it must be said, however, that our brethren in the General Conference have tried in several ways during the past few years to correct this misunderstanding. But education takes time.

Fifth, a further factor that must be taken into account is political expediency. Many white leaders do have understanding and conviction but refuse to act because they fear loss of prestige, loss of finance, loss of status, and even loss of job. The result is an unfortunate vacuum of leadership which leaves white lay members locked in their deep, dark prejudices.

III

Yes, there is a better way! But, no, obviously we are not ready for it. There is something more basic to be taken into account when we talk about what makes fellowship between the races so difficult, something that Ellen White said she feared would "ever remain a most perplexing problem" — the thoroughly ingrained myth of racial superiority. This myth, which grew so during two hundred years of slavery and ninety years of "separate but equal" coexistence, has produced two pervasive and binding effects.

First, white society — not all, but the mass of the population — has written off black America as inferior, cursed, and afflicted by God and nature. This is how the white slaveowners could say that not all men are created equal and could then hold men in slavery. Obviously God meant only all white men.

Second, the black man was forced to ascribe beauty and success to white features and a white culture, which by heredity and environment he was never to have. How unfair for the flat-nosed, kinky-haired African, to say that beauty is angular features, flossy locks, and fair skin. But the blacks believed it and even developed a color caste within their own ranks. Not until Stokely Carmichael did we dare to believe that black could also be beautiful. I am saying that the results of this philosophy of racial supremacy are still with us — black and white. Uncle Tom may be dead, but we still have some Brother Thomases around. The dangerous man now, however, is the "Oreo Negro" who, like the cookie by the same name, is black all over but white inside.

The acid test for the *white* man is what he thinks of his black brother, and the crucial question is his attitude toward intermarriage. If my white brother tells me that intermarriage is risky because society is basically against it, I will agree. But if my white brother tells me that intermarriage is wrong because God is basically against it, then I must question the depth of his understanding, if not the sincerity of his relationship.

The acid test for the *black* man, his social Gethsemane, is what he thinks of himself. He has passed the test only when he can say in the paraphrased words of Henry Coleman, "I thank an all-wise Creator of this immutable fact that the bulge of my lips and the texture of my hair and the color of my skin need not be inevitable tokens of my disgrace, but that that hair can cover a brain as keen and that skin a heart as pure as that which beats within any Saxon's breast, and that these marks of my identity can become my badges of honor, symbols of a race that has attained a culture in 105 years that it took the white man 300 years to acquire."

Because of the foregoing reasons, black Adventism was organized in 1944 into separate local jurisdictions with black leaders. What has happened since then in terms of growth, employment, and incentive to black youth well justifies that move.

It took blacks one whole century, from 1844 to 1944, to reach a membership of 9,000. In the quarter of a century since black conferences were organized, we have rocketed from 9,000 to over 70,000. While the church has grown at the rate of 75 percent during this time, including the black

work, the black conferences themselves have grown at the rate of 125 percent. During this time we have gone from 3 percent of the United States membership to 18 percent.

Now suddenly the local conferences have become formidable forces, numerically and financially, within their union conference territories, and we are brought face to face with a crisis of relations akin to that of twenty-five years ago. The burning question then was whether or not our churches had grown sufficiently in size and number and need to warrant separate conferences. Conferences are now so well developed in size and need as to require the specialized supervision of black leadership. Is the cultural gap so wide and our leadership and personnel needs so indigenous to our blackness that our work will be further enhanced by eliminating all white administrative direction between us and the General Conference? In other words, what about black union conferences?

Idealism says, "No. Stick with the present structure; things are bound to get better."

Realism says, "Yes. In the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his poem *The Chambered Nautilus*, it is time to leave this outgrown shell, to build thee more stately mansions, O my soul."

Patience says, "Maybe tomorrow it will change."

Pragmatism asks, "Is not today the tomorrow you looked for yesterday?"

Prudence pleads, "Wait. If the government could break down Little Rock and hundreds of school systems North and South, surely our brethren will yield."

Practicality reminds us that the government had bayonets and threats of withholding funds as two very effective means of persuasion but that neither of these means is available or ethical in our polite Christian communion.

IV

And so we have come to the crossroads. We have reached an emotional and tactical crisis. I do not know how the logistics of this tactical problem will be solved. But one thing is certain. Things will never be the same.

It would seem that our leaders must make one of three decisions.

First, the General Conference can act swiftly and massively on an organized timetable to implement and enforce, suffering local autonomy if necessary, our announced position on desegregation within the Seventh-day Adventist Church — so much, in fact, that black and white conferences will eventually be completely merged. Such a program, if implemented in stages and begun immediately, would produce a minimum of shock and

trauma and allow for increased association and fellowship among the leaders and members of both races. Without this interaction we can never really know and understand one another.

Second, the church can admit its unreadiness or inability to create and achieve the quality of brotherhood we need. It can concede its unfamiliarity with distinctly black problems, such as the ghetto, and decide that under the circumstances it will be best to let black leadership handle its own money, organize its own programs, select its own leaders — in short, “do its own thing.”

Third, the church can refuse to do either and hope that the problems will somehow solve themselves.

To do the first, to inaugurate a massive program to desegregate and merge, would be working toward the ideal. To do the second, to organize the black work into separate unions, would be natural and practical if the former is not now possible. To do neither, but simply to cast anchor and hope for day, would be catastrophic.

For the forces that made Rosa Parks sit in the front of the bus, that made young students face “Bull” Connor and his dogs, that sent Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court, Carl Stokes to the mayorship of Cleveland, and King to his grave are abroad — not only in the land but also in the church. Business will never be the same.

We are not bitter. But we have discovered that while our white brother was telling us to go back home and raise our ingathering and to pray, he was busy building beautiful churches for his people, well equipped schools for his children, and first-class homes for his family. And then, while we were suffering materially because of the economic deprivation inherent in the American capitalistic system, the few whites and blacks who sensed the inequities were encouraged not to rock the boat. Thus many a black saint who was faithful in his offerings — investment, birthday, missions, week of sacrifice, thirteenth Sabbath, famine relief, Voice of Prophecy, Faith for Today, and Loma Linda University — has been buried from a third-class ramshackle church. And many a black young person has left the church because both black leaders and white leaders were more concerned about foreign missions by proxy than they were about the poor at hand.

Now we do not claim that black union conferences will solve all black problems; in fact, this *administrative* accommodation must be accompanied by special *financial* accommodation if we are to succeed. As for union conferences, we realize that our knowledge of all their operations is still somewhat incomplete.

But we blacks have peeked in through the windows of apprenticeship and know enough about the processes. We have grasped the rules sufficiently — the printed ones, the “you understand” kind, the firm ones, and the ones that can be changed when the administration desires to do so — to go into business for ourselves. We have discovered how to use the kid gloves of diplomacy and have learned to read the complex blueprint of structural organization. We have located the loopholes of policy and have marked the trapdoors of failure. We have practiced and memorized the shibboleths of administrative success. And as children say in the game they play, it’s “ready or not, here we come.”

There are two forces with which we must reckon, the support of which we will need if union conferences are to be a reality.

The first is the support of the white leadership. Actually, not too much persuasion should be needed. It is a paradox of note that our white brethren seem surprisingly willing to let black union conferences come about. It would appear that white leaders, like Pharaoh, would be greatly relieved if we would pack up our sensitive, restless militancy and take our own private route to the Promised Land.

The second — and much more formidable — force is the attitude of the black laity. For in spite of their concern about inequities, black leaders have some legitimate skepticism about further separation and would be at no small disadvantage in discussing with our lay members the dirty linen of discrimination within Adventism. Such a discussion could be very disconcerting and unsettling and would have to be handled delicately and skillfully.

We would have to remind both the lay people and ourselves that not all of our white Adventist brethren are prejudiced or afraid. It is easy in the excitement of a revolution to generalize about the ruling class. But I will say that my travels around the Southern Union Conference have acquainted me with some white workers and laymen who are genuinely concerned. I have met them at youth camps in Tennessee, at campmeetings in Florida, at teacher conventions in Georgia, on campuses in California, in churches in Michigan, at worker retreats in New York, and within the halls of our church headquarters in Washington, D. C.

V

As we stand on the threshold of what seem to be such momentous events, let us resolve to dedicate ourselves to some very clear-cut rules of operation.

Rule Number One. Let us refrain from the temptation to mark certain

brethren for political criticism because they are not so aggressive as we are on these issues. Some men may not want to alter structure, some may want to, but not so fervently as others; some may feel there is no other way. In any event, we must try to avoid polarization of our own ranks. If and when black unions do come about, there must be no vindictiveness nor petty reprisals. Frankly, I would rather be on the tugboat of integration chugging slowly upstream toward the Promised Land than on the sleek new battleship *Black Union* witnessing political purges, verbal homicide, and structural genocide among ambitious, glory-seeking, so-called "soul brothers."

Rule Number Two. Let us remember that one of the pitfalls of revolution is loss of respect, by the revolutionists themselves, for all leadership. We may be justified in engaging in honest debate with leaders; we may be justified in attacking the myth of human infallibility; we may be justified in saying that the present structure is not sacrosanct. But, in fighting inequities and seeking to better the structure, if we also lose respect for office, rank, tenure of service, and experience, we are setting the stage for frustration and anarchy. Since the real reason for black union conferences is to facilitate the work in black communities, the vehicle which we fashion for this purpose must have a responsible and respected chain of command. Let us not be guilty, therefore, of throwing out the organizational baby with the structural wash.

Rule Number Three. Let us concede that, as well as things have gone, we might have done better. Three hundred years of cultural deprivation have left their mark. We are still weak in spots. We must conquer our penchant for lateness, inattention to details, and lack of long-range planning — a result of our *manana* complex, no doubt. Let us handle camp meetings, tent meetings, church services, departmental reports, business meetings, board meetings, and personal affairs with greater dispatch, accuracy, and punctuality. We must be no less concerned about *quality* of operation than we are about *quantity* of growth.

Rule Number Four. Let us determine that black union conferences will not be exclusive but, rather, clear-cut models of brotherhood in which our white brethren may also enjoy the privileges of membership and structural authority. Let us show them how it is done. . . . And, finally —

Rule Number Five. Let us remember that black union conferences, if they do come about, will be but the ultimate form of a structural separation necessitated by circumstances which we hope will change eventually and that their presence is a vivid reminder of a great weakness — a weakness not of principle but of practice within our church.

When Hannibal, perhaps the best known of all black militarists, was called upon to lead the Carthaginians in battle against Italy, he performed one of the most stunning feats of warfare by spurning the popular route to Rome, the French Riviera, where he knew his progress would be fraught with premature battles and probable defeat before he even reached Italy. Instead, he crossed over the rugged, seemingly impassable Alps on a march of fifteen days. He encountered ambush by hostile tribes, storms, landslides, and near starvation, all of which ate away his forces, reduced his already inferior numbers, and made his mission highly improbable.

But, then, in the spring of 218 B.C., finally he emerged from the forests and stood with his troops on a plateau, the kind that the Greeks called an acropolis, overlooking the valley of the Po. Rallying his forces about him, Hannibal pointed to the shoreline of Italy in the distance and said, "Gentlemen, you have done well. You have fought hard. I am proud of you. Carthage is proud of you. But we must prepare for the real struggle. Here we stand upon the acropolis. Yonder lies Rome."

It has not been easy, but today we blacks have emerged from the shadows of history to an emotional and structural acropolis. However, it is clear that we have not reached our destination. Yonder lies the holy city. And we must fight on for the conquest in our day.

We blacks do not choose to march on a separate, parallel path to victory. But if we are forced to, let us strive valiantly until God, by whatever circumstance necessary, brings us to that dramatic confluence of social interaction wherein we can join hands with our brethren and, with complete togetherness, move on to capture our prize. Let our faith be strong, our motives pure, our expectations great, our determination unbending. With justice toward all, and malice toward none, let us advance this our grand cause until God shows us a better way.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 This article is based on an address delivered on the occasion of the South Central Conference annual banquet December 16, 1969.
- 2 ELLEN G. WHITE, *Testimonies for the Church* (volume nine of nine volumes. Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association 1902), pp. 205-207.
- 3 Matthew 24:14: And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.
- 4 MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in his speech, *I Have a Dream*, given at Washington, D. C., in 1963.
- 5 WHITE, *ibid.*, p. 214.

Commitment vs. Capitulation

FRANK W. HALE, JR.

31

The crucial challenge to Adventism in race relations is posed by the contradiction between its rhetorical commitment to fellowship without racial barriers, on the one hand, and the racial inequities which are typical of most of its own life as a church, on the other. The challenge is to discover ways of bridging the gap between the present realities and the normative commitment.

The idea of strategy and planned social change is one that is increasingly commanding the attention of social scientists. With an ethical commitment not alien to that of devoted churchmen, many of them are attempting to relate the growing wealth of knowledge contributed by the social sciences to the specific problems of modern times. In planning strategies for social change they have thus sought to implement values with the greatest possible intelligence. In like manner, the black leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church today is responding to an overwhelming concern and need.

I believe that any strategy within the church must give careful attention to the appropriateness of its objectives and to its ethical presuppositions. Let me inject right here that I hope no one will get "hung up" or defensive about the word *strategy*, which I use from time to time. It is a perfectly good word with significant meaning. It is not foreign to any member of officialdom. Its use as a tool is fully defensible as we view the precedent of its high regard among all levels of leadership within the church. Lest we lend ambiguity to the term itself, however, let me explain. *Strategy* may be understood as the general enlargement and organization of the capacity to achieve a chosen objective in the most effective way. *Tactics*, on the other hand, is the use that is made of strategy in the immediate situation by persons having a grasp of immediate problems and opportunities.

32

The direction of this paper is discussion of (1) the major racial problems confronting us today and (2) the limitations and possibilities inherent in the Christian philosophy of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

I

The question of how our church can best meet the needs of its black constituents and black prospective converts in the face of the growing racial unrest in America is one that needs to be asked urgently and repeatedly. Daily we are brought face to face with evidences of the mounting frustration of the black masses crying out for the power to be free. These current cries are hostile, unsophisticated, uncouth, and unnerving. They testify to a gripping sense of revolt, revulsion, and resignation. A walk through the bleak tenements — or, perhaps better, a stay there for a few days for the "uninitiated" — would provide an unforgettable reminder that some in America are disinherited from the day of their birth.¹

As leaders, we must carefully avoid too harsh a judgment of those who raise their voices to champion a cause that would disrupt the status quo within the church. Perhaps, like their political and social counterparts, they herald a gospel demanding that the church use its abundant resources to serve the well-being of those whose real problems have too long gone unsolved.

It is not enough to answer that "integration" is the solution. For it is precisely the nature of the operation, or the lack of opportunity under some forms of integration, that is being challenged. After all, historically the black church was created as a result of the refusal of certain imaginative blacks to submit to the indignities of a false kind of integration in which all power was in the hands of white people.

There are those who say "tread softly" lest we endanger the gains already made. Well, maybe we need to learn how to define "gains." The fact of the matter is, too often we are tempted to accept stated policy for practice. Resolutions are not worth the paper they are written on if they are not implemented. Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, it is commonly known, de facto segregation in every major city in our land has increased, unemployment among blacks has gone up, and the gap has constantly widened between the incomes of nonwhites and whites.

In short, therefore, integration on paper is one thing, but a more nearly equal sharing of opportunity and participation is quite another thing. And this is precisely what is required as a precondition to appropriate human interaction. So let's not get hung up on the tactics of the militants who em-

barrass and chagrin us with their methodology. Since they have appealed for a more honest kind of integration — one that increases rather than decreases the capacity of the minority member — they are saying that integration as it is now practiced is not meaningful.

The church, like the government, has taken a formal stand in its approach to human relations. The General Conference actions of 1961 and 1965 represent our most complete statements on the subject. A series of articles on the general subject of human relations appeared in the *Review and Herald* in 1966,² and the 1967 edition of the Church Manual carried a section entitled "No Wall of Partition."

These statements, "woven around the many and stirring counsels" of Ellen White, indicate that some leaders have made an earnest effort to provide at least some moral guidelines for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in this most important area of race relations. But let me hasten to add that resolutions alone are *not enough*. Have these resolutions been sufficient to provide the proper balance and interaction in the field of race relations?

II

Now to the issue — to support or not to support the proposal of *black union conferences* in the church organizational system.

Certain facts ought to be understood at the outset of such a discussion.

It would have to be understood that the organization of black union conferences would be officially determined on the basis of race and would result in segregation at every connectional level of the church below the union conference staff.

It would be incorrect, for two reasons, to assert that the existence of black union conferences would require complete segregation in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. In the first place, a number of states have never been included within the regional conference framework and therefore might not be included in the boundaries of those regional conferences that would comprise black unions. In the second place, the position of the Seventh-day Adventist Church does not specify that any person may be denied membership in any local church fellowship because of his race. Constitutionally, a black union conference would be defined by its regional churches and conferences, not by any provision requiring all black Seventh-day Adventists to belong.

But now it is time for all of us to stop playing church and to start living like we are the "royal and chosen priesthood" that we say we are. Too often

we stir our constituents into a distorted view of God's concern for them here and now by promoting a total view of his relevance for their lives in terms of the "other world" in the distant by-and-by. And too often we have apologized for exerting group pressure when we seek to relieve the oppression among us. This apologetic attitude must go. We dare not apologize for exerting group pressure, for we have been oppressed as a group, despite our individual qualifications.

We cannot recover the past. But, within the limits set by nature and history and our intelligence and resolution, we can make the future. We make the future either by default or on purpose. Since we help to make the future in any case, it is better to make it, not by letting things ride, but by having some idea of where things ought to go and doing whatever is possible to make them go in that direction.

As a church, we are plagued by the critical gap that exists between the nature of our witness and the caliber of our actions. Nowhere does this gap yawn more dangerously than when we try to face, or try not to face, the question of our living as brothers, black and white, within our own churches. The not-too-remote analogy between the Seventh-day Adventist Church organization and the American political organization, from local to national levels, is inescapable. At virtually every point where there are obstacles to desegregation within the church, one sees a parallel to familiar obstacles which he has encountered in the fabric of his own community.

The opportunity for leadership holds out the buoyant hope that solving the problem within the ranks of Adventism may point the way toward elimination of the nation's most corrosive social illness and toward a more healthy state of the national conscience.

Because of the many, many inequities that are apparent, we have opened the floodgates on ourselves. In short, the patterns of racism are so obvious in so many areas of church life and thought that many black Seventh-day Adventists are losing confidence in the commitments of the church to healthy human relations. Many black Seventh-day Adventists feel that the overt and covert support of a substantial number of white Adventists given to the philosophies projected by such men as Eric Hoffer, David Lawrence, and Paul Harvey make racism endemic to the Adventist way of life.

Consequently, the philosophy of separatism is gaining within our church as it has in secular circles. When we must admit to ourselves that we do not have the spiritual courage to come to grips with the problems that make mockery of our faith, then we may be admitting that our faith is a mockery.

III

To my white brothers, let me say that too long you have equivocated. The pattern of your response has been only to yield under pressure. Where are your hearts? Where are your consciences? Where are your souls? Have not yet the scales fallen from your eyes to see, from your minds to know, and from your hearts to experience that what blacks request is no more than you expect — as individuals, as churches, as local conferences, as union conferences, as committees, and as boards — for yourselves?

It may have been important for you to yield to the support of church opinion, or black protest sentiment, or the ideals of the American creed in the past, but of even more importance should have been your yielding to "thus saith the Lord." There are few biblical scholars who do not admit that the Bible does indeed talk about a *unity* that is incarnate, that must become tangible and find expression within this world. The language used by Paul to describe the church seems to support this position fully. In at least twelve separate passages he uses the analogy of a physical body to describe the church, usually with the members of the church represented by the working parts of the body.³

New, a church is not an association of those Christians who happen to like each other and who can therefore set their own exclusive rules. When that happens, the church has not simply omitted a moral implication of the gospel — it has allowed a fundamental question to arise as to whether it belongs to the church of Jesus Christ. Trying to solve the race question by asking where people "feel at home" is no good. The church is not our club. It is God's holy instrument in which we have been permitted a place — but a place which has room only for God's task, and no room for our conditions and preferences.

For the church to turn its back on its most fundamental religious teaching — the "great commandment" of loving one another, however one may disguise the rhetoric to avoid admitting it — would seem a repudiation of the basic reason for the existence of the church. Without real integrity with respect to the basic religious purpose of the church, it is questionable whether such a religious institution can long endure! Certainly its moral and religious leadership would be greatly weakened.

Have we come to the point where, in these final hours of earth's history, we must admit to ourselves and to the world that in all things physical we shall be as the fingers are to the hand, but in all things philosophical we shall be one, as the hand is to the fingers? I believe that viewpoint is just as untenable today as was Booker T. Washington's position in 1895.

To my black brothers who fight the issue by supporting the idea of organizing black union conferences, let me say that I support the spirit of your concern for an effective program that will give our black brothers and sisters what they rightly deserve. We are in a black revolution in this country, and it's real. For the most part, I think that many of us would agree that the aims of the black revolution are quite legitimate.

The caution that must be observed, however, is in the area of strategies and tactics, for our cause is not secular but spiritual. There is a fine line in many instances, we would agree, but Christians have never endorsed the philosophy that the end justifies the means. In other words, we must be careful that our motives are correct. If we would overcome our obstacles, it can still be true today that "my strength is as the strength of ten, because my heart is pure."

The concept of black power and black revolution did not begin in the summer of 1966 with the desperate and anguished cry of those who participated in the James Meredith march for voter registration in Mississippi. It began in those early days on the plantation in the hearts of the oppressed who sang, "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave." The black revolution was in process when Frederick Douglass, that great black statesman, declared, "Our purpose here is neither to beg nor to borrow, but to state the determination of black men in America to exact from this nation not one whit less than our full manhood rights." In other words, the black revolution of today is building on a foundation that has already been laid.

I say that NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, the Muslims, and many others have contributed toward the gains, small or great, that have been made. It is a ridiculous affront to the mission and martyrdom of Martin Luther King to assess his program as having been visionary. I know that I for one am not too old to remember Jim Crow trains, buses, waiting rooms, and rest rooms; black and white water fountains; closed doors at hotels, motels, restaurants, and a whole bag of "black magic" — all designed to "keep us in our place." Perhaps those gains were small ones, but they were gains, nevertheless. Someone had to stick his neck out, and King did just that.

And so today, as in yesteryear, there is a small but determined cadre of black men and women who are dedicating their energies, and in many cases their lives, to the unfinished task of liberating black people from the psychological, cultural, social, and economic shackles that have rendered them powerless for centuries.

They are concerned with shattering the old icons of whiteness and rightness, of white sheep and black sheep, of white purity and black decadence —

with validating in the minds of black people regenerative black images and black models and a black perspective on the world. It is a just cause waged against the debilitating cycle of hope and despair that has characterized black life on this continent for four hundred years. Their task is monumental, and it is not made easier by the diversionary tactics of the game-players. It is imperative that the black community know the difference between the committed and the comedians.

IV

We cannot yield to the temptation of using secular means to accomplish spiritual ends. It is time for black and white brothers in the Seventh-day Adventist Church to accept the commitment of *brotherhood* seriously. Let us implement our bold declarations. Let us admit the sins that have separated us. Let us rectify the inequities, and let us begin now. If we are not prepared to do so, then the establishment of black union conferences will forever haunt us for what we are — weak, vacillating, and unprincipled.

Therefore, I would urge our brothers, *black and white*, to accept these reforms immediately:

1. That the union conferences establish an equitable and uniform policy for the adjustment of departmental positions and committee and board assignments so as to reflect balanced black participation.

2. That the union conferences adopt a uniform and simplified procedure for transferring black ministers across local conference lines for pulpit assignments to white churches.

3. That economic sanctions be initiated against those church organizations that refuse to support the authority of the church in matters of race relations, since the church has never strictly supported the policy of "local autonomy."

4. That the church achieve racial parity in employment of blacks and whites, particularly in the educational, medical, and publishing fields.

5. That the church promptly appoint more blacks to union conference departmental positions and establish such guidelines as will enable these blacks to participate on a regular basis, so that they will be invited to serve the needs of the conferences and the churches (black and white) within the union.

6. That black representatives be appointed immediately on the General Conference level to serve in departments not now having black representation (as the Education, the Lay Activities, the Medical, and the Young People's Missionary Volunteer departments).

7. That a sum of \$5,500,000 be allocated for the black Seventh-day Adventists as restitution for the extent to which they and their ancestors were and have been robbed of their time, health, energies, and manhood and deprived of their education by this nation. The distribution of these funds should be apportioned as they are included in items 8 to 17 (following):

8. That a fund of \$2,000,000 be created to offer financial assistance to worthy black students who would be encouraged to engage in church employment on the completion of their college education.

9. That a fund of \$1,000,000 be established to offer financial assistance to those seeking aid to pursue their education on graduate or professional levels and that special attention be given to the needs of those going into medical and paramedical fields.

10. That \$1,000,000 be allocated to the regional conferences to stabilize their economic base.

11. That a reduction of seven percent in tithe percentages for the regional union conferences be granted.

12. That the Inner City Fund be increased from \$100,000 to \$250,000.

13. That a fund of \$250,000 be established to support black students who engage in the Student Missionary Program to promote an interest among black youth for future foreign service.

14. That a fund of \$250,000 be established to assist those black teachers already engaged in Seventh-day Adventist Church employment to pursue advanced study.

15. That the General Conference appropriate \$50,000 annually over the next five years in scholarship assistance to white students who would be recruited as students for Oakwood College, so as to frustrate the pattern that would suggest that Oakwood College is a segregated institution.

16. That a \$50,000 operating supplement be provided annually above the normal operating base increase to Oakwood College for five years to provide for a cushion that would meet the demands of any emergency that would arise.

17. That a \$25,000 operating appropriation be granted annually to Pine Forge Academy over the next ten years, so as to stabilize its economic base.

18. That a \$25,000 operating supplement be provided annually above the normal operating base increase to Riverside Hospital for five years to provide for a cushion to meet the demands of any emergency that would arise.

What is the rationale for making such requests? Seventy-four years ago, in 1896, Ellen White said that the black people are due a debt of love, and that God has ordained that restitution should be made. This is our great opportunity as a church today.

Where do we go from here? If our hearts are right, we must plan an effective strategy for racial desegregation in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. On each church level considered, effective strategy will require a variety of actions that are interactive and mutually supportive. Included should be strategies (1) emphasizing the changing of attitudes and (2) emphasizing direct changes of social patterns and institutions through active intervention.

There is no valid ethical ground for categorical insistence on restricting strategy to techniques of "persuasion" and "education" in the removal of racial barriers in the church, notwithstanding the common assertions to the contrary. The very existence of such barriers is not ethical, and the racial composition of the membership and basis for participation in the church is not properly a matter requiring the consent of persons in the church.

The implied commitment to unity and harmony *above all else* has dangers. Too often the majority have yielded their convictions on race relations to the demand for unity and harmony, with the result that hardcore segregationists are able to define the nature of the unity. In short, efforts to change the status quo are interpreted as disruption of fellowship rather than as desirable creative innovation in harmony with the basic values of the church.

Those who have witnessed our avoidance of a serious program toward desegregation within the church claim that we have been deceptive and dishonest. Some have given up in despair to the point of rejecting the principle of an interracial community of brethren. Some among us wish to organize black union conferences. But others of us feel that we must caution against attempting to obliterate the trace of racial shame that might be lurking in our souls by embracing a kind of racial chauvinism — as if in reply to past exclusions (and often in response to present conditions) we will create our own patterns of exclusiveness.

Where do we go from here?

It is time now to have a dramatic confrontation with our consciences (with the Spirit of God within us) to the extent that God will work a revolution — not of rhetoric, but of righteousness (right doing) among us,

designed to enhance the achievement of a progressive Christian fellowship rather than a distorted racial isolationism born of the deluded wish to skirt scriptural injunctions for the sake of unity, harmony, self-determination, "advancing the cause," or whatever reason.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 LOUIS E. LOMAX, *To Kill a Black Man* (Los Angeles: Holloway House Publishing Company n.d.), pp. 162-163. (Read of Martin Luther King's Chicago experience.)
- 2 ELLEN G. WHITE, *The Bible Provides Guiding Principles in Race Relations*, *Review and Herald*, March 24 and 31, 1966
- 3 See Romans 12:5; 1 Corinthians 10:16; Ephesians 1:23, 2:16, 3:6, 4:4, 4:12, 5:23; Colossians 1:18; 2:19, 3:14; John 17 (stressing the unity of Christians).

Regional Union Conferences

E. EARL CLEVELAND

41

The ghetto is girding for survival. The present political administration has closed the Job Corps; cut the budget of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; paralyzed the Office of Economic Opportunity; and openly encouraged those who would defy the Supreme Court timetable for school desegregation. The Department of Justice assaults the Black Panther party but simultaneously tolerates such white groups as the Minutemen, the Vigilantes, and the Ku Klux Klan. The McCarran Act has provided for concentration camps in the United States for the incarceration of black militants and has envisioned the encirclement and immobilization of ghetto areas in emergency situations.

Since the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert F. Kennedy, hope has well-nigh died that this country will ever accord the Negro all of the privileges guaranteed him under the Constitution, and a new mood has emerged that will surely affect every aspect of life in the ghetto. Black control of every institution in the ghetto is the immediate goal.

In these circumstances the organization of "regional" (black) union conferences is crucial to the survival of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as an effective force among blacks. Perhaps one question as to the advisability of this step will inevitably be raised first: What about integration as a preferable solution?

We must avoid the trap of attempting ideological consistency when the problems to be solved are characterized by inconsistency. Let me explain. Total integration means assimilation and dispersion — the ultimate disappearance of the minority. Absolute rule by the majority is safe only when the majority acts with a degree of wisdom and justice clearly not now existing (Only Christ can claim these attributes absolutely.) Total inte-

gration under imperfect circumstances, therefore, is not desirable to most blacks — in or out of the church.

I

What, then, would be the effect if meaningful integration were to take place here and now?

If instituted immediately, integration would greatly disadvantage the minority. In education, most black teachers would be "consolidated" out of their jobs. Most Negro students would be "consolidated" out to public schools. Only white pastors would be acceptable to whites. To use the Los Angeles Fifty-fourth Street Church as an example, with the assumption of a one-man-one-vote formula — blacks would rarely attain church office, and then at the discretion of the majority, and the benefit of such officeholders to the minority would be doubtful, since their continuance in office would depend on their maintaining the favor of the majority. Developments in the large ghetto areas, especially of the North, Midwest, and West, in terms of the polarization of racial attitudes, make it impossible for white administrators to administer, appreciate, or anticipate the needs of the exploding black society.

Integration leads to the dissipation of the minority's power of collective action; hence, the majority controls the minority. Segregation, on the other hand, means overt denial of human privilege; hence, the majority controls the minority. Both integration and segregation mean death to minority power of action — or at best a form of benign paternalism.

The answer seems to lie between: (1) black control of their own affairs at the local and union conference levels but (2) integration of all departments, boards, and institutions that affect the work of the church. White-controlled union conferences would be expected to retain their black personnel and to maintain an "open door" hiring policy. Conversely, black-controlled union conferences should open their doors for white participation.

II

Many whites view regional union conferences as a form of separatism and call for their abolition at every opportunity. By the same reasoning, why not abolish white conferences and affiliate them with existing regional units? The fact is that *neither* need be abolished; throwing open the door to full participation by all races on the basis of merit avoids separatism. But since even this decision is subject to the will of the electorate, and since the

42

ratio is one to seven, the minority is still out in the cold. Exclusion is the necessary mechanism for separatism. An organization, therefore, may be all white or all black and not be separatist.

The Jews have given us the only example in history of minority survival. Their formula is simple: the Jews control their community and stick together at that level. In every country where there are sizable numbers, this is their practice.

Eighteen thousand black people are absorbed by the white race each year. This is possible because in physical appearance their negritude is difficult to detect. But for most of us highly visible brothers, survival outside the church and progress inside require collective action at the community level, and the integration of all institutions and levels of government meaningful to life in the community.

My visits to South America and many other parts of the world convinced me that control of union conference organizations by indigenous leaders does not lessen the fervor with which they love their white brothers nor their faithfulness in the prosecution of the work of the church. Rather, it forms what Ellen White calls a "unity of diversity" which has strengthened the church work.

I saw Brazilians manning the Brazil union conferences and Argentines manning Argentine union conferences. There is a Jamaican in charge of the West Indies Union Conference. Caucasians who visit in all these areas where the work of the church is literally exploding know that nowhere else in the world are they better treated or more warmly received, loved, and appreciated. Local governments in other parts of the world are now demanding that their own nationals in Adventist churches be given these seats of responsibility. Thank God that this practice has been accelerated in recent years. Doubtless we shall learn that we have lost nothing by trusting those who know their people best to administer the affairs that directly concern them.

Ellen White suggested that Negroes should be trained to work for their own people and that whites should be trained to work for theirs, but that there should be no exclusion of whites or blacks from those units of organization operated by both.

III

In my opinion, the time has come for the organization of regional union conferences for the following reasons:

1. There are sixty-one conferences in North America. Eight of them are

administered by Negroes. This means that when a president's term of office ends, there are only seven other places where he might possibly be invited. This situation can contribute to stagnation of leadership, for, with so few opportunities elsewhere, each man has to hold on where he is. White presidents have no such problem. With fifty-three places to go instead of eight, the advantage is obvious. The organization of regional union conferences would provide a natural outlet for men who have gained experience to move to a new level of church government and would make possible frequent changes in leadership, which, as the church has learned from experience, is indeed wholesome for the whole body. To its everlasting credit, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has had a program of training its leaders educationally, and in any organization the merit system is a key factor in morale.

2. There are certain pressing priority needs that demand the collective attention of all regional union conferences. Under the present arrangement, it is virtually impossible to secure unanimous action and secure inter-union cooperation between blacks in projects that are literally crying for attention. To be specific: in terms of capital improvement, there are needs in education that are becoming a disgrace to the church. A union conference organization would have the power to gain attention for these needs, because the resources of several conferences could be brought to bear on a given project without the organizational tension that might come from inter-union contacts.

3. Since union conference presidents exercise controlling voices in the affairs of the church, especially in North America, it is imperative that black men have someone at the union conference level to speak for them. Since the ratio of black to white in North America in the church stands at one black to every seven whites, the chance of the election of a black man to the presidency of a union conference is remote, to say the least. If it is wrong for black men to feel themselves entitled to presidency positions, by the same token it is wrong for white men to hold such positions.

4. The church needs regional union conferences because the present structure cannot possibly give controlling power to blacks in their own areas, since the whites operate as majority "stockholders" — which means that the position of blacks in the Seventh-day Adventist Church would ever be that of assisting, or associating, adrift in a sea of white power.

One point needs to be made clear here. The request for black union conferences is not a prelude to a request for a separate General Conference organization. In the perilous days ahead, blacks and whites will always

need each other. I can envision joint (black and white) union conference gatherings where men will meet as equals. Such gatherings could be the means of more significant Christian fellowship, as has been the case at the conference level, if there is mutual good will. Whites must not consider themselves threatened by this new maturity. This is not rebellion. It is the natural consequence of growth. Let it be remembered that this attainment is not intended to be the dividing of the church. It is the one means by which blacks and whites can "press together" as equals.

Although the church must *never* forsake its commitment to world missions, the Negro must be free to establish priorities closer home. It is a fact that for all of the far-flung mission philanthropies of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, we, like the rest of the nation, have been slow in coming to the ghetto. Just here let me pay tribute to those white brothers who sense our needs, understand our language, and plead our cause. We are aware of the pressures that are sometimes consequences of their efforts. These white brothers are supported by prayers that they know not of. We blacks are embarrassed that they have to speak for us. If we are granted union conference organizations, we will speak for ourselves!

IV

Integration means one of three things, depending on who is talking:

1. Integration may mean total assimilation — dispersion through the body — intermarriage, interaction, and interpersonal relations. Race is forgotten! We blacks know that most of our white brothers don't want this. It may give them some comfort to know that most Negroes don't either. As Doctor King used to put it, "I don't want to be your brother-in-law, just your brother."

2. Integration may mean the establishment of a quota system all along the line — in churches, schools, and all church organization levels, the quota varying according to the pressures exerted by the minority, the good grace of the majority, or the direction the country is taking.

3. Integration may mean that the majority decides who the minority "representatives" among them shall be, using them to keep their fingers on the pulse of the minority. These are, in fact, representatives of the establishment.

The white minister isn't ready for integration in any but perhaps the third sense, and the white laity is even less ready. We are fooling ourselves if we think we're going to get anybody to try to force integration. Our white brothers know well that to begin a program of forcible integration would

jeopardize the financial security of the church and its success at its world mission. Therefore, they are left only the alternative of persuasion. This being true, we can expect no instant miracles! And further, while we refuse to start a revolution, we cannot wait for evolution.

The church regional conference organizations have anticipated the actions of the rest of the religious world. The Unitarians, who delighted themselves as a classless society, have organized a department for Negro affairs. This year the Catholics finally organized a black department within the hierarchy. (We were fifty years ahead of them.) The Methodists abolished their central jurisdiction and after a few years of "integration," in which blacks were consistently outvoted and outdone, the relationship is about to fall apart.

We must combine the ideal with the pragmatic. In the language of our prophet, we must face the situation as it is. One need only visit a Sabbath service and see black men and women exercising fully the privileges of lay leadership to realize what a wise plan it would be to offer equal opportunity for each member of the human family to function to the full limits of his capacity. At the same time, equal opportunity knocks down walls of exclusion that would prevent the black from fellowshiping with his white brother.

It would seem philosophically sound, then, that we tailor our solution to the nature of the problem, namely, (1) that we integrate those institutions of church government that may indeed be integrated and (2) that we provide equal opportunity within the framework of one's own community relationship in those areas where resistance is strongest.

The record in eight conferences shows that with black men in control of their own business there has been an explosion in soulwinning and that financial support has skyrocketed and continued to rise. If this record is any indication, then the next step — the development of regional union conferences — can only make even more outstanding the results heretofore attained.

A Christian Declaration ON RACE RELATIONS

OUR COMMISSION

53 *We are commissioned by the Holy Scriptures to witness to the Gospel's teaching that before God mankind is one.*

Mankind is one because God called men into being by one act of creation: God made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth (Acts 17:26). God created man in His own image (Genesis 1:26).

Mankind is one because God saves men by one act of redemption: Christ has been lifted up, drawing all men to Himself (John 12:32) as members of one new humanity (Galatians 6:15). Christ has broken down all walls of separation (Ephesians 2:14) so that there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free (Galatians 3:28).

Mankind is one because God offers men membership in one fellowship of the reconciled: Men may now experience interdependence and a common life as members of the Body of Christ (Romans 12:4). Men may enjoy reconciliation with their brothers through membership in the household of God (Ephesians 2:19).

We are commissioned by the prophetic passages which have always guided this religious movement to witness that before God mankind is one.

"Walls of separation have been built up between the whites and the blacks. These walls of prejudice will tumble down when Christians obey the Word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their Maker and impartial love to their neighbors" (*Christian Service*, p. 217).

"Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God" (*Testimonies for the Church*, Volume VII, p. 225).

"In Christ Jesus we are one. By the utterance of one name, 'Our Father,' we are lifted to the same rank. We become members of the royal family,

children of the heavenly King. His principles of truth bind heart to heart, be they rich or poor, high or low" (*Review and Herald*, October 24, 1899).

"In our worship of God there will be no distinction between rich and poor, white and black. All prejudice will be melted away. When we approach God, it will be as one brotherhood" (*Review and Herald*, October 24, 1899).

OUR CONDITION

We recognize that from the beginning of history fear and hate, pride and suspicion, violence and oppression have set man against man, race against race, and brother against brother.

We recognize that in our time and in our nation man's cruelty to his fellows has taken the particularly damaging form of racism, the practice of categorizing a person on the basis of his racial background alone.

We recognize that America's history includes a long record of injustice and violence that the white man has imposed on the black. Today we are reaping the bitter harvest of our past — a harvest of hate, suspicion, and renewed violence. Yet the same attitudes which led to the brutal oppression that our Adventist pioneers resisted in the 1850's and 1860's still persist in the minds of many Americans in the 1970's.

We recognize, further, that these attitudes are found not only outside the Church, in the world we seek to reach, but within the community of faith as well. In our own hearts are often found ignorance, mistrust, and condescension.

We recognize that prejudice, exploitation, and discrimination are sins. These sins both grind down the victim and scar the soul of the person guilty of them.

OUR CONFESSION

We confess our sins.

We confess that often we have been silent and insensitive when we might have uttered a prophetic witness.

We confess that often we have failed to display a reconciling and redemptive spirit when the opportunity has broken in upon us.

We confess that too often our religious organizations have not only fallen behind the Christian ideal but also behind some secular movements in opposing sinful injustice and oppression.

We confess our failure, and in prayer and penitence we pledge ourselves to work at all levels for the realization of the mind and life of Christ.

OUR COMMITMENT

In our teaching and preaching, we commit ourselves to specific tasks and goals intended to educate our membership in the area of human relations. We therefore urge:

1. That we seek to present more clearly the teachings of Scripture, trying in particular to correct misunderstandings about supposedly Biblical bases for discrimination.
2. That we prayerfully review the writings which record our beginnings as a movement, to inform ourselves of the courageous stands taken by our spiritual forefathers on racial issues.
3. That we help people to understand that differences among races serve to enhance unique cultural contributions and are in no way to be construed as indicators of inherent superiority or inferiority.
4. That we utilize available resources in coordinating seminars, workshops, and exchange programs aimed at bringing about understanding and interdependence among racial groups.

In our formation of institutional policies, we commit ourselves to specific tasks and goals in an attempt to foster racially inclusive practices. We therefore urge:

1. That each congregation of our Conference prayerfully adopt the following covenant: As a congregation under the Lordship of Christ and by the grace of God we declare that "In every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." Such a person of whatever color or national origin is therefore welcome to us as brother, guest, member, co-worker, or leader.
2. That each Conference-related institution prayerfully adopt the following covenant: As an institution under the Lordship of Christ and by the grace of God we declare that in our personnel and admission policies and in our programs of service we will give consideration to all persons without regard to color or race.

In our individual and corporate life we thus commit ourselves to the "ministry of reconciliation" and pray:

1. That we may come to be free from prejudice, pride, condescension, paternalism, and scorn toward any group, whether it be racial, national, economic, or religious.
2. That we may learn to love every person as Christ loves.
3. That we may actively cooperate with God's healing, reconciling, and renewing work in the Church and among all men.

Ride In, Kind Saviour

Ride in, kind Saviour!
No man can hinder me.
O, Jesus is a mighty man!
No man can hinder me.
We're marching through Virginny fields.
No man can hinder me.
O, Satan is a busy man,
No man can hinder me.
And he has his sword and shield,
No man can hinder me.
O, old Secesh done come and gone!
No man can hinder me.

Black Power and Christianity

EMORY J. TOLBERT

47

Young Stokely Carmichael revived the term *Black Power* in his now famous speech during the Montgomery March in the spring of 1966. The phrase had become strange to both black and white ears over the years of its disuse. Uncertain of its meaning, whites turned to trusted black spokesmen for a definition. Those black leaders who did not denounce Black Power out of hand set about the task of constructing a positive definition of the term.

At the height of nonviolent activism in the Civil Rights movement, many of the leaders were clergymen. Martin Luther King, Ralph D. Abernathy, and most of the other Southern Christian Leadership Conference spokesmen were ministers. Local black clergymen were among the first to be called on for aid in organizing voter registration drives and freedom marches throughout the South. The heavy involvement of clergymen gave the nonviolent phase of the Civil Rights Movement a distinctly religious orientation. Consequently, leaders demanded black equality as not only a constitutional guarantee but also a God-given right. Appeals to whites amounted to appeals to their sense of Christian obligation. And the methodology of the Movement was continually subjected to moral tests by those who realized that its public posture had to remain consistent with the rationale for its demands.

The blacks of the mid-1960s, however, were relearning a bitter lesson. Their faith in white institutions had been renewed by favorable Supreme Court decisions and a flood of new legislation. An apparently cooperative mood was in evidence among many whites, and the overt racism attributed to the Deep South seemed to be slipping out of favor. But the hostility which met civil rights demonstrators in Northern suburbs, coupled with unimproved conditions in the ghetto, began to create a different impression.

48

Ominous urgings by white "liberals" that blacks decrease their level of activism and "consolidate" their gains led many blacks to conclude that even the most sympathetic whites had not fully realized the pain of being black in America. And with the rediscovery of widespread white toleration of gradualism, black men — especially the impoverished ghetto dwellers — began to see their plight as essentially unchanged.

The stubborn core of the black man's problem in America is white racism. More specifically, the black man is faced with a society that refuses to define him as a human being. Furthermore, not only is he defined as a nonperson, but he is expected to respond as a nonperson. James Cone refers to this as an "existential absurdity." The absurdity is the black man, who must define himself as a human being, facing a world which insists that he respond as something he is not, a nonhuman.¹

Black Power represents the reexamination by blacks of the problem of a subhuman identity. Hence the definition of Black Power. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton state in their book *Black Power*: "Black people must redefine themselves, and only *they* can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history; their culture; to create their own sense of community togetherness."²

Christians who were comparatively comfortable with the "suffer until the enemy feels it" philosophy which underpinned the nonviolent movement often find Black Power disturbing. Black Power and its advocates, therefore, are often doomed to fail the moral tests put to them, because we assume that their redefinitions conflict with ours. Granted, not everyone who shouts Black Power shares a philosophy consonant with that of the Christian. But it cannot be denied that Black Power, as a notion deemed important by millions of blacks, merits more consideration in the light of Christianity than the summary dismissal it has received from many of us.

Finding a position on Black Power that reflects the attitude of Seventh-day Adventists is difficult. Caught between a past influenced by the somewhat liberal racial views of abolitionists and a present dominated by the conservatism characteristic of institutions run by white middle-class Americans, the Adventist Church seems to adhere to a careful noncommitment on the weightier issues of race. Blacks today, however, are demanding commitment — not only to their right to live as citizens but also to their effort to secure a human definition. Each man, therefore, is either a party to the black man's oppression or an ally in his liberation.

Any institution whose posture on black liberation is unclear presents the

blacks in it with problems; and so it is with many Christian churches, including the Adventist Church. The black Christian's choice not to be *of* the world leaves him very much *in* it. And the almost constant state of rage that James Baldwin says characterizes the mood of the aware black tempts the black Adventist. Yet, the black is told that rancor is a detriment to his experience in Christ. And so he correctly labels white racism as "sin" and dismisses it as further evidence of Satan's chaotic presence.

This tidy device successfully wards off rage until the black Christian encounters that anomaly, the racist white "Christian." Now a new set of problems arises. The Adventist black's defense against the attitudes of racists outside the Fellowship of Christ was not designed to handle the "Christian" bigot, and he is once again as vulnerable as ever.

49

The racist in the church is a troublesome presence to all blacks, whether or not they choose to admit it. But that presence is far less frustrating than are the efforts to explain it away. Among Adventists one hears churchgoing racists characterized in many ways: (1) as neophyte Christians whose continued growth will lead them to accept all men; (2) as products of social custom whose notions about race are neither right nor wrong; (3) as staunch fundamentalists who perceive the newfangled doctrine of up-close interracial brotherhood as what it is: a ploy of Satan to prevent the preaching of the *real* message of Adventism; and (4) as high-strung persons whose quirks must be tolerated in the interest of harmony. Black people know rationalizations for racism when they hear them. And they also realize that persons who rationalize racism *are* racists.

In addition, blacks know that racist "Christians" are unconverted, and therefore are really not Christians at all. Efforts to sidestep that fact by using the hoary doubletalk of racism's tired apologists only aggravate the black's inner struggle with the rage born of oppression. And the rejected black who, after Benjamin Banneker, feels the "scorn and censure of the world" in turn often rejects the church as yet another once-trusted friend.

Those blacks who survive the painful crisis generated by signed-up white "Christians" and who remain in the church conjure up new mind-devices to keep faith alive. Most often these blacks place total reliance on the teachings of the church, as distinct from the human arguments of many of its white members, and on the just Deity of the Bible. They thereby effectively shut out the white who so often intrudes on their spiritual happiness, dismissing him as an unsavory experience.

This device is imperfect; the tragedy is that it is necessary in the first place. Black Americans who already confront a nation whose words to

blacks historically conflict with its deeds toward them should not have to grapple with the same contradictions in church. And this explains why the black church and white church phenomenon exists in most Christian churches, including the Adventist Church. The "racist Christian" is a contradiction of terms, and we both combat and accommodate him by creating two more contradictory terms: "black church" and "white church." The black Adventist church shields the black man from the disturbing presence of the racist "Christian;" the white Adventist church shields the racist from the threatening presence of the black human-being-Christian. And the situation rests uneasily on a maze of official and unofficial nonpolicies often explained in nonstatements by meticulously uncommitted persons.

The assumption that Black Power is an entirely political animal, and therefore not within the scope of church concern, is erroneous. One needs only to listen to the rhetoric of Black Power to understand that its thrust is also spiritual and, in a sense, moral.

Black Power, first of all, claims to be the enemy of white power. If white power, more commonly termed white supremacy, is to be judged by the number and condition of its victims, it is evil. This places Black Power at odds with evil, an evil which dehumanizes its victims. The assumption that Black Power is simply a euphemism for black supremacy does not agree with the definition its advocates give it. Black Power does not seek to undermine any human's status as a human being, as does white power. Rather, it challenges the white man's status as master.

Liberation is the major concern of Black Power. This liberation is not only physical, but spiritual. The redefinition of the black man alluded to earlier is a process with which Christians should identify. Aiding in the formulation of a subhuman definition of a human — which is what all racists do, regardless of their denominational affiliation — is murder. To counteract this is the appropriate work of Christians. But Christian churches have countenanced racism to the point of complicity. And one cannot help the black man reassert his humanity unless one believes in that humanity.

Unfettering the minds of tormented blacks (and whites) would certainly be the work of Christ. After all, with whom did Christ spend his life on earth? Those on the periphery of existence had him live among them. The good news he brought them spoke to their need for a human definition in a hostile world: they were sons of Deity.

Christian churches have not escaped the effort on the part of Black Power advocates to "blacken" all institutions that relate to black people. Today, institutions that do not reflect the culture and value system of the

50

black community are suspect. Therefore, Christians who desire to continue to speak to the black community must confront this mood.

There seems to be ample evidence that most of our interpretations and applications of Christianity are culturally derived. This fact has plagued the black man in America for centuries. Black men have accepted a Christianity that seems to tolerate their status as oppressed people defined by whites as subhuman. Albert Cleage calls this "slave Christianity," the version of Christianity that masters taught their chattel.³ White masters selected from Scripture the concepts that they felt best supported their status as masters. Slaves, therefore, learned a Christianity convenient to white needs and consonant with the white man's definition of the black slave.

Were the black man today to continue to accept this slavemaster's subhuman definition, he would deny his most precious identity, that of a child of God. In its place he would be accepting a shabby substitute concocted by sick minds. To fulfill the white racist's concept of what he should be, the black man must become an "it;" this is what living at peace with racism demands. Blacks who countenance racism, consequently, must hate themselves; and this alone eliminates the possibility of a love relationship with anyone, black or white. Therefore, the prospect of accepting the presence of racism in any institution is immoral, as well as unattractive to blacks. Black men must confront white racism and expose it as evil. This is the love-act which is most relevant to oppressed blacks.

The surprising attribute of the new Black Power is its agreement in goals with much of what is traditional in Christianity. If the Christian church should seek to "make human life more human," as Joseph Hough asserts, its duty does not differ significantly from what the Black Power Movement is about.⁴

If Christ became man to suffer the anguish that accompanies our condition, cannot the church "become black" and suffer with those whose blackness brings down torment? Christianity deals with identity and with liberation and with suffering because Christ dealt with them. Christians who insist upon allying with racism have allowed a Black Power Movement similar in aim but different in name to preempt their opportunity to respond to Christ's life. And the black man's self-affirmation continues without them.

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Twisted Roots The Curse of Ham

The Kenya Castle was sailing "full speed ahead" in the placid waters of the mighty Atlantic Ocean. We had left behind the frigid waters of the North, and were now in the balmy clime of the South. The change in temperature had wrought a change in the attitude of the passengers. The icy air of exclusiveness melted, and a warm friendliness was noticeable. People from far away places mingled together like next door neighbors. Class and cultural barriers were broken down and the travelers became one multinational family.

I became acquainted with a middle-aged clergyman from Scotland who was making the circle tour around Africa. We engaged in small talk and chit-chat. Then he proceeded to ply me with questions.

"Where are you from? Where are you going?" he asked in one breath.

"I am from New York City," I replied. "I am an ordained minister under appointment to serve as President of the Uganda Mission in East Africa."

"Are you Baptist?" he inquired.

"No, I am a Seventh-Day Adventist!"

"A Seventh-Day Adventist, you say? That must be a new religion, isn't it? I have never heard of that church," he remarked. I moved a bit closer to my new found friend as we stood on the deck. Smiling in a friendly manner, I proceeded to answer his questions. "No, Seventh-Day Adventism is not new. In fact it is as old as creation. Adam and Eve, the first man and woman on Planet Earth were Sabbath-keeping Adventists! They observed and honored the seventh-day Sabbath, when they were but one day old! You see, God created them on the sixth day of the week, and they kept the Sabbath as soon as the sun had set, according to the Bible in the first two chapters of Genesis!"

With a display of interest and skepticism my Scottish clergyman exclaimed, "That's an amazing bit of Bible information!"

"But that's not all," I continued, "the first Seventh-Day Adventist preacher began to preach before God destroyed the Flood in Noah's day. The Flood came 1656 years after creation. That was 4,000 years ago! And he is alive today!"

The preacher looked at me with visible signs of disbelief. After a brief pause, he continued the dialogue. "That's incredible! Surely, you don't expect anyone to believe that, do you?"

A thought flashed through my mind. So I posed this question, "Do you believe the Bible?"

"Of course I do! I've been studying it for nearly twenty-five years!" he assured me.

"Well, we are on the same plane," I agreed. "The Bible is the basis of my statements. Both the Old Testament and the New Testament reveal the story of Enoch. Jude verses 14 and 15 reminds us that Enoch also, the seventh from Adam prophesied

of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints . . . Now, that is an Adventist message. Broadly speaking, an Adventist is a person who believes in the second Advent of Christ. Enoch believed in Christ's second coming and preached it with power!"

The conversation flowed on as I asked, "Where is Enoch now?"

"He is dead, by now, along with all the Old Testament prophets," he replied.

"On, no, Enoch is not dead, he is very much alive!" I stated.

"Preacher, can you prove that rash statement?" the clergyman from Scotland asked with sincerity.

I smiled confidently, "Oh, the Bible proves it! In the very first book of Sacred Scripture we are told Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him." (Genesis 5:24). God took Enoch to Paradise to live with Him. He did not die! He is in heaven today, and very much alive!"

"That's incredible! I had never understood that before! This has been enlightening. Now, lest we delve into more Adventist teaching, please tell me about your specific work in East Africa," suggested my friend.

I responded quickly, "As President of the Adventist Church, I will supervise and direct church activities in four major areas. These are Medical, Educational, Publishing and Pastoral evangelism. My ministerial force will consist of Europeans, Africans, Asians and Americans. It will be a miniature United Nation. This will include physicians, teachers, publishers, office workers, contractors, nurses and skilled and unskilled laborers."

"Did I understand that you are the President of that church organization in Uganda?" the Scotsman asked.

"Yes!" I replied in the affirmative. "Does that pose a problem for you?" I asked.

He did not dodge the question, but gave this response; "To be honest with you, I have never known any Black person to be President of a company or organization that has white people on its staff. I don't think a Black man should ever have a rank higher than the white. I don't think a Black person should be President over white people!" He was sincere and frank about his personal convictions. I did not detect any malice, so I felt free to pursue the discussion.

"What's wrong in having a Black person as President of a religious organization when he is qualified for the position?" I asked.

He bared his soul and exclaimed, "God cursed Ham and made Black people servants!"

Again, my question, "Friend, do you believe the Bible?"

He answered as he had done earlier, "Yes, I still believe the Bible!"

"Then I have news for you!" I remarked. "There are two instances recorded where God cursed a man, and then cursed a woman. When God cursed them, what happened to the color of their skin."

"I don't recall," he admitted.

"Let the Bible tell us. In the account of Gehazi the servant of Elisha, who coveted silver and changes of garments, then lied about it, he met swift retribution for his sins. The leprosy thereof of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed forever. And he went out from his presence, a leper, as white as snow. (II Kings 5:27). Now go to the book of Numbers 12:10. This is the experience of Miriam, who had spoken against her brother Moses. Moses had married a Black Ethiopian woman. Miriam became jealous

of Ziporrah's influence over Moses so Miriam began to complain. Jehovah God pronounced swift judgment against Miriam and she became leprous, white as snow. It is interesting to see," I continued, "that when God cursed a man, and then cursed a woman, they did not become Black as ebony; they became white as snow! You are white and I am Black, so whose skin color bears the curse?"

Suddenly the preacher had to rush to his cabin. I am sure many thoughts were piercing his mind. I remained upon the deck looking over the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean.

My traveling companion is not the only "Christian" who believes that Black people are cursed by God. This curse, they say, makes us innately inferior to white people solely on the grounds of pigmentation of the skin. They believe Blacks are designed by God to be servants and slaves. This diabolical assumption is based upon a misconception of the word of God. Actually, God never cursed Ham! In fact, God blessed Noah and his sons and said unto them, "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. (Genesis 9:1).

It was Canaan who was cursed and not Ham. It was Noah who pronounced the curse, and not God! In his drunken stupor Noah said, "curse be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers." (Genesis 9:25).

This text has been used by church leaders to justify slavery. They reason that the curse proves that Blacks, as offsprings of Ham are destined by God, to occupy a permanent status at the bottom of society. Blacks, they say should never be considered as equal with white people. To add insult to injury, in white semantics, Black is equated always with that which is bad. The English language is laced with denigrating phrases as "black sheep;" "black ball;" "black list;" "black guard;" "black flag;" "black art;" "black mail;" and "black widow." This is subtle racism! these terms cast aspersions on Black people. Bad guys always dress in black. The only time that "black" has dignity is in the business world, when it is far better to be in the "black" than to be in the "red!"

On the other hand, white is always right! There are white angels, white sheep, a white God and white robes in a white heaven!

Let us look at the curse as it is recorded in Holy Writ: "And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." (Genesis 9:25). The malediction was not God's; it was Noah's. The survivor of the Flood was drunk with wine. Had he been sober, he would not have been lying stark naked in his tent. Nor does Noah claim divine authority when he uttered the curse. History reveals the fact that the Hamites prospered; they were the masters not the slaves! The first two great civilizations upon earth were Hamitic; the Babylonians and Egyptians. The descendants of Ham and Canaan built great cities of Ninevah and Babylon. They occupied magnificent palaces, built giant aqueducts, stabilized systems of government and ruled empires. At the same time the lineage of Japheth was living in primitive conditions in Europe. Both secular and sacred historians, reveal the fact that the Egyptians, of the family of Ham, built a civilization that had no equal in their day. The story of Ham is really the tale of twisted roots!

Ellen G. White, an inspired prophetic messenger made these lucid observations concerning Egypt in her various volumes:

Egypt "was the mightiest nation on earth at the time of the Exodus."

"Egypt was the most highly civilized nation at the time of Joseph and the time of Moses."

Patriarchs and Prophets - p. 214

"Egypt was unequalled in culture, civilization, art and learning in Joseph's time."
Education - p. 53

"Egypt was the world's greatest empire."

Testimonies Vol.. 6 - p. 219

To dispel the fallacy that Egyptians were caucasoid, she wrote; "The people of the Nile were dusky Egyptians."

Patriarchs and Prophets - p. 150

David the Psalmist, under inspiration refers to Egypt as "the land of Ham. (See Psalms 105: 23; 26-27; 106: 21-22 and 78:51). He repeats the title three times so there can be no mistake that Egypt, "the land of Ham" belongs to Black Africa!

"To Ham's descendants belong the African and Arabian Cushites, (Ethiopians) the Egyptians, and the Canaanites."

Seventh-Day Adventist Bible Dictionary page 452.

But the Roots have been Twisted!

The number two son of Ham was MIZRAIM, father of the "dusky" Egyptians. The Hebrew word for Egypt is "MIZRAIM." These Biblical and historical facts prove beyond doubt that God did not curse Ham! Neither were his offspring assigned a subservient place in society!

Why is it then, that for the last three centuries, Noah's curse has been applied exclusively to Black people? The answer is that this mentality is used as a convenient way to justify New World slavery. It is an emollient to soothe the seared conscience of so-called civilized people to justify their brutal, inhumane and unjust treatment of Blacks by white slaveholders. In psychology this is known as "rationalization." If Blacks are subhuman species of animal-like beings then to enslave them is ordained by God! Do not forget that many church folk believed that God destined Blacks to perpetual slavery. And furthermore, since God had mandated the lowly status of these inferior beings, no government had the right to change heaven's purposes, and that the enslavement of Blacks should be forever! A case of Twisted Roots!

In seeking divine sanction for racism and segregation, both "saints and sinners" have used the "curse of Ham" label to justify their iniquitous position on race relations. Even now, racism, like a cancer, is eating the heart of today's society and is "man's most dangerous myth." This is visible evidence of Twisted Roots!

What says the Bible? "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him -, male and female created he them," (Genesis 1:27).

Paul, speaking to the Athenians on Mars Hill said boldly, "God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth . . ." (Acts 17:24-26).

The Greeks were a proud and vain people. They believed that they were the elite, and all others were barbarians. Paul made it crystal clear that Greeks, Jews and all other people are from one common source. There is no basis for any race of people to feel superior to others. The phrase "of one" refers to God who created all nationalities. God is the Progenitor and Father of the human race. This is heaven's definition of true brotherhood, "the oneness of God and the unity of mankind." God untwists the Twisted

Roots! "God, He is the Rock, His work is perfect; for all His ways are judgment; a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is He. . . Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is not He thy father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee?" (Deut. 32:3-6).

Also, "But now, O Lord, thou art our Father; we are thy clay, and thou art the potter: We are all the work of thy hand." (Isaiah 64:8).

In the New Testament times Jesus used the endearing noun "Father" lavishly when referring to God. There are 42 references to God as "Father" in Mathew, and 106 such expressions in John. In the Sermon on the Mount the Son of God uses the affectionate words "Your Father" 15 times!

In the beloved and well known Lord's Prayer Jesus introduces it with the term "Our Father." He is, indeed, Father of all mankind, regardless of class, caste or color. No nation, no race and no people have an exclusive claim upon our heavenly Parent. He is Father of all; and all are brothers. It is a truism, you can't say "brothers" and omit "others!"

"For ye are all children of God by faith in Christ Jesus . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ." (Galatians 3:26,28). God wants to untwist the Twisted Roots!

Wouldn't this be a better world if the Christian community practiced the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? Sad but true, the Church has been a greater hindrance than a helper in the area of human relations. Human prejudice has smothered the love of God. It's an old story. Peter, the Preacher of Pentecost was slow to learn that God is "no respecter" of persons."

I was in Joppa recently and saw the site of the home of Peter's wife mother. You remember the story. Peter was in Joppa at the house of Simon the Tanner. Joppa is a city by the sea, about 30 miles from Caesarea. The housetops are flat and used, oftentimes, for religious services. It was noontime, and Peter was hungry. As the hungry fisherman waited for the midday meal, he "fell into a trance". In this mental state, the disciple of Christ saw "all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things and fowls of the air," let down from heaven in a Kingsize sheet.

A voice was heard from heaven saying "Rise, Peter; kill and eat." Acts 10: 9-13.

Being a Jew, Peter was well-versed in proper diet. He knew from Old Testament instruction the difference between clean meats and unclean meats (Leviticus 11 and Deut 14.) And even in a trance Peter was not hungry enough to forget Jewish teachings on what to eat. He said, "Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything common or unclean." Acts 10:14.

The vision was thrice repeated so that even a mentally dull person could learn a vital lesson from the Master Teacher. Now God was not giving a lesson on diet and food. It wasn't a lesson on vegetarianism versus meat eating. God was talking about human beings! Heaven announced, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." Acts 10:15.

Then in true Biblical hermeneutics, even Peter confessed, "God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean." Acts 10:34. That's the message. "Call no man common or unclean!" Heaven is untwisting twisted roots. Peter continues "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons. But in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." Acts 10: 34-35.

Peter learned the lesson; he got the message from heaven. It broke the barriers of

prejudice. That night, Peter, the Jew, invited two Gentile servants of Cornelius to be his guests. "Then called he them in, and lodged them." Acts 10:23. The next morning the party went to the home of the Centurion in Caesarea. The Centurion recited the experiences which he had had with God.

This experience enabled Peter to understand more fully that God is no respecter of persons. Peter knew, too, that by coming into the residence of a Gentile he was doing that which was unlawful to Jews, But the housetop vision was stronger in its influence than the custom of Jews. From this time onward, he would "not call any man common or unclean" (Acts 10: 23-28).

Oh, how the Christian community needs to learn this lesson in human relations! God does not measure the worth of a person by class or color. God does not accept a man because he is white; neither does he reject a man because he is Black! "For ye are all children of God by faith in Christ Jesus . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." (Galatians 3: 26,28).

Ellen G. White, a staunch believer in human rights declared, "The religion of the Bible recognizes no caste nor color. It ignores rank, wealth and worldly honor. God estimates men as men."

Testimonies Vol. 9 - p. 223

She adds further: "No distinction on account of nationality, race or caste is recognized by God. He is the Maker of all mankind. All men are one family by creation, and all are one through redemption. Christ came to demolish every wall of partition, to throw open every compartment of the temple, that every soul may have free access to God . . . In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek; bond nor free. All are brought nigh by His precious blood."

Ellen G. White

Christ's Object Lesson - p. 386

This divine principle in Race Relations will untwist all Twisted Roots!

ROOTS OF HAM

The Bible is the oldest Book of the history of man. It records the authentic, accurate and Authoritative story of Post-Deluvian man. Interestingly the Sacred Writ makes no delineation among mankind as various races. It repeats the words "kindred, nations tongues and people," which emphasizes the fact that God recognizes but one race; and, that is the human race! Of course there are Black people, White people, Red people and Yellow people; but they constitute but one race, the human race! God's word does not acknowledge Negroid, Caucasoid and Mongoloid races. These are man-made designations of the human family.

It must be remembered that the progenitors of the human race were Adam. Both man and wife were named Adam. "This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him; Male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created. (Genesis 5:1-2).

The name Adam means "Clay-colored" or "ruddy." Or it could be a derivative of the word "Jadomai," to show that the first man is the "ground man" or "dirt-colored man."

A highly respected Christian supports this interpretation; "As man came forth from the hand of his Creator, he was of lofty stature and perfect symmetry. His countenance bore the ruddy tint of health."

*Ellen G. White
Patriarchs and Prophets - p. 45*

The first man upon earth was not White, neither was he Black, but was russet color! All people were dark in color, including the early Israelites. Certainly the antedeluvians were ruddy.

The post deluvians all are descendents of One man's family, Mr. and Mrs. Noah! They were the proud parents of three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth." These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread, (Genesis 9: 18-19). So every person on earth today came from these three sons!

Shem is the progenitor of the Semitic group. Japheth is the father of the Indo-European peoples. Ham is the father of the darker peoples of earth; the Phoenicians, Babylonians, Egyptians and Ethiopians. But it must be remembered that all people have one common origin, whether Red, White, Brown or Black! For the Creator "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts 17:26).

Let it be noted that God never cursed Ham, nor his sons! To the contrary God blessed them! It was Noah in a drunken state of intoxication who uttered the curse, and he did not curse Ham! Noah, you recall got drunk, shed all his clothing and sprawled starknaked in his tent. Ham, the middle son ridiculed the old man for his shameful condition. He ran out and told Shem and Japheth what he had seen. Shem and Japheth walked backwards into the tent to cover their father's nakedness without peeping.

When Noah awoke, probably still woozy and half drunk, he pronounced a curse

upon Canaan who was no where around! It is rather strange that so much theology has been given to the curse pronounced by an intoxicated patriarch! He should not have cursed anybody; rather, he should have hung his head in shame and apologize for his disgraceful conduct!

The language of the curse are these words, "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servant shall he be unto his brethren. (Genesis 9:25). Due to the history of Black enslavement in America, White theologians have tried to ascribe this to Blacks as fulfillment of Bible prophecy. This would justify slavery!

However, the political affairs of the Old Testament contradicts this completely. George Williams, respected Bible scholar penned these words. "The sons of Shem, that is, the Israelites were slaves, the sons of Canaan; that is, the Egyptians were the masters of the world."

The Student Commentary On The Holy Scriptures - p. 14

Ham had four sons: "Cush and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan" (Genesis 10:6) "Ham" means "Black" in Egyptian. Moses, who wrote the first five books of the Bible "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in Words and in deeds." (Acts 7:22).

The offspring of Ham included many people - Amorites, Arkites, Hivites, Hittites, Jebusites, Sinites, Arvadites and Zemarites. (Genesis 10: 6-20). These run from "A to Z!"

Cush, the first born son of Ham is the father of the Ethiopians. The brilliant historian, Josephus records "Of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Cush; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves and all men in Asia, called the Cushites."

Antiquities, Book 1, Chapter 6 - p. 2

Another ancient historian, Herodotus confirms this. "Where the south declines towards the setting sun lies the country called Ethiopia. There gold is obtained in great plenty, huge elephants abound, with wild trees of all sorts, and ebony; and the men are taller, handsomer, and longer lived than anywhere else."

History of Herodotus, Book 3. - p. 114

The descendants of Cush are described as "black, with a flat nose and kinky-hair, who lived along the Nile," wrote Diodorus Siculus, a Greek scholar.

The giant physique of the ebony-hued Ethiopian caught the attention of the gospel prophet, Isaiah who wrote, "The Labor of Egypt, and merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabaeans, men of stature shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine." (Isaiah 45:14).

Ethiopia of antiquity was much more extensive in geography than Modern Ethiopia. It stretched from the Sudan to "regions in western and Southern Asia - notably south western Arabia, southern Persia, and parts of India - which were then occupied primarily or substantially by peoples whose skin was dark brown or black. In other words, the term "Aethiopia" or "Ethiopia" was used in earlier times in a much more inclusive sense than at the present day."

*William Leo Hansberry
Ancient Kush, Old Aethiopia and the Balad EsSudan - p. 1*

Nimrod, son of Cush, was one of the most illustrious persons of the Old Testament. He was "a mighty one in the earth" (Genesis 10: 8; I Chron. 1:10). He was the first King in human history, and a mighty hunter before the Lord (Genesis 10: 9-10). His Kingdom was Babylon. He built many great cities; namely, Babylon, Ninevah, Calah and Rehobath, and other cities in the land of Shinar. He was architect and builder of the Tower of Babel, where God confused the language and scattered the people abroad. Archeologists are now uncovering the cities which were great centers of civilization in the ancient world.

Nimrod was not only a great Kingdom builder he was a religious leader, as well. He was deified as a pagan god. After his death, legend says, his wife bore a son and named him Tammuz. She claimed that he was sired by the dead Nimrod who had become the sun-god. She had become pregnant in March at Easter time, and nine months later Semiramus gave birth to the son of the sun-god December 25. This pagan celebration, honoring the birth of Tammuz, was transferred to the Christian church and a mass was celebrated to honor the birth of the child, and the date, December 25 became known as Christmas Day!

It was further stated that the child was killed sometime later by a wild boar. The women went into mourning and were weeping forty days to influence the gods to give life back to him. This was the forerunner of the 40 days of LENT, celebrated from Ash Wednesday to Easter. So Satan had a plan to counterfeit the Virgin Birth of the Christ Child, and to institute a fake resurrection!

Ham's second son was MIZRAIM, the father of Egyptians. The Hebrew word for Egypt is MIZRAIM. The Egyptians populated North Africa and Canaan. The descendants of Mizraim enslaved the Israelites for more than four centuries. When Moses led the Chosen people out of the land of bondage many Egyptians and other Black people who had inter-married with the Israelites, left with him. In Exodus this horde of humanity is called "the mixed multitude." (Exodus 12:38).

Sacred Scripture identifies Egypt as the country of Blacks. 'Israel also came into Egypt: and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham. (Psalm 105: 23) 'And smote all the first born in Egypt; the chief of their strength in the tabernacles of Ham. (Psalm 78: 5). Still another test to identify Egypt as the land of Ham. "They forgot God their Savior, which had done great things in Egypt; Wondrous works in the land of Ham. (Psalms 106: 21-22).

Egypt climbed to the peak of progress in her prime. Even now thinking people are amazed by the contributions to civilization that were made by this Black nation. Great strides were made in agriculture, architecture, astronomy, medicine, embalming and building. We still don't know how the great Pyramid was built, and modern scientists can't duplicate the process of mummifying the dead!

In the distant past the genius of the Egyptians had enabled them to emerge "as a flourishing monarchy with a strong government and a firm grip on new means of wealth. Several centuries of uniform system of government; a centralized control of the annual floods of the Nile; the construction of a vast system of dykes and irrigation channels, had raised Egypt far above the Neolithic level. Great annual harvests of barley and wheat supported a growing population; provided the central government with a regular surplus of food; (Remember the Bible story of Joseph and the seven years of plenty? (Genesis 41).; enabled and stimulated commerce; and paid for the Pyramids and other monuments that Cheops and his successors would begin to build around 2500 B.C. The great years

of Egypt had begun, over which the divine Pharaoh's would rule nearly three thousand years.'

The Lost Cities of Africa
Basil Davidson - p. 27

The Egyptians had a large navy whose ships brought myrrh, ebony, gold and cattle and ivory into the land of the Pharaohs. These Black people were outstanding scientists in mathematics, agriculture, medicine, engineering, and hydrology. They used geometry and hydrology to resurvey the lands annually after the Nile River overflowed. Algebra is the product of Black Arabs. The word, itself, is Arabic (aljebr) meaning the science of equation.

Phut was the third son of Ham. he occupied Libya in North Africa. The Bible verifies this, "Persia, Ethiopia and Libya with them; all of them with shield and helmet" (Ezekiel 38: 5). The margin says "PHUT" Also (Jeremiah 46:9). In the distant past the Libyans ruled the land from Gibraltar to Egypt.

We come to Ham's youngest son, Canaan. He had the ignoble distinction of bearing the curse of Noah. Yet he was blessed by God. The offspring of Canaan occupied a large territory; The border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even, unto Lasha." (Genesis 10:19).

Tyre and Sidon were great commercial cities. Sidon was named after the first born son of Canaan. The Greeks called the Sidonians Phoenicians, meaning "land of palm;" because of the abundance of palm trees in the area. Their territory was located along the Mediterranean Sea Coast. Tyre and Sidon became cities of renown about 2,300 B.C. Tyre, the sin-soaked seaport, built by the Sidonians, was known for its wealth; its maritime trade; and its wide spread sins.

These Blacks, lovers of the sea became brave mariners who plied the waters of the Mediterranean, Indian Ocean, and there is evidence that they crossed the Ocean to reach the Coast of Brazil, South America. It is highly possible that the Americas and the islands of the Caribbean were discovered by dark-skin descendants of Ham, and not by fair-skin Norsemen or Christopher Columbus.

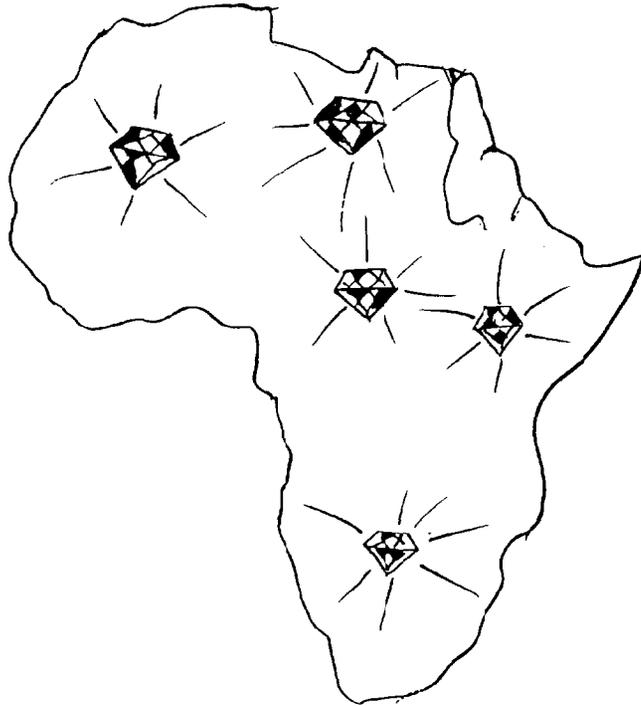
The Phoenicians were skilled in metal work, specializing in silver, brass and gold. They were proficient in needle work, and embroidery. From the abundance of shellfish, they extracted a dye, known as Tyrian purple. They made glass from the White sand of the Mediterranean sea.

The massive city of Carthage was settled by Phoenicians from Tyre. Rising quickly into prominence it became known as the "Queen of the Sea." The population mushroomed because of the strategic location. Carthage controlled the thriving maritime commerce of the Mediterranean waterway. Not only did the Carthaginians obtain wealth from sea trade, they had the secrets of iron smelting, and operated secret mines of expensive metals. The clever Carthaginians gave a system of weights and measures to the Europeans.

About this time Rome was rising into power; destined to challenge the supremacy of Carthage in the Mediterranean sea. Bitter hostility developed between the two super powers. This flared into three long wars called the Punic Wars. "Punic" is the Phoenician dialect of ancient Carthage. The second Punic War was fought in the years 218-201 B.C. It was during this conflict that the Black general, Hannibal attained lasting prominence

as a military strategist, by doing that which was viewed as utterly impossible. With a corps of elephants, ridden by bold Black Warriors, Hannibal crossed the mighty Alps, and swooped down upon the startled Romans and gained a great Victory! At one time when his soldiers were put into a difficult situation, Hannibal, resourceful and ready, drove herds of cattle into the Romans. His string of unexpected Victories amazed and appalled the city of Rome. Because of a Shortage of men and supplies, the daring General had to return to Carthage. Because of the skill and military strategies used so successfully by Hannibal, his methods are taught in military colleges the world over.

The saga of the sons of Ham shows that Blacks have made impressive footprints upon the sands of time.



Down in the Valley

We'll run and never tire,
 We'll run and never tire,
 We'll run and never tire,
 Jesus set poor sinners free.
 Way down in de valley,
 Who will rise and go with me?
 You've heern talk of Jesus,
 Who set poor sinners free.

De lightnin' and de flashin'
 De lightrin' and de flashin'
 De lightrin' and de flashin'
 Jesus set poor sinners free.

I can't stand the fire.
 I can't stand the fire.
 I can't stand the fire.
 Jesus set poor sinners free.

De green trees a-flamin'.
 De green trees a-flamin'.
 De green trees a-flamin'.
 Jesus set poor sinners free.

Way down in de valley,
 Who will rise and go with me?
 You've heern talk of Jesus,
 Who set poor sinners free.



Insights on Blacks

BY J. PAUL MONK, JR.

Before talking about bridges between ethnic groups, and before sharing insights on Blacks, it should be understood that the Black story in America is generally told in relation to the White story. The predominant motif is often what "they" have done to us. Yet to continue to trot out what Whites have done is to live in a painful past and to blame the sons for their fathers' sins. It is also to blame modern-day sons of recent immigrants

for sins neither they nor their fathers (who had not even arrived on America's shores) had committed. Even so, to ignore this history of oppression of one group for the benefit of another is to ignore the truth about how we all came to the positions where we find ourselves. This initial insight is crucial to achieving a "feel" for the Black experience.

The Price of Freedom

"Eternal vigilance is the price of lib-

erty"; therefore, the time will never come when any people on this earth can leave their well-being to another group. Martin Luther King used to remind his sympathetic but mistaken White friends of this when they would caution him not to push so hard. They would counsel him that some changes would take time. But King answered that time is a neutral factor. Things can get worse in time as well as better.

For Black Americans, slavery and its
Continued on page 12

"Blacks" continued from page 9

heirs have wasted a sense of family, tribe, roots, and links with the past. As the Jews, secular- and religious-minded, reconnected with their past by their sense of a God-directed destiny, Blacks have found God restoring to us a sense of who we are. We have seen ourselves in the biblical drama. Long before we began to find Black characters in the Bible, we already knew Jesus Christ was our truest soul brother. He may have been colored White by the European, but we knew He was one of us. In Luke 4 He said He was about liberation, and we knew He could relate to the Black experience.

Blacks do not articulate a theological chosenness the way Jews do. Instead, we see ourselves as connected to the Liberator through our status in America as oppressed, captive, and often poor. Vigilance and thoroughness are required of us. Our foes, as modern American Blacks, are not people, but attitudes and behaviors. What must be eradicated are the abuses of power against Blacks as a people. This consciousness, this memory, is one of the protecting tenets in the struggle against inequality and injustice.

Some will query, Isn't it a disservice to remember? The answer is no! The goal of remembering is to deprogram Blacks and Whites, to liberate both groups from the blindness of narrow racist thinking. This became the unique burden of those Blacks and Whites who came to awareness in the 1960s. They were committed to broadening the thinking of all people as it related to racial issues.

It was during this historical period that leader Martin Luther King, Jr., was able to tap the good in enough Americans to bring about a massive liberation—with little bloodshed. There was a power and force in the unity of this movement that was irresistible.

They were ready to sacrifice themselves. Some in the civil rights struggle did sacrifice themselves. However, there is still a need for that spirit of self-sacrifice. It has not been outlived. The children of the 1970s and 1980s, those freer ones, may be tempted along with others to believe the struggle has ended when they sit wherever they want on the buses, when they see legislators and statesmen, mayors, astronauts, Miss Americas, Nobel Prize winners, athletes, musicians, business leaders, and military generals who are Black. But even as Reconstruction's end saw America go backward into a different kind of race war, so our fortunes can be reversed with just a little inattention.

The Legacy of Responsibility

As Thomas Sowell is quick to point out, even assimilation did not save the Jews in Germany. Twenty-five percent, one in four, of all adult Jews had intermarried with Germans and other Europeans before the outbreak of World War II. That did not prevent the Holocaust.

Thus the onus of being the Simon Wiesenthals of Black issues has fallen upon the Blacks who came to awareness in the 1960s. The price is not too high! Some generations had to live in slavery, others in time of epidemics, or in primitive environs where life was reduced to a day-by-day struggle for survival. Still other generations will live with their terrorist bombs, Chernobyls, and AIDS—as others lived with Auschwitz. Even Martin Luther King paid with his life. Different generations live in different periods, with different issues, but each generation has a responsibility to deal with its own unique problems.

So for a Black of the 1980s to keep the issue of self-determination alive, is cheap enough! His children may tire of his warnings, his affable White friends may be alienated and feel all is well and that there is no need for concern on the racial front—but the struggle has not ended, and the sensitive Blacks will not cease to be vigilant. They know the commitment to carry it forward must endure.

Many people have neat and ready-made prescriptions for Black problems. "This is what Blacks really need," they say, or "Here is what they must do . . ." Still others are exercised about why some Blacks perform poorly on tests, why there is a high rate of illegitimacy among Blacks, and the list of studies and surveys performed in the Black community goes on and on. Blacks have been studied to death.

But such studies and attitudes are unbalanced, especially when the searchlight of investigation is focused solely upon the victim rather than on the perpetrator of the problem as well.

If there is a group that needs studying, it must be done contextually—taking into consideration all aspects of the problems, especially the main causes. And in this society the main cause has been racism, along with discrimination (sometimes blatant, sometimes subtle), and an insensitivity to contributing historical factors.

One helpful approach that can contribute to smoothing relations among Blacks, Whites, and other cultural groups is to recognize that while there's little anyone can do about the past, a commitment to equal opportunity, equal justice under law, and the determination to redress uneven start-

ing positions are some of the foundation blocks to a new beginning between races.

The Propaganda Culprit

One of the worst and most formidable enemies Blacks face today is the American propaganda machine. We have been devastated by assaults from the media, scholars, economic hardship, and even ourselves. As a result, we find ourselves in a position of self-doubt, hopelessness, and, sometimes, self-hatred.

Then, for a brief while, the glorious light of freedom shone in the cry "Black is beautiful." In mercy, God freed us to see our beauty. We realized it had to exist—coming as we did from God's own hand.

But the all-pervasive propaganda

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"; therefore, the time will never come when any people on this earth can leave their well-being to another group.

apparatus continues to teach other cultural groups wrong things about Blacks, and even to teach Blacks wrong things about themselves. Black families *are* in trouble, Black teens *do* face higher unemployment and higher rates of unwed parenthood. Each set of figures is trotted out with its little base of scientific data. Yet the problem isn't the veracity of the data; it is that the whole truth has not been told. It's not that the scholars are purposefully lying; it's their microscopic methodology that mishandles the truth. Isolated test scores or statistics on Black family life cannot be used to generalize about the ethos or soul of a whole people. Besides what others may believe, more

of a tragedy occurs when Blacks believe this negative information about themselves.

Some answers must come from within. When Jesse Jackson called on Black youth to stop "imploding as well as exploding," he was talking about taking individual responsibility within the community for what happens there. In Black communities preachers have a high and respected status. They often use their positions to help right wrongs in their communities. The messages from tens of thousands of Black pulpits across the land are often squarely directed at social problems that plague and hinder progress in Black communities. For scores and scores of years the Black church has been the means to counteract much of the negative propaganda fed into the Black community by devious sources.

Now to actual media images. When Black films were popular in the early seventies, a recurring theme was that of a Black hero wiping out drugs, drug traffickers, muggers, pimps and prostitutes—the elements that destroyed Black neighborhoods. This theme was a fantasy very dear to the hearts of many urban Blacks. Inner-city residents flocked to these films, these portrayals of Blacks as winners taking responsibility for their own destinies.

But somewhere, someone decided that this should not be the status quo for Blacks in media, because soon "Blaxploitation" films emerged, which celebrated the villains. When Black leaders cried out in protest, both the good and the bad films dried up.

From a Black perspective, television and movie stereotypes have harmed even our own self-perceptions. We must then speak out for ourselves, and interpret ourselves. For a little while, in the sixties, we got a break when Bill Cosby and Robert Culp hit with *I Spy*, and spawned a whole bevy of Black shows. Today, Cosby is back—and a dozen other Black TV shows got a chance to live. As valuable as Cosby's economic contribution is, his worth—and that of the strong Blacks and Whites who support him—is probably more clearly seen in the positive images of Black people that have been developed. Perhaps the most relentless enemy of racist propaganda is the cheery Bill Cosby.

We're getting around to saying good things about ourselves. We see ourselves, for good or ill, in headlines and titles in Black magazines. "The Top 100 Black Businesses" appeared in *Black Enterprise*. And the account "A Mississippi First: Black Judge Serves on State Supreme Court" ran in *Ebony*.

Black journals have also passed along the watchwords. *Essence* maga-

zine recently warned Black women about buying into a majority-group myth to their own hurt. America's larger society tells women to "marry up," i.e., to select a man with more prestige, who earns more than she. Some Black professional women have embraced this standard more than the groups for whom it was designed. They bypass compatible, strong, community-building, blue-collar Black men for the few elusive three-piece suiters.

On the other hand, the increased supply of Black professional women has allowed certain men to devalue and treat them poorly. Once again, the rewards of progress are denied the struggler. *Essence* goes on to say: "Perhaps most devastating of all, we perpetuate the class distinctions that erode the one thing that could possibly help us overcome our second-class station in America: a sense of unity" (April 1986).

Here again is the need to block out the negative propaganda confronted and examined in the article, in order to deal with individual issues on the basis of rational examination and investigation.

The Remaining Challenge

The following statistics are forecast about Blacks in the year 2000. We'll go from 29 million to 36 million in population. We'll be grayer, with a median age of 30, compared to today's 26. Life expectancy will increase, from 65 to 68 for men, 74 to 77 for women. And, in comparison with 1985, in 2000 there will still be 2 million more women than men. The gross national income will go from \$202 billion to \$389 billion in the Black community. (See *Ebony*, August 1985.)

Public opinion polls report that Blacks currently identify "the good life" first as good health (35 percent), good family life (24 percent), peace of mind (20 percent), a good job (6 percent), and wealth (3 percent). We seem to want what's good for us—"having a good time" rated a scant .4 of 1 percent.

But with the world becoming more frightening, and the inner cities of America more hopelessly trapped, is there redemption? Harvard's Glenn Loury, quoted in a recent *Jet* magazine, chastises and challenges Blacks to stop using racism as an excuse:

It's about time we stop talking about White racism, the enemy without, and start taking action against Black apathy, the enemy within. We talk about quality education, but we don't learn to read, to write, to speak good English, to guide our own youth. We rumble and mumble about the quality of

life, the prevalence of crime and drugs in our neighborhoods, but we do nothing about discipline of Black youths, the reduction of the number of Black babies born to teen-age mothers.

Loury balances these observations in *Focus* magazine, when he notes:

In contrast, those who believe the problems of the ghettos are the legacy of a tragically misconceived welfare state—a position represented by the current administration—show no awareness whatsoever of the explicitly racial character of the ghettos' problems. They do not seem to understand the historical experiences that link the current urban underclass, symbolically and sociologically, to our long, painful legacy of racial trauma. The administration has dealt with the issue of continuing racial inequality merely by promulgating a de facto doctrine of "benign neglect."

Many people agree with the administration that the Great Society approach to the problems of poor blacks has been inadequate and that helping people is not nearly as easy to do as the big spenders would suggest. But those same people see no excuse for the government's failure to engage the problem of the ghettos with the requisite seriousness and energy.

The challenge and the responsibility are ours. We must work, without lessening our sense of moral imperative, to clothe the naked, visit the imprisoned, and feed the hungry. We must not ignore or refuse to confront racism. It has been one of Satan's primary tools for the destruction of millions of humans throughout history. We must love more, yet show the balanced nature of love. That love must be kind and benevolent and forgiving, yet also bold and confrontive and practical. We must look beyond the human problems and the human observations, look to Someone Else. In the promise of the soon return of Jesus Christ, we may yet see our hope for liberation and purification. "And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he [Jesus] is pure" (1 John 3:3).

He is the bridge between the races, and because of Him and through Him we come to love all of our sisters and brothers—Black, Brown, Red, Yellow, and White. ■

J. Paul Monk, Jr., M.A., M.Div., M.B.A., is a former editor of MESSAGE. He served as a United States Army chaplain on active duty. He is now a church administrator in Kansas City, Missouri.

**North American Division Regional Conferences *
Tithe Comparisons with Overseas Divisions
1992**

1. North American Division Regional Conferences volume of tithe for the period ending December 31, 1992 (\$81, 803, 596), represents the second largest tithe base in the World SDA Church, second only to NAD's Predominantly Anglo Conferences.

This figure does not include other conferences which have a good representation of African American or African Caribbean membership, i.e., Greater New York Conference, Ontario Conference, Potomac Conference, Chesapeake Conference, Florida Conference, Southern New England, etc.

There are nearly 210,000 African American known members on the books of conferences in the North American Division. Over 175,000 of these are within the nine Regional Conferences.

2. Of the 12 overseas divisions and attached unions, the 1992 total volume of tithe for North American Division Regional Conferences constituents is:

A. GREATER THAN:

• South Pacific Division	--	\$32,675,533
• Trans-European Division	--	\$26,700,003
• African Indian Ocean Division	--	\$ 5,921,371
• Eastern African Division	--	\$ 4,096,711
• Southern Asian Division	--	\$ 634,202
• Euro-Asian Division	--	\$ 6,388
• Middle East Union	--	\$ 161,999
• South African Union	--	\$ 7,840,094
Total	--	\$78,036,301

**NAD Regional Conferences -Tithe Comparison
Page 2**

B. GREATER THAN:

• South Pacific Division	--	\$32,675,533
• Trans-European Division	--	\$26,700,003
Total	--	\$59,375,536

C. GREATER THAN ALL THIRD WORLD DIVISIONS COMBINED:

• Inter-American Division	--	\$64,262,275
• African Indian Ocean Division	--	\$ 5,921,371
• Eastern African Division	--	\$ 4,096,711
• Southern Asia Division	--	\$ 634,202
• Middle East Union Mission	--	\$ 161,999
• Euro-Asia Division	--	\$ 6,388
Total	--	\$75,082,946

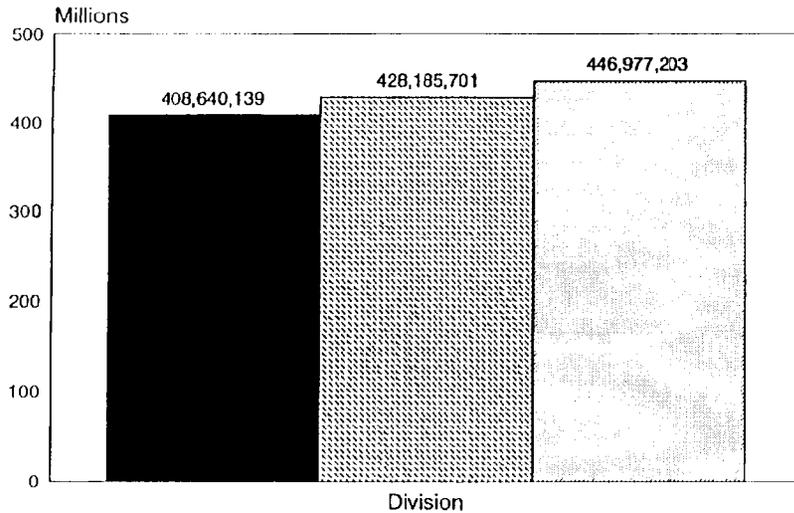
**NAD Regional Conferences -Tithe Comparison
Page 3**

D. GREATER THAN:

• South American Division	--	\$39,685,466
• South Pacific Division	--	\$32,675,533
Total	--	\$72,361,999

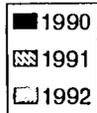
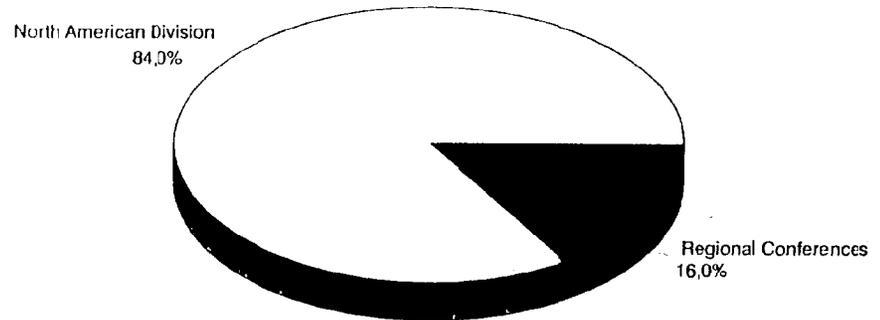
Included in this report are the Regional (African American) constituencies of the Pacific and North Pacific Unions, and the Bermuda Conference. This is by their request.

Tithe Totals in the North American Division 1990 - 1992



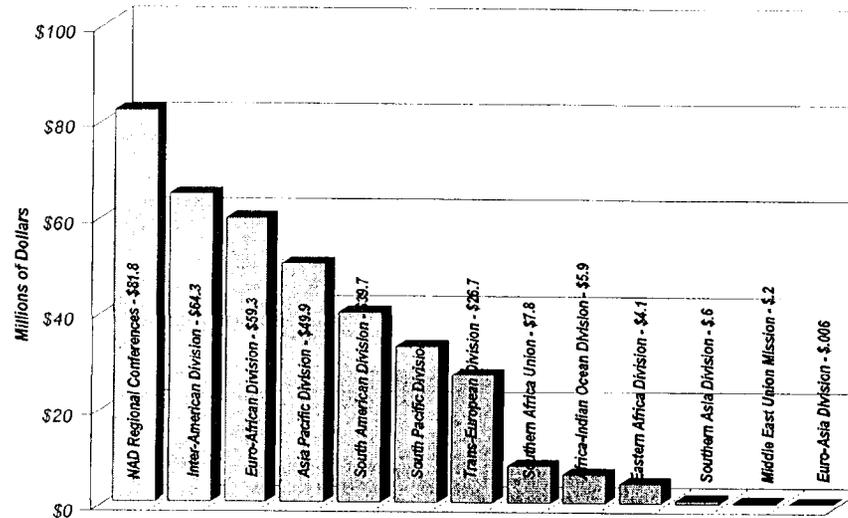
Source/NAD 1993 Treasury Report

North American Division Regional Conferences Percentage of Tithe for 1992



NAD Regional Conferences

Tithe Comparisons with Overseas Divisions -- 1992



EDITORIAL

STEPHEN P. RUFF

Longevity: Ritual or Spiritual?

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—AS SET UP BY Christ almost 2,000 years ago to preach the gospel, serve humanity (Luke 4:18), and meet the needs of the fatherless and widows (James 1:27)—is moving through some interesting stages in its effort to remain relevant to changing geopolitical circumstances. The Seventh-day Adventists Church of which I am a member, celebrates its 150th anniversary this year. As it and other denominations mature and grow into the next century, one important question requires response from the leadership. Is the church still in the religion business because it has performed well? Or is it still in business because it has not yet fulfilled its true mission of carrying the gospel to the world?

I have noticed a tradition of celebrating longevity in the religious community. And, in many instances, there are excellent bases for applauding longevity. God Himself has signaled His appreciation for longevity by offering it as a reward to those who obey their parents, follow His statutes, and keep His law. And certainly the length of time one has maintained a meaningful relationship with Christ and fellow believers is to be commended.

Nevertheless, I am convinced that today's thinking with respect to longevity fosters a special need for awareness for the Christian.

Has success been our failure? Are we locked in a mode of operation that's been good for the gospel business but found ourselves unable to adjust to meet the demands of a changing world? Could it be that Christian organizations of today, much like the mammoth corporations of modern society, have fallen into what Myron Rush calls "old age"? In his book, *Management: A Biblical Approach*, Rush describes Christian institutions as having found what's successful within the system, and there is a basic banishment of new ideas and creative concepts. Now many are suffering with such "old age" attitudes as: "We've never done it that way before," "Don't rock the boat," "That will never work," and "Why risk failure and jeopardize our good standing and name when we know this works?"

When one is bent on maintaining success, old processes tend to remain in place. Before long

most of the time is spent protecting traditions, and before we recognize it, maintaining policies, procedures, and methods become the "new" mission of the organization.

While I do not want to downplay the accomplishments of time, and milestones, I question whether it is time to prayerfully note the accomplishment of the true mission—our effectiveness in giving the gospel to the world. Is this not more important than holding on to methods or policies just because we've had them for so long? Isn't it necessary to be willing to effect change and seek renewal, if needed? And even more important, shouldn't we be individually considering our personal purpose and mission?

While there is celebration of longevity, there can also be celebration of personal Christian growth, freshness, and effectiveness of that relationship with not just a system, but with Jesus Christ, whom we long to be with throughout eternity. ■



**Has
success
been our
failure?**

EDITORIAL



After 50 Years

I have never been turned away from a church. No deacon has ever met me at the door and said, "You can't come in here. Your people meet at the church across the tracks."

We who are White easily forget how recently Seventh-day Adventist churches were integrated. Less than 25 years ago I worshiped in a church in which only a few years before the previous pastor had declared from the pulpit, "If any Black man comes to this church, we will meet him on the steps and tell him where to go." And while my wife and I had membership there, the pastor raised a furor among the congregation when he permitted the young adults of the church to hold an integrated Communion service one Sabbath afternoon.

I wonder what it would feel like to be turned away from church because of the color of my skin. It would be very easy, I think, to get angry. To walk away and never return. To decide that this could not be God's true people.

But most of our African-American brothers and sisters did not. They bore this gross injustice, along with others leveled not only by society but also by the church, with patience and forbearance. They put their trust in the arm of the Lord, not the arm of flesh, and waited and prayed and worked for a better day. And they learned to sing—and to laugh. Their humor exposed racism for the stupidity that it is.

Fifty years ago this fall, long before the Seventh-day Adventist Church had moved to integrate, our Black church in North America organized itself into regional conferences (see Delbert Baker's "Regional Conferences: 50 Years of Progress," p. 11 of this issue).

During the past 50 years the Black church has grown rapidly. But African-Americans have contributed more than

numbers and dollars. They have taught us all how to relate to situations in the church that seem, and may be, patently unjust.

Right now many Adventists in North America are hurting. Recent surveys conducted by the North American Division indicate that more than two thirds of members favor the ordination of women ministers, and many men and women feel troubled over the rejection of North America's request by the Utrecht General Conference session. In their frustration and anger some advocate leaving the church, withholding tithes, or embarking on unilateral action that would flaunt the Utrecht action and severely strain the unity of the body of Christ.

The Black Experience

We need to heed the lesson of the Black church's experience. We need to pray and sing, work and wait, trust in the Lord—and learn to laugh. We need to recognize that while equality is a vital biblical principle, unity is no less vital and biblical.

The Black church has other lessons for us all.

For nearly a generation public evangelism has been downplayed in the White church in North America. It has been belittled as too expensive and obsolete; intellectuals have made it a whipping horse.

But the Black church never bought that line. Black preachers continued public proclamation, and the Black church grew while the White church stagnated.

And suddenly, through the huge success of NEI '95, the White church discovered that public evangelism wasn't dead after all.

Black worship services all along have been lively and often extended. In

the Black experience, church is an event to celebrate, not endure; Sabbath a time to enjoy, not to sleep.

For years Whites looked condescendingly at the Black worship experience. But then Whites became alarmed at the spiritual torpor, the loss of young people, the lack of energy and creativity—the White church was dying. Some White pastors began to look around to see where success might be found; some became advocates for the methods employed by Bill Hybels in his fast-growing Willow Creek Community Church outside Chicago. "Celebration" entered the Adventist vocabulary and became a buzzword.

But all along, the African-American church had been celebrating—and growing. Here Whites could have found the integration of faith and life, of theology and practice, that every Christian needs in this age.

Shock waves rolled over the White church in North America—the challenge to the sanctuary doctrine, doubts concerning the role and integrity of the writings of Ellen White. During the 1980s these onslaughts weakened and divided the church.

But the Black church was largely unaffected. Perhaps its heritage of suffering—its endurance and struggles over so many years—prepared it to face the shock waves.

I'm sure that not everything is perfect in the Black church or the regional conferences. But as we look back on 50 years, we can truly praise the Lord for the vast contribution of our Black brothers and sisters to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America and the spiritual life of every Adventist.

WILLIAM G. JOHNSON



Heritage Points

The Morning Star 100 Years of Miracles and Mission

Seventh-day Adventist African-American roots grow very deep in the soil of the Southern Union. From the initial beginnings of Adventism among the Blacks in the South in the 1880s to the present membership of 71,343, growth among African-American Adventists has been phenomenal.

Ellen White believed that more should be done on behalf of the Blacks in the South and therefore, presented the very first special appeal to leaders present at the General Conference Session in 1891. In her appeal, which was entitled, "Our Duty to the Colored People," Mrs. White challenged the church to begin an expanded work among Black people in the South. Ellen White's son, Edson, was convicted by her message and compiled it along with several of her other messages on the same subject in a little book called the *Southern Work*. This book was first published in 1898 and 1901. In 1966 the *Southern Work* was republished.

Not only did Edson White compile her messages regarding the work to be done, he decided to comply with her call for workers by going to Mississippi himself. Edson White hired a Captain Orton to build the frames for a steamboat they would call the "Morning Star." The boat's frames were built in Battle Creek, Michigan, and shipped down the Kalamazoo River to Allegan, Michigan, where the boat was completed in July 1894.

They followed the Illinois River to the Mississippi River, stopping at major cities along the way to sell the book *Gospel Primer* as a means of support. In St. Louis, after an unsuccessful search for a licensed pilot which brought an additional challenge, they hired a Black teenager, Finis Parker, to pilot the "Morning Star" for the 300-mile trip to Memphis. Because he had no license, every time they came in sight of another vessel, he would hand the wheel to White or Palmer.

In Memphis, they were fined \$500 for operating without a licensed pilot. While waiting to clear up the fine, they visited a local First-day Adventist church. In a short time, the pastor and most of the members accepted the Sabbath truth, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church was established in Memphis. Thus, God turned the delay into a blessing. Meanwhile, God had been preparing Vicksburg, Mississippi, for their arrival. The Blacks there sensed a need for revival. They were under conviction from the preaching of Alonzo Parker, a Black man, who had come from Louisiana preaching from *Bible Readings for the Home*. When the locals heard him, they soon beat him to death in the streets of Vicksburg. As he was dying he said, "There will come to you people of Vicksburg just one more chance from God one year from now."

Conditioned by this experience, the Blacks of Vicksburg were curious, excited, and uneasy on Thursday, January 10, 1895, when the "Morning Star" with ministers and teachers on board came steaming into Centennial Lake and docked just below Fort Hill.

Edson White and his group visited Mt. Zion Baptist church, and soon a class was started at Katie Holston's home. Within weeks, Hannah Washington, Katie Holston, Will Maxie, Grant Royston, and Duncan Astrap became the first Sabbathkeepers.

Soon a church was constructed in Vicksburg with a home adjoining it for colporteurs. This building was named the Morning Star Seventh-day Adventist Church and was the place of worship for Seventh-day Adventists in Vicksburg until it was destroyed by a tornado in 1954.

In time, almost 40 schools were opened in the state of Mississippi where Blacks could learn reading, writing, arithmetic, and Bible. To further organize the work he was doing, Edson organized the Southern Mission Society in Yazoo City. Later he moved the headquarters for the Southern Mission Society to Nashville and it became known as the Southern Publishing Association. In the early 1900s the "Morning Star" was beached in Nashville, Tennessee, where it was to be used as an office, but someone set fire to the boat. After the boat was burned, the star was removed from where it hung. It was later donated to Oakwood College where for years it hung on the old Normal Building and now is in the Oakwood College Archives in Huntsville, Alabama. Oakwood College is another benchmark in the history of Black Adventism located in the Southern Union. Its centennial will be held at the college in 1996.

Even now, in 1995, there are literally hundreds of African-American Adventists who can trace their membership in the Seventh-day Adventist church to the fact that one of their relatives attended school on the "Morning Star." Two well-known North American Division leaders' mothers were students on the boat. Etta Littlejohn, mother of Charles Bradford, former president of the North American Division from 1980-1990 and Cynthia Gertrude Johnson, mother of Dr. Garland Millet, former associate director of education for the North American Division.

The influence of the "Morning Star" gave strong impetus to the evangelization of Blacks throughout the South. Writing to Edson in 1902 about the influence of the "Morning Star," Ellen White said, "Novelty of the idea excited curiosity, and many came to see and hear. I know that through the agency of this boat, places have been reached where the light of truth had never shone—places represented to me as 'the hedges.' It has been a means of sowing the seeds of truth in many hearts, and many souls have first seen the light of truth while on this boat. On it angel feet have trodden." Letter 139, 1902.

An historical centennial celebration of the docking of the "Morning Star" in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on January 10, 1895, was held at the Morning Star SDA Church in Vicksburg on May 26-28, 1995. Hazel and I had the privilege of attending this inspiring 100-year celebration. It was a meaningful celebration because it was made very clear that from very small and humble beginnings, great works have resulted because of God's divine guidance. The weekend was special because the "Morning Star" was built in Hazel's home town of Allegan, Michigan.

Truly a star shines its light from the past to the present and the future. Those who received the light have spread it and now pass it on to succeeding generations. The past, present, and future of African-American Adventism is ever present in the Southern Union.

Source:

A Star Gives Light: Seventh-day Adventist African-American Heritage, Decatur, Ga., Southern Union Conference Office of Education, 1989. Editor, Norwida A. Marshall.

Your brother in Christ,

President, Southern Union Conference

Resources for Diversity: Inspired Counsel

Delbert W. Baker

The principles from the Bible and Ellen White's writings on how to achieve unity in diversity are as relevant now as when first written. The counsel supersedes the best literature in the area of diversity in that it practically incorporates spiritual and relational principles.

Diversity and multiculturalism didn't exist as such in Ellen White's day. However, in principle she provided counsel on diversity, building relationships and multiculturalism via her counsel on the work in the South, White-Black race relations and leadership issues. Though Ellen White didn't specifically speak on diversity and multiculturalism we have a rich source of counsel to draw from. While the principles may not always be obvious they can be discovered through prayer and study.

Principle-Centered Approach

When a person desires to apply Ellen White's counsel to a modern situation, it is helpful to use what can be called a

"principle-centered approach" (PCA). A principle is a fundamental truth, law or axiom. It is an unchanging truth that may be applied with success to different situations. The principle-centered approach means that a person reads the Spirit of Prophecy, the writings of Ellen White, with a deliberate sensitivity for applicable principles for today.

The PCA builds on the basics of successful Spirit of Prophecy study. For example, when one studies the writings of Ellen White a primary goal should be *understanding*. The first question one should ask is "what was Ellen White's original and fundamental message." Often the point or purpose of the passage is obvious from the beginning. However, if the original intent is not clear, effort should be made to discover the context in which the statement was made. This may take time and study but the results are well worth the effort. Throughout the process, the PCA will cause one to be on the lookout for the underlying rule or principle in the reading.

You will find that if you invest the time and energy you will come away with a helpful principle(s). When commenting on how to use her writings, Ellen White said "Regarding the testimonies, nothing is to be ignored; nothing is cast aside; but time and place must be considered" (Selected Messages, 1:57).

The steps are straightforward. *First*, expose yourself to the broad counsel that she has given on a topic. *Second*, value everything written. *Third*, carefully note the *time* (the period in history when the counsel was given) and *place* (the motivating situation or circumstances) that provided the context for her counsel. *Fourth*, apply the principle to an appropriate modern-day situation unless the specifics of time or place invalidate a broader application of her counsel. *Fifth*, the final check should be to seek to verify that the principle is consistent with the wider counsel in the Bible and Spirit of Prophecy.

When we follow this approach, we can rest on the promise that "circumstances and emergencies will arise for which the

Lord must give special instruction. But if we begin to work, depending wholly upon the Lord, watching, praying, and walking in harmony with the light He sends us, we shall not be left to walk in darkness" (Letter 192, 1906).

The problems and challenges faced in the area of diversity are often difficult to deal with. Many problems occur due to selfishness, misunderstanding, human nature, and an unwillingness to follow Bible principles. Therefore the ultimate solution to diversity issues and relational problems must be spiritual. Though there is room for a plethora of approaches and applications, the real and lasting answer to relationships and diversity challenges is found in Christ. It is here Ellen White makes a major contribution to the literature on diversity and relationship building. Programs, methods, techniques, as well as workshops, seminars and interactive encounters are helpful and in many cases should be encouraged. However, it should be foremost to a Christian that the real and lasting solution is found in Christ and His Word. The reader will find Ellen White's counsel practical, sensitive and spiritual. It speaks to the heart as well as to the mind.

Consistent with the PCA the following quotations have been selected from Ellen White's writings. Each quotation speaks in principle to different aspects of diversity, and relationship building, and leadership in the SDA Church. The counsel is divided into several categories. The first category is a compilation of some *Selected Scriptures* Ellen White used in relation to topics having to do with race relations, relationship building and diversity topics. The references are listed for convenience and study. The second category provides counsel relative to *Enabling Attitudes* that Christians can nurture in order to build successful relationships with diverse members in the body of Christ. The last category describes specific *Effective Actions* that a Christian can take to build relationships and prevent or resolve diversity problems. Each quotation is introduced with a lead sentence that highlights an inherent principle.

Selected Scriptures

Old Testament

Text	Topic
Exodus 12	Freedom
Exodus 20:8-11; 23:12	Equity
Deuteronomy 6	Word of God
Deuteronomy 10:19	Strangers
Deuteronomy 15:7-11	Poor
1 Samuel 20	Friendship
Psalms 119	Guidance
Psalms 121	Providence
Proverbs 3	Wisdom
Proverbs 24:17	Graciousness
Proverbs 25:21-22	Enemies
Isaiah 56:1-8	Inclusiveness
Isaiah 58	Service
Isaiah 61:1-3	Liberation
Micah 6:8	Expectations

New Testament

Matthew 5, 6, 7	Lifestyle
Matthew 18:15-20	Resolution
Matthew 22:37-40	Model
Matthew 28:16-20	Commission
Mark 11:25-26	Condition
Luke 4:16-21	Deliverance
Luke 6:27-35	Retaliation
Luke 6:35-38	Forgiveness
Luke 10:30-37	Neighbors
John 4	Spirituality
John 13	Humility
John 15	Fruit
John 15:1-5	Strength
John 17	Love
Acts 10	Multiculturalism
Acts 15:36-40; 2 Timothy 4:11	Reconciliation
Acts 17:26	Origins
Romans 12	Relationships
Romans 13:11	Fulfillment
Romans 14	Brotherhood
1 Corinthians 12	Cooperation

1 Corinthians 13	Love
Galatians 2:11-14	Discrimination
Galatians 5:14	Preeminent
Galatians 5:22-26	Virtues
Galatians 6	Helper
Ephesians 2:12-22	Believers
Ephesians 4	Unity
Philippians 4	Attitudes
James 2:1-9	Favoritism
James 3	Communication
James 5:1-6	Justice
2 Peter 1	Development
1 John	Relationships
Revelation 14	Diversity

Enabling Attitudes. . .

Attitudes Toward One's Self

"Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is noble, whatever is right, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is admirable—if anything is excellent or praiseworthy—think about such things" (Philippians 4:8, NIV).

1. Increasing diversity sensitivity and relationship building begins in the heart. "When the Spirit of God takes possession of the heart, it transforms the life. Sinful thoughts are put away, evil deeds are renounced; love, humility, and peace take the place of anger, envy, and strife. Joy takes the place of sadness, and the countenance reflects the light of heaven" (*The Desire of Ages*, 173).

2. A healthy self-image (how we see ourselves) and self-esteem (how we feel about ourselves) is found in a personal relationship with Christ. "None have fallen so low, none are so vile, but that they can find deliverance in Christ... No cry from a soul in need, though it fail of utterance in words, will be unheeded. Those who will consent to enter into covenant relation with the God of heaven are not left to the power of Satan or to the infirmity of their own nature" (*The Desire of Ages*, 258, 259).

3. Personal potential and value are discovered through faith in the providence of God regardless of race, culture, gender, appearance, status, economics and physical condition. "Man is of value with God in proportion as he permits the divine image to be retraced upon his soul. However misshapen has been his character, although he may have been counted as an outcast among men, the man who permits the grace of Christ to enter his soul will be reformed in character and will be raised up from the condition of his guilt, degradation, and wretchedness. God has made every provision in order that the lost one may become His child. The frailest human being may be elevated, ennobled, refined, and sanctified by the grace of God. . . . Whatever may be the nationality or color, whatever may be the social condition. . . . No one is to be looked upon with indifference or to be regarded as unimportant, for every soul has been purchased with an infinite price" (*The Southern Work*, 31).

4. Godliness and cultural sensitivity requires self-examination. "I call upon every church in our land to look well to your own soul. 'Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?' God makes no distinction between the North and the South. Whatever may be your prejudices, your wonderful prudence, do not lose sight of this fact, that unless you put on Christ, and His Spirit dwells in you, you are slaves of sin and Satan. Many who claim to be children of God are children of the wicked one, and have his passions, his prejudices, his evil spirit, his unlovely traits of character. But the soul that is indeed transformed will not despise any one whom Christ has purchased with His own blood" (*The Southern Work*, 13).

5. Love is more powerful than prejudice. "The walls of sectarianism and caste and race will fall down when the true missionary spirit enters the hearts of men. Prejudice is melted away by the love of God" (*The Southern Work*, 55).

Attitudes Toward Others

"I am the true vine, and my Father is the gardener. He cuts off every branch in me that bears no fruit, while every branch that does bear fruit he prunes so that it will be even more fruitful. You are already clean because of the word I have spoken to you. Remain in me, and I will remain in you. No branch can bear fruit by itself; it must remain in the vine. Neither can you bear fruit unless you remain in me. I am the vine; you are the branches. If a man remains in me and I in him, he will bear much fruit; apart from me you can do nothing" (John 15:1-5, NIV).

1. Divine assistance for relationship problems will come if we cooperate. "If we surrender our lives to His service, we can never be placed in a position for which God has not made provision. Whatever may be our situation, we have a Guide to direct our way; whatever our perplexities, we have a sure Counselor; whatever our sorrow, bereavement, or loneliness, we have a sympathizing Friend. If in our ignorance we make missteps, Christ does not leave us. His voice, clear and distinct, is heard saying, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life'" (*Christ's Object Lessons*, 173).

2. Character development happens when we handle difficult people and problems in a spiritual manner. "If we encounter difficulties, and in Christ's strength overcome them; if we meet enemies, and in Christ's strength put them to flight; if we accept responsibilities, and in Christ's strength discharge them faithfully, we are gaining a precious experience. We learn, as we could not otherwise have learned, that our Savior is a present help in every time of need" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 5:34).

3. Racial problems are instigated by Satan and will probably remain a challenge. "The powers of hell are working with all their ingenuity to prevent the proclamation of the last message of mercy among the colored people. Satan is working to make it most difficult for the gospel minister and teacher to ignore the prejudice that exists between the white and the colored people." "The relation of the two races has

been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 9:208; *The Southern Work*, 83).

4. Racial deeds or misdeeds that are done are as done to Christ Himself. "Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Christ." "God weighs actions, and every one who has been unfaithful in his stewardship, who has failed to remedy evils which it was in his power to remedy, will be of no esteem in the courts of heaven. Those who are indifferent to the wants of the needy will be counted as unfaithful stewards, and will be registered as enemies of God and man. Those who misappropriate the means that God has entrusted to them to help the very ones who need their help, prove that they have no connection with Christ, because they fail to manifest the tenderness of Christ toward those who are less fortunate than themselves. As Christians, we are to manifest to the world the character of Christ in all the affairs of life. To be a Christian means to act in Christ's stead, to represent Christ. We are not to get rid of the responsibilities that connect us with our fellow men" (*The Southern Worker*, 13, 38).

5. Unity and equality are the outworking of a relationship with Christ. "Christ recognized no distinction of nationality or rank or creed. . . . Christ came to break down every wall of partition. He came to show that His gift of mercy and love is as unconfined as the air, the light, or the showers of rain that refresh the earth. The life of Christ established a religion in which there is no caste, a religion by which Jew and Gentile, free and bond, are linked in a common brotherhood, equal before God. No question of policy influenced His movements. He made no difference between neighbors and strangers, friends and enemies. That which appealed to His heart was a soul thirsting for the waters of life. . . . He sought to inspire with hope the roughest and most unpromising, setting before them the assurance that they might become blameless and harmless, attaining such a character as would make them manifest as the children of God" (*The Ministry of Healing*, 25, 26).

Attitudes Toward the Church

"For through him we both have access to the Father by one Spirit. Consequently, you are no longer foreigners and aliens, but fellow citizens with God's people and members of God's household, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the chief cornerstone. In him the whole building is joined together and rises to become a holy temple in the Lord. And in him you too are being built together to become a dwelling in which God lives by his Spirit" (Ephesians 2:18-22, NIV)

1. The Church is one. "The life of Christ established a religion in which there is no caste, a religion by which Jew and Gentile, free and bond, as linked in a brotherhood, equal before God" "In calling God our Father, we recognize all His children as our brethren. We are all a part of the great web of humanity, all members of one family" (*Gospel Workers*, 46; *Sons and Daughters of God*, 267).

2. Diversity synergy (the combined action/function of all parts) is found in the Christ bond. "Christ came to this earth with a message of mercy and forgiveness. He laid the foundation for a religion by which Jew and Gentile, black and white, free and bond, are linked together in one common brotherhood, recognized as equal in the sight of God. The Savior has a boundless love for every human being. In each one He sees capacity for improvement. With divine energy and hope He greets those for whom He has given His life. In His strength they can live a life rich in good works, filled with the power of the Spirit" (*Selected Messages*, 2:485, 486).

3. In racial as in other matters the Christian is challenged to be gracious rather than petty. "When the Holy Spirit moves upon human minds, all petty complaints and accusations between man and his fellow man will be put away. The bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness will shine into the chambers of the mind and heart. In our worship of God there will be no distinction between rich and poor, white and black. All prejudice will be melted away. When we approach God, it will be as one brotherhood. We are pilgrims and strangers, bound for a

better country, even a heavenly. There all pride, all accusation, all self-deception, will forever have an end. Every mask will be laid aside, and we shall 'see Him as He is.' There our songs will catch the inspiring theme, and praise and thanksgiving will go up to God" (*Review and Herald*, 24 Oct. 1899).

4. The Bible is the essential resource for principles for diversity and relational issues. "The Bible is a precious treasure. It should be in every home, not to be laid away or put upon a shelf, but to be diligently studied. The Bible is the hope of both the white and the colored race. . . . The Bible is the poor man's book, and all classes of people are to search the Scriptures for themselves. God has given reasoning powers to men, and by bringing our mental faculties into connection with the Word of God, the spiritual powers are awakened, and common people, as well as teachers and clergymen, may understand the will of God." "The Lord has given us light concerning all such matters. There are principles laid down in His Word that should guide us in dealing with these perplexing questions [racial issues]. The Lord Jesus came to our world to save men and women of all nationalities." "Christ's teaching, like His sympathies, embraced the world. Never can there be a circumstance of life, a crisis in human experience, which has not been anticipated in His teaching, and for which its principles have not a lesson" (*The Southern Work*, 46; 9; *Education*, 81, 82).

5. The remnant will triumph over every obstacle in diversity and race relations. "When the Holy Spirit is poured out, there will be a triumph of humanity over prejudice in seeking the salvation of the souls of human beings. God will control minds. Human hearts will love as Christ loved. And the color line will be regarded by many very differently from the way in which it is now regarded. To love as Christ loves lifts the mind into a pure, heavenly, unselfish atmosphere" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 9:209).

Attitudes Toward God

"I lift up my eyes to the hills— where does my help come from? My help comes from the LORD, the Maker of heaven and

earth. He will not let your foot slip—he who watches over you will not slumber; indeed, he who watches over Israel will neither slumber nor sleep. The LORD watches over you—the LORD is your shade at your right hand; the sun will not harm you by day, nor the moon by night. The LORD will keep you from all harm—he will watch over your life; the LORD will watch over your coming and going both now and forevermore” (Psalm 121, NIV).

1. Adam and God, the Creator, objectify our origins and similarities. “The genealogy of our race, as given by inspiration, traces back its origin, not to a line of developing germs, mollusks, and quadrupeds, but to the great Creator. Though formed from the dust, Adam was the ‘son of God’ ” (*Patriarchs and Prophets*, 45).

2. Christ came to provide salvation for all people—persons of all races and ethnicities have equal access to His grace and providence. “No distinction on account of nationality, race, or caste, is recognized by God. He is the Maker of all mankind. All men are of one family by creation, and all are one through redemption. Christ came to demolish every wall of partition, to throw open every compartment of the temple, that every soul may have free access to God. . . . In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free. All are brought nigh by His precious blood” (*Christ’s Object Lessons*, 386).

3. God has special pity and assistance for people who have greater burdens to bear than others. “The Lord’s eye is upon all His creatures; He loves them all, and makes no difference between black and white, except that He has a special pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others. Those who love God and believe on Christ as their Redeemer, while they must meet the trials and difficulties that lie in their path, should yet with a cheerful spirit accept their life as it is, considering that God above regards these things, and for all that the world neglects to bestow, He will Himself make up to them in the best of favors” (*The Southern Work*, 12).

4. God identifies with the oppressed and acts to deliver them through His providence and followers.

“When the Hebrew people were suffering cruel oppression under the hand of their task masters, the Lord looked upon them, and He called Israel His son. . . . God cares no less for the souls of the African race that may be won to serve Him than He cared for Israel.” “The Lord God of Israel has looked upon the vast number of human beings who were held in slavery in the United States of America. The United States has been a refuge for the oppressed. It has been spoken of as the bulwark of religious liberty. God has done more for this country than for any other country upon which the sun shines. It has been marvelously preserved from war and bloodshed. God saw the foul blot of slavery upon this land, he marked the sufferings that were endured by the colored people. He moved upon the hearts of men to work in behalf of those who were so cruelly oppressed. . . . God spoke concerning the captivity of the colored people as verily as he did concerning the Hebrew captives, and said: ‘I have surely seen the affliction of my people . . . , and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them.’ The Lord wrought in freeing the Southern slaves; but he designed to work still further for them as he did for the children of Israel, whom he took forth to educate, to refine, and ennoble. . . . The condition of the colored people is no more helpless than was the condition of the Hebrew slave” (*The Southern Work*, 14, 42, 43).

5. Salvation and sanctification is God’s solution to problems and challenges of race and diversity. “When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host. He is made a joint heir with Christ. Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ, whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family. The ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the heathen and the slave, white or black—Jesus paid the purchase money for their souls. If they believe on Him,

His cleansing blood is applied to them. The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. If a red man, a Chinese, or an African give his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for this color. He calls him His well-beloved brother. . . . The day is coming when the kings and the lordly men of the earth would be glad to exchange places with the humblest African who has laid hold on the hope of the gospel" (*The Southern Work*, 12, 13).

Effective Actions . . .

Actions Toward Self

"Through these he has given us his very great and precious promises, so that through them you may participate in the divine nature and escape the corruption in the world caused by evil desires. For this very reason, make every effort to add to your faith goodness; and to goodness, knowledge; and to knowledge, self-control; and to self-control, perseverance; and to perseverance, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, love. For if you possess these qualities in increasing measure, they will keep you from being ineffective and unproductive in your knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Peter 1:4-8, NIV).

1. Learn about each other, study how best to support each other and work together. "There are no two leaves of a tree precisely alike; neither do all minds run in the same direction. But while this is so, there may be unity in diversity. . . . Look at the flowers in a carpet, and notice the different colored threads. All are not pink, all are not green, all are not blue. A variety of colors are woven together to perfect the pattern. So it is in the design of God. He has a purpose in placing us where we must learn to live as individuals" (*Review and Herald*, 4 July 1899).

2. Monitor your emotions and perceptions. "We sustain a most solemn relation one to another. Our influence is

always either for or against the salvation of souls. . . . There are thoughts and feelings suggested and aroused by Satan that annoy even the best of men; but if they are not cherished, if they are repulsed as hateful, the soul is not contaminated with guilt, and no other is defiled by their influence" (*Review and Herald*, 27 March 1888).

3. Through the help of Christ and personal effort determine to overcome every prejudice and negative attitude. "Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He had. If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God. If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the colored man who has the same Savior abiding in his heart" (*The Southern Work*, 14).

4. Deliberately view every person as a neighbor and facilitate the maturation as your grow in respect, inclusion and compassion. "Christ tears away the wall of partition, the self-love, the dividing prejudice of nationality, and teaches a love for all the human family. He lifts men from the narrow circle that their selfishness prescribes; He abolishes all territorial lines and artificial distinctions of society. He makes no difference between neighbors and strangers, friends and enemies. He teaches us to look upon every needy soul as our neighbor and the world as our field" (*Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing*, 42).

5. Practice the abundance-assistance rule—where much is given much is required—and where you have much and others have little, help them. "Those who have been favored with opportunities of education and culture, who have had every advantage and religious influence, will be expected of God to possess pure and holy characters in accordance with the gifts bestowed. But have they rightly improved their advantages? We know they have not. Let these privileged ones make the most of their blessings, and

realize that they are thus placed under greater obligation to labor for the good of others" (*The Southern Work*, 16).

Actions Toward Others

"You were taught, with regard to your former way of life, to put off your old self, which is being corrupted by its deceitful desires; to be made new in the attitude of your minds; and to put on the new self, created to be like God in true righteousness and holiness. Therefore each of you must put off falsehood and speak truthfully to his neighbor, for we are all members of one body. 'In your anger do not sin': Do not let the sun go down while you are still angry, and do not give the devil a foothold. He who has been stealing must steal no longer, but must work, doing something useful with his own hands, that he may have something to share with those in need. Do not let any unwholesome talk come out of your mouths, but only what is helpful for building others up according to their needs, that it may benefit those who listen. And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, with whom you were sealed for the day of redemption. Get rid of all bitterness, rage and anger, brawling and slander, along with every form of malice. Be kind and compassionate to one another, forgiving each other, just as in Christ God forgave you" (Ephesians 4:23-32, NIV).

1. Create diverse teams where all can learn from the other—collaborate, share and grow together. "In the Lord's plan human beings have been made necessary to one another. If all would do their utmost to help those who need their help, their unselfish sympathy and love, what a blessed work might be done. To everyone God has entrusted talents. These talents we are to use to help one another to walk in the narrow path. In this work each one is connected with the others, and all are united with Christ. It is by unselfish service that we improve and increase our talent" (*Mind, Character, and Personality*, 2:431).

2. Practice turning to Christ in the midst of interpersonal problems—He will help you resolve and deal with any problem. "If we encounter difficulties, and

in Christ's strength overcome them; if we meet enemies, and in Christ's strength put them to flight; if we accept responsibilities, and in Christ's strength discharge them faithfully, we are gaining a precious experience. We learn, as we could not otherwise have learned, that our Savior is a present help in every time of need" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 5:34).

3. Remember that unity in diversity is an indisputable argument in favor of the gospel. "We seldom find two persons exactly alike. Among human beings as well as among the things of the natural world, there is diversity. Unity in diversity among God's children, the manifestation of love and forbearance in spite of disposition, this is the testimony that God sent His Son into the world to save sinners" (*Sons and Daughters of God*, 286).

4. Use positional power, influence and wealth in a judicial and balanced manner. "The high-handed power that has been developed, as though positions had made men gods, makes me afraid, and ought to cause fear. It is a curse wherever, and by whomsoever it is exercised. This lording it over God's heritage will create such a disgust of man's jurisdiction that a state of insubordination will result. The people are learning that men in high positions of responsibility cannot be trusted to mold and fashion other men's minds and characters. The result will be a loss of confidence even in the management of faithful men" (Letter 55, 1895).

5. Honor and respect each member and group for the part they play in the body of Christ. "Each one is to stand in his lot and in his place, doing his work. Every individual among you must before God do a work for these last days that is great and sacred and grand. Every one must bear his weight of responsibility. The Lord is preparing each one to do his appointed work, and each one is to be respected and honored as a brother chosen of God, and precious in His sight. One man is not to be selected to whom all plans and methods shall be confided, while the others are left out. If this is done, errors will be made; wrong moves will be taken. Harm, rather

than good will be done. No one of you needs to be afraid of the other" (Letter 49, 1897).

Actions Toward the Church

"The body is a unit, though it is made up of many parts; and though all its parts are many, they form one body. So it is with Christ. For we were all baptized by one Spirit into one body—whether Jews or Greeks, slave or free—and we were all given the one Spirit to drink. Now the body is not made up of one part but of many. If the foot should say, 'Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body,' it would not for that reason cease to be part of the body. And if the ear should say, 'Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body,' it would not for that reason cease to be part of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where would the sense of hearing be? If the whole body were an ear, where would the sense of smell be? But in fact God has arranged the parts in the body, every one of them, just as he wanted them to be. If they were all one part, where would the body be? As it is, there are many parts, but one body. The eye cannot say to the hand, 'I don't need you!' And the head cannot say to the feet, 'I don't need you!' On the contrary, those parts of the body that seem to be weaker are indispensable, and the parts that we think are less honorable we treat with special honor. And the parts that are unpresentable are treated with special modesty, while our presentable parts need no special treatment. But God has combined the members of the body and has given greater honor to the parts that lacked it, so that there should be no division in the body, but that its parts should have equal concern for each other. If one part suffers, every part suffers with it; if one part is honored, every part rejoices with it. Now you are the body of Christ, and each one of you is a part of it" (1 Corinthians 12:12-27, NIV).

1. Actively support unity and diversity in the Church—talk it, act it, be it. "Thus Christ sought to teach the disciples the truth that in God's kingdom there are no territorial lines, no caste, no aristocracy; that they must go to

all nations, bearing to them the message of a Saviour's love" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 20).

2. Join together and consult with each other for the accomplishment of the work. "As brethren located where you must be more or less connected, you must draw closer together in your councils, in your associations, in spirit, and in all your works. One man among you is not to be made the counselor for all" (Letter 49, 1897).

3. Share leadership, responsibilities, decision making, and resources among diverse groups in the Church. "God has not set any kingly power in the Seventh-day Adventist Church to control the whole body, or to control any branch of the work. He has not provided that the burden of leadership shall rest upon a few men. Responsibilities are distributed among a large number of competent men" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 8:236).

4. Help obstinate or difficult believers to cooperate with each other and broader counsel. "Obstinacy is a barrier to all improvement. An obstinate man will not be readily convinced of anything which his sight cannot take in. He does not know what it means to walk by faith. He adheres to his own plans and opinions, be they right or wrong, because he has already adopted this line of thought. He may have abundant reason to see that he is wrong; his brethren may raise their voices against his opinions and his methods for making a success of the work; but he cherishes an almost immovable bar against conviction" (Manuscript 159, 1898).

5. Diversity and relationship building are "effortful"—they take timing, flexibility, and understanding—strength, solutions, and security result from such efforts. "In different places and under varying circumstances, the subject will need to be handled differently." "We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future." "Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows us a better way." "I have heard the angel voice saying, 'Press together, press together, press together. Do not let Satan cast his hellish shadow between brethren. Press together; in

unity there is strength" (*Testimonies for the Church*, 9:2, 13, 209, 207; *Selected Messages*, 2:374).

Actions Toward Goals

"Brothers, I do not consider myself yet to have taken hold of it. But one thing I do: Forgetting what is behind and straining toward what is ahead, I press on toward the goal to win the prize for which God has called me heavenward in Christ Jesus" (Philippians 3:13, 14, NIV).

1. Activate love to disarm prejudice. "Walls of separation have been built up between the whites' and the blacks. These walls of prejudice will tumble down of themselves as did the walls of Jericho, when Christians obey the Word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their Maker and impartial love to their neighbors" (*The Southern Work*, 43).

2. Resolve relationship problems with kindness. "We may never know until the judgment the influence of a kind, considerate course of action to the inconsistent, the unreasonable, and unworthy. If after a course of provocation and injustice on their part, you treat them as you would an innocent person, you even take pains to show them special acts of kindness, then you have acted the part of a Christian; and they become surprised and ashamed, and see their course of action and meanness more clearly than if you plainly stated their aggravated acts to rebuke them" (*Medical Ministry*, 209, 210).

3. Be lovable. "Let Christ be seen in all that you do. Let all see that you are living epistles of Jesus Christ. . . . Be lovable. Let your life win the hearts of all who are brought in contact with you. There is too little done at the present time to render the truth attractive to others" (*Mind, Character, and Personality*, 2:433).

4. Solve difficulties. "If pride and selfishness were laid aside, five minutes would remove most difficulties" (*Early Writings*, 119).

5. Respond to confrontation with kindness. "We may never know until the judgment the influence of a kind, considerate course of action to the inconsistent, the unreasonable,

and unworthy. If after a course of provocation and injustice on their part, you treat them as you would an innocent person, you even take the pains to show them special acts of kindnesses, then you have acted the part of a Christian, and they become surprised and ashamed and see their course of action and meanness more clearly than if you plainly stated their aggravated acts to rebuke them" (*Medical Ministry*, 209, 210).

6. Stop negativism whenever and wherever it may appear. "Caviling, ridicule, and misrepresentation can be indulged in only at the expense of the debasement of your own souls. The use of such weapons does not gain precious victories for you, but rather cheapens the mind, and separates the soul from God. Sacred things are brought down to the level of the common, and a condition of things is created that pleases the prince of darkness, and grieves away the Spirit of God" (*Life Sketches*, 325).

7. Focus on the big picture, avoid minor points when possible. "In our business meetings, it is important that precious time should not be consumed in debating points that are of small consequence. The habit of petty criticism should not be indulged; for it perplexes and confuses minds, and shrouds in mystery the things that are most plain and simple" (*Gospel Workers*, 447).

8. Always work toward resolution in diversity and relational areas, never give up. "It will be impossible to adjust all matters regarding the color question in accordance with the Lord's order until those who believe the truth are so closely united with Christ that they are one with Him. Both the white and the colored members of our churches need to be converted. There are some of both classes who are unreasonable, and when the color question is agitated, they manifest unsanctified, unconverted traits of character. Quarrelsome elements are easily aroused in those who, because they have never learned to wear the yoke of Christ, are opinionated and obstinate. In such, self clamors with an unsanctified determination for the supremacy" (Letter 105, 1904).

9. Be a blessing to yourself, others, and God. "In the

creation it was His purpose that the earth be inhabited by beings whose existence should be a blessing to themselves and to one another, and an honor to their Creator. All who will may identify themselves with this purpose" (*Educction*, 174).

10. Do multicultural sharing. "There is no person, no nation, that is perfect in every habit and thought. One must learn of another. Therefore God wants the different nationalities to mingle together, to be one in judgment, one in purpose. Then the union that there is in Christ will be exemplified" (*Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists*, 137).

11. Seek out and help those who are disadvantaged. "Many are in obscurity. They have lost their bearings. They know not what course to pursue. Let the perplexed ones search out others who are in perplexity and speak to them words of hope and encouragement. When they begin to do this work, the light of heaven will reveal to them the path that they must follow. By their words of consolation to the afflicted they themselves will be consoled. By helping others, they themselves will be helped out of their difficulties" (*Mind, Character, and Personality*, 2:431, 432).

12. Enrich your personal atmosphere. "It is of the greatest importance to us that we surround the soul with the atmosphere of faith. Every day we are deciding our own eternal destiny in harmony with the atmosphere that surrounds the soul. We are individually accountable for the influence that we exert, and consequences that we do not see will result from our words and actions" (*Mind, Character, and Personality*, 2:433, 434).

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We'll Soon Be Free

We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
When de Lord will call us home.

My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
'Fore we done sufferin' here?

It won't be long,
It won't be long,
It won't be long,
'Fore de Lord will call us home.

We'll walk de miry road,
We'll walk de miry road,
We'll walk de miry road,
Where pleasure never dies.

We'll walk de golden street,
We'll walk de golden street,
We'll walk de golden street,
Where pleasure never dies.

My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
'Fore we done sufferin' here?

We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
When Jesus sets me free.

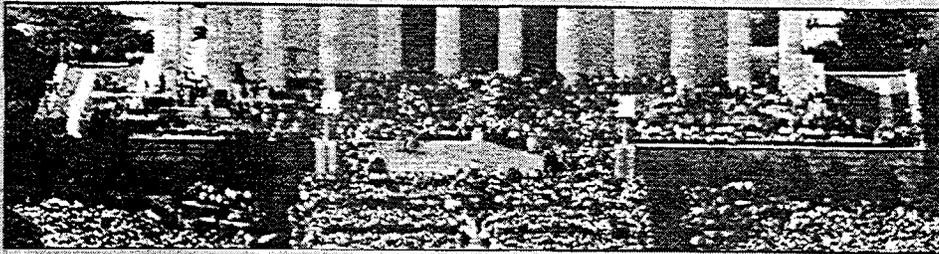
We'll fight for liberty,
We'll fight for liberty,
We'll fight for liberty,
When de Lord will call us home.

MESSAGE

A CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE OF CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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TRIUMPH



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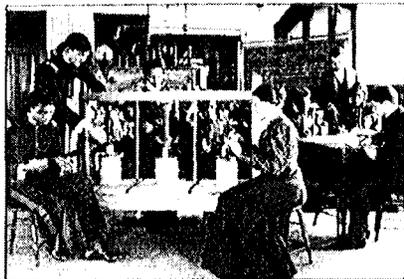


TRIALS



ROOTS

"I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go" (Psalm 32:8).



▲ A physics class at Hampton Institute in the early 1900s.



▲ Harriet Tubman, conductor on the Underground Railroad, led more than 300 slaves to freedom.

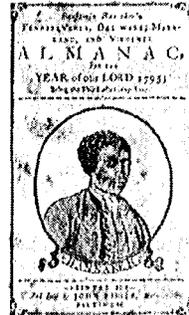
Negro infantry at Fort Lincoln during the Civil War. ▲



▲ Sojourner Truth, freed from slavery in New York in 1827, was a prominent outspoken abolitionist.



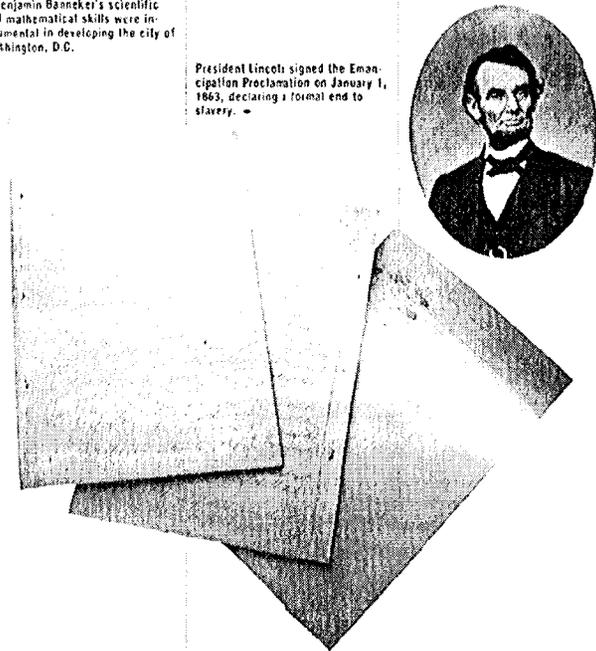
6 MESSAGE



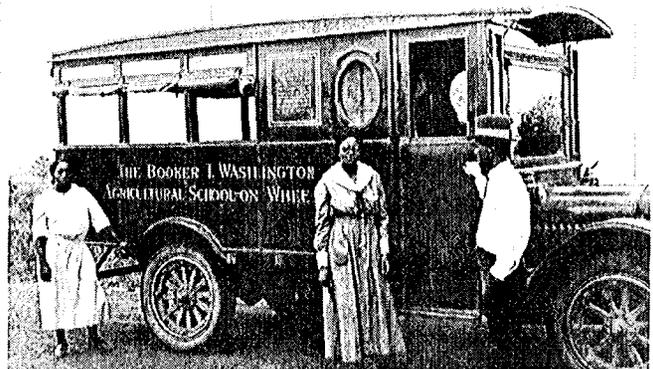
▲ Benjamin Banneker's scientific and mathematical skills were instrumental in developing the city of Washington, D.C.



▲ Honorable Benjamin S. Turner, of Alabama, served as a congressman during the Reconstruction years.



President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, declaring a formal end to slavery. ▲



Booker T. Washington's School on Wheels provided agricultural training for students in the early 1900s. ▲

MESSAGE 7

REBIRTH MILESTONES IN THE FREEDOM MARCH

1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965

MOVEMENT PROTEST

East White citizens Councils begin July 11, 1954
Mississippi
Montgomery bus boycott December 5, 1955 - December 21, 1956
Tallahassee bus boycott May 27, 1956
SCLC founded January 10, 11, 1957
Prayer program May 17, 1957
Line Rock Central High School August 1957
Price Edward County abandons its school system June 26, 1959
March 1959
May 1959

POLITICS

Election year
Eisenhower reelected with Nixon

LEGAL WORK

Brown May 17, 1954
Browder May 31, 1955
Aulander Lee admitted to University of Alabama February 3, 1956
ICC bans segregation on interstate travel November 25, 1955
Supreme Court rules on bus desegregation November 13, 1956
First civil rights bill since 1875 passed August 29, 1957
Conroy v. Aaron September 20, 1958

VIOLENCE

Emmett Till killed August 28, 1955
Home of Martin Luther King, Jr. bombed January 20, 1956
Martin Luther King, Jr. stabbed in Harlem October 20, 1956

MOVEMENT PROTEST

Greensboro sit-in February 1, 1960
Civil rights organizations meet with Robert Kennedy returning June 16, 1961
SNCC founded April 17, 1960
Freedom rides summer 1961
Albany movement November 1961
JFK federalizes Mississippi troops October 23, 1962
JFK meeting with civil rights leaders re March on Washington June 20, 1963
March on Washington August 28, 1963
Birmingham bombing September 15, 1963
Walter's schoolhouse stand June 11, 1964
St. Augustine March June 1964
Founding of MFDP April 26, 1964
Martin Luther King Jr. awarded Nobel Prize December 10, 1964
Selma January-March 1965
Riots with LBJ February 9, 1965

POLITICS

Election year
Kennedy elected with Johnson
Election year
Johnson elected with Humphrey

LEGAL WORK

Civil Rights Act signed May 6, 1960
Federal court orders Lyndon and James to be admitted to University of Georgia January 6, 1961
Rot January 11, 1961
Central of Emancipation Proclamation January 1, 1963
Twenty-four Amendment eliminates poll tax on federal elections January 23, 1964
Johnson signs civil rights bill July 2, 1964

VIOLENCE

Los Angeles riot April 27, 1962
Ola Mae riot October 2, 1962
JFK killed November 22, 1963
Modgar Evers killed June 12, 1963
Birmingham bombing September 15, 1963
Riots New York, New Jersey, Chicago, and Philadelphia
Goodman, Schwerner, Chaney killed June 21, 1964
Malcolm X killed February 21, 1965
Rees dies March 11, 1965
Watts riots August 11-16, 1965



Photo by James H. Hays/News Photo Inc. The line extends from Washington, D.C. to the Gulf of Mexico. Above: An African American woman in a white dress and hat walking through a crowd.

REBIRTH

"If God be for us, who can be against us?" (Romans 8:31).



► Martin Luther King with his wife, Coretta, and four children, Yolande, Bernice, Martin III, and Dexter.



M.L. KING, JR. HIGHLIGHTS

► Dr. King pauses for a moment of reflection. In the background is a picture of Mahatma Gandhi, whose philosophy influenced King's nonviolent approach to social change.



► Dr. King in a meeting with Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House.

Dr. King in deep thought at a press conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on April 26, 1967, when he announced his decision not to be a candidate for president of the United States.



► Dr. King is arrested during a 1963 sit-in demonstration in Birmingham to protest segregation of eating facilities.



► On December 10, 1964, Dr. King was the honored recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. He was cited for his nonviolent methods of leadership in the American civil rights movement.

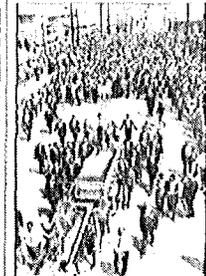


► Witnesses point in the direction of the gunshot that fatally wounded Dr. Martin Luther King at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, April 4, 1968.

Dr. King addresses a crowd in front of the Lincoln Memorial on August 24, 1963, four days before his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.



► Coretta Scott King at the funeral of her late husband, Dr. Martin Luther King.



► A throng of mourners join the Atlanta funeral procession of Dr. King, who met his death five days earlier in Memphis at the hands of an assassin.

REACHING

"in all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths" (Proverbs 3:6).



Queen of Sheba

When hearing of the great wisdom of the monarch Solomon, the beautiful queen of Sheba traveled with a large caravan to ask Solomon many hard questions. With her she not only brought a "very great train" of camels but also lovely gifts of spices, gold, and precious stones. When she arrived, her graded feet were worn from travel. She was rightly impressed with Solomon's wealth, wisdom, and religion.



One of the Magi

A passage from the book of Psalms is used by many scholars as evidence that one of the Wise Men who visited the Christ child was Black. Although the exact country of his birth is not known, it is believed that he originated in Ethiopia or Arabia. Further support for his Black ethnic origin is evidenced by the fact that he is depicted as a Negro in a mosaic of the Magi located in the Basilica of Santa Apollonia in Rome.

Jethro

Jethro, also known as Prethi, was a priest of Midian who was distinguished from other Midianites in that he worshipped only one God. Doubtless his belief was passed down through his family line from Abraham. He was Moses' father-in-law, since Moses married Zipporah, Jethro's daughter. Because of the similarity in their religious beliefs, Moses felt at home in Jethro's household. Jethro was also an outstanding adviser who gave Moses valuable counsel on how to organize and to lead Israel more effectively.



BLACKS IN THE BIBLE

Ebed-melech

Ebed-melech, an Ethiopian, was highly honored by God for his commendable service in rescuing Jeremiah the prophet from a fiery dragon pit (eastern). Using "old cast clouds and old rotten rags" he saw into Jeremiah's living grave. Ebed-melech and his helpers were able to draw him up to safety. God honored Ebed-melech by sparing him from death, to wit: "Thus has put thy lord in me, saith the Lord."



Simon of Cyrene

Simon of Cyrene, possibly the same as Simon Niger, is believed to have originated in Africa. It was he who was chosen to bear the cross of crucifixion when Jesus fell beneath its heavy burden. Through carrying the cross was heeked upon by men as a shameful task, the act of Simon represents the thousands of humble Christians who daily bear Christ's admonition to take up their cross and follow Him.



Ethiopian Eunuch

One of the first Gentile converts to Christianity was an Ethiopian eunuch who served as the treasurer in the court of Queen Candace. He was prominent, well respected, and a man of influence. He was led to accept Christ as a direct result of divine providence. God's Spirit directed Philip to go to the eunuch, who was unable to understand a Bible paraphrase of the book of Isaiah. He was reading. After hearing Philip's explanation, the eunuch eagerly acknowledged Jesus Christ as the Son of God and was baptized.

Zipporah

Zipporah, an Ethiopian (Cushite) and wife of Moses, was viewed by Moses' father as an offense to their faith and custom. Moses healed her with disdain and contempt. God severely rebuked Moses for her mistreatment and criticism of Zipporah. She was known for her great sensitivity and compassion. She felt the needs and pressures of her husband for whom she sought and gave counsel.



TELLING THE STORY . . .

Sources and Resources

“And we know that all things work together for good to those who love God, to those who are the called according to His purpose.”

Romans 8:28 (NKJV)

heu-ris-tic: adj. (1) serving to indicate or point out; stimulating interest as a means of furthering investigation; (2) encouraging a person to learn, discover, understand, or solve problems on his or her own, as by experimenting, evaluating possible answers or solutions, or by trial and error: a heuristic teaching method. God’s providence in the development and progress—the entire experience of Black people in the SDA Church—is *heuristic*. At every turn, one is confronted with God’s guidance and the creative ways by which He accomplished (and is accomplishing) His purpose of spreading the Gospel to all the world. Therefore, the experience of Black people in the SDA Church has pedagogical insights for Black people, as well as for all other ethnic groups in the Church. This bibliography will assist one in the search for such insights. However, it is incumbent on the generations that now are and will yet be to continuously search the records so that additional lessons might be learned. May we see the way God has led. May we thereby be encouraged that He will continue to lead us.

CONTENT

Spirituals, History of	SR/2
Bibliography	SR/5

Spirituals

In his *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, published in 1925, James Weldon Johnson wrote: "As the years go by and I understand more about this music and its origin the miracle of its production strikes me with increasing wonder. It would have been a notable achievement if the white people who settled this country, having a common language and heritage, seeking liberty in a new land, faced with the task of conquering untamed nature, and stirred with the hope of building an empire, had created a body of folk music comparable to the Negro Spirituals. But from whom did these songs spring—these songs unsurpassed among the folk songs of the world and, in the poignancy of their beauty, unequalled?" In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. Du Bois extolled the "sorrow songs" of the "children of disappointment" as "the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people," while Paul Robeson, who brought them to the concert stage around the world in the twentieth century, spoke of the "healing comfort to be found in the illimitable sorrow of the spirituals."

Because they were devised and reworked orally, the exact origin of the spirituals is not known. But they had been sung for generations before they were recorded in *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1869) by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who commanded the 1st South Carolina Volunteers in the Civil War. He understood at once their importance to his men, as well as their beauty and their art. Of the lovely "I Know Moon-Rise" he wrote, "Never, it seems to me, since man first lived and suffered, was his infinite longing for peace uttered more plaintively."

The central role of the spirituals in the African-American heritage may be due to the appeal of a religion that spoke to the slaves' own status, as well as to their ability to use the received doctrine to forge a new art form in their own idiom. From Phillis Wheatley's poetry onward, despite the obvious conflict between Christian teachings and those who claimed to practice them, African-American texts emphasize the strength found in a doctrine that promised deliverance, even if in another life. And yet it was not the New Testament God of love, but the Old Testament God of vengeance that most captured the slaves' imagination.

Striking parallels could be found between their own situation and that of the "chosen people" held in bondage in Egypt and led out of captivity

by Moses. The triumphs of Daniel and Joshua, the "valiant soldier," and martial imagery figure prominently in spirituals like "Heav'n Boun' Soldier," "Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jerico," "Ride On, Moses," "Singin' wid a Sword in Ma Han'," and others. Even when the New Testament was evoked, the image of Jesus as martyr rarely appears, but rather that of "King Jesus" riding onward as the "conquering king." "Images of the Apocalypse and the books of Moses," wrote Higginson, "constituted their Bible; all that lay between, even the narratives of the life of Jesus, they hardly cared to read or hear."

While the image of the Christian engaged in battle with the Devil was a familiar one, in the spirituals such battles could have a temporal as well as a spiritual meaning, particularly during the Civil War era when the coming of the Kingdom might be equated, literally, with freedom. Higginson noted that slaves had been jailed for singing spirituals in South Carolina. "'We'll soon be free' was too dangerous an assertion," he wrote, "and though the chant was an old one, it was no doubt sung with redoubled emphasis during the new events." "De tink *de Lord* mean for say *de Yankees*," one soldier told Higginson, and the Potomac, rather than the Jordan, represented the "One More River to Cross."

The slaves not only chose their Christian texts carefully but infused them with African tradition as well. The repetitive choruses recall the communal African call and response, as did the ring shout, with the singers moving in a circle. Some spirituals contained allusions to African folktales, and the mighty Jordan, a staple in the songs, recalls the many rivers in Africa and concepts of the underworld. In some songs, "Mr. Devil" is portrayed as "a liar an' a conjurer too," and "The Devil's mad and I'm glad/He lost the soul he thought he had" recalls a triumph against a wily trickster, typical of many African tales.

After the war, the spirituals found widespread acclaim with both white and black audiences when the Jubilee Singers of Fisk University introduced them across the country from 1871 to 1875. In the twentieth century, they reached world audiences when sung by Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Jules Bledsoe, and more recently, Jessye Norman and Kathleen Battle, among others. And many of the spirituals found new meaning in the songs of the civil rights movement[†] of the 1960s.

In a modern reading, the perception of the role of the spirituals in African-American life has been debated. Countee Cullen wrote of their representative status, "Without in the least depreciating the beauty of Negro spirituals or the undeniable fact that Negro singers do them, as it were, to the manner born, we have always resented the natural inclination of most white people to demand spirituals the moment it is known that a Negro is about to sing. So often the request has seemed to savor of the

feeling that we could do this and this alone.” And of their troubling association with slavery and long-suffering Christian patience, Malcom X wrote in his *Autobiography*, “The white man has taught us to shout and sing and pray until we *die*, to wait until *death*, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-hereafter, when we’re *dead*, while this white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on *this* earth!” But the tragic and poignant beauty of the spirituals is irrefutable. “By these,” wrote Higginson, the slaves “could sing themselves, as had their fathers before them, out of the contemplation of their own low estate, into the sublime scenery of the Apocalypse.”

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“Now all these things happened to them as examples, and they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages have come.”

1 Corinthians 10:11 (NKJV)

“Again and again I have been shown that the past experiences of God’s people are not to be counted as dead facts. We are not to treat the record of these experiences as we would treat last year’s almanac. The record is to be kept in mind; for history will repeat itself. The darkness of the mysteries of the night is to be illuminated with the light of heaven.”

Ellen White, 1903

“These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off were assured of them, embraced them and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For those who say such things declare plainly that they seek a homeland. And truly if they had called to mind that country from which they had come out, they would have had opportunity to return. But now they desire a better, that is, a heavenly country. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for He has prepared a city for them.”

Hebrews 11:13-16 (NKJV)

TELLING THE STORY is an anthology that contains more than 100 selected documents and materials on the history of Black Seventh-day Adventists. The materials were written during a period of more than 150 years by scholars, pastors, administrators, and laypersons. This anthology is designed to put valuable information in the possession of persons who may not find it readily available. It can be effectively used for research, teaching, and personal enrichment. A few of the areas where it can profitably be utilized are in workshops, seminars, small study groups, and general church meetings. The compiler, Delbert W. Baker, an author, minister, and professor, is an administrator at Loma Linda University and the author/editor of five books.