

Adventism and the American Republic

The Public
Involvement of a
Major Apocalyptic
Movement

Douglas Morgan
With a Foreword by
Martin E. Marty



“Adventists made major contributions in the American legal tradition by helping expand the liberties of all Americans. Morgan’s careful tracing of that plot will illustrate for non-Adventists the creative role of marginal and outsider groups.”

—from the Foreword by Martin E. Marty

While many organized religions in America today have affinity for conservative political action groups such as the Christian Coalition, Seventh-day Adventists have often found themselves allied with liberals against such measures as Sunday laws and prayer in schools. Douglas Morgan now examines the role Adventism has played in American public life and explains its positions from the standpoint of the church’s historical development, showing that its relationship with public policy, government, and politics is far more complex than most historians have believed.

Adventism and the American Republic tells how their convictions led Adventist adherents to become champions of religious liberty and the separation of church and state—all in the interest of delaying the fulfillment of a prophecy that foresees the abolition of most freedoms. Through publication of *Liberty* magazine, lobbying of legislatures, and pressing court cases, Adventists have been

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libertarian activists for more than a century, and in recent times this stance has translated into strong resistance to the political agendas of Christian conservatives.

Drawing on Adventist writings that have never been incorporated into a scholarly study, Morgan shows how the movement has struggled successfully to maintain its identifying beliefs—with some modifications—and how their sectarian exclusiveness and support of liberty has led to some tensions and inconsistencies.

Because of their overriding concern for religious freedom, Adventists have had considerable impact upon the public order in the United States. Morgan’s careful study makes that impact clear and promotes a better understanding not only of the church but also of the place of religion in American politics.

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Jacket illustration: A depiction of the beast from the Book of Revelation, believed by Adventists to represent the United States, from the evangelistic magazine *These Times* (1971).

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**To Jonathan Butler, H. Ward Hill,
and Karl-Heinz Schroeder**

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FOREWORD

To begin with: 99.71 percent of the citizens of the United States are not members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Some in this majority may have picked up a free copy of *Signs of the Times*, the Adventist periodical that spreads the word on freestanding airport racks. But it is not likely that many have read it or the Adventists' *Liberty* enough to have comprehended the peculiar view of church, state, politics, and America that Douglas Morgan depicts and analyzes in this book.

"Peculiar" means "distinctive," and Adventists certainly are that. Not many years ago their church was clustered with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Church of Christ, Scientist, as making up the four major American "cults." As recently as 1986, before citizens realized how pluralism had changed the rules of the game and back when there were still "marginal" groups, notable historian R. Laurence Moore dealt with Adventists as "religious outsiders." Sociologist Peter Berger would have listed them with the "cognitive minorities" who drew power from their distinctive world views. Peculiar = particular.

"Peculiar" also means "unusual, eccentric, or odd," and most outsiders-to-Adventism, looking in from their own margins, have classified it and do classify it as peculiar in that sense. One-fourth of the citizenry is Catholic and four-fourths no doubt know *something* about Catholicism. They would find it peculiar that in this age of ecumenism and tolerance the nice Adventists—and most of them are nice—regard the pope as Antichrist. And why Adventists read Catholicism into the Book of Revelation's prophecies: it is a conspirator in shaping an oppressive world order and opposing Christianity. Morgan explains why Adventists see Catholicism as part of a conspiracy, along with ecumenical Protestantism, and why they are confused when official Catholicism celebrates religious liberty and when Protestant ecumenists come through not as conspirators but as consecrated fellow Christians.

Mention of religious liberty leads to a second apparent anomaly that will quicken curiosity on the part of any in the 99.71 percent non-Adventist majority who read this book. Why do Adventists care so much about such freedom, and what do they do about that care? As Morgan shows, they have been persistent advocates of religious liberty on many fronts.

For one thing, as their name suggests, they worship on the seventh day, the biblical Sabbath. They do this because they find positive biblical grounds for doing

so, and because they think the idea of worship on Sunday is a pernicious example of Roman Catholic, and thus anti-Christ, invention. Some years ago after I spoke at their Loma Linda University, someone in the audience asked me to do some blue-sky envisioning of American Christianity in the twenty-first century. Among other things I mentioned that the weekend had eroded or exploded; that it no longer had Friday-night-to-Sunday boundaries. This meant that Adventists would join many other Christians in holding worship on any day of the week. I learned later that a choice of Tuesday or Thursday would not have disturbed anyone, but my picturing some Adventists choosing Sunday was a revelation of my ignorance: Sunday had to be avoided. Not that Adventists are impious that day; they are seldom impious. But they cannot charter worship on that day.

As Sabbath-keepers, therefore, they have no problem with working on Sunday and they have had great problems with American culture and politics back when Sunday-closing laws inconvenienced and penalized them while downgrading their religious views. So Adventists joined Jews and a few other Sabbatarians in persistently testing courts on this subject. Today, when even the evangelical heirs of the Sabbath-keepers have become consistent and impassioned Sabbath-breakers, doing some of their worship on Sunday at professional football games or Wal-Mart stores, the Sunday-closing laws are all but forgotten.

However, while those battles were intense, Adventists made major contributions in the American legal tradition by helping expand the liberties of all Americans. Morgan's careful tracing of that plot will illustrate for non-Adventists the creative role of marginal and outsider groups.

Non-Adventists who eat Kellogg cereals may not realize that Kellogg products were Adventist inventions to make their vegetarianism more palatable. Yes, vegetarianism. And if such citizens admire and sign on with antismoking and temperance causes today, they may not realize that Adventists were pioneers also in the health industries. How and why they chose to make causes of these commitments is another part of Morgan's story.

A fourth peculiarity of Adventism relates to the noun in their denominational name: they await the Second Advent of Jesus. So do millions of "dispensational" millenarians (as opposed to "historicist" millenarians, which the Adventists are); but let Morgan explain the difference. *How* Adventists have twisted and turned to make their peculiar version of the Second Coming active in their lives is another part of the story.

By now I have mentioned four peculiarities, all evidence of the fact that this significant and now worldwide (in 207 countries) movement and body has to live with some ambiguity. Although as "Millerites" the earliest Adventists expected Jesus to return in 1844 in an event that brought them fame, notoriety, and internal confusion, and although they no longer set dates for the End, they

still are ardent about their Adventism. Yet they are also good citizens, as the pages ahead demonstrate.

So how have they mingled their adoption of the American Way of Life, their at-homeness in the world, their concern for health (as evidenced by their superb health-care system), and their minor efforts to effect justice and major efforts to effect conversion with their Endism? Another Adventist historian, Jonathan Butler, answered this question about their record succinctly: “They wished to delay the end in order to preach that the end was soon.”

That is peculiar, as is some feature or other of every religious movement that has to keep its eye on the eternal, the transcendental, and the pure while living in the world of the temporal, the immanent, and the messy. It is hard to picture readers who bring religious commitments or who puzzle over them not being informed as they read Morgan.

Nowadays whoever has an interest must declare an interest. I have been a teacher and a colleague (in this case in editing) and remain an admirer and friend of this historian who taught me so much about Adventism and religious liberty. But I can also say that Morgan can declare a *disinterest*, which means a freedom from the selfish kind of bias that could have been present as a result of his membership in Adventism.

Once upon a time one would have expected a work of apologetics and public relations from members of the body about which they write. Or, conversely, readers might have anticipated a work of destruction, as such works often tend to be, if they are written by former members. It may be that Morgan treats some topics a bit more gently than an outsider would. Thus he does not spend as much time as some Adventist and ex-Adventist writers have done dealing with the fact that the real founder of the movement, Ellen Gould White, who appears on so many pages here, claimed direct divine revelation for some writings that turned out to be replications of writings by others (a.k.a. plagiarism). But exposure of such embarrassments is not any major part of his plot. He deals with controversy serenely and, in a word that I like better than “objectively” or “disinterestedly,” with fair-mindedness.

This book should become a permanent part of libraries that have room for and readers that have curiosities about religious liberty, church and state, and other public themes that make so many of us look so peculiar to the rest of us. These are themes that arise from anomaly and are marked by ambiguity and hence are para-Adventist, another fact that makes this book relevant and beckoning.

Martin E. Marty

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University of Chicago

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During the twelve-year period of intermittent research and writing that led to this book, the list of those to whom I am indebted has continually lengthened. The few words of acknowledgment that follow express in a superficial way the extent of my gratitude and my recognition that whatever is of value in this work came about only with the support of others.

Though substantial revisions have been made, this book grew out of a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago. My advisor, Martin E. Marty, always accessible despite his fast-paced schedule, drew out my best with consummate grace and sensitivity. In addition to substantive guidance, his enthusiasm for my project repeatedly provided an invigoration that was crucial. I am grateful to the late Jerald Brauer, particularly for challenging me to look at issues in a different light and then patiently helping me find significances in the new look. The late Arthur Mann's incomparable courses on American social movements helped me more than any other single factor get a sense of context for what I found in my own research.

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The services of several librarians and archivists enabled me to target and gain access to the necessary materials. The staff of the Adventist Heritage Center of the James White Library at Andrews University, under the direction of Louise Dederen and then Jim Ford, provided very valuable assistance, as did William Schomburg of the McKee Library at Southern Adventist University. Most especially, I thank Bert Haloviak of the General Conference of Seventh-day

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I dedicate this book to three inspiring college teachers. Jonathan Butler's name appears frequently on the pages that follow, reflecting a manifold influence of singular importance to me. As an undergraduate professor, his brilliantly crafted lectures and articles inspired me toward advanced study of the history of Christianity, both as an intellectual pursuit and a vocation within a community of faith. And his pioneering work on topics addressed in this book challenged me to further exploration.

Two other professors, H. Ward Hill and Karl-Heinz Schroeder, stand out as prompters and shapers of the curiosity and commitments leading to this book. Through excellence in the classroom and through patient, thought-provoking dialogue, they equipped me for scholarship.

My late father, G. William Morgan, a Seventh-day Adventist minister with whom I sometimes disagreed on matters explored in this book, provided an example of integrity and commitment to truth for which I rejoice and strive to emulate. My mother, Iona Lewis, through the years in which the book was being prepared, remained, as always, an anchor for my life with her unfailing support and love.

INTRODUCTION

An international conspiracy to deprive individuals of their freedom has gained control of the United States government. Federal officials have declared that the death penalty will be applied to resisters of the new world order. Stalwart defenders of constitutional rights have fled to remote mountain hideaways. The authorities seek them out with all the military technology at their disposal, including spy satellites and heat-seeking missiles. Through it all, true believers remain unyielding in their resistance to government forces.

Prompted by the memory of traumatic events in Waco and Oklahoma City, we might expect a scenario like this in the literature of some far-right militia movement. In fact, it is found in a book recently published by the Seventh-day Adventist Church,¹ a church that—with its widespread network of medical and educational institutions—has achieved respected status in American society despite sectarian origins. It may seem incongruous, then, that Adventists, like many in the militia movement,² draw on the apocalyptic literature of the Bible in forming a conception of the future that reflects such radical suspicion of America.

Indeed, compared to the militia movement, the Branch Davidians, Heaven's Gate, the premillennialists of the Christian Right, and Y2K doomsday theorists, Adventism's public impact has been relatively quiet and noncontroversial. Yet an impact they have made, and it has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. And, I will argue, it is in large measure their distinctive apocalyptic reading of history that has shaped that impact and that has prompted them, in late-twentieth-century cultural conflicts, to align more frequently with the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Jewish Congress than with the National Rifle Association or the Christian Coalition.

Richard John Neuhaus, a well-known neoconservative analyst of religion in American public life, hinted in 1992 at the intriguing connection between the Seventh-day Adventists' apocalyptic beliefs and their involvement in the public order. Neuhaus was responding to several critiques of his book *The Naked Public Square* that appeared in *Liberty*, an Adventist magazine directed especially at readers in the legal and political arenas. The contributors to the *Liberty* symposium, as

supporters of a sharp separation between church and state, found cause for concern in Neuhaus's advocacy of more favorable governmental policy toward religion as an antidote to secularism.

Neuhaus responded, first, to the apocalyptic interpretation of history that was reflected—if not explicitly spelled out—in the pages of *Liberty*. He dismissed as “somewhat bizarre” a *Liberty* cover story that depicted Pope John Paul II, in collusion with U.S. president George Bush, maneuvering for supremacy in the “new world order,” but he went on to warn that “it would be a mistake to underestimate the influence of *Liberty* and the Seventh-day Adventist church in agitating church-state questions.” He observed that the church maintains “a very large and well-funded staff for whom strict separationism is both central dogma and high priority cause.”³

Neuhaus's comments touch on the core issues I wish to address. They highlight, first, the surprising degree and character of Adventism's public impact, given the church's relatively small numbers, tendency to avoid political activism, and generally conservative reputation. For more than a hundred years Adventists have engaged in vigorous public action for religious liberty and separation of church and state, probably to a greater extent than any other American religious group of comparable size. And though their staff may not have been as “large and well-funded” as Neuhaus implied, the editor of *Liberty* claimed in 1985 that the church's world headquarters had six officials assigned to matters of religious liberty while none of the nation's twelve leading Protestant bodies had even one full-time, trained specialist in that area. Moreover, the Adventist Church was the only one to publish a magazine devoted to religious liberty.⁴

Second, the discussion of papal designs that Neuhaus found bizarre reflects the crucial influence of an apocalyptic interpretation of history behind Adventist action. That outlook structures believers' perceptions of religious and political forces in society—such as the papacy and the American government—as well as what their own role should be. From the founding of the movement in the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth, that theology of history, which identifies them as the “remnant,” has, in differing ways at differing times, been a central influence on the way Adventists have interacted with the American Republic.

The Emergence of Seventh-day Adventism

When the clock struck midnight on 22 October 1844, Hiram Edson, a farmer in Port Gibson, New York, was one of an estimated fifty thousand to one hundred thousand Millerites or Adventists whose spirits were devastated by the mere uneventful passing of the day: Christ had failed to return on the date designated by scriptural prophecy. The poignancy of Edson's recollection of this “Great

Disappointment” is striking: “Our expectations were raised high, and thus we looked for our coming Lord until the clock tolled 12 at midnight. The day had then passed and our disappointment became a certainty. Our fondest hopes and expectations were blasted, and such a spirit of weeping came over us as I never experienced before. It seemed that the loss of all earthly friends could have been no comparison. We wept, and wept, till the day dawn.”⁵

After 1844 the Millerite movement as a whole disintegrated in disgrace and disappointment. Most who retained belief in the soon return of Christ dismissed the prophetic significance of the date. But Edson’s group, under the leadership of James and Ellen White, created a new religious synthesis by reinterpreting the significance of 1844 and incorporating other distinctive doctrines (most notably Saturday Sabbatarianism). Eventually, this tiny group would become one of the few major religious movements born in nineteenth-century America that would continue to thrive throughout the twentieth century.

Originally centered in New England and upstate New York, many of these Sabbatarian Adventists relocated to Michigan in the 1850s. In 1863, they formally established the Seventh-day Adventist Church with thirty-five hundred members and headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan. The church remained small but enjoyed growth and vitality over the subsequent decades. Membership in North America increased to more than fifty-six thousand by the turn of the century, to more than two hundred thousand by the end of World War II, and had surpassed eight hundred thousand by 1994. As a result of an aggressive overseas missions program, Adventist world membership had reached eight million by 1994, with rapid growth continuing.⁶

At the same time, Adventists developed an extensive network of educational and health-care institutions. Today there are fourteen Adventist colleges and universities in North America. In addition to its well-regarded medical school—Loma Linda University in southern California—the church’s health-care system had, by the 1980s, become the sixth-largest in the United States.⁷

At the doctrinal core of Seventh-day Adventism is a distinctive form of Christian millennialism. This millennialism not only entails expectation of a coming new order of things but also constitutes a comprehensive philosophy of history, a picture of “the total meaning of historical existence,” including “predictions of things to come as well as a reduction of the whole of the past to an order.”⁸ The Adventist view of history invests past and present events with significance in accordance with transcendent principles and forces for which visible history is the arena. It envisions a future and goal to history and calls upon the believer to act in the light of that future. The distinctive impact on American public life that Adventists have made, I will argue, correlates with this philosophy or theology of history, which contains a unique interpretation of the significance of America.

Catherine L. Albanese has observed that Adventism embodies the paradox of the “oneness” and “manyness” of American religion.⁹ With its “made-in-America” stamp, Seventh-day Adventism, in its general characteristics, typified nineteenth-century American Protestantism. The central concerns of Adventism—millennialism, biblicism, perfectionism or sanctification, pursuit of health and wholeness, and enthusiasm for religious liberty—were all widespread in American culture. Adventists, however, placed their own variations on these themes and shaped them into a distinctive religious identity, thus adding to the pluralism of the American scene.

Millennialism is a good example of how Adventists were both typical and atypical. As numerous scholars have shown, the millennial theme pervades the American experience.¹⁰ William McLoughlin describes millennialism, and the sense that somehow the national destiny is linked to a millennial destiny for the world, as part of “a common core of beliefs that has provided continuity and shape to American culture.”¹¹ Born out of the intense millennial fervor of the Millerite movement, Seventh-day Adventism has sustained a strong millennial vision in which the American Republic has a central role. In this sense, Adventists share in the common core of American beliefs. Yet with their particular form of millennialism, in which the role of the Republic is quite ambivalent, Adventists, we will see, have deviated from the “common core.”

Millennialism and America

A brief overview of the forms of millennialism that have thrived in America, and their political implications, will provide the setting for understanding the Adventist view. Chapter 20 of Revelation is the only scriptural passage that speaks directly about the millennium, a time when suffering saints are resurrected to reign with Christ for a thousand years (vv. 4–5). Christians have generally interpreted the millennium’s place among the “last things” in one of three ways. Premillennialism expects Christ’s Second Coming to be a supernatural, decisive, divine intervention that inaugurates the thousand-year period. Postmillennialism places the return of Christ after the millennium—Christ’s Spirit will reign on Earth through the activity of the church for a thousand years prior to his literal presence. Finally, amillennialism asserts that the millennium is a general symbol for the entire Christian era.

Leading figures in the early centuries of the history of Christianity expected a literal resurrection to be followed by the millennium. Then, primarily through the influence of Augustine in the fifth century, the amillennial view became dominant in the medieval and Reformation eras. By the seventeenth century, however, premillennialism began to gain prominence among Protestant inter-

preters. In the eighteenth century, British expositors Daniel Whitby and Moses Lowman published expositions influential in spreading the relatively new postmillennial view as a competitor. New England's John Cotton had been an early minority voice for postmillennialism, and, in the eighteenth century, leading American thinkers such as Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins set forth this position.¹²

Postmillennialism

Postmillennialism enjoyed its greatest strength in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, becoming so widely accepted that it could be described by a clergyman in 1859 as “the commonly received doctrine” among American Protestants.¹³ In both the First and Second Great Awakenings, postmillennialism combined with revivalism in generating hope that America would be the starting point for the millennium. Commenting on the outbreak of revivals in New England, Edwards expressed the hope somewhat tentatively: “It is not unlikely that this work of God’s Spirit . . . is the dawning, or at least the prelude, of that glorious work of God so often foretold in scripture, which . . . shall renew the world of mankind. . . . And there are many things that make it probable that this work will begin in America.”¹⁴

Charles Finney, the leading revivalist during the Second Great Awakening, made the connection between revivalism and an American millennium even more explicit. Pointing to the success of his own endeavors, he proclaimed the power of revivalism to energize the vast human potential for both personal sanctification and social reform that would lead to the millennium. According to one listener, Finney declared during his Rochester, New York, campaign in 1830 that if Christians united, the millennium could come within three months.¹⁵ In 1835, he predicted that if Christians would unite and do their duty, the millennium could arrive in three years.¹⁶

Adherence to postmillennialism—as an interpretation of apocalyptic prophecy postulating a precise sequence of events for the renovation of the world through the converting and transforming power of God—faded rapidly in the late nineteenth century.¹⁷ However, its influence remained alive among progressive Protestants in the twentieth century who, in varying ways, connected the reform of American society with the advance of the kingdom of God.¹⁸

Premillennialism

Although postmillennialism, in a general sense, became dominant among the more public and socially progressive leaders of nineteenth-century Protestantism, premillennialism remained vital, primarily among more conservative Protestants. Two major schools of thought divided premillennialists: historicism and futurism.

Historicist interpreters viewed the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation as history in advance—a symbolic outline of crucial developments in the sojourn of the people of God from the time of the biblical writer to the Second Coming. Historicists believed that the apocalyptic visions foretold the sequence of empires in the ancient world, the breakup of Rome by barbarian invasions, and the emergence of the papacy as the Antichrist, the persecutor of the true faith. They believed that modern events such as the French Revolution and the return of the Jews to Palestine were also foretold. An interpretive key known as the day-year principle enabled historicists to see long time periods indicated in the prophecies. Thus the “forty-two months” of Revelation 13:5 (which corresponds to 1,260 days or prophetic years) extended from approximately A.D. 530 to 1790, or from 606 to 1866, and the 2,300 days of Daniel 8:14 began in the fifth century B.C., after Israel’s Babylonian captivity, and ended sometime in the 1840s.¹⁹

The Millerite movement was the most spectacular manifestation of historicism in America.²⁰ Coming to prominence in the late 1830s when the force of the Second Great Awakening was waning, Millerism, writes Jonathan Butler, sought to revive the awakening with the “new measure” of prophetic chronology.²¹ William Miller, the Baptist farmer turned revivalist whose study of prophecy led him to set a time for the Second Coming, was by no means alone in the conviction that the “cleansing of the sanctuary” predicted by the prophet Daniel was to take place in the 1840s. Edward Irving, in England, and Alexander Campbell, in the United States, were among the scores of authors in the 1810s, 1820s, and 1830s who maintained that the 2,300-day period of Daniel 8:14 would conclude in 1843, 1844, or 1847 (though there was much divergence as to what exactly would occur in fulfillment of the prophecy). The events of the 1790s were the touchstone for many of these interpreters of Bible prophecy. They saw the antireligious character of the French Revolution and the blow to papal power it entailed as striking fulfillments of prophecy that added certainty to the fulfillment of the next major event, scheduled for the 1840s.²²

Miller’s expositions on prophecy created the largest sensation because of his distinctive understanding of the *event* foretold for the 1840s and the increasing specificity with which he identified the date on which it was to take place. Miller understood the “cleansing of the sanctuary” to be the literal return of Christ to Earth, accompanied by the fiery destruction of sin and sinners. In his preaching during the 1830s and early 1840s, he was vague regarding the time; it would be “about 1843.” As the estimated year approached, however, Miller was pressured to be more specific. He concluded that Christ should come before the end of the “Jewish year” of 1843, which was calculated to be 21 March 1844. This and several other dates in the spring of 1844 passed without causing a great crisis in the movement. At this stage the Millerites seemed to

recognize the tentative nature of the more precise time calculations. However, in August 1844, a powerful movement arose within the Millerite ranks that claimed new biblical evidence for setting the date on 22 October 1844. Miller first rejected the date, but then, finally, early in October, embraced the message, called the “seventh month” movement. Hopes were now firmly set on a particular date, setting up the “Great Disappointment” and the demise of Millerism.²³

Obviously, Millerite premillennialism constituted a challenge to the postmillennial optimism about the reform of American society. Many Millerite leaders had been social reformers, sharing the temperance and antislavery causes of postmillennialists such as Finney. For them, the Advent movement was not a rejection of reform but the ultimate hope for a reform by different means. As Whitney Cross observed, Millerite hope in an immediate final judgment “was the shortest possible cut to millennial perfection, the boldest panacea of the time.”²⁴ The millennium was coming, but in a way that sharply circumscribed human activity to bring it about.

The Millerite fiasco created a scandal for premillennialism, particularly historicism. Some non-Millerite versions of historicism briefly showed vitality in the United States and Britain in the 1850s and 1860s, but by the 1870s, futurism had gained overwhelming dominance among premillennialists.²⁵ Rather than seeing a comprehensive outline of history in the apocalyptic prophecies, the futurist school expected most of these prophecies to be fulfilled in the future—during a brief period just before the Second Coming of Christ.

Futurism had roots in the Counter-Reformation. Jesuit exegetes argued that the prophecies Protestants had applied to the papacy could only be fulfilled in the future. This viewpoint gained a few Protestant adherents early in the nineteenth century, most notably Samuel R. Maitland, curate of Christ Church, Gloucester, who took the futurist position in a sustained polemic against historicism and the day-year principle.²⁶

It was, however, in a distinct new form—the dispensationalism of John Nelson Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren—that futurism became the dominant interpretive system among American premillennialists in the second half of the nineteenth century. It has remained so throughout the twentieth century. The dispensationalists posited a strict distinction between Scripture applicable to the Jewish dispensation and that applicable to the Christian dispensation. Most of the prophecies that the historicists had applied to the history of Christianity, the dispensationalists judged applicable only to a future period when the Jewish dispensation would be renewed. A secret Second Coming of Christ would rapture the church into heaven, ending the Christian dispensation and beginning a seven-year period during which God would resume

his dealings with the Jews and the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation concerning the final events of history would be fulfilled.

The dispensationalist understanding of the Antichrist, or “beast,” of Revelation 13 illustrates the contrast with historicism. Dispensationalism maintained that Antichrist would be a future European dictator who, midway through the seven-year period following the rapture, would launch an attack on Israel, thereby triggering international war and the final horrors of the tribulation. Historicism, on the other hand, identified the “beast” with the papacy, which had held sway for 1,260 years (three and one-half years or 1,260 days in “prophetic time”) during the medieval and early modern periods of history. Subsequent to its “wounding” in the 1790s, the papal beast would be revived in the last days to lead the final conflict against true Christians, *after* which Christ would return.

Esponsored by leading revivalists such as Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday, and nurtured by the development of an institutional network of publications, prophetic conferences, and Bible schools, dispensationalist premillennialism became the primary, though not exclusive, eschatology of twentieth-century American fundamentalism. Expecting an imminent end to the present evil age, premillennialists, as Martin E. Marty has pointed out, were more interested in rescuing people out of the present world than transforming it. Moody’s famous declaration—that he looked upon the world as a wrecked vessel for which God had given him a lifeboat with which to save as many as possible—epitomizes this outlook.²⁷

Yet historians such as George Marsden, Timothy Weber, and Paul Boyer²⁸ have demonstrated that few premillennialists have consistently followed the logic of premillennialism in regard to American public life. Most notably in the 1920s and again in the final quarter of the twentieth century, many adjoined to their premillennialism a desire to shape American culture in a manner that converged to a great extent with political conservatism.

Adventism and America

Despite its overwhelming popularity among premillennialists during the past century, the dispensationalist, futurist form of eschatology has by no means achieved unanimous acceptance among Christians who make the interpretation of biblical apocalyptic a central theme. For example, Seventh-day Adventists, the focus of this study, reformulated and held to the historicist premillennialism that they inherited from the Millerite movement²⁹ rather than joining the majority of other premillennialists in the shift to futurism.

Along with their distinctive form of millennialism, Adventists have exhibited a characteristic pattern of attitudes and behavior in the public realm. My intention is to show how their particular theology of history impelled them to

make a significant and unique contribution to American public life. Their apocalyptic eschatology has been a springboard for more than a hundred years of activism for human liberty and, on occasion, for social change. It has done much to shape a profile of interaction with society that differs from other actors on the American religious scene who have held differing conceptions of history. In contrast to postmillennialist optimism, Adventists have consistently articulated an apocalyptic lament regarding the Republic and its future and have generally not treated efforts to transform society as the primary vehicle of redemption. Although sharing in the nineteenth-century evangelical reform ethos in important respects, Adventists rejected the Christianization of American society as a step toward the millennium. On the other hand, in contrast to the dispensational premillennialist tendency to link ultranationalist, trenchant political conservatism with Christian morality, Adventists have frequently resisted conservative causes in the name of liberty.

Tracking this theme will also shed light on the broader question of Adventism's position on the American religious scene. With its radical assertion of singular significance in the consummation of history, its call for separation from all other religious bodies, and its claim on a unique source of divine revelation for the latter days in the prophet Ellen White, Adventism emerged as a *sect*—sharply differentiated from and antagonistic to the culture at large. At the end of the twentieth century, has Adventism become a *denomination*—seeing itself as one segment of the universal church of Christ rather than *the* one true church and thus increasingly working together with mainstream groups?³⁰

Part of the fascination of the Adventist story is that despite significant movement from sectarian toward denominational status, the church has straddled the two categories. Its theology of history has persisted in undergirding a rigorously separatist identity as the remnant pitted against the nation's dominant religious bodies and influential movements. At the same time, that same view of history has fueled a commitment to liberty and healing that has brought Adventists into cooperative relationships with other groups for action in the public order, thus moving the church toward the denominational mode.

An understanding of the premillennialist theology of history held by Adventists goes a long way toward explaining their complex relationship with the American Republic. Of course, numerous factors influence what millennialists believe and how they behave. Psychological drives, sociological patterns, and historical context combine with intellectual and theological commitments in complicated ways. But while not claiming apocalyptic belief as the sole cause of Adventist political behavior, I will show a causal connection between the two.

This study, then, first identifies a religious world view as, in George Marsden's words, an "organizing principle" for human behavior.³¹ Second, it is an exercise

in the study of public religion. Martin Marty describes his *Modern American Religion* as the “story of *public* religion, of the various faiths as they vied to shape the nation.”³² As part of that broad theme, this work focuses on the efforts of one group—whose public impact has often been overlooked—to influence the public order.

Finally, I write from the perspective of one who is an active participant in as well as observer of the Adventist tradition. Thus I am in part motivated by a desire to make Adventist contributions to society and the view of history underlying them better known. Yet I have sought to use the critical tools of historical scholarship in this examination of my own tradition, and I have endeavored to be as fair with the evidence as possible.

1

REMNANT VERSUS REPUBLIC, 1844–1861

From the inception of their movement in the nineteenth century, a theology of history has been central to what Seventh-day Adventists believe and how they behave. They came to the conviction that the Bible reveals both the highlights and the significance of history—past, present, and future—and that this revelation demanded from them a congruent manner of life. Such an outlook carried momentous implications for how Adventists came to conceive of both themselves and America.

In the formative years of the movement, Adventists particularly utilized the apocalyptic writings of Daniel and Revelation in constructing a view of history that included both a sweeping outline of events from the ancient world to the end of time and precise detail concerning crucial epochs. They believed the dragons, beasts, and angels of the apocalyptic menagerie were, in a specific and univocal manner, symbolic divine forecasts of the political and religious forces that would play an important part in the history of salvation.¹ Their own movement was symbolized by the “third angel” of Revelation 14:9–12 and the “remnant” of Revelation 12:17 and was thus commissioned with the roles of herald and vanguard for the consummation of history. The American Republic, on the other hand, was the “two-horned beast” of Revelation 13:11–18, which, paradoxically, provided the benevolent setting of freedom for the rise of Adventism and yet would become the agency for the confederated forces of evil in the climactic struggle of human history.

In fashioning their theology of history, Seventh-day Adventists tapped the currents of millennialist enthusiasm, revivalistic fervor, and a “populist” scriptural hermeneutic, all of which were running strong in American evangelicalism. But they melded those influences in the crucible of their spiritual experience to create something distinctive. Challenging the prevalent postmillennialist conception of the United States as an instrument of progress toward the millennium, they asserted that apocalyptic Scripture cast the Republic as a persecuting beast. They pointed to slavery and the Protestant establishment’s intolerant treatment of dissenters as evidence of the fulfillment of prophecy.

As the remnant predicted by Revelation for the last days, their role entailed heralding the restoration of long-obscured truths, such as the seventh-day Sabbath, in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. Moreover, as the faithful minority amid pervasive apostasy, Adventists faced an apocalyptic showdown

with a Republic that was abandoning its ideals of liberty and equality. From this stance, they vigorously protested the nation's social sins both in word and in the way of life to which their community became committed.

From Millerism to Sabbatarian Adventism

Seventh-day Adventism was born out of disappointment and a twofold rejection. The disappointment was the Great Disappointment of 22 October 1844. A Millerite true believer could not simply wake up the next morning and resume business as usual. Some sense had to be made of the movement that had evoked a powerful awareness of God's presence and realization of spiritual community. Not just the particulars of a biblical interpretation but also the entire spiritual lives of Millerite believers were at stake.

The movement splintered in a multitude of directions in the process of responding to the Disappointment. Mainstream Adventist leaders, such as William Miller and Joshua V. Himes, continued to advocate the imminent, premillennial advent of Christ and the validity of Bible prophecy but revised the particulars of their calculations in various ways. Several small denominations eventually resulted, including the Evangelical Adventists and the Advent Christian Association.²

The Sabbatarian Adventists, the group that formally organized as Seventh-day Adventists in the early 1860s, were among those more radical Millerites who insisted that something of momentous significance in salvation history *had* occurred on 22 October 1844. The chronological calculation was precisely correct. What needed continuing inquiry was the nature of the event predicted. Christ obviously had not returned to earth, but might further study of Scripture reveal that the "cleansing of the sanctuary" (Dan. 8:14), which Miller believed was a prophecy of the Second Coming, refers to something in the heavenly or spiritual realms which *did* take place? The Sabbatarian group responded to the Great Disappointment by affirming the validity and eschatological significance of the Millerite "seventh-month" movement (which had pointed to 22 October 1844), except for the event it expected, and then seeking new understanding of the event designated by scriptural prophecy.

The first aspect of the twofold rejection the Sabbatarian Adventists experienced was that which they shared with other Millerites during 1842–44, when many were forced out of their denominations. "Come out of her my people" became the watchword as Adventist leaders began to identify the Protestant denominations as the "Babylon" of Revelation 14 and 18 for spurning the Second Advent message. The second level of rejection came after the Disappointment, when the mainline Adventist leaders repudiated the Sabbatarians' reinterpretation of 1844. The Sabbatarian Adventists were not even invited to a conference in Albany, New York, in 1845 in which Millerites tried, unsuccessfully, to find a united course.³ The

Sabbatarian Adventists thus had been rejected not only by Protestantism at large but also by their fellow Adventists. They stood alone. Out of the experience of Disappointment and rejection they forged a powerful sense of singular importance in the final work of God. They were the true Protestants rejected by the “nominal churches,” the true Adventists rejected by the “nominal Adventists.”

Leadership in the formation of the Sabbatarian Adventist community came primarily from three people: Joseph Bates (1792–1872), Ellen Harmon White (1827–1915), and James White (1821–1881). Bates, the elder statesman, was an intrepid former sea captain and lecturer in the antislavery and temperance causes. His commitment to social and religious reform culminated in Millerism, which he thought to be the ultimate reform movement.⁴ In part through the witness of Seventh Day Baptists in New Hampshire, Bates became convinced early in 1845 that observance of the Sabbath on Saturday, the seventh day of week, was a scriptural command binding upon Christians.

The Whites, influenced by a tract Bates had written, accepted the Saturday Sabbath view late in 1846. Ellen Harmon was a devout young woman raised in a Methodist home in Portland, Maine. She and other family members had been read out of their Methodist class meeting because of their refusal to keep quiet about their Adventist beliefs. Soon after the Great Disappointment, at the age of seventeen, she began to have visions that gave assurance that God had been leading the Millerite movement. Those who remained faithful, her first vision revealed, were still on the path to eternal salvation to be realized at Christ's soon return.⁵ James White, a young minister in the Christian Connection who had preached the Millerite message, became acquainted with Ellen as she exhorted small Millerite groups with the message of her visions. James and Ellen began to travel and preach together and were married in the summer of 1846.⁶

A small network of believers in the message borne by Bates and the Whites emerged in New England and western New York during the late 1840s. In their teaching, the Saturday Sabbath took on heightened significance because it was integrated with the eschatological conviction that drove the movement. This conviction was expressed in the two dominant themes of the cleansing of the sanctuary and the third angel's message.

The Sabbatarian Adventists claimed that the “cleansing of the sanctuary” spoken of in Daniel 8:14 referred not to the cleansing of the earth with fire at the Second Coming as Miller had taught but to the work of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary mentioned in Revelation 11:19 and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. On 22 October 1844, Christ had begun to cleanse the sanctuary by entering its Most Holy Place and inaugurating an eschatological or cosmic Day of Atonement. The Sabbatarian Adventists called this the “antitypical Day of Atonement” because it was the transcendent spiritual reality of which the annual Day of Atonement in the Israelite cultus had been a type.

Moreover, the ark of the covenant in the Most Holy Place contained the tables of stone on which the Ten Commandments were written. Thus, in the antitypical Day of Atonement, adherence to the Ten Commandments, including Sabbath observance, is decisive. Those who would have their sins cleansed from the sanctuary must be loyal to the divine law enshrined there, and so indicate by keeping the Sabbath. Christ could not return until the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, and with it the restoration of the Sabbath on Earth, took place.

The Sabbatarian Adventists also believed that the proclamation of the message about the sanctuary and Sabbath reform was at the conclusion of a progressive chain of events leading up to the Second Coming foretold in the biblical prophecies. Specifically, their message was that of the “third angel” of Revelation 14. The message of the first angel—“the everlasting gospel”—had been given in the general Second Advent awakening of the 1830s and 1840s. The second angel’s message, concerning the fall of Babylon, had been given when the Millerites had found it necessary to separate from the “fallen” Protestant churches. Those who had responded to the first two messages were now being given the third, that called forth a people who keep “the commandments of God,” including the Sabbath, and “the faith of Jesus” (Rev. 14:12). And the third was the last to be given, for the next scene portrayed in Revelation 14 was the Second Coming.

To make clear the Adventists’ mentality, it must be underscored that they conceived Revelation 14 to be a specific divine forecast that these three messages would be given in historical sequence in the nineteenth century, just prior to the Second Coming of Christ. The conviction that their movement was that symbolized by the third angel thus gave the Sabbatarian Adventists a renewed and vivid sense of placement in the divine program for history. The doctrinal system they worked out in the late 1840s was, Ellen White observed in 1850, “perfectly calculated to explain the past Advent movement and show what our present position is, establish the faith of the doubting, and give certainty to the glorious future.”⁷ The third angel’s message explained the “past Advent movement” by demonstrating that, despite the Disappointment, the movement was not a delusion. It was the fulfillment of the first two angels’ messages and thus of divine origin and of eschatological, if penultimate, significance. Furthermore, the third message revealed to the Sabbatarian Adventists their “present position” by indicating that according to the divine schedule, the truths about the Sabbath and Christ’s final ministry in heaven must be given *after* 1844. All of this gave “certainty to the glorious future” by reassuring believers that the Lord’s coming was still yet to take place, and very soon.⁸

With meager resources other than the conviction of being armed with “a harmonious system of truth to present,” James White began publishing periodicals from western New York in 1849. A few numbers of *Present Truth* and the

Advent Review were issued in 1849 and 1850 and then, in November 1850, a new start was made with the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. This publication, now known as *Adventist Review*, has continued to the present as the official voice of Seventh-day Adventism.⁹ Through these publications, study conferences, and itinerant preaching on the part of the Whites, Bates, and several others in the 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventism took shape and expanded. These Adventists also began to interpret and, in a limited way, engage American public life from their apocalyptic perspective.

Such, in briefest outline, is the early theological development of the movement that would become Seventh-day Adventism. The Adventist outlook on America can only be understood in the framework of this theology of history. After surveying how the Sabbatarian Adventists expressed their interpretation of America in the early 1850s, the chapter will then examine some of the reasons why they became so convinced of scriptural interpretations that may strike twenty-first-century observers as esoteric and credulous.

Pretense of Redemption: America in Prophecy

Adventism's apocalyptic interpretation of America was first set forth in the *Review* in 1851 by John N. Andrews of Paris, Maine.¹⁰ A studious young man who had entertained ambitions for a career in law and politics, Andrews became convinced about the seventh-day Sabbath at the age of seventeen in 1846 and quickly became a leading apologist for Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines.¹¹ His ideas concerning America as a subject of prophecy quickly took hold. In 1855 he expanded his views into a series of articles.¹² Several other leading Sabbatarian Adventist spokesmen soon took up the theme, and it became a permanent, central feature of the new movement's message.

Andrews found the United States symbolized in Revelation 13, where two "beasts" are depicted. The first beast, arising from the sea, possesses seven heads and ten horns and is empowered to blaspheme and make war on the saints for forty-two months (1,260 years, according to the day-year principle). Interpreters of the historicist school were virtually unanimous in interpreting this beast as a symbol of the papacy, but opinion was much more divided as to the identity of the second beast, described in verses 11–18. Some maintained it was the Byzantine Empire. With the coming of the French Revolution and Napoleon, several maintained that France filled the bill. Others opted for England or the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia and Austria.¹³ With such diversity of interpretation, the way was open for Andrews to formulate a new interpretation, one more compelling for the Sabbatarian Adventists.

Imagery from the description of this second beast pervades Adventist literature from 1851 on, and thus the passage from Revelation is quoted here in full:

And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the beast and his image to be killed. And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six. (Rev. 13:11–18, KJV)

In an apparently unprecedented way, Andrews argued that this second beast was a description of the United States of America. Earlier Americans had impugned Protestant opponents who perpetuated elements of “popery” by identifying them with the two-horned beast, which made an “image” of Roman Catholicism.¹⁴ But Andrews was apparently the first explicitly to identify the second beast as the American Republic, and he laid down the lines of interpretation that would remain standard within Seventh-day Adventism.

The two-horned beast displayed “lamblike” horns, but spoke with a dragon’s voice—a characterization that to Andrews seemed particularly apt as the Republic’s sectional crisis over the moral and political contradiction of slavery deepened in the 1850s. The lamblike horns suggested to Andrews a “mild appearance,” and certainly the United States had the mildest appearing government in history. The two horns, he concluded, must represent the nation’s loftiest principles: republicanism and Protestantism. These two terms, for Andrews and the early Adventists, were synonymous with political and religious liberty. Whereas the Declaration of Independence was the essence of republicanism, the essence of Protestantism was the “recognition of the right of private judgment in matters of conscience.” Protestantism meant, not the establishment of a particular creed, but freedom for all from government coercion of religion.

But the two-horned beast also spoke with the voice of a dragon, signifying that those lofty principles were only a pretense. If the American government

truly upheld the republican concept that all men are free and equal, Andrews asked, "Why is it that the Negro race are reduced to the rank of chattels personal and bought and sold like brute beasts?"¹⁵ In 1855 he decried the "downward course" of Congress on the slavery issue. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, declared Andrews, was the "most infamous law of the nineteenth century." And then the 1854 Congress, "not satisfied in this act of infamy," had passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act opening to slavery the territories "hitherto sacredly guarded from that withering curse. What next God only knows."¹⁶

Sharp as his denunciation of slavery was, Andrews's central concern was America's betrayal of the Protestant principle. The leading Protestant denominations had replaced the right of private judgment with a creedalism and intolerance that led them to expel Millerites "for no other crime than that of looking for the coming of Jesus Christ."¹⁷ That creedalism, along with conformity to the world, pursuit of material wealth, political entanglements and, most of all, defense of slavery, revealed how American Protestantism had degenerated to the point of becoming the "Babylon" of the Apocalypse. The "professed church is to a fearful extent the right arm of the slave power," Andrews declared, and that support constituted "a perfect illustration . . . of a nation drunken with the wine of Babylon."¹⁸

Having thus lost its spiritual authenticity, Protestantism was colluding with the coercive power of the American state to form an "image to the beast" as foretold in the prophecy of Revelation 13. The beast referred to here is the papacy, which had utilized civil power to persecute and martyr those it deemed enemies of Roman Catholicism. "An image to the beast," Andrews concluded, "must then be another church clothed with civil power and authority to put the saints of God to death." A "corrupt and fallen" Protestantism would thus lead America, the two-horned beast, into a church-state union after the pattern of European Catholicism. Moreover, the prophecy says that the two-horned beast would compel worship of the papal beast and its image on penalty of death. Andrews argued that the enforcement of Sunday observance by law was the means through which this religious coercion would take place. He and the Sabbatarian Adventists regarded Sunday sacredness as a "child of the papacy." The use of civil power to support Sunday observance was the specific way in which American Protestantism would unite church and state to form an "image to the beast" and persecute those who kept the commandments of God, including the fourth, which in the Adventist interpretation enjoined a Saturday Sabbath. Sunday observance would then be the "mark" of the beast that the American government would attempt to force upon all.¹⁹

The maintenance of public recognition of Sunday as a holy day was indeed a leading concern of nineteenth-century American Protestants. Sunday observance was seen as a pillar of Christian civilization, and laws restricting unnecessary public work as a way of bolstering that pillar. In this vein, a campaign to stop

Sunday mail transport was pursued in the early decades of the century. It finally failed in 1830, with Richard Johnson, chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Roads, issuing a compelling argument against the measure as contrary to religious liberty. The Sabbath remained high on the Protestant agenda, however, as a crucial measure of the social power of the churches. The *Atlantic Monthly* pointed to Sunday observance in 1858 as evidence that the public influence of the clergy surpassed even that of the press: "Sunday morning all the land is still. . . . Even in this great Babel of Commerce one day in seven is given up to the minister."²⁰ Even Baptists, who had strictly opposed state religious establishments, supported laws to keep the land still and conducive to church influence on Sundays.²¹

From Andrews's perspective, the existing state Sunday laws did not yet constitute the "image of the beast" or the enforcement of its mark. Wider proclamation of the third angel's message was needed to create a general awareness of Sunday as "the Sabbath of the [Roman] apostasy" before Sunday observers would receive the "mark of the beast." But the state Sunday laws, and the widespread disposition to use the power of state to support religion in this manner, did expose the nation's tendency toward religious oppression and the pretense of its claim to keep church and state separate. The state Sunday laws meant that Protestant government was enforcing a "Papal institution which directly contradicts the fourth commandment," and that amounted to a "most striking instance of the union of church and state in this country, the boast of the nation to the contrary notwithstanding!"²²

John N. Loughborough, another prominent Sabbatarian Adventist, suggested in 1857 that the remaining step that would be taken in America toward full formation of the "image to the Papacy" would be a national Sunday rest law. This expectation of a *national* Sunday law marking the onset of the final persecution would become a lasting and central fixture in Adventist expectations about the future.²³

Though thoroughly antipapal, Adventists at this point clearly were much more concerned about Protestants acting in the papal image than about what the Catholics themselves might do. Thus they did not sympathize with the nativist aims of the Know-Nothing Party, which came to brief prominence in the mid-1850s, seeking to restrict the political influence of Catholic citizens.²⁴ The Sabbatarian Adventists saw in the objective of suppressing Roman Catholics a threatening instance of a Protestant attempt to unite church and state.²⁵

In the 1850s, then, the Sabbatarian Adventists viewed the nation as rapidly betraying the promise of its highest values. The dominant Protestant churches of the land had become an intolerant and corrupt Babylon, and by supporting slavery and violating religious liberty, they were turning the Republic itself into an oppressive dragon. "We do not claim that the dragon voice is yet fully devel-

oped,” wrote Uriah Smith in 1857. But Smith, then a young *Review and Herald* editor who would become one of nineteenth-century Adventism’s most influential writers on biblical prophecy, saw evidence accumulating from the slavery controversy that revealed “the dragon spirit that dwells in the heart of this hypocritical nation.” Such oppression, he thought, made believable the expectation of even greater atrocities, directed against a religious minority, soon to come.²⁶

In some respects, the Adventist critique of Protestant America was similar to that of reform-oriented revivalists within Protestantism itself. In fact, Adventists frequently cited an indictment of the spiritual apathy and hostility toward moral reform prevalent in Protestantism, made by revivalist Charles Finney in the *Oberlin Evangelist* in 1844, as evidence for the “fall of Babylon.”²⁷ Yet they differed fundamentally from these revivalists in their interpretation of America and its millennial role. Timothy Smith points out that the antislavery revivalists “sustained the theocratic ideal that God must rule American society,” an ideal linked to a postmillennial hope that a revived and reformed America would lead the world to redemption. As Gilbert Haven, the Methodist revivalist and abolitionist put it, “America is the center of the history of the world today; to save this land to universal liberty and universal brotherhood, supported by universal law and sanctified by universal piety, is to save all lands.” For Haven, Protestant America was not Babylon but “our Israel.”²⁸

For Adventists the dream of an American-led millennium was not only chimeric but, ironically, a threat to what was best in America. They acknowledged the existence of apparent evidence of progress toward a millennium: America’s government was the best ever; inventions such as the telegraph, the uses of steam power, and rapid territorial expansion were great marvels. “We might expect a millennium indeed,” wrote Loughborough, if America actually lived up to its professions.²⁹ But the dark realities of slavery and spiritual bankruptcy, as well as the insights of Revelation 13, made all too clear the falsity of the allure of a millennium to be actualized through the American Republic. The United States, proclaimed Andrews, with its emergence so rapid and impressive, might at a superficial glance appear to be advancing progressively to a millennium, but “the coming of the Just One” would check the Republic’s “astonishing career.”³⁰

Moreover, Sabbatarian Adventists believed that attempts to hasten the millennium by means of governmental power—to create a kingdom of God in America through politics—would actually lead to the downfall of the Republic. Thinking particularly of Sunday laws, they believed legislation on behalf of the “theocratic ideal” would violate the rights of minorities and ruin the “fair experiment” in liberty.³¹

Ronald Walters, in his study of antebellum reform movements,³² sees in the 1850s a waning of the millennial enthusiasm about the rapid transformation of American society that had abounded in the 1820s and 1830s. Part of the appeal

of Adventism, then, may have been that its challenge to postmillennialism resonated with a broader societal trend, even though the postmillennial theology remained dominant in the evangelical churches for the time being.

In his ground-breaking essay “Adventism and the American Experience,”³³ Jonathan Butler shows that, like Abraham Lincoln, the early Seventh-day Adventists conceived of America as the “last, best hope of the earth.” They acclaimed the virtues of the Republic as symbolized by the two lamblike horns of the apocalyptic American beast. They agreed with other Americans that their nation was a “model republic,” history’s last and noblest offspring, and that the destiny of the world hinged on its future. All of these affirmations supported the perception of America’s centrality in the redemptive history adumbrated by biblical prophecy. But whereas Lincoln posited the alternatives of nobly winning or meanly losing, Adventists were sure that the lessons of Scripture and experience taught that the Republic inevitably would fail. Humanity’s best government was fatally flawed; God’s reign must come through destruction and re-creation, not progressive improvement.

The Shaping of Seventh-day Adventist Apocalypticism

In order to understand the force and impact of Seventh-day Adventism’s apocalyptic view of America, further attention must be given to the dynamics that went into shaping that viewpoint and the historical context in which it was formed. How did the Sabbatarian Adventists arrive at their rather esoteric interpretations? Why were they so sure that their movement and their nation were the key players in the consummation of history? Why were their views convincing to anyone? Like most Christians, Adventists drew on both Scripture and experience in forming their beliefs. A look at the interplay between the two in their case will illuminate the power of their convictions.

In many respects the Sabbatarian Adventists were typical in the way they used the Bible. They exhibited what Nathan Hatch describes as a “populist hermeneutic,” an “individualization of conscience” that came to permeate American religion in the first half of the nineteenth century concurrently with the success of the notion of the political sovereignty of the people. With the challenge to the power of the political elite came a challenge to the authority of the clerical elite as interpreters of the Bible and mediators of truth to the common people. People asserted the right to think for themselves.³⁴

William Miller was among the champions of this populist hermeneutic. He built his theories on the basis of a direct encounter with Scripture, free of interference from clergy, commentaries, or creeds. In a pilgrimage that Hatch shows to be typical of the 1780–1820 period, Miller first rejected orthodox Protestantism, turning to Deism. Then, upon returning to a more biblical faith, he determined to exclude all the competing claims of the various denominations in establishing a set

of beliefs directly from individual Bible study. "I was alone," he wrote, contending against "the prepossessions and prejudices of the entire christian community; the systems, talents, as also the superior education of the clergy; the religious press, . . . the institutions of learning, both literary and theological; . . . in short, the whole world were against me."³⁵

In his quest, Miller formulated fourteen rules of biblical interpretation,³⁶ which the emerging Seventh-day Adventists largely adapted.³⁷ The rules illuminate both how Adventists would approach the Bible and how that approach was functionally similar to that which pervaded Protestant America at that time.

Miller first asserted the perspicuity of Scripture: "All Scripture is necessary, and may be understood by diligent application." Though the Bible may present a challenge to the understanding, with effort its mysteries are graspable. In the tradition of the Common Sense Realism so influential in America, Miller believed that the human mind could directly apprehend the message of the Bible, undistorted by the interposition of subjective structures of the mind itself or cultural variables.³⁸ One of the most crucial ramifications of this point for understanding Seventh-day Adventist thought is that apocalyptic imagery, no matter how cryptic it may appear, could be understood if one worked at it hard enough. As James White put it in an exposition of Daniel 8:13–14, if a text is in the Bible it must be important and it must be understandable, for what "God has revealed, he designs to be understood."³⁹ The two-horned beast of Revelation 13:11–18 thus of necessity had to fit somewhere, specifically, in the linear movement of the history of empires and the struggles of the people of God.

The revivalist's third rule implied the privilege and effectiveness of individual reason in understanding Scripture. If one lets teachers or creeds get in the way, their guesses and theories become the rule, not the Bible itself. Furthermore, since Scripture is "its own expositor," such intermediaries are unnecessary. Seventh-day Adventists would insist on few things more rigorously than the right of individual interpretation of the Bible, which they considered the essence of the Protestant Reformation. The unacknowledged influence of the Enlightenment may also be seen here. Hatch points out that there is a sense in which the Enlightenment "was not repudiated but popularized" among American evangelicals. Commonsense rationality, to which all could lay claim, made for an inherent right to individual interpretation of the Bible.⁴⁰ Miller rejected skeptical rationalism, but it was the Bible that then became for him a "feast of reason." By laying aside all commentaries and presuppositions, he could grasp the meaning of Scripture through the power of individual reason.⁴¹

Baconian inductionism, the commonly used principle for organizing this knowledge, was also a key in Miller's rules. The way to make Scripture function as its own expositor is to "bring all the Scriptures together on the subject you wish to know; then let every word have its proper influence, and if you can form

your theory without a contradiction, you cannot be in error." The words of Scripture thus constitute facts that can be gathered together, classified according to topic, and then formulated into a doctrine.⁴²

Although many scriptural facts are stated literally, much of importance is stated in the form of "visions" or "in figures and parables." But even the "figurative" expressions of Scripture yield a literal and specific meaning when rightly interpreted, and when their meaning is ascertained, they are to be treated inductively in the same way as literal statements. In order to understand the visions, figures, and parables scattered throughout the Bible containing the same key terms or phrases, "you must combine them all into one."

Two widely accepted principles—typology and historicism—provided formulas for yielding facts for inductive analysis from the figurative language of Scripture. Miller's use of typology was in the Calvinist-Puritan tradition in which connections are made between an Old Testament type and a fulfillment or antitype in the Christian era. These antitypes take place "in time as real, historical facts."⁴³ God's revelation in the Old Testament, as Calvin put it, came through the "circuitous course of types and figures."⁴⁴ For example, the sacrificial lamb at the Passover celebration was a type of Christ's historical act of redemption on the cross (the antitype). Similarly, Adventists argued, the "cleansing of the sanctuary" on the Day of Atonement described in Leviticus 16 must have a literal, historical counterpart in the Christian era that can be discovered by combining all scriptural passages containing key words or phrases on the subject.

Apocalyptic prophecy may be brought into the mix to locate the fulfillment of a type in time. The day-year principle (suggested by Ezekiel 4:6) provided the key for translating the figurative apocalyptic time periods into literal historical time. Thus the twenty-three hundred days of Daniel 8:14 equals twenty-three hundred years, a period that was to terminate in 1843 or 1844 with the "cleansing of the sanctuary," according to Miller's calculation. Again, Miller was far from novel or bizarre in employing this methodology. Le Roy E. Froom, the twentieth-century Adventist historian who devoted four large volumes to tracing the roots of the Adventist method of interpreting prophecy, enumerated eighty-eight other nineteenth-century authors (not including Miller's associates) who believed that the Daniel 8 prophecy would be fulfilled in the 1840s.⁴⁵

The French Revolution and the captivity of Pope Pius VI had invigorated historicism, for these events in the 1790s seemed to fulfill another time prophecy—the wounding of the papal "beast" at the end of the 1,260 years (Rev. 13:1–5)—in a way that some historicist commentators had predicted in advance. The prophetic timetable could now be anchored to an indubitable historical event, stimulating widespread eschatological expectation centering on the 1840s.⁴⁶

Typology and historicism would remain particularly useful to the Sabbatarian Adventists as they sought to perpetuate their faith by insisting that an event of

eschatological significance had indeed occurred in 1844, even though it was not the expected visible return of Christ. The passing of 22 October 1844 had proven that the antitype of the “cleansing of the sanctuary” could not be the Second Coming of Christ. References to a “heavenly sanctuary” in the Epistle to the Hebrews suggested a new interpretation. On the level of antitype, the word “sanctuary” in this New Testament setting must refer to the same thing as the passages in Leviticus 16 and Daniel 8. In accordance with the inductive process, Adventists combined these passages and concluded that they all point to an event in heaven—a cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, the timing of which is determined by the rules of historicism.

Building on the base of this affirmation of 1844, the Sabbatarian Adventists went on to elaborate the historicist outline in a way that gave them certainty concerning their placement near the end of history but freed them from tying that certainty to the vicissitudes of future events. In answer to the question Andrews had identified in 1851 as the most crucial one—Where are we?—the Sabbatarian Adventists could answer as follows: We are after the fulfillment of the last time prophecy (1844); we are giving the last of the three final proclamations scheduled for the time just prior Christ’s return; we are living in a nation that is forsaking its surpassing greatness and preparing to lead the final oppression of the saints. Scripture enabled them to be as sure of their location in time as a traveler could be by looking at road signs.⁴⁷

The Sabbatarian Adventists’ reworking of the apocalyptic scheme enabled them to retain the certainty of Millerite Adventism about the movement of history and its near consummation while greatly reducing their vulnerability to disconfirmation by failed prophecy.⁴⁸ They believed they could prove by rational argument that the decisive events prophesied by Scripture for the last days were now in the process of being fulfilled. The one was the final work of judgment and mediation involved in the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary begun in 1844. The other was the concomitant emergence of their own movement to call people to that final salvation and warn them of the judgment. Although particulars in the fleshing out of their expectations would often prove wrong and require revision, the 1844 “event,” their own movement, and an America in which liberty was imperfectly realized remained as constants anchoring their vision.

Although framed as rationalistic argumentation, the particular contours of Seventh-day Adventist belief were shaped in the crucible of intense spiritual experience. The power of the movement in 1844 and the presence of the prophetic spirit in their midst in the person of Ellen White did much to focus and fortify their convictions.

For the founders of Seventh-day Adventism, the experience of 1844 was so powerful that they could not deny the divine source of the power without denying their Christian faith itself. The recollections of Hiram Edson express the depth of

the dilemma felt by those whose lives had been transformed by the 1844 experience: "I mused in my heart saying, My advent experience has been the richest and brightest of all my Christian experiences. If this had proved a failure, what was the rest of my Christian experience of worth? Has the Bible proved a failure? Is there no God, no heaven, no golden home city, no paradise? Is all this but a cunningly devised fable?"⁴⁹ The Sabbatarian Adventists felt compelled to affirm the spiritual validity of their experience, and to do so they had to preserve in some way the validity of the scriptural interpretation that gave rise to the movement.

To the end of her life some seventy years later, Ellen White would cling to the pivotal significance of 1844 in salvation history, not simply because of scriptural proof texts but because she believed the Millerite movement to be the greatest spiritual outpouring in the history of Christianity. In *The Great Controversy*, her treatment of the progress and struggles of authentic Christianity throughout the history of the church, she cited the deep repentance, freedom from worldliness, and breaking down of human barriers manifested in the movement. "Of all the great religious movements since the days of the apostles," she claimed, "none have been more free from human imperfection and the wiles of Satan than was that of the autumn of 1844." The force of the message "was not so much a matter of argument" as "an impelling power that moved the soul."⁵⁰ It was a time of the Spirit's marked presence in visions and prophesying,⁵¹ and in the 1880s she looked back on 1844 as the "happiest year of my life."⁵²

White's reference to the *autumn* of 1844 is significant. It was specifically the so-called seventh-month movement, or the "midnight cry," which, after the initial disappointments in the spring of 1844, had fixed the date of Christ's return precisely at 22 October 1844, that she and the Seventh-day Adventists wished to defend. It was in the brief period of expectation centering on that date that there seemed to be an "irresistible power" to the message as it "swept over the land with the velocity of a tornado."⁵³

The other crucial experiential influence on the early formation of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs was the ministry of Ellen G. White herself. Butler points out that Seventh-day Adventism "channeled its charismatic origins" in the 1840s "through a single conduit."⁵⁴ While the group eventually became more staid in worship style, developed a centrally organized denominational structure, and argued for its "system of truth" based on the Bible only, the visions of Ellen White and the spiritual directives called "testimonies" that she issued exerted immense influence over all aspects of Seventh-day Adventist belief and life. She functioned as a spiritual wild card, a source of authority in the community outside the usual channels, while also providing assurance of the divine presence in the community.

Regarding doctrine and biblical interpretation, White's role was not to originate beliefs but to confirm consensus. During the late 1840s the distinctive beliefs of the Sabbatarian Adventists about the Sabbath, sanctuary, and conditional

immortality began to cohere as they searched the Scriptures for new direction, issued tracts, and held conferences. In this process, White's visions confirmed views established by others through Bible study rather than revealing new doctrines.⁵⁵

Frustrated by critics who charged that Ellen's visions were in fact the source of Adventist beliefs, James exclaimed in 1855, "What has the *Review* to do with Mrs. W's views?" He declared that the "sentiments published in its columns are all drawn from the Holy Scriptures." He insisted that "the visions" were never made a test of doctrine or fellowship in the Sabbatarian Adventist community.⁵⁶

James White and the other Sabbatarian Adventist leaders described Ellen White as exercising a "spiritual gift," the gift of prophecy, such as referred to in several New Testament passages. More specifically, Scripture predicted the revival of the gift of prophecy in the last days: the prophet Joel spoke of a mighty outpouring, and Revelation indicated that the "spirit of prophecy" was a mark of the remnant church (Rev. 12:17, 19:10). Spiritual gifts could not supersede Scripture. One should never turn away from the Bible to learn truth or duty from "the gifts." But once the church had arrived at an understanding of truth from Scripture, it was the role of the prophetic gift to "correct, revive and heal the erring."⁵⁷ Ellen White's visions provided divine confirmation of the community's consensus and worked to hold that consensus together by directing a "word from the Lord" to those who would disrupt or fall away from it.⁵⁸

Adventism's identification of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13 with the United States fits this process. It did not originate with Ellen White; in fact, it was formulated in the early 1850s when her influence in the community was at a low point.⁵⁹ Yet her ministry fortified the teaching. In a general sense, her gift strengthened the conviction that God was present in the community, guiding it to its eschatological destiny. The textual corollary to that experience was the indication in Revelation 12:17 and 19:10 that the "spirit of prophecy" would be active among the remnant people.⁶⁰ This presence of the "spirit of prophecy" was a crucial component in the "system of truth" convincing Adventists that their movement and the powers they encountered were the key participants in the final struggle between good and evil. In a more specific sense, White would place a lasting, authoritative stamp on Adventism's apocalyptic view of America when, as will be discussed in the next chapter, she began to write on the subject in the 1880s.

In working out their apocalyptic interpretation of America, the founders of Seventh-day Adventism utilized the standard hermeneutical rules of the day. Given those assumptions, there was sufficient inner coherence to their belief system to convince a small but growing and dedicated following among people who had not themselves gone through the experience of the Adventist movement in 1844. But it was that experience, reinforced by the charismatic influence of Ellen White, that had given force and direction to the development of the belief system. Seventh-day Adventists interpreted the sacred text widely shared by Americans in accordance

with a historical experience that set them apart from all other Americans and, they believed, gave transcendent significance to their lives.

Proclaiming the Advent *and* Protesting Slavery

In accordance with their radical, apocalyptic view of the Republic, the Sabbatarian Adventists of the 1850s and 1860s spoke out on political issues with a vigor unparalleled in the subsequent history of the church. They utilized a Radical Republican critique of the government to support their contention that America was forsaking its highest principles as Revelation 13 indicated it would.⁶¹ But they did not work to change the American system. The nation's doom was foreordained. Only Christ's Second Coming, as one of Ellen White's visions depicted it, would free the slaves.⁶²

Abolitionist rhetoric, however, was not mere fodder for apocalyptic interpretation to the Sabbatarian Adventists. They appear to have had genuine passion for reform.⁶³ While the apocalyptic perspective at this point distanced them from a political activism that seeks change through the electoral and legislative processes, they did engage in political protest. They thundered against governmental actions favorable to slavery, refused to cooperate with the Fugitive Slave Act, and sought to keep their own community free from the sin of slavery. The Sabbatarian Adventist preachers of the 1850s spared no words in denouncing the American government. J. H. Waggoner, for example, called the United States government a "great idol." Its misguided patriotic adulators were blind to its "union of *democratic* professions and *slaveocratic* practices."⁶⁴ Loughborough warned that the bearers of the third angel's message were inevitably headed for war with the two-horned beast.⁶⁵ Antagonism could hardly be more starkly expressed.

Yet the Sabbatarian Adventists would not fight their war with bullets or at this time even with ballots. Their tactic was to deliver their warning message and stand fast, waiting for divine deliverance. In the meantime, wrote Uriah Smith, the *Review's* only interest in politics was in the way it brought about fulfillment of prophecy, not in advocating particular political principles.⁶⁶ As the 1856 presidential election drew near, Smith argued that the Sabbatarian Adventists were justified in not working to counteract slavery interests with the vote because "our views of prophecy lead us to the conclusion that things will not be bettered." The nation was inexorably headed for the "lake of fire," as Revelation 19 foretold, he declared. Adventists "do not therefore feel it incumbent upon us to hasten or retard the fulfillment of prophecy." Rather, Smith said, our duty is "to confine our efforts to preparing ourselves, and others as far as in us lies, for the great final issue already pressing upon us—the revelation of the Son [of] man from heaven, the destruction of all earthly governments, the establishment of the glorious, universal and eternal kingdom of the King of kings, and the redemption and deliverance of all his subjects."⁶⁷

The same principle applied to the religious oppression of Sunday laws, the issue Sabbatarian Adventists believed would decide the ultimate fate of the nation and the world. In 1854 the *Review* reprinted an article from a Seventh Day Baptist publication that recounted that church's tradition of tension with the government and reported protests against current laws prohibiting Sunday labor in Pennsylvania and four other states. James White commented that the *Review* editors ran the article to expose the unjust character of such laws, but not because they approved of the Seventh Day Baptists' intention to resist the oppression of Sunday laws through legal channels.⁶⁸ As with slavery, the Adventists believed it was too late for reform on the Sunday issue, but the true nature of America must be revealed as part of the last warning message.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that such apocalyptic pessimism vitiated all impulses toward social reform. A passion for justice and righteousness in society remained vital alongside of and indeed as a dimension of the apocalyptic hope. In the same editorial that declared Adventist neutrality in politics, Smith outlined the fundamental principles he saw being contested in society: republicanism versus tyranny, freedom versus slavery, temperance versus intemperance, Protestantism versus Catholicism. He described these principles as "essential elements of religion," and when such principles appear in politics, he asserted, "every christian knows or should know which side he is on." The "sympathies of all merciful and humane persons must be with those who desire to see the chains of the bondman broken, and the slave go free." The actions of "Border Ruffians" in Kansas and the "Pro-Slavery Demagogues"—generally supported, Smith noted, by Democrats—"must create some feeling in the breasts of those who have formerly engaged actively in these contests; though they now feel compelled to confine themselves to questions of paramount importance to this age of the world."⁶⁹

Joseph Bates, in recalling his experience during the 1840s, expressed a similar outlook. When chided by friends for neglecting the temperance and abolition causes to preach the Second Coming, he replied that all who embraced the doctrine of Christ's personal return "must necessarily be advocates of temperance and the abolition of slavery; and those who opposed the doctrine of the second advent could not be very effective laborers in moral reform." He defended his course with the argument that "so much more could be accomplished in working at the fountainhead" that would "make us every way right as we should be for the coming of the Lord" than in laboring for particular reforms.⁷⁰

Like Charles Finney, who wanted abolition to be "an appendage of a general revival,"⁷¹ these Adventists believed that preparation for the Second Coming was the best means of eradicating sin in society. Unlike Finney, they believed such preparation would never be widespread enough to transform human society before Christ's return.

As time went on, Adventists faced a sharpening tension between gathering a people out of the world in preparation for the Second Coming and living in the world as prepared people. Anson Byington, elder brother of John Byington, who would become the first president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, gave early expression to this dilemma. Byington grew disenchanted with the *Review* by 1859 because of its passivity on the issue of slavery and wrote announcing that he would not be renewing his subscription: "I dare not tell the slave that he can afford to be contented in his bondage until the Savior comes however near we may believe his coming. Surely the editor of the *Review* could not afford to go without his breakfast till then. If it was our duty to remember those in bonds as bound with them eighteen hundred years ago, it must be our duty still."

Smith responded by reiterating the *Review's* sympathy with the slaves: "We rejoice when we see one of that suffering race escaping beyond the jurisdiction of this dragon-hearted power." Rather than dangling before them the chimera of abolition, however, slaves should be pointed to "the coming of the Messiah" as their true hope.⁷²

The following month, Byington wrote again, citing gospel as well as apocalyptic passages of Scripture. Although agreeing that there was warrant for applying the prophecy of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13 to the U.S. government, he suggested that another biblical beast be considered—the "able steed" on which the good Samaritan placed "the man fallen among thieves." Byington believed that the Constitution could function like this steed for the slaves and carry them to freedom. Although Adventists might refuse to place any hope in the government, perceiving it as dragonlike and mindful that it "has so often thrown so many of its riders," Byington believed the beast could be tamed and used as a means for achieving greater justice: "I maintain that its [the Constitution's] prohibitions and provisions are ample to nullify all Sunday laws, as well as slave laws, and to fulfill its promises in the preamble to establish justice, and secure liberty . . . and that 'we the people' are morally responsible for its just and faithful administration, whatever may be the meaning of the prophecies, or however near the second advent."

Byington's mixture of images from parable and apocalyptic illustrates the diverse influences shaping the Adventist outlook. Expectation of Jesus' soon return combined with accountability to his way taught in the gospels, and for Byington the love of neighbor there enjoined implied public responsibility.

Smith, declining further rejoinder, noted simply that both he and Byington's positions had been made clear and that "time will shortly determine the best policy."⁷³ Though it was Smith who would go on to become a major Seventh-day Adventist leader, time would eventually favor Byington's position. Adventists eventually would become concerned with preserving and enhancing the Republic's liberties as well as announcing its demise.

Further evidence for the current of social concern animating the Sabbatarian Adventists may be seen in the decisive stand against collusion with slavery within the believing community itself. Here the voice of Ellen White spoke forthrightly. She sided with the widespread call to resist the Fugitive Slave Act, which, as part of the Compromise of 1850, required all northern citizens to cooperate in the capture and return of escaped slaves.⁷⁴ The law “requiring us to deliver a slave to his master,” White admonished, “we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating this law.”⁷⁵ For her, Adventism and slavery were incompatible, and if Adventists were not active in the antislavery movement, their own community must be free from this social sin. Calling slavery “a sin of the darkest dye,” she warned one believer that he would be disfellowshipped if he persisted in his proslavery views.⁷⁶ A few years later, in 1865, she wrote that the “political views” of Sabbath-keepers lacking in sympathy for the “oppressed colored race” were “not right before God.”⁷⁷ Thus, though the Sabbatarian Adventists regarded the Second Coming as too imminent for efforts at reforming society to be worthwhile, most adhered to a social ethic that required a clear and radical stand on controverted public issues.

The ideas that gave rise to Seventh-day Adventism cohered in a theological interpretation of history that specified pivotal, antagonistic roles for their movement and the American Republic in the consummation of the divine program for human redemption. The nation’s greatest social and political dilemma was at the center of that apocalyptic vision. The war fought over that dilemma would confront Adventists with the question of whether the Republic could still be a vehicle for good, if not for the millennium.

2

AN ACTIVIST REMNANT, 1861–1886

In 1859 a group of local political leaders paid a visit to the Adventists' *Review and Herald* office in Battle Creek, Michigan. They complimented the recently arrived sectarians on the apolitical stance of their religion and urged them to stay the course. Ellen White perceived a hidden agenda and called it "satanic." As opponents of temperance legislation, these men were hoping to ward off potential opposition. White's recognition that political passivity could benefit the forces of evil marks a transition toward a more activist stance in the Sabbatarian Adventist community.

Until the Civil War, the Adventist view of America remained largely deterministic. Adventists felt they could do little to affect the nation's biblically predicted course. During the Civil War and the two decades following it, however, Adventists moved beyond their apocalyptic warning of the inevitable ruin of the Republic and protest of its evils. They now added an activism that sought to uphold the nation's ideals of liberty and social justice. They took the position that they could, if only temporarily, influence the nation by working for human rights and human wholeness, and that it was the divine imperative for them to do so. While maintaining that the church must avoid party politics, and that efforts by the church to dominate or transform the public order were both dangerous and futile, they selectively used the political process to defend the freedom of the church as well as the freedom and well-being of individuals in the larger society.

Jonathan Butler has labeled this development as a shift from "political apocalyptic" to "political prophetic," as Adventists moved to marginal participation in the political process in order to "sustain the Republic, at least for a time, rather than merely to forecast its ruin as apocalyptists."¹ Adventists indeed gradually incorporated Anson Byington's view that believers could take prophetic action to restrain the "dragonic" influences in America and nourish the nation's "lamblike" qualities. Yet the terms "political apocalyptic" and "political prophetic" can be misleading, particularly if Adventism is viewed as shifting from one pure type to another. Adventists came to see in their apocalyptic theology of history *itself* a basis for action in society. That theology came to entail a brief interim of preparation before the Second Coming during which their role included cooperation with God in his secondary purpose of ordering life in the present world through the agency of governments. Although Adventists' sense of *imminence*

about the Second Coming diminished somewhat, it remained strong, and in periods when the sense of imminence reintensified, Adventist involvement in society *increased* rather than decreased.² Thus an Adventist mandate for righteous action in society emerged, based in part on apocalyptic fervor.³

This crucial metamorphosis into an *activist* remnant should not be surprising in view of the fact that a passion for social reform ran deep in the religious consciousness of those who formulated the new Adventist faith. The brief but indeterminate interim prior to the Second Advent that they now envisioned provided an opening for the reform sentiment that Adventists had retained, despite their repudiation of postmillennialism, to be expressed in practical ways. The Second Coming remained the ultimate reform, but growing recognition both that they would be required to interact with this world's society for a slightly longer term than previously expected and that a degree of at least temporary change was possible opened the way for them to take action rather than leave all social problems in the hands of the returning Christ.

The reform impulse in Adventism was of course driven by self-interest as well as altruism or biblical mandate. Adventists wanted to protect their way of life and their freedom to win others to it. Desire for temperance in the town of their headquarters, Battle Creek, Michigan, led to activism on that issue in the 1870s. Prosecutions of Adventists in California and the South for Sunday law violations during the 1880s and 1890s prompted action in defense of religious liberty.

The Civil War and Social Responsibility

Prior to those developments, Adventists' experience of the Civil War had already begun to work a fundamental change in their outlook. The war presented them with both theological and ethical challenges. Theologically they had been convinced that only the Second Coming would end slavery, but by the end of the war they were faced with the reality that God's act of judgment on the nation had ended slavery without ending the world. The portrayal of the great day of God in Revelation 6 placed "every bond man" on the scene (Rev. 6:15), indicating that they would still be enslaved at that point.⁴ "The present turmoils," predicted Uriah Smith in 1861, would culminate "in the great battle of Armageddon."⁵

At the same time, Adventist leaders were convinced of the righteousness of the antislavery cause and that the divine purposes regarding this issue were being worked out through the national experience. Ellen White declared in 1862 that the national destiny was in God's hands and that he was punishing the nation "for the high crime of slavery"—the South "for the sin of slavery" and the North "for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence."⁶ She condemned the policy of fighting only to preserve the Union and keep slavery within its present boundaries. It was "an insult to Jehovah" to proclaim national fasts seeking God's blessing while

pursuing such a policy. “When our nation observes the fast that God has chosen [Isaiah 58:5–7],” she declared, “then will He accept their prayers as far as the war is concerned; but now they enter not His ear.”⁷

Early in the war, Adventists expressed little hope that the repentance necessary to bring divine favor would occur. Yet alongside their apocalyptic expectations that placed the church at the center of God’s activity, they sensed divine interaction with the Republic itself over slavery. As the possibility emerged that God’s judgment on the nation would lead to something of a redemptive outcome *within* history, the Adventist stance toward the public order began to change.

Military service posed an ethical challenge.⁸ Adventists combined belief that God’s will could be realized through the Northern armies—if the war was fought to end slavery—with desire to avoid fighting in the war themselves because of the Sabbath breaking and killing that would be involved. With the possibility of conscription on the horizon in August 1862, James White reasoned that if Adventists were drafted, the government would assume responsibility for any violations of the law of God.⁹ His editorial prompted considerable debate in the pages of the *Review*. Several Adventists urged thoroughgoing pacifism;¹⁰ others favored active cooperation with the war effort because of the justice and necessity of the Union cause.¹¹ White indicated an openness to persuasion and invited further discussion, urging that a way must be found to avoid both military service on the one hand and rash resistance to the government on the other.¹²

It was in the course of their struggle with this dilemma that Adventists made the transition to a more active and hopeful relationship to the government. Already in 1862, James White was backing away from apocalyptic immediacy regarding the actions of the government. While acknowledging the impossibility of commandment-keeping in the army, White cautioned his fellow believers against making themselves martyrs over this issue. He did not believe that a draft, despite the difficulties it would raise, would constitute the final imposition of the “mark of the beast” foretold by Revelation, which Adventists would be required to resist. He argued that because of the remaining virtue of the Republic and the righteousness of its cause, its actions in prosecuting the war could not be seen as the final attack on God’s cause. “The present war and the consequent draft is not directed to establish idolatry, Sunday-keeping, or any system or principle in opposition to the law of God,” White said, “but to put down a rebellion resulting from the highest crimes on the part of rebeledom that man can be guilty of, and to establish a government which has, under the providence of God, secured us the right of worshiping the God of heaven according to his word.”¹³

At this point early in the war, however, Adventists were not yet ready to take action to influence the government themselves. Ellen White denounced a group of Iowa Adventists for declaring themselves pacifists and then seeking recognition of their status from the legislature. The legislature had rejected the petition,

and White felt the incident had only served to give Adventists unfavorable publicity and place them in an even more difficult position.¹⁴

When the federal draft law came in 1863, its provisions for purchasing an exemption or providing a substitute gave Adventists a way out of their dilemma. However, when Congress, in July 1864, restricted these options to conscientious objectors who were members of a recognized pacifist church, the Adventist leadership took the course for which they had earlier criticized the Iowa brethren and sought governmental recognition of their noncombatant position. Declaring themselves “a people unanimously loyal and anti-slavery” but unable to shed blood because of their views of the Ten Commandments and the teachings of the New Testament, they obtained an exemption from Provost Marshal Gen. James Fry that gave them the option of either accepting assignment to hospital duty or care of freedmen or paying the three-hundred-dollar commutation fee.¹⁵ Now added to the Adventists’ sympathy with the government’s cause in the war came the discovery that the government was willing to grant them space in society for the time being.

The draft exemption did not solve all of their war-related problems, however. Although Adventist leaders were convinced that God was now favoring the North for taking a stand against slavery,¹⁶ the war was still a source of grave concern early in 1865. For one thing, local commanders often proved unwilling to recognize the claim of Adventist draftees to special status as conscientious objectors, despite General Fry’s orders, and though Union victory now appeared inevitable, the duration of the struggle was uncertain. President Lincoln’s call for three hundred thousand more draftees early in 1865 meant Adventists would have to continue contending with the pressure of the draft.¹⁷ That pressure was so acute that James White and his colleagues expressed fear that their entire movement would be crushed if the war dragged on. The financial drain of commutation fees, the depletion of the ranks by those accepting alternative service, and the logistical and psychological difficulties of carrying on evangelistic work during wartime, threatened to overwhelm the fledgling movement.¹⁸

Prompted by this crisis to turn afresh to the Book of Revelation, Adventists found new light on their placement and role in history. In January 1865, James White made the case for equating the angel depicted in Revelation 7:2–3 with the third angel of Revelation 14 (with which Adventists already identified) because both had to do with the work of “sealing” the people of God. This interpretation entailed a new dimension in the Adventist self-understanding. The work of the angel of Revelation 7:2–3 was to call upon four other angels to hold back the “four winds of the earth” that threatened devastation “till we have sealed the servants of God in their foreheads.” The Adventists interpreted this to mean that the horrors connected with the apocalypse must be delayed for a time so that the work of preparing a people for Christ’s return can go forward. Thus White urged that Adventists

fulfill the prophecy by uniting in prayer for a speedy end to the war. Theirs was to be the voice calling for a restraining of the four winds, a brief interim of relative calm in which the Adventist message could be proclaimed.¹⁹

Accordingly, he, with the other members of the General Conference Committee, issued a call to Seventh-day Adventists to spend four days, 1–4 March, fasting and praying for an end to the war. If the war does not stop, they bluntly declared, “our work in spreading the truth must stop.”²⁰ By their prayer and fasting, Adventists believed themselves to be fulfilling a divinely forecast role in shaping the course of history. And they regarded General Lee’s surrender the following month as an answer to their prayers. The General Conference session held in May adopted the following resolution: “That we acknowledge, with devout gratitude, the hand of God in this event, as a direct answer to prayer, and that in view of the increased responsibilities laid upon us in again opening the way for the progress of the message, we solemnly consecrate ourselves anew to this great work to which God has called us.”²¹

Though their actions to influence the public order at this point were restricted to prayer, a basic shift in their outlook had occurred. No longer willing only to proclaim the “signs of the times,” they now believed it to be a part of their God-ordained mission to work through the public order to create “a little space of time” (as Adventist leader George I. Butler would later put it) in which their movement could flourish. Moreover, the success of the North’s just cause in the war, the endurance of what James White called “the best government in this revolted and sin-cursed world,” and the privileges of religious liberty and non-combatant status that this government had granted Adventists, all gave them at least some measure of hope that temporary improvement could be brought about in American society. The Christian, wrote James White, “has really as much interest in this old world as any man.” And despite the world’s downward spiral into sin and its curses, “here he must stay and act his part until the Prince of Peace shall come and reign.”²²

Dissenters in the Protestant Empire

America’s Protestant “empire”—comprised of the nation’s leading denominations that shared a common ethos—entered the post-Civil War era with its cultural dominance still intact.²³ Yet the empire felt increasingly besieged by numerous challenges, many of which were related to the growing tide of immigrants in the nation’s expanding cities.²⁴ The immigrants, mostly Catholic or Jewish, brought with them faiths and cultural styles that appeared alien to the tenets of the evangelical empire, such as democratic equality, religious liberty, moralistic perfectionism, and sobriety. Moreover, the immigrants were part of a rapidly developing social crisis over extremes of poverty and wealth in the cities.

Leaders of the Protestant empire, in an effort to shore up its position as primary definer of the nation's cultural values as well as alleviate the need and misery of the urban masses, devoted new energy to crusades for Sabbath observance and temperance. Though separation of church and state was a central tenet for the leaders of the informal Protestant establishment, they sought, through the channel of voluntary associations, governmental action on these and other issues in an effort to make the nation more Christian.

In a speech before the National Sabbath Convention in 1863, the influential theologian and church historian Philip Schaff described the "civil Sabbath," upheld by legal measures, "as essential for public morals and the self-preservation of the state." The Anglo-American Sabbatarian tradition, he declared, represents "a real progress in the cause of Christianity and civilization." Schaff, says Robert Handy, was expressing a widespread sentiment that maintenance of Sunday observance signified the preservation of Christian civilization.²⁵

Meanwhile, the temperance crusade also reflected both an effort to maintain the dominance of the middle-class Anglo-Protestant culture and genuine social concern. During the latter third of the nineteenth century that movement became, writes Handy, "an increasingly important part of the strategy of Christianization," an attempt to uphold Protestant morality through legal enactment. But this "second wave" of temperance reform, as Sydney Ahlstrom characterizes it, sparked and led by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, also saw intemperance as the root of poverty and related urban social problems that Christians must seek to eradicate. Thus much of the conscious motivation for the movement was social compassion and commitment to benevolent reform.²⁶

These two issues bring the shape of Seventh-day Adventism's public involvement into focus. Adventists marched with the Protestant empire in the temperance crusade, sharing in the reformist zeal found in nineteenth-century evangelicalism. Such action drew them out of sectarian isolation and into cooperation with the WCTU and other organizations.

At the same time a moderation of their apocalyptic interpretations helped make possible temporary alignments with believers in other confessions. In 1871 Uriah Smith made clear that Adventists did not regard themselves as the only true Christians—the vast majority of Christians were to be found in connection with the other churches. Sunday observance would indeed constitute the "mark of the beast" in the future, but that would only come after the Adventist message about Sabbath reform and complete freedom from "papal errors and corruptions" had been proclaimed with fullness of power and had stirred the governments of Earth to draconian measures enforcing the false worship entailing Sunday sacredness. Then, only those who knowingly reject the truth to avoid persecution or death would receive the "mark of the beast." Despite the presence of true Christians in their midst, however, Protestant denominations still

constituted Babylon, Adventism being the only organizational vehicle for the final coalescence of those true to God.²⁷

On the Sabbath issue, then, Adventists dissented, adhering to Saturday observance as an eschatologically decisive test of loyalty to God. This dissent distanced them from the mainstream Protestant culture, yet it would also lead to their most vigorous public involvement and greatest cultural impact in defending their right and that of others to be different. Despite their support for temperance, the main thrust of their public action would contribute to the undermining of the Protestant establishment that, as Robert Handy has shown, began in the late nineteenth century.²⁸

Temperance and Politics

As the first institutional center of Seventh-day Adventism developed in Battle Creek, Michigan, Adventists became involved in the local struggle over temperance. The *Review and Herald* office had moved from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek in 1855, and in the subsequent decade the tiny sect of Sabbatarian Adventists evolved into an officially organized Seventh-day Adventist Church. By 1863, the official name had been chosen, the publishing concern incorporated, and a general conference with state conferences organized.²⁹ In the process of establishing their headquarters community, Adventists inevitably acquired local political influence.

In a diary entry in 1859, Ellen White reported the visit of some “men of intemperance” to the *Review and Herald* office, who, “in a flattering manner,” encouraged the Adventists to continue their course of avoiding politics, and refrain from casting their votes. Though the question of whether or not to vote had been a matter of considerable debate among Adventists, a consensus was emerging about the appropriateness of using the ballot, according to individual conscience, to exert an influence for the right. Commenting on the politicians’ visit, White made favorable reference to the argument that it is “right to vote in favor of temperance men being in office in our city instead of by . . . silence running the risk of having intemperate men put in office.” She attributed the flattering effort to keep Adventists out of the political process to the activity of “Satan and his evil angels.”³⁰ The reference to Battle Creek as “our city” suggests that Adventists, though remaining separate from society in many ways, were taking an interest in the moral and political atmosphere of the larger community of which they were a part.

A resolution on voting passed by the General Conference in 1865 reflected, along with a continued leering of politics, a sense that whatever public influence Adventists did have was under a moral imperative: “*Resolved*. That in our judgment, the act of voting when exercised in behalf of justice, humanity, and right, is in itself blameless, and may be at some times highly proper; but that the cast-

ing of any vote that shall strengthen the cause of such crimes as intemperance, insurrection, and slavery, we regard as highly criminal in the sight of Heaven. But we would deprecate any participation in the spirit of party strife.”³¹

While Adventists were becoming established in Battle Creek, their commitment to temperance intensified as part of a broader conception of “health reform” and its centrality to the spiritual life. The generally poor status of health and medical treatment in America prompted publication of numerous theories for preserving health through natural means in the mid-nineteenth century. Inspired by a vision on the subject reported by Ellen White in 1863, Adventists integrated the views of health reformers such as Sylvester Graham, Horace Mann, William Alcott, and James C. Jackson with their program of Christian sanctification. They came to view avoidance of harmful substances such as alcohol and tobacco and a regimen of preventive measures and remedies including simplicity of diet, exercise, and hydrotherapy as a necessary part of the restoration of the divine image in sinful human beings.³²

In 1866 Adventists began promoting their conception of health reform in a monthly publication, the *Health Reformer*, and established their first health-care institution—the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek. John Harvey Kellogg, an innovative young physician who would become the dominant figure in Adventism’s health ministry, changed the institution’s name to Battle Creek Sanitarium soon after becoming its director in 1876. The purpose of the sanitarium was to help people adopt a healthful way of life; it was to be, in Kellogg’s words, “a place where people learn to stay well.”³³

The sanitarium also became a medium for Adventist involvement with the temperance issue in Battle Creek. In the summer of 1877, Adventists joined with the Battle Creek Reform Club and the WCTU in taking advantage of the crowds attracted by performances of “Barnum’s great show” to campaign for temperance. The Michigan Conference of Seventh-day Adventists provided a large camp meeting tent, capable of holding five thousand people, in which the reformers set up a “temperance restaurant” as an alternative to “saloons and grogeries” for those attending the show. James White proudly reported in the *Review* that the Sanitarium’s table, with its “health reform” menu, attracted the largest number of visitors. In addition to the “restaurant,” mass meetings were held to promote temperance pledges. Ellen White, who had been lecturing at mass temperance rallies since at least 1874,³⁴ and John Harvey Kellogg both spoke at the rallies, along with activists and ministers of other denominations. James White estimated an attendance of three thousand at the final meeting and bragged that “Mr. Barnum’s big show seems quite forgotten.”³⁵

White’s report also implied the public relations value Adventists derived from participation in the temperance effort. Such activity broke down popular prejudice against the sanitarium and its health principles. Adventists would continue, into the

Prohibition era, to view the temperance movement as a means for creating a favorable public impression and overcoming the stigma of sectarian oddity, which in turn would facilitate evangelistic efforts.³⁶

The merely utilitarian motivation of providing bait for potential converts, however, seems inadequate to explain fully the vigor behind Adventist involvement in the temperance movement or the fact that it drew them, despite misgivings, into the political process. A longstanding impulse for social reform, never entirely dissipated in the heat of apocalyptic fervor, now gained renewed strength and encouraged political action in the new circumstances Adventists faced.

At a camp meeting of Iowa Adventists in the summer of 1881, encouragement from Ellen White overcame the opposition of some believers to a resolution committing members to use every means possible, including voting on the Sabbath, that would further the temperance cause.³⁷ In November, White urged the necessity of going beyond individual persuasion in the temperance cause. Citing, in a manner typical of temperance reformers, the manifold social evils caused by alcohol, she called for political action leading to legislation prohibiting the sale and use of “ardent spirits as a beverage.” In addition to the abuse of women and children in the home resulting from drunkenness, she wrote, “society is corrupted, work-houses and prisons are crowded with paupers and criminals, and the gallows are supplied with victims. . . . The burden of taxation is increased, the morals of the young are imperiled, the property and even the life of every member of society is endangered.” All of this amounted to a “moral paralysis upon society” that every temperance advocate was duty-bound to counteract “by precept and example—by voice and pen and vote.”³⁸

Thus, when some Adventists still were not sure it was appropriate even to vote, the temperance issue was leading the church to increasing engagement in public life, and even to the apparent anomaly of the election of an Adventist, William Gage, as mayor of Battle Creek in 1882. Uriah Smith justified Gage’s acceptance of this position by distinguishing between “merely political” questions, which Adventists should avoid, and the public good, for which they should use the political process as “a fulcrum on which to rest our lever.”³⁹

The Sabbath and the Saving of the Republic

Although Adventists were typical American Protestants regarding Prohibition, they were dissenting Protestants regarding Sabbatarianism. Sharing the general nineteenth-century conviction about the centrality of the Sabbath to Christianity, they charged the Protestant majority with having betrayed true Protestantism on two counts. First, the dominant churches continued to honor the wrong day—the Sunday of Roman Catholic origin rather than the Saturday of biblical origin. Second, in utilizing civil legislation to support the sacrality of Sunday, the Protestant majority was (in papal fashion) attempting to coerce the

free consciences of the minority who adhered to the true biblical Sabbath. Although officially established churches no longer existed in the United States, Adventists feared an alliance between the Protestant empire and governmental power in which Sabbath laws would be repressively enforced as a bulwark of Christian civilization. The American Republic and its free churches, the most promising human institutions in history, would in so doing assume the character of the beast of Revelation 13 and launch the final assault on the faithful remnant.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the energy created by this vision began, paradoxically, to be expressed in action to sustain the promise of American liberties. No longer content to predict the imminent demise of the Republic, Adventists began taking action to forestall that demise by resisting the imposition of Sunday laws. They became active dissenters from the Protestant empire in an effort to hold that empire to what they took to be its highest principles.

In the mid-1860s a movement of evangelical clergy that became known as the National Reform Association (NRA) emerged, calling for an amendment that would “indicate that this is a Christian nation, and will place all the Christian laws, institutions and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.”⁴⁰ For Adventists, here was dramatic evidence for an imminent gathering of the apocalyptic forces of a Christian civilization turned coercive. Laws enforcing the Christian Sabbath would be among those undergirded by such an amendment, and in 1879 the NRA began a drive for a national Sunday law that would indicate “national recognition of divine sovereignty.”

The Reformed Presbyterian Church, a denomination in the heritage of the Scottish Covenanters with approximately ten thousand members, was a driving force behind the NRA, and in general its greatest strength was among the Calvinist denominations. Charles and Archibald A. Hodge of Princeton Seminary were among the organization’s leading proponents. However, prominent Methodists, such as Gilbert Haven and Matthew Simpson, and Episcopalians, such as Steven Tyng Jr. and Frederic Dan Huntington, were also among its supporters. Although the NRA’s conservative prescription for reform was never adopted by the majority of Protestants, Robert Handy notes that it “attracted considerable attention in the contemporary Protestant as he or she searched for a more fully Christian nation.”⁴¹

Adventists warned that the NRA agenda was precisely that which would turn America into a persecuting beast, and they could now point to its rise as sure fulfillment of what they had predicted on the basis of faith in Bible prophecy in the 1850s. In making this argument in 1872, Uriah Smith glossed over the extent to which he and other Adventists in the 1850s had seen Sunday laws of *that* time as a sign of the last days. Nevertheless, the NRA did provide new energy and clarity to the movement for legislation in support of a “Christian America” in the second half

of the nineteenth century, thus providing Adventists with a plausible villain for their apocalyptic interpretations—not *the* ultimate fulfillment of prophecy but a likely catalyst of the last days of persecution and tribulation.

Adventists saw in the NRA's proposed amendment a replication of medieval repression. In an extended series on the United States in prophecy that ran in the *Review* in 1871 and 1872, Uriah Smith wrote, "Let the Protestant churches in our land be clothed with power to define and punish heresy, to enforce their dogmas under the pains and penalties of the civil law, and should we not have an exact representation of the papacy during the days of its supremacy?"⁴² It would not be necessary for one denomination to gain dominance and form an explicit union of church and state for the prophecy to be fulfilled. A cooperative organization representing the various denominations and "empowered to enforce its own decrees by civil penalties"—precisely the goal of the Christian amendment movement—would be a reenactment of illicit church-state union in a new context and would thus constitute an "image to the beast" (Rev. 13:14).⁴³

However, Smith at this point still did not see that much to *do* about conditions in America other than proclaim the Adventist message. The fulfillment of the prophecy of Revelation 13, he wrote, was inevitable, though the exact timing uncertain, and believers could "neither help nor hinder" its arrival.⁴⁴ Similarly, Roswell F. Cottrell, writing in 1877, almost welcomed signs of the formation of "an engine of persecution that would demand obedience to the Roman Sabbath." Such fulfillment of prophecy was not something to be disappointed about, for it meant that the "last fiery trial" was at hand.⁴⁵

Yet at about this same time, parallel to their growing temperance involvement, Adventists were beginning to take public action to defer that "last fiery trial." When actually confronted with imprisonment or inconvenience over the Sunday issue, Adventists, by and large, did not welcome the hardship as a martyr's confirmation of glory to come. Rather, they began to use the democratic system to impede the progress of the "engine of persecution." Or, to switch the metaphor back to Revelation 13, by resisting Sunday laws and prosecutions in the name of religious liberty, they began working to sustain the "lamblike" qualities of the American Republic and to suppress the manifestations of its dragonlike heart.

As Adventism began to spread to the South after the Civil War, believers began to feel the brunt of the more strict enforcement of Sunday laws in that region. Arrests were reported in Tennessee and Georgia as early as 1878,⁴⁶ and the problem would become even greater in the 1880s and 1890s.

But it was in California that Adventists first engaged in serious political action in defense of their rights. The first Seventh-day Adventists in California, cabinetmaker Merritt G. Kellogg and his wife, arrived in San Francisco in 1859 and soon organized a small company of seventh-day Sabbath-keepers. The Adventist effort to evangelize California began in earnest in 1868 with the arrival of

two leading ministers, John N. Loughborough and Daniel T. Bourdeau, along with a large tent, via the Isthmian route. In the early 1870s, the Whites visited California, taking a special interest in the work there, and virtually all of Adventism's leading ministerial talent spent some time evangelizing this promising field. Institutions replicating the Battle Creek pattern emerged: a paper, the *Signs of the Times* (1874); a publishing house, the Pacific Press Publishing Association in Oakland (1875); a sanitarium, the Rural Health Retreat in the Napa Valley north of San Francisco (1877); and a college, nearby Healdsburg College (1882). Converts to Adventism numbered only in the hundreds in the 1870s,⁴⁷ but their impact on the state was greater than their numbers suggest.

In her work on nineteenth-century Protestantism in California, Sandra Sizer Frankiel describes how Adventist evangelism and activism challenged the efforts of Anglo-Protestant leaders to establish their kind of Christian civilization—with the aid of Sunday laws—in the decades following the Gold Rush.⁴⁸ In 1858, the state legislature passed a law forbidding businesses to be open on Sundays. A Jewish clothier in Sacramento successfully challenged this law before the state Supreme Court, but in 1861 the legislature passed a similar law that withstood challenges over the next two decades. Meanwhile, aggressive evangelism by Seventh-day Adventists roused Protestant ministers to the defense of Sunday sacredness. Though they were not winning a large number of converts, the Adventists were making an articulate public case that threatened the cohesion of a Christian civilization, and that poked at the sensitive zones of the Protestant consciousness. Saturday, they claimed, was the biblical Sabbath; Sunday was the Roman Catholic Sabbath. While changing public attitudes and commercial influences were threatening to turn Sunday into a day of secular recreation, especially in the large cities, Adventists were undermining the basis of its religious authority.

The Sabbath debate heated up in the 1870s and became an important issue in the election campaign of 1882. Protestant leaders had successfully pleaded for more rigorous enforcement of the Sunday law, which resulted in more than sixteen hundred arrests between March and June 1882. Adventists, along with Jews and Chinese immigrants, were the main targets of the crackdown. Joseph H. Waggoner, editor of the *Signs of the Times*, was among those arrested, and the Pacific Press in Oakland was forced to close for a time.

Rather than simply welcome these arrests as marking the penultimate event of the “last days,” Adventists joined the electoral fight for repeal of the Sunday law. The *Signs of the Times* defended this involvement in a “political” issue on two grounds. First, the Sunday law was “a direct infringement on our rights as citizens and Christians.” Second, a challenge to the sacrality of Sunday was central to the Adventist mission of proclaiming “the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus” to the world. They could not be silent while the Fourth Commandment was being

“assailed, despised” and made “subordinate to human policy” in the public arena through Sunday legislation.⁴⁹

Juries throughout the state refused to convict those arrested for violating the Sunday law, but the spectacle of numerous upright and prosperous citizens being brought to trial helped raise the profile of the issue in the campaign. The Democratic platform called for repeal of the Sunday law. J. H. Waggoner went to Sacramento and appealed to the Republican Convention to at least support an exemption from the Sunday law for Saturday observers. The Republicans, however, feeling vulnerable about public perception linking them to the unpopular railroad interests, opted to support the Sunday law in an attempt to attract the church vote.⁵⁰

A Democratic victory in the election gained the party control of the legislature, and one of the first acts of the 1883 session was to repeal the Sunday law. Adventists, despite their generally Republican sympathies, made an uncomfortable coalition with secularizing forces and, through petitioning and vigorous publicizing efforts, played a conspicuous role in the Democratic victory. Looking back on this election in 1905, apparently from a national perspective, the head of the International Reform Bureau (formerly the NRA) lamented that twenty-six thousand Adventists did more petitioning than twenty-six million “Christians.”⁵¹ The election would prove to be a permanent defeat for Sunday laws in California. Adventists were understandably defensive about being “accused of uniting with liquor sellers and abetting the vilest crimes.”⁵² But their actions clearly helped prompt Californians, in Frankiel’s words, to reject “that bond with traditional Protestant culture” represented by Sunday laws “in favor of a more open and diverse society.”⁵³

Later in 1883, Adventist leaders concluded that their newly active role in protesting Sunday laws required a regular publication. The General Conference in Battle Creek voted to launch the *Sabbath Sentinel* in December, with the purpose of informing the public about the widespread efforts to impose Sunday laws in a way that would “unjustly discriminate against the rights of those who observe the seventh day.” The initial target for the first issue was the National Reform Association’s convention, held in Cleveland that year.⁵⁴

The arrest of five Arkansas Adventists in 1885 for working on Sunday and a similar outbreak of prosecutions in Tennessee the following year prompted action similar in principle to that taken in California. General Conference president George Butler viewed the Arkansas crisis as “evidence of the rapid approach of the final struggle.” Seventh-day Adventists, he said, were being singled out for merely doing quiet work around their homes while thousands in the general populace used Sunday to “work, hunt, fish, and play cards.” But he also viewed the situation as an opportunity to draw on the reservoir of justice and goodwill in the American system to both secure religious liberty for Adventists

and advance their evangelistic mission. “We have not so poor an opinion of our American people yet as to believe that *all* are in favor of persecuting those who conscientiously obey God by keeping the ten commandments,” he commented.⁵⁵

Butler recommended civil disobedience as the means for arousing the sympathies of a free Republic. He urged the Arkansas believers to refuse to pay fines and instead go to jail as a means of public witness and of rallying support for their cause. Declaring that “we know of no sermon so eloquent as suffering for the truth’s sake,”⁵⁶ he argued that if Adventists would accept imprisonment for the sake of conscience, they would stir a public outcry causing their persecution to boomerang against their opponents.

Butler’s confidence in the strength of the sentiment for liberty remaining in the public order was borne out. In February 1887, the Arkansas legislature reinstated an exemption to the Sunday law for seventh-day observers, the removal of which had led to the prosecutions in the first place. Representatives of both Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists lobbied the legislature, and several legislators indicated that they would never have voted to remove the exemption had they understood the consequences.⁵⁷

The Duty to Delay

The Adventists’ interest in defending their own rights, and the somewhat surprising discovery that they could succeed in doing so, must be seen as primary factors in their transition to activism in the 1870s and 1880s. Yet they were also keenly aware that to delay the time of trouble was also to delay the grand event to which their entire beings were dedicated: the Second Coming of Christ. As late as 1886, Ellen White wrote of the inner dissonance caused by this apparent contradiction. Just as she had initially opposed seeking conscientious objector status from the government during the Civil War, the question of whether it was appropriate to assert religious liberty through government channels, she reflected in 1886, had “been a burden of my soul for some time.” Did not such action constitute “a denial of our faith and an evidence that our trust was not fully in God?” Yet in recalling what had occurred in regard to the draft and other matters, she had become convinced of the rightness of public advocacy of religious liberty.⁵⁸

White and other Adventist writers made frequent attempts to resolve the apparent paradox of their preaching an imminent end while working to delay it,⁵⁹ all of which might be summed up under the headings of “duty” or “witness.” Adventists had a job to do, a part to play in salvation history. Defending religious liberty was part of the mission, not only because it allowed Adventism in general to progress but also because it was a truth to which Adventists felt called to bear witness.

In a testimony entitled “The Impending Conflict,” White warned believers in 1885 against a passivity that merely watched for apocalyptic prophecy to be

fulfilled rather than taking a stand for principle. Using the passage in Revelation 7 regarding restraint of the winds of apocalyptic strife among her supporting texts, she wrote, "It is our duty, as we see the signs of approaching peril, to arouse to action. Let none sit in calm expectation of the evil, comforting themselves that this work [of the National Reform movement] must go on because prophecy has foretold it, and that the Lord will shelter His people. We are not doing the will of God if we sit in quietude, doing nothing to preserve liberty of conscience." One purpose of such action to restrain evil was that it would help make it possible for Adventists to carry out their broader mission under favorable circumstances. If Adventists would act, said White, "a respite may yet be granted for God's people to awake and let their light shine." She used the apparent onset of religious repression to call Adventists to shake out of their "listless attitude" and bear their witness to the world.⁶⁰

Liberty itself was now an intrinsic part of that witness. White rejected the suggestion that advocacy of religious liberty was somehow disconnected with the third angel's message: "Let the watchmen now lift up their voice and give the message which is present truth for this time. Let us show the people where we are in prophetic history and seek to arouse the spirit of true Protestantism, awaking the world to a sense of the value of the privileges of religious liberty so long enjoyed." She saw a public witness to the truth of religious liberty as central to Adventism's eschatological mission, a witness calling for martyrlike resolve. "When the religion of Christ is most held in contempt, when his law is most despised," she wrote, "then should our zeal be the warmest and our courage most unflinching. To stand in defense of truth and righteousness when the majority forsake us, to fight the battles of the Lord when champions are few,—this will be our test."⁶¹

Thus by the 1880s, Adventists felt driven by a moral imperative to counter evil in society, which necessitated political action for temperance and for a free, truly Protestant America. At the same time, they retained with equal vigor apocalyptic conviction that such efforts could at best succeed only for a short time. The transition to being an activist remnant thus entailed a recasting of apocalypticism rather than a rejection of it. The apocalyptic vision remained to focus and stimulate public action and at the same time helped maintain a distance between Adventists and the larger culture. Conviction that the Second Coming would happen relatively soon impelled the Adventist mission. Expectation that freedom was soon to be crushed gave urgency to protecting it for the moment. And apocalyptic prophecy specified which forces in American society must be resisted in the name of freedom.

3

APOCALYPTIC FAITH AND

INDUSTRIAL AMERICA, 1886–1914

In one of her most widely read books, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan* (1888), Ellen White summarized how Adventism's master symbol for interpreting the American experience focuses on the contrast between the creed of the nation's government and its deeds: "The lamblike horns and dragon voice of the symbol point to a striking contradiction between the professions and the practice of the nation thus represented. . . . By such action it will give the lie to those liberal and peaceful principles which it has put forth as the foundation of its policy."¹ During the Civil War and the two decades following it Adventists gradually took upon themselves the duty of working to square the nation's practice with its profession while retaining the expectation that the nation would ultimately fail to uphold liberty. In the years between 1886 and World War I, their efforts to sustain the values they regarded as vital to the American Republic intensified.

This intensification was due in part to external developments as an industrializing nation's deepening social problems called forth greater reform activity. Broadening support for Sunday legislation and nationwide temperance, for example, touched Adventists' core concerns and thus evoked greater activity from them. Spiritual revival and a related heightening of apocalyptic expectation, a more fully developed theology of history, and new leadership powered the Adventist response to these developments in what became one of the most dynamic periods in the denomination's history.²

Renewed belief that events in society were bringing them to the brink of the apocalypse did not prompt Adventists to retreat from activism but served to underscore the necessity of vigor in thwarting evil temporarily. The outcome of the story of history—"the great controversy"—had been decided by God, they believed, but they also believed that it was up to them, in part through their engagement with the American Republic, to provide the particulars of the final chapter.

Revival, Internal Conflict, and Religious Liberty

Adventist action for religious liberty came to a peak in the late 1880s and early 1890s in response to a series of new challenges. The new energy was fueled and shaped by both external developments in society and the internal force of spiritual revival and intensified eschatological expectation.

In 1888 and 1889, national Sunday rest bills were introduced in Congress. In 1892 Justice David Brewer's decision in the Supreme Court case *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States* declared America to be a "Christian nation." Later that year Congress put the muscle of the federal government behind Sunday observance by making Sunday closing a condition of its appropriation to the Chicago World's Fair. Adventists viewed these developments, along with continued prosecutions and imprisonments in the South for state Sunday law violations, as indications that the final crisis over the Sunday issue was nearer than ever.

Behind these events Adventists perceived a malevolent three-pronged conspiracy to end religious freedom in America. Spiritualism, in addition to the papacy and a corrupted Protestantism, was, they believed, an avenue for satanic deceptions. In the half-century following the sensational events connected with the Fox sisters in the late 1840s, spiritualism, with its offer of communication with the dead, attracted an interest surpassed by few other phenomena in American culture.³ It constituted a direct challenge to the Adventist belief that the dead sleep in an unconscious state until the resurrection. It was particularly pernicious, in the Adventist view, because of the apparently supernatural support it gave to false doctrine. Ellen White's image of these three forces joining hands across a gulf would have a powerful and lasting impact on the Adventist consciousness:

Through the two great errors, the immortality of the soul, and Sunday sacredness, Satan will bring the people under his deceptions. While the former lays the foundation of Spiritualism, the latter creates a bond of sympathy with Rome. The Protestants of the United States will be foremost in stretching their hands across the gulf to grasp the hand of Spiritualism; they will reach over the abyss to clasp hands with the Roman power; and under the influence of this threefold union, this country will follow in the steps of Rome in trampling the rights of conscience.⁴

While the ominous signs on the national scene seemed to be multiplying, a theological crisis and revival seemed to be preparing the Adventist community spiritually for the final events. The 1888 General Conference session in Minneapolis saw open and bitter debate over the relationship between gospel and law and over matters of apocalyptic interpretation. The articulate young coeditors of the Oakland-based *Signs of the Times*, Ellet J. Waggoner and Alonzo T. Jones, called for a recovery of the gospel of righteousness by faith, which they believed had been obscured in the Adventist stress on adherence to the Ten Commandments. The old-guard leadership centered in Battle Creek bristled at the upstarts' apparent undermining of Adventism's *raison d'être*. General Conference president George Butler decried the rapidly spreading view that only belief in Christ is necessary and that "Jesus does it all" as "one of the most dangerous

heresies in the world.” The very purpose of the Adventist movement, he declared, was to proclaim to the Christian world the necessity of obedience to the commandments of God.⁵

Ellen White, however, embraced the new message. Adventists, she commented, had preached the law to the point of becoming “as dry as the hills of Gilboa.”⁶ The focus on Christ and his saving righteousness, she believed, was the key to spiritual revival and empowerment for completion of Adventism’s mission to the world. Many Adventists “had lost sight of Jesus,” she wrote in 1895. “They needed to have their eyes directed to His divine person, His merits, and His changeless love for the human family. . . . This is the message God commanded to be given to the world. It is the third angel’s message, which is to be proclaimed with a loud voice, and attended with the outpouring of His Spirit in a large measure.”⁷

The enthusiasm for the gospel of Christ’s love and grace marked a key turning point in Adventist history, moving the church toward theological harmony with evangelical Protestantism and away from being a legalistic sect. Yet as White’s comments indicate, Adventists harnessed the gospel revival to their mission of exclusive significance as remnant in the culmination of history, proclaiming the third angel’s message as a witness against “apostate Protestantism.”

It was with minds and spirits shaped by this atmosphere of revival, controversy, and intense expectation that Adventists engaged in some of the most crucial struggles over religious liberty in the church’s history. Already sensing in 1886 a need for greater vigor in advocating religious liberty, the church changed the title of the *Sabbath Sentinel* to the *American Sentinel* and launched a campaign to broaden its circulation. The title change signaled a shift toward emphasis on *American* values, as Adventists presented themselves more explicitly as activists for the well-being of society as a whole, not just for their particular interests. The *Sentinel* declared dedication to “the defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.”⁸

Spurred by the introduction of Sunday legislation in Congress in 1888, the Adventist leadership organized the National Religious Liberty Association (NRLA) in July 1889. In October the new organization’s first national meeting brought to Battle Creek 114 delegates from twenty-five states, who declared a commitment to preserving the American Constitution by resisting religious legislation in state legislatures or Congress. The association also pledged “to aid persecuted people of any race, color or creed.” Its organizational structure paralleled that of the denomination as a whole, consisting of a national executive committee and officers and councils in the state conferences to coordinate activity in local congregations.⁹ Although some modifications in name and structure have occurred, the organization established in 1889 has continued to the present.¹⁰

Though Uriah Smith and George Butler provided leadership in launching

the *American Sentinel* and the NRLA,¹¹ it was A. T. Jones who, in the aftermath of 1888 and the righteousness-by-faith revival, emerged as the central figure in the church's religious liberty battles. A master polemicist, the charismatic Jones was probably the most influential male leader in Adventism in the 1890s (James White had died in 1881).¹² Strongly individualistic and unbending in his theology and radicalism on church-state relations, Jones ultimately lost out in a power struggle in Adventism that was not resolved until 1907. Yet in the 1890s, he, more than anyone else, stirred Adventist audiences with his dramatic preaching and voluminous writings. He also both impressed and infuriated public audiences in tirelessly making an Adventist case for religious liberty.

It was Jones who, as editor of the *American Sentinel*, led the Adventist opposition to two bills introduced in the U.S. Senate in 1888 by Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire. The first bill called for promotion of Sunday, the Lord's day, as a day of rest. The second proposed a constitutional amendment requiring the nation's public schools to teach "the principles of the Christian religion."¹³

Adventists viewed Blair's bills with special alarm because they proposed *federal* government support for religion. In the Adventist apocalyptic code, it was *national* Sunday legislation that would signal the formation of an "image to the [first] beast" (papacy) by the "two-horned beast" (United States). No such legislation had been before Congress since the failure of the Sunday mail ban nearly sixty years earlier. Moreover, support for Sunday laws and the agenda of the National Reform Association seemed to be increasing. The WCTU, which added a Sabbath Observance Department in 1887, the American Sabbath Union Party, formed the same year under the leadership of the Rev. Wilbur Crafts, and the Prohibition Party all endorsed the Sunday movement in 1888. Proponents of Sabbath legislation were now stressing the right of the working man to one day off per week,¹⁴ and that was the reason Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore gave for his endorsement of the Blair bill. Such support from the nation's leading Roman Catholic prelate for a measure promoted by Protestant reform organizations signified, in the view of Adventist writer Stephen N. Haskell, the "union of Catholics and Protestants" that Adventists had long expected but that had previously seemed less plausible.¹⁵

Faced with this threatening array of forces, the Adventist leadership mounted an intensive campaign to dissuade Congress from passing Blair's Sunday bill. Ellen White's son, William C. White, urged believers against complacently viewing the recent developments in Congress simply as inevitable fulfillments of prophecy. He called on them to join in gathering signatures to petitions protesting the bill, in order to "give a little more time of quiet in which to prosecute our God given work of carrying the truth to various nations."¹⁶ Copies of a petition arguing that any bill regarding Sabbath observance would be unconstitutional were circulated to local Adventist congregations along with leaflets explaining the Adventist position. Members not only signed petitions themselves but also canvassed nonmembers, finally

amassing 260,000 signatures sent in two three-foot-high stacks (one each for the House and the Senate) with red, white, and blue fastenings.¹⁷

A. T. Jones led an Adventist delegation to argue against the Sunday bill before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in December 1888 and against the proposed constitutional amendment to Christianize the public schools in February 1889. He generated considerable attention in the press for his contributions to the defeat of these measures in Congress and for his lectures nationwide. Though an opponent, Blair remembered him as a man of "great ability and evident sincerity."¹⁸

Despite success in helping to thwart Blair's program, Adventists did not become optimistic about the American future or relax their efforts. On the contrary, two events in 1892 convinced Jones and many Adventists that the nation's final turn to religious oppression had begun. First, in the *Holy Trinity* decision, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a federal ban on alien labor contracts did not deprive a church the right of paying a salary to a non-American pastor. Such a ruling, wrote Justice David Brewer, was demanded by the fact that "this is a Christian nation," as evidenced by social custom and laws, including Sabbath observance laws.¹⁹

In a series of sermons preached at the Battle Creek Tabernacle in May 1892, Jones stirred his audience with the dramatic assertion that the "Christian nation" decision amounted to the formation of the "image of the beast" predicted in Revelation 13:14.²⁰ He quoted a letter written two months earlier by Ellen White from Melbourne, Australia, where she had traveled to Australia in 1891 at the urging of other church leaders to bolster development of the Adventist cause on that continent. Here she put in the present tense that final collusion of oppressive forces that she had placed in the near future in *The Great Controversy*: "Protestantism is now reaching hands across the gulf to clasp hands with the papacy, and a confederacy is being formed to trample out of sight the Sabbath of the fourth commandment."²¹

After thus bringing the congregation to the brink of the apocalypse, Jones then backed them off a bit by saying that one final development in the Revelation 13 scenario had not yet come to pass: though the image to the beast had been formed, it had not yet been given life (v. 15). The image would receive life "by the enforcement of whatever religious observances any bigots may choose, who can control the civil power." Jones did not know just when this latter development would occur, but he reminded his hearers of their task in the interim: to use their resources and institutions to the fullest in giving the warning message to the world. The shortness of time, he argued, does not make the church's institutions obsolete; rather, "because time is so short, we need more institutions and more means."²²

Less than three months later, a second event seemed to give dramatic confirmation to Jones's analysis of the times. On 5 August, President Benjamin Harrison

signed the first piece of federal legislation favoring Sunday closings. The law made federal appropriations to the Chicago World's Fair contingent on the fair closing its doors on Sundays. Now, declared Jones, the U.S. government had indeed given life to "the image of the beast" by putting into action the illicit union of church and state sanctioned by the *Holy Trinity* decision.

The startling governmental actions of 1892 were paralleled by continuing ferment within Adventism over the message of righteousness by faith introduced by Jones and E. J. Waggoner in 1888. For Jones, the experience of both justification and sanctification through faith in Christ was the key to preparing the Adventist community for the final eschatological crisis. Indeed, the progress of world history toward its culmination depended in part on the spiritual state of Adventism. The Supreme Court's "Christian nation" decision indicated that world conditions were virtually ready for the Second Coming. "Everything in the world is ready but the Seventh-day Adventists," he had told his Battle Creek congregation in May. But, he went on, God was getting his people ready through the message of righteousness by faith—the revival call to look to Christ for the righteousness and empowerment for the last days that they had futilely tried to achieve for years on their own through keeping the law.²³

Ellen White stoked the eschatological fervor in November 1892 by writing in the *Review* that "the loud cry of the third angel has already begun in the revelation of the righteousness of Christ, the sin-pardoning Redeemer. This is the beginning of the light of the angel whose glory shall fill the whole earth."²⁴ In other words, the spiritual message proclaimed by Jones and Waggoner had triggered the final proclamation of the Adventist message—"the loud cry" (see Rev. 18:1-2) in the church's parlance—that would spread throughout the world with power and prepare it for the Second Advent.

By the mid-1890s the intensity of the revival had dissipated and the immediacy of the external threat to religious liberty receded. Yet although the sense of urgency driving public activism diminished somewhat, it would never disappear from the Adventist outlook. The church sustained opposition to any move toward Sunday legislation, and, as discussed later in this chapter, began to broaden its concerns to other issues of religious and civil liberties and public welfare.

In 1903 Ellen White would look back upon the 1888–93 era as a time of opportunity tragically missed. Opposition to or lack of genuine enthusiasm for the message of righteousness by faith that she, Jones, and Waggoner had proclaimed had sabotaged the revival and, in effect, delayed the Second Coming.²⁵ Uriah Smith, for example, had initially opposed the 1888 message and had openly disagreed with Jones's pronouncements concerning the "image of the beast" in 1892.

Yet the 1888–1901 epoch (particularly 1888–93), in which Jones's influence was central, illuminates with particular clarity the dynamics shaping the Adventist mentality and relationship to the American public order. Heightened external

threat and internal revival had brought Adventists to the verge of the eschaton while also energizing action for religious liberty in the public order. The permanent legacy of this era was that Adventists ever after expected a reprise that would bring to fulfillment what had seemed very nearly to happen in the 1890s: at any time the ongoing threat of religious oppression in society and potential for revival in the church could combust into the final conflagration. And, as in the 1880s and 1890s, those expectations would help propel a form of Adventist political action during the “little space of time” yet remaining.

Political Implications of the Great Controversy

Richer development of their theology of history accompanied the Adventists' increasing activism in the decades following the Civil War. Before proceeding with the narrative of Adventist social involvement in industrializing America, it is vital to examine in further depth this central influence, expressed in its most definitive form by Ellen White in *The Great Controversy*. Building on the foundations laid in the 1840s and 1850s, Seventh-day Adventists by the late nineteenth century had fashioned a more comprehensive theology of history that centered on the broad themes of freedom, suffering, and hope. In terms of historian Karl Loewith's analysis of philosophies of history, these were the principles that for them “unified historical events and successions” and by which history was “directed toward ultimate meaning.”²⁶

Theirs was a variation of the Whig or republican view of history in which Protestantism is the key in the struggle for religious and political freedom from a corrupt union of ecclesiastical and royal power.²⁷ For Adventists, this struggle was a decisive phase in the grand drama of all human history: the “great controversy between Christ and Satan” over the loyalty of human beings, who possess the freedom to choose between the two. Because God's kingdom and the restoration of human beings to the divine image cannot be imposed by force, those faithful to God must endure suffering at the hands of evil powers, which God allows Satan the freedom to inflict in his efforts to turn humanity against God. But God's people live in hope that God, after allowing enough scope to evil to make clear to the universe the issues in the controversy and the loyalties of all involved, will establish an eternal kingdom of righteousness, justice, and peace. The themes embedded in the great controversy narrative constituted the guiding principles for the political stance Adventists formulated and remain foundational to the present.

Freedom

The great controversy story, extending from the fall of Lucifer in heaven before the creation of Earth to the final restoration of peace and order in the universe after the millennium, became compelling and authoritative for Adventists

through the writings of Ellen White. She set forth her conception of the great controversy in rudimentary form in volume 1 of *Spiritual Gifts* in 1858. The final version was published between 1888 and 1917 in five volumes that became known as the “Conflict of the Ages” series, probably White’s most important literary legacy. In this final version she more thoroughly develops the themes of freedom as central to God’s government of the universe and the great controversy as challenge to and vindication of God’s rule.²⁸

It is freedom that drives the great controversy, and thus imbues history with meaning. The exalted angel Lucifer was free to rebel against God, and God could not immediately destroy him, for that would have caused the other angels and observers in unfallen worlds to serve God out of fear, rather than love freely given. Since the “law of love” is “the foundation of the government of God,” God “takes no pleasure in forced obedience.” Thus human beings are created as “free moral agents, capable of appreciating the wisdom and benevolence of [God’s] character and the justice of His requirements, and with full liberty to yield or to withhold obedience.”²⁹

When human beings joined the rebellion against God, the only way God could win them back was through the persuasion of love, for “the exercise of force is contrary to the principles of God’s government.” Through his incarnation, self-giving life, and death on the cross, Christ won the world back to God by a compelling demonstration of God’s love.³⁰ The cross also fully demonstrated the malevolent character of Satan so that in principle “the great contest that had been so long in progress in this world was now decided, and Christ was conqueror.” Looking upon the cross, the “loyal universe united in extolling the divine administration.”³¹ All that remained was for the truths of God’s love and the justice of his government and laws—as revealed most clearly at the cross—to be made known to human beings.

In the Adventist view, freedom as the cornerstone of divine governance held a twofold significance for human politics. First, this principle grounds the liberty of human beings in a reality that transcends any earthly government. Second, the divine rule is in some respects a pattern for human rule, for the primary function of the latter is not to impose a Christian code of righteousness by force but to protect the freedom of individuals to enjoy their God-given rights.

Because God allowed humans a freedom so great that it makes sin possible, with all its horrendous consequences, no “human authority,” White explained, has “the right to take away that freedom.” Rulers are the servants of the people “chosen under God to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights.” In a sinful world, governments legitimately exercise coercion, but only for the purpose of enforcing the civility necessary for public peace, not to make people righteous.³²

Thus Adventists became spokespersons for a secularized state, with ecclesiastical and governmental authority separate, but their reasons for doing so were theological based. Adventists often aligned with secular interests against Christian

reformers on particular issues, but, as a *Liberty* magazine (successor to the *American Sentinel*) editor argued in 1907, this did not mean that Adventists were in league with atheists or enemies of Christianity. They opposed religious legislation in the interests not only of “a state free from corruption” but also of “a church free from hypocrisy.”³³ A. T. Jones maintained that the principles of human rights upon which the nation was founded were “directly deduced from Christianity.”³⁴

Adventist writers, in part on the basis of this theology of divine government, thus championed a sharply secularized state with a limited role: the protection of individual freedom. They attempted to justify all of their positions on public issues in terms of this theory. A state that functions in this way frees the church to fulfill its mission of reconciling human beings to God and to do so in a manner consistent with the noncoercive manner revealed in the gospel.³⁵

Adventist writers did not entirely rule out functions for the state beyond protection of individual rights. Ellen White, in particular, emphasized that governments were to dispense not only justice but also benevolence to the weakest in society. Government acceptable to God, she wrote in 1895, is “a government that protects, restores, relieves, but never savors of oppression. The poor especially are to be kindly treated. . . . Aid is to be given to the oppressed, and not one soul that bears the image of God is to be placed at the footstool of a human being.”³⁶ In connection with Prohibition, she spoke of God’s love for the world and Christ’s command to love one’s neighbor as reasons to support legislative action to improve society.³⁷

White’s affinity for a benevolently activist government opened the door to favoring a role for the state that went beyond allowing freedom. Nonetheless, Adventists made the freedom of God’s government disclosed in the great controversy a central reference point for human government.

Dissent

Dissent was a necessary element in the Adventist view of history, for it was primarily through a dissenting church—small bands of faithful witnesses through the centuries, separate from the world and persecuted by it—that divine purposes were achieved. Adventists believed that to be authentic, the church must refuse earthly political power and remain a suffering minority. Yet this did not mean strict avoidance of involvement in worldly society, for in their view the church, when true to itself, would be a leavening influence in the world and an advocate for truth, justice, and compassion in public life on issues where principle was clearly at stake.

The apocalyptic identity Adventists assumed underscores their sense of being at odds with the world, yet the vanguard of its ultimate redemption. They were the faithful “remnant” of Revelation 12 upon whom the “dragon” makes war; they were the saints who endure in “keeping the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus” and resisting “the beast and his image.” The “thrilling and

dreadful import” of all this, as John N. Andrews put it in his original exposition of Revelation 13 and 14, was that it confronted one with the stark choice between worshiping earthly powers for the sake of temporary convenience or refusing, at the peril of life, in order to obey God.³⁸

As the end-time remnant, Adventists saw themselves as the culmination of a “royal line” of martyrs and heroes in the struggle against evil. The line begins with biblical figures such as Daniel, Jesus, and Paul, and extends to “the Vaudois and the Huguenots, Wyclif and Huss, Jerome and Luther, Tyndale and Knox, Zinzendorf and Wesley,” who, “with multitudes of others, have witnessed to the power of God’s Word against human power and policy in support of evil.”³⁹ For faithful followers of Christ and his truth, conflict is inevitable in the present world, wrote Ellen White, and Adventists would be faced with the final struggle against worldly powers: “The banner of truth and religious liberty held aloft by the founders of the gospel church and by God’s witnesses during the centuries that have passed since then, has, in this last conflict, been committed to our hands.” She added that believers must avoid provoking the antagonism of governments, but when the government’s claims “conflict with the claims of God, we must obey God rather than men.”⁴⁰

How then should a martyr church, expecting according to divine prophecy that its own government would turn against it, relate to the political order of the present age? Nineteenth-century Adventist literature contains statements that appear to fit the apolitical profile often associated with believers of the pietistic, premillennialist sort.⁴¹ Adventists indeed sought to avoid entanglement in partisan politics because, for starters, they wanted to avoid compromising their identity as citizens of the kingdom of God and thus distinct from the world. Ellen White urged in 1899 that Adventists not join with any political party but stand apart as a separate and peculiar people. Adventists, she wrote, have their “citizenship in heaven. . . . They are to stand as subjects of Christ’s kingdom, bearing the banner on which is inscribed, ‘the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.’”⁴²

In an era of patriotic fervor connected with the Spanish-American conflict around the turn of the century, Adventists maintained that Christians, as patriots for the kingdom of God, must stand sharply apart from a religious nationalism identifying Christianity with national aggrandizement and military adventures.⁴³ The conviction that God would establish a new society through complete renovation of the earth rather than through the American nation correlated with a clear sense of preeminent identity as citizens of the heavenly kingdom. And that identity necessitated withholding loyalty from any earthly political party.

Another danger of linking political parties to the church was the compromise with evil involved. Ellen White observed that fraud mars both parties, and “every one who names the name of Christ is to depart from all iniquity.”⁴⁴ The moral tone of American politics had reached a low point during the Gilded Age, with the scramble for patronage becoming the dominant interest. So Adventists

in this period believed they had particularly good reason for associating the word “politics” with corrupt machinations.⁴⁵

White also stressed a third reason for avoiding politics: identification with party interests threatened the unity of the church as a distinctive community. Apparently the election of 1896 had engendered some divisions within the church. In a letter from Australia she bemoaned the spectacle of “brothers in the same faith . . . wearing the badges of opposing political parties, proclaiming opposite sentiments and declaring their divided opinions.”⁴⁶ Though she offered the judgment that a free silver policy such as advocated by the Populists and presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan would actually work to oppress the poor, she admonished ministers a year later not to “publish your political preferences in our papers, or speak of them in the congregation, when the people assemble to hear the word of the Lord.”⁴⁷ Divisions over politics only served to divert Adventists from their higher cause. “We have enlisted in the army of the Lord,” she said, “and we are not to fight on the enemy’s side, but on the side of Christ, where we can be a united whole in sentiments, in action, in spirit, in fellowship. Those who are Christians . . . will not wear political badges, but the badge of Christ.”⁴⁸

Alliance with coercive political power was also, paradoxically, a threat to the church’s spiritual power. The heroes of church history in the Adventist reading were always in conflict with earthly powers. “The early church,” White wrote, “strong only in the power of God, triumphed grandly, even over the opposing forces of a false religion, upheld by the state. Only when she allied herself with the state, seeking its aid, did she deny her God, lose her power, and darken the world into a night of a thousand years.”⁴⁹

If a martyr church was not to endanger its identity, integrity, unity, or spiritual power by enmeshment in politics, it was also not to neglect the social problems and injustices plaguing humanity. Rather, by preserving its distinctive voice and spiritual capabilities, it would only be more effective in addressing those needs. Fulfilling this aspect of the church’s vocation necessarily involved Adventists in aspects of the political process, though Adventist leaders generally did not advertise such action as “political.”

In a testimony published in 1899, Ellen White qualified her warning about party politics with an admonishment against living “reclusive lives.” Instead, following the example of Christ, Adventists should “do worldlings all the good we possibly can.” And on the temperance issue she urged believers to “take your position without wavering.”⁵⁰ Although the church was in danger of being co-opted or made subservient when identified with political parties, in her view a martyr church should be on the side of social reform as in fact Christian reformers historically had been. In her major treatise on Christian education, she wrote of the importance of helping students understand “how wonderfully we are bound together in the great brotherhood of society and nations, and to how great an

extent the oppression or degradation of one member means loss to all.” She urged that the study of history center on “the great reformatory movements” and how advocates of reform based on divine principles, though often “brought to the dungeon and the scaffold, have through these very sacrifices triumphed.”⁵¹

Thus for nineteenth-century Adventist leaders, identity as a dissenting, suffering church, separate from the world, did not mean avoidance of reform efforts that involved the political process. In the 1860s, John N. Andrews had denounced the effort to shelter slavery from Christian opposition by labeling it a “political” issue, and thus off limits for Christians, as “one of the most ingenious devices imaginable,” but one that would not stand up on the judgment day.⁵² Consistent with Andrews’s outlook, nineteenth-century Adventists in subsequent decades tried to oppose corrupting and oppressive alliances between ecclesiastical and political interests while affirming the church’s mandate to act on behalf of the rights and well-being of all people, based on the principles of the gospel.

Beyond the question of political involvement, Adventism faced another major question during the 1890s in connection with its ecclesiology: how strictly must a suffering church be separate from the state in institutional and financial terms? The controversy over this issue would prove critical in setting directions for the twentieth-century church.

The denomination’s most energetic and eloquent advocate for human rights, Alonzo T. Jones, was at the same time so uncompromising in demanding rigorous separation of church and state that he convinced the General Conference to repudiate its tax-exempt status in 1893.⁵³ He also denounced a proposed gift of twelve thousand acres of land to the church from Cecil Rhodes’s British South Africa Land Company as impermissible government aid to religion and collusion in an imperialist land grab.⁵⁴

Prompted by other church leaders, particularly Stephen N. Haskell, a leader of the Adventist work in Africa at that time, Ellen White, from her temporary post in Australia, made vigorous use of the power of her pen to counter Jones’s influence on this issue. She rebuked him for his inflammatory rhetoric and counterproductive zeal for absolute logical consistency. “Sharp thrusts” in denominational papers (such as he had made against Rhodes and imperialism in southern Africa) could, she warned, unnecessarily antagonize authorities and “bring on the time of trouble before its time.” While the church is still in the world, she maintained, God may move the hearts of rulers toward benevolence on behalf of the people of God, and the church “need not sacrifice one principle of truth while taking advantage of every opportunity to advance the cause of God.” As a result of White’s intervention, the church ended up accepting the land in southern Africa as a gift and also reclaiming their tax-exempt status.⁵⁵

Thus with encouragement from their prophet, Adventists softened the radical separateness from and criticism of worldly powers implied in their apocalyp-

tic ecclesiology. While seeking to maintain a sharply distinct identity with the resolve of martyrs on certain issues, they also found considerable room for cooperation with the state for the good both of the church and society. In attempting to moderate Jones with a sort of ecclesiastical *realpolitik*, White sought to ensure that Adventist separatism would not be so radical as to cut the church off from appropriate opportunities to build itself up as a source of good in the world.

In so doing, she also provided twentieth-century Adventist leaders with precedents in their efforts to guide a suffering church's longer-than-expected sojourn in the midst of earthly kingdoms. Here was a basis for cultivating cooperative relationships with governments and accepting their benevolence. At the same time the tendency of subsequent leaders to stress her efforts at bridling Jones would contribute to greater *disengagement* from social and political protest. It would lead them to place higher value on minimizing confrontation with governments than on a comprehensive and forthright witness against suppression of human rights. In their hands, White's action to moderate Jones's radically separatist version of a martyr church's witness to freedom would become, in some instances, basis for emasculating that witness.

Hope

Though the church suffers in its conflict with evil powers of this world, according to the Adventist view, it endures in the hope of a sudden, supernatural intervention by the returning Christ to culminate the victory of righteousness and create a new world. By specifying the United States government, the best of all earthly governments, as part of the final coalition of evil, Adventists amplified the premillennialist conviction that the only real hope for the world's future lay beyond all human institutions and action.

When the NRA and allied organizations formed a World's Christian Citizenship Conference in 1913, *Liberty* protested the connection made between a national reform program and the millennium in conference pronouncements. The conference addressed a social agenda including capital and labor, prison reform, Sabbath laws, intemperance in the family, peace, Mormonism, and social purity. NRA secretary J. S. McGraw declared that when Christian laws concerning such problems were enacted, America would lead the world "in bringing about the brotherhood of man." And, he added, "thus will come the millennium."⁵⁶ Charles M. Snow, editor of *Liberty* from 1909 to 1913, warned that pursuit of the eternal kingdom of righteousness through federated church action would only "create a second Papacy,—a government ruled by the church, . . . making compulsory the religious faith and formulae of the church, gripping the throat of conscience with a clutch of steel and repressing every aspiration of the soul not authorized and legalized by the law of the realm."⁵⁷ For Adventists, liberty required dissociation of Christian millennial hope from any earthly government, including that of the United States.

If placing hope in a premillennial Second Coming meant withholding it from political institutions, however, the necessity of public action to restrain evil in society in the brief period before the Second Coming remained. Adventist comments on the possibilities for peace at the onset of World War I clearly illustrate this position. Charles S. Longacre, who succeeded Snow as editor of *Liberty*, expressed skepticism about William Jennings Bryan's hopes for a "no more war" policy. As a symbolic act inspired by passages in Isaiah and Micah, Bryan had some swords cast into "plowshare" paperweights as souvenirs for ambassadors. Yet Longacre found more compelling Joel's prophecy of the reverse—plowshares turning into swords—and declared that "there will ever be war among the nations until the very day of Christ's triumphant descent from heaven." For Longacre, however, such pessimism about an era of world peace did not mean passivity or fatalism about the problem of war. Rather, he wrote, "we, as co-workers with divine providence, should do all in our power to frustrate the evil designs of militarism, that life may be made endurable until the determined counsel of the Almighty is accomplished by his special act of intervention at the last great day, when an entirely new order of things is to be established for eternity."⁵⁸

Adventists, as we shall see, took a similar approach to Prohibition and poverty in this era. They supported public measures to combat evil that they felt could be justified on a civil basis, but they opposed religiously based programs for advancing the kingdom of God through political institutions.

Thus, three themes structured the Adventist interpretation of history, each with specific political implications. God's commitment to freedom meant that the state's role should be to protect that freedom, not enforce religious morality. A dissenting church must be free of worldly political entanglements yet must witness against abuses by governments. At the same time, the church must cultivate a positive relationship with governments for the sake of its evangelistic and humanitarian mission. Finally, hope must never be placed in political efforts to transform the world, yet such reserve should not lead to fatalism or passivity about evil in the world during the "little space of time" yet remaining.

An Adventist Agenda for Industrial America

As Adventists sought to enact these ideals in the late nineteenth century, they faced a society undergoing rapid and traumatic change. In response to the deepening problems of poverty and injustice associated with rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration in this era, a wide variety of social movements emerged offering comprehensive solutions to the nation's ills. Edward Bellamy's "Nationalism," Henry George's "single tax" proposal, the Knights of Labor program for worker cooperatives, the "free silver" platform of Populism,

as well as a burgeoning socialist movement all gained wide followings, promising rapid resolution of the nation's vast and growing economic inequities.

Meanwhile, various progressive and socialistic reforms were embraced as a means for advancing the kingdom of God in the social gospel movement that emerged in Protestantism.⁵⁹ Also during this time, the Roman Catholic Church, whose members comprised a large portion of the laboring and immigrant masses, made a crucial transition to support for the cause of organized labor, as expressed in the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1892).⁶⁰

Amid the growing chorus of social reforms and panaceas, Adventists offered and aggressively promoted their own formula for the salvation, albeit temporary, of the nation. Like the prominent Protestant social reformer Josiah Strong, author of the best seller *Our Country*, they wanted to save America from its manifold perils for the sake of a mission to the world.⁶¹ But though they shared many of Strong's concerns, their unique experience and view of history made for a distinctive agenda.

Healing for Society

Adventists were too pessimistic—perhaps realistic—about human ability to engineer a utopian future to throw themselves into any of the schemes to restructure society. However, their interest in enhancing the common good, for a short time, and their related mission of preparing a people to meet the returning Savior, led them to make some positive efforts toward social change. Such efforts came in the form of promoting Prohibition and an innovative, wide-ranging humanitarian outreach to cities.

In the first volume of his *Modern American Religion*, covering the period 1893–1919, Martin E. Marty categorizes Seventh-day Adventists among the “trans-moderns.” He places in this grouping those who offered therapies for recovering a wholeness that transcended the compartmentalization and alienation of modernity.⁶² In addition to Adventists, the “transmodern” options ranged from the spiritual healing of Christian Science to the psychological approaches to religion of such thinkers as William James and G. Stanley Hall. We have seen how, in the 1860s and 1870s, Adventists integrated devotion to physical health with their spiritual message and began developing institutions implementing their vision of “health reform.” In the 1886–1914 era, this interest in human wholeness energized selective engagement of the social crises facing urban, industrial America. Adventists brought their health message to the large cities, establishing institutions for ministry to the poor and suffering, and they intensified their efforts for Prohibition as the means for obliterating the source of numerous social problems.

As with their involvement in the cause of religious liberty, the social action engendered by the Seventh-day Adventists' commitment to health reform cannot be understood without reference to their apocalyptic hope. The principles of health were not a mere adjunct to their theological message but, as J. H.

Waggoner wrote in 1866, “an essential part of *present truth*.” The third angel’s message called for full adherence to the “commandments of God” (Rev. 14:12), and to violate the laws of health would be to destroy life and thus violate the Sixth Commandment. Moreover, health reform was vital to the process of sanctification necessary to prepare the believer for the Second Advent.⁶³ Bodies made unholy by sinful indulgences, wrote Ellen White, “are not worthy of Heaven,” and at one point she cited negligence toward health reform as a reason why “God’s people are not prepared for the loud cry of the third angel.” The Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek, she declared, was “designed of God to be one of the greatest aids in preparing a people to be perfect before God.”⁶⁴

Health reform was essential not only to preparing Adventist believers for Christ’s return but also to their expanding mission to prepare others. Without freedom from their “sinful, health-destroying, brain enervating habits,” wrote Ellen White, it was impossible for the public “to discern sacred truth.”⁶⁵ James White thus likened the health reform message to John the Baptist, a preparer of the way “for the greater light of the last message of mercy.”⁶⁶

The Adventists’ urban social ministry launched in the 1880s and 1890s was part of what the church called “medical missionary work,” which in turn was influenced by the apocalyptic self-understanding and mission that had been at the core of their health ministry from the beginning. The prime movers were Ellen White and John Harvey Kellogg, the innovative and energetic director of Battle Creek Sanitarium. White first called for city missions in 1885, and by 1888 a number had been established, but it was in 1893 that Kellogg undertook to establish the most ambitious of the missions in Chicago. Inspiration and support for this effort came from a series of articles published by Ellen White in the *Review* during the mid-1890s⁶⁷ in which she drew heavily on the writings of the Hebrew prophets, particularly Isaiah, in urging Adventists to minister to the poor and oppressed.⁶⁸ Christ’s kingdom of compassion and liberty stood as a challenge to oppressive earthly kingdoms, she wrote,⁶⁹ and those converted to Christ become “mediums for the vital current” of his love to those in need.⁷⁰

Asking the Chicago police chief for directions to the “dirtiest and wickedest place” in the city to establish the mission, Kellogg had difficulty finding a suitable site until the Pacific Garden Mission agreed to share its building. The Chicago Medical Mission opened in June 1893, offering a free medical dispensary, free baths, free laundry, an evening school for Chinese, and a visiting nurse service. Day care for the children of working mothers was soon added, and then a “penny lunch counter” offering a bowl of bean soup and zwieback crackers for one cent.⁷¹

“I have no scheme of social reform to propose,” Kellogg explained in an address to a conference on the problems of unemployment and homelessness in Chicago held at Northwestern University in 1896. It nevertheless was his conviction that every Christian community had the duty of offering the homeless

and destitute “not only shelter and food, but brotherly kindness, encouragement, and instruction.” Adventist social action thus differed from the social gospel movement, focusing on the needs of individuals rather than transformation of the economic structure of society.

Yet as the expansion of the work in Chicago indicates, their activities went beyond providing temporary relief to programs for the lasting formation or reformation of lives. A “Workingmen’s Home” was established in 1896 offering temporary work as well as housing and food at minimal cost for the unemployed. The American Medical Missionary College Settlement Building opened the same year at a five-story site on South Wabash. It served as a dormitory for students at Kellogg’s American Medical Missionary College and as a center for activities typical of settlement houses, including day care, health instruction, a women’s discussion group, clubs for newsboys and bootblacks, and a free employment agency.

Near the AMMC Settlement Building another Adventist enterprise, the Life Boat Mission, provided a dispensary, laundry facilities, a “rescue home” for unwed mothers and prostitutes, and a restaurant, along with gospel meetings. Its publication, the *Life Boat*, addressed such problems as juvenile delinquency, child labor, and prison conditions. Mission director David Paulson wrote in 1902 that such problems “will not be settled in prayer meetings or conventions, but . . . by individual effort on the part of men and women in whose hearts throb a genuine love of humanity.”⁷²

The Chicago mission served as a model for smaller scale missions in several cities under the auspices of Kellogg’s Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. His dream was to put the Seventh-day Adventist Church at the forefront of humanitarian service, to make it “the Good Samaritan to all the world.”⁷³

However, a rift was developing between Kellogg and the denominational leadership, and Ellen White became critical of the doctor’s work in Chicago around 1900. She was concerned that Kellogg was siphoning too high a proportion of the church’s resources into one project and that in his commitment to nonsectarian, humanitarian service he was neglecting the spiritual dimension of Adventist mission. However, her unqualified endorsement of the Life Boat Mission under Paulson’s leadership indicates her ongoing support for social ministry.⁷⁴

Kellogg finally broke with the church over control of health institutions and theology in 1907, and the Chicago mission was disbanded in 1910. After the break with Kellogg, Adventists renewed their ministry to the large cities, but now stressed evangelistic work over humanitarian ministry.⁷⁵ Though Adventist urban social ministry declined without Kellogg’s leadership, his influence, combined with that of Ellen White, left a legacy of humanitarian fervor manifested in Adventism’s widespread medical institutions, as well as in welfare and development services. A vision of the restoration of human wholeness,

organically connected with the church's apocalyptic world view, led Adventists to one form of response to the social crisis in America's cities, and ultimately to medical and welfare institutions that became one of the church's most significant points of contact with public life.

As far as governmental measures were concerned, Adventists believed that no action could accomplish more toward resolving social problems than Prohibition. We have seen that despite their desire to avoid politics and their general skepticism about structural social change, they threw themselves into the political process on this issue, and they did so with increasing energy as the nationwide push for Prohibition stepped up in the Progressive era.

Ellen White, active in the temperance cause since the early 1870s, had given priority to other concerns and overseas ministry from the mid-1880s to around the turn of the century. Early in the twentieth century, she gave renewed emphasis to temperance, with vigorous calls to Christian political action in the name of public welfare, such as the following, published in 1905:

The honor of God, the stability of the nation, the well-being of the community, of the home, and of the individual, demand that every possible effort be made in arousing the people to the evil of intemperance. . . . Let an army be formed to stop the sale of the drugged liquors that are making men mad. Let the danger from the liquor traffic be made plain and a public sentiment created that shall demand its prohibition. Let the drink-maddened men be given opportunity to escape their thralldom. Let the voice of the nation demand of its lawmakers that stop be put to this infamous traffic.⁷⁶

In the 1880s and 1890s temperance organizations such as the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League had cooperated with Sunday law advocates in pressing for Sunday closing of saloons. This created conflict for Adventists. Genuinely dedicated to temperance, the eschatological threat they associated with Sunday laws led them to the paradoxical position of siding with the liquor interests on the issue of Sunday closing while advocating a prohibition that applied to every day of the week.⁷⁷

Adventists remained in dialogue with the temperance organizations, however, and a WCTU resolution against religious persecution in 1899⁷⁸ helped ease Adventist qualms about joining forces with it, though they continued to oppose Sunday-only saloon closings.⁷⁹ Ellen White, recalling favorable association with the WCTU in earlier years, urged Adventists to cooperate with the organization in connection with total abstinence, arguing that it would not be giving up Sabbath principles to do so.⁸⁰ K. C. Russell, then chair of the General Conference's Religious Liberty Bureau, rebuked church members in 1908 for having been

too timid regarding Prohibition for fear of compromise on the Sunday issue. Adventists, he wrote, “should not be so fearful of being classed with those who are seeking Sunday legislation as never to take a positive stand on the side of that which is just and right.”

Russell made his plea in the context of outlining an innovation that would make the summer camp meetings regularly held by Adventists at the state level bases for temperance rallies held in cooperation with other Protestant organizations.⁸¹ In addition to rallies, Adventists organized local temperance societies, distributed literature, and canvassed for signatures to a temperance pledge.⁸² Adventist young people were mobilized through the weekly publication, the *Youth's Instructor*. Special temperance issues were published in the 1910s and the Instructor's Temperance League formed with the goal of placing copies in every home. In the final drive for a Prohibition amendment, Adventists gave indefatigable support to the cause.⁸³

Such action might appear to be inconsistent with Adventist efforts to both be apolitical and defend individual liberty. Adventist leaders, however, believed they were being consistent. Prohibition, they repeatedly argued, was in harmony with the principle of liberty because the liquor traffic “invades the natural rights of citizens by being a menace to society.”⁸⁴ The liquor business, charged Longacre, forces taxpayers “to pay hundreds of millions of dollars annually to clean house for the devil's shopkeeper” and thus constitutes “a curse to society, a nursery of crime, and a menace to human liberties.”⁸⁵

By this line of argument, Adventists sought to dissociate their involvement in the Prohibition movement both from coercive imposition of religious principles and from partisan politics. They presented their position as a Christian humanitarian response to evil and suffering in society and as part of their broader commitment to human liberty.

Pluralism versus Nationalized Christianity

The Adventists' highest priority in public life—religious liberty and separation of church and state—led them to resist some social cures that they regarded as worse than the disease. One major problem with Sunday laws, from the Adventist perspective, was that they were part of what J. H. Waggoner called the program to “nationalize Christianity.”⁸⁶ National Reform Association spokesmen acknowledged that their program could have a negative impact on the rights of Jews, possibly even disenfranchising them.⁸⁷ Thus in allying with liberal and Jewish organizations⁸⁸ to oppose the privileging of one form of Christianity, Adventists were championing a more inclusive, pluralistic public order and helping to undermine the hegemony of the Protestant empire. They crusaded against Sunday laws partly in the name of resisting a growing Catholic threat. Ironically, though, in opposing legal privilege for Protestantism, Adventists actually played a small

part in making America more hospitable to the increasing numbers of Catholics who shared their outsider status.

Adventist resistance to state-sponsored religious exercises in the public schools, in addition to the campaign against Sunday laws, illustrates the way in which they challenged the Protestant establishment and acted in favor of equal footing for Jews, Catholics, and other outsiders. In 1889 *American Sentinel* editor A. T. Jones appeared at congressional hearings on H. W. Blair's proposed constitutional amendment to reform public education. The amendment would have required the states to maintain free public schools with instruction "in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion." Several Protestant clergymen, including leaders of the ecumenical Evangelical Alliance, testified in favor of the amendment, but Jones argued that such a measure would "turn public schools into seminaries for the dissemination of Protestant ideas, and thus violate the equal rights of Catholics, Jews, and infidels."⁸⁹

Interest in maintaining freedom for their own religious practices was leading Adventists also to defend the liberties of people very different from themselves. The broadening activism occasionally brought them into odd alignments with entertainment and liquor interests. An example occurred in the Chicago suburb of Englewood in 1892. A coalition of church and YMCA forces demanded that the Marlowe Theater, located next door to a Baptist church, be closed on Sunday evenings. On Sunday, 21 August, a protesting crowd succeeded in pressuring the actors from taking the stage. The members of the audience had their ticket prices refunded and were sent away. The theater operators subsequently agreed to allow Adventist speakers to hold a meeting in the theater to rally opposition against Sunday closing. Advertising provided by the theater helped draw a crowd of over a thousand the following Sunday to hear A. T. Jones delivered a fiery two-hour speech denouncing the religious bigotry of the "Englewood fanatics." The *Chicago Times* reported that "Mr. Jones speaks as emphatically as a piledriver, and every time he came down the audience applauded." By appealing to civil law and police support in attempting to close the theater, Jones argued, the Englewood religionists had violated the separation of church and state and had gone against the spirit of Christ, "the author of free thought and religious liberty."⁹⁰

The theater managers agreed to stay closed on Sunday evenings when the church coalition promised to patronize the theater the other six nights of the week. By October, however, the manager reopened the theater on Sundays, charging that the church people had failed to live up to their agreement.

Though they were developing a pattern of taking the side of unpopular, marginal groups and causes,⁹¹ Adventists shared in the animus toward Roman Catholicism that was then widespread in American culture.⁹² Among the "perils" from which the influential Protestant Josiah Strong believed America needed to

be saved was “Romanism.” In *Our Country* (1886) he warned of the “conspiracy of Rome” that linked saloon owners and corrupt urban political machines with papalism against the values of Protestant, Anglo-Saxon civilization.⁹³ Adventists had always regarded the papacy as the beast of Revelation 13, but in the 1850s and 1860s they had been more concerned about a retrograde American Protestantism forming an “image to the beast” by adopting the coercive tactics of Rome. By the 1880s, the growing presence of what *Review* editor Uriah Smith called “depraved, ignorant” masses of Catholic immigrants⁹⁴ led them to more thorough scrutiny of the activities of Rome itself that could be interpreted as attempts to gain political influence in the United States.⁹⁵

Some Adventist leaders betrayed the church’s best values in making extreme and vilifying statements about Catholicism in this era. Yet liberty remained the touchstone of their position—they wanted to stand against any movement toward the linkage of church and state that European Catholicism represented. Moreover, some Adventist writers spoke out against the extreme anti-Catholicism that was dedicated to suppressing Roman Catholic rights in the name of native Protestant dominance.

When the American Protective Association (APA), formed in 1887 to resist Catholic political power, circulated a rumor that the pope had issued an encyclical calling for the destruction of heretics on 5 September 1893 (mistakenly identified as the feast day of St. Ignatius Loyola),⁹⁶ Uriah Smith recognized that the report probably was not genuine. Nonetheless, he believed that the threat of Catholic subversion was a reality “beyond question” and speculated that the church was preparing to “throw into the field a well-drilled, disciplined, and united army of toward a million men” to take control of the country when labor violence gets out of hand.⁹⁷

In the late 1890s, Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul seemed to be exerting a troubling influence in politics and government. At the Republican convention in St. Louis in 1896, the platform committee had “obsequiously bowed down,” claimed Smith, when Ireland sent a telegram requesting removal of a plank opposing appropriation of public funds for sectarian purposes.⁹⁸ The archbishop went on to forge a cordial relationship with President McKinley and act as an intermediary between the White House and the Vatican as conflict brewed between Spain and the United States. The *Review* pictured Ireland journeying to Rome to report to the pope and “laugh with him while they map out their program for further official recognition when the time comes to settle terms of peace between Spain and the United States.”⁹⁹

Adventists thus viewed Roman Catholicism in starkly conspiratorial terms, exhibiting what Richard Hofstadter called the “paranoid style” in American politics. Every action was interpreted as part of a grand strategy to grasp power. Prejudice and xenophobia may well have contributed to this view. Yet it was not nativist

hatred that sparked its passion but the apocalyptic struggle for liberty, an outlook somewhat akin to that later motivating American resistance to communism in the cold war.¹⁰⁰ Adventists, and many other Protestants, viewed Roman Catholicism as the dominant, absolute, and intractable international foe of human liberty: “The Catholic Church is simply an organized conspiracy against the civil and religious liberties of mankind. Its fundamentals are a union of church and state, or the State dominated by the Church, suppression of heresy by fire and sword, control of conscience, and complete restraint of all individual freedom of thought or action, from the cradle to the grave.”¹⁰¹ As distorted and extreme as such a perspective might be, the substantive issue upon which it challenges one to act is liberty.

What, then, of a Catholic’s right to religious and political liberty? Here Adventists found themselves torn between their commitment to individual rights and their fear of corporate Catholicism as the greatest danger to liberty. Uriah Smith, who seemed to take the harshest view of any Adventist writer toward Catholicism, argued that since Romanism is a political conspiracy to deprive Americans of their rights, it is as legitimate for the state to impose restraints on Catholic access to political power as it is to outlaw polygamy or human sacrifice. He claimed that the Jesuits had been expelled at some time from every civilized country except the United States, and that the United States would “suffer bitterly for its tolerance or stupidity” unless it did the same.¹⁰²

It is sadly ironic to see an Adventist writer object to “tolerance.” Other Adventist writers, however, had broader vision on this issue, deciding that to deny rights to Catholics would be to adopt the most objectionable principle that Adventists imputed to Catholicism.¹⁰³ Calvin P. Bollman, early in a long career of writing and editing in the field of religious liberty, denounced the APA as a secret organization that replicated the methods of the Jesuits. He particularly objected to the APA’s efforts to compel Catholics to educate their children in state secular schools. Such a policy, he pointed out, in effect made a pagan religion out of the state: “We would as soon commit our soul to the Papacy as to the State. We would as soon submit to the despotism of the Papacy as to the despotism that would compel us to educate our children to be citizens, or anything else, first and Christians afterwards.”¹⁰⁴ In a similar vein, M. E. Kellogg wrote in the *Review* that efforts by the APA and others to drive Catholics from public life and boycott their businesses were “un-Christian and unwise.” It was essential, he maintained, to respect the civil and religious rights of Catholics; to do otherwise would be “as bad as Catholicism itself.”¹⁰⁵

As advocates of religious liberty, Adventists both believed that Roman Catholicism was an international conspiracy that must be exposed and checked and believed that they must defend Catholic rights against “nationalized Christianity”—the homogenized Protestant Americanism that also threatened Adventist rights. They did not fully resolve the sometimes conflicting implications of these beliefs.

Countering Combinations

While exhibiting concern about the social problems of the era and taking some action to alleviate them, Adventists distanced themselves from the solutions promoted by labor unions, socialist organizations, and proponents of the social gospel and the related ecumenical movement. Their quarrel with these movements was not so much over goals as means. All entailed the formation of confederacies, or "combinations," at the expense of individual freedom that could help prepare the way for the final deprivation of liberty. Moreover, resistance to liberty-threatening combinations sometimes took Adventists in a politically progressive direction. They were at least as outspoken against exploitative corporate trusts as they were in regard to labor unions, and when the nation's foreign policy turned imperialistic, they boldly criticized the government itself for suppressing freedom.

In 1903, Leon Smith, who followed his father Uriah into editing, protested the social problems created by the vast accumulation of corporate wealth and power. He pointed out that despite the end of black slavery, many were enslaved by the "industrial conditions created by greed, or by the warfare of class against class." Concentration of wealth, he pointed out, gave "disproportionate and irresponsible power to a few" and thoroughly corrupted the electoral and political process.¹⁰⁶

However, Adventists saw in labor unions nearly as great a threat to individual rights and social peace as they saw in the large trusts. This was an era marked by violent confrontations between capital and labor. Armed troops battled workers in numerous dramatic episodes, such as the great railroad strike that swept the nation in 1877, the Homestead strike at Carnegie Steel Company in 1892, the Pullman strike of 1894 south of Chicago, and the Ludlow Massacre of 1914 in southern Colorado.

Adventist attitudes toward the labor movement can in part be understood as a manifestation of the individualistic piety and apocalyptically based social passivity often associated with premillennialists. Commenting on the Pullman strike, *Review* associate editor G. C. Tenney deplored both the greed and oppressiveness of the wealthy and the violence and anarchy of rebellious workers. While remarking that Christians should not be callous to suffering in society, he saw the labor unrest primarily as a sign of Christ's soon return, and he underscored the urgency of proclaiming Jesus and his return as "the antidote for all the ills of life."¹⁰⁷

The deepest danger was that labor unions, like socialism and Catholicism, would destroy the individual's freedom to give rightful allegiance to Christ alone. Writing in 1892 concerning the dangers of city life, Ellen White referred to the movement "to bring those engaged in the different trades under bondage to certain unions." In order to fulfill their calling to give God's final message to the world, she urged, Adventists must keep themselves free from such bondage: "In this work we are to preserve our individuality. We are not to unite with secret

societies or with trade unions. We are to stand free in God, looking constantly to Christ for instruction.”¹⁰⁸

However, as with Leon Smith, such antagonism toward labor was not motivated by commitment to the interests of large corporations. White was as severe on the “robber barons” as on the labor unions. She warned of “gigantic monopolies” or “combinations” formed to “rob the poorer classes of the advantages which justly belong to them, preventing them from buying or selling, except under certain conditions.”¹⁰⁹ The phrase “buying or selling” was an allusion to the economic sanctions applied by the beast of Revelation 13 (see verse 17). Along with labor unions, the trusts were poised to join the final configuration of forces that would crush freedom in America and thus in the meantime must be opposed or at least avoided.¹¹⁰ Moreover, White admired the principles of the Old Testament laws regarding distribution of wealth. Modern observance of such principles would likely “hinder the amassing of great wealth” and, she believed, “would tend to prevent the ignorance and degradation of tens of thousands whose ill-paid servitude is required for the building up of these colossal fortunes.” Such a course would, in sum, help resolve the social problems that “now threaten to fill the world with anarchy and bloodshed.”¹¹¹

While combinations on both sides of the capital-labor conflict jeopardized order and liberty within the nation, Adventist writers in the late 1890s perceived another threat to freedom in international affairs, one that appeared to complete the scenario of their interpretation of Revelation 13 in a way that had not been true since the Civil War. In this instance it was the American Republic itself that acted as an oppressive combination.

In the 1850s Adventists had interpreted the two horns of the lamblike beast of Revelation 13 as symbols of Protestantism and republicanism, or religious and civil liberty. Sunday laws and creedalism undermined true Protestant principles, while slavery was a betrayal of republicanism. After slavery was abolished, the growing movement for Sunday laws and a Christian amendment provided Adventists with reason to expect that the nation would soon betray its Protestant principles in a more marked way, but they were never again as precise about the threat to *republicanism* until the Spanish-American War and its aftermath.

After the United States annexed the Philippines in February 1899 and militarily suppressed an independence movement there, a wide array of voices in American society, including Adventists, charged the nation with imperialism.¹¹² The U.S. government had become analogous to a combination—swallowing up the liberty of other peoples. A. T. Jones, at this point editor of the *Review and Herald* as well as the *American Sentinel*, and Percy T. Magan, a prominent Adventist educator and writer, were among the most vocal Adventist critics of the newly manifest American imperialism.

In his *Peril of the Republic*, published in 1899 by the evangelical publishing

house Fleming H. Revell, Magan extolled the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as reflections of the divine government and near equivalent to the Word of God, decrying the forcible annexation of the Philippines as “national apostasy.” In this embrace of imperialism, America was abandoning the “new order of things” and reverting to the militarism and oppression characteristic of the Old World. “Her character as a nation,” Magan wrote, “first formulated in the war of Revolution, regenerated and reconsecrated in the war of Rebellion, has been ruthlessly sacrificed to colonial greed and rapacious lust. Awake! O Fathers of the Republic, ere it is too late, and call back your posterity ere they stray into paths from which there is no returning.”¹¹³ Already the closing of the World’s Fair on Sundays and the Supreme Court’s “Christian nation” decision had committed the nation to “papal principles as opposed to Protestantism,” and now republicanism was being repudiated through the national apostasy of imperialism.¹¹⁴

Moreover, the nation’s religious leaders were blessing the apostasy because of the benefits American territorial expansion would bring to the cause of Christianizing and civilizing the globe. According to Ahlstrom, “The churches reflected the American consensus” in favor of the war in Cuba and the Philippines and “then proceeded in the limited time available to convert the war into a crusade to rationalize imperialism as a missionary obligation.”¹¹⁵ Again on this issue, Adventists, on the basis of their apocalyptic perspective, protested the willingness of culturally dominant Protestantism to strengthen its hegemony by force and thereby trample human rights. Articles in leading Protestant journals such as the *Independent* and the *Outlook*, for example, came under criticism from Adventist writers. A *Review and Herald* editorialist lamented the “spirit of militarism” being fostered “right within the bosom of the church” as seen in the companies of “Christian cadets” training for action under the auspices of churches and prayer services for the “success of the American arms.”¹¹⁶

Responding to the argument that the purchase of the Philippines would aid Protestant missions, Magan cited Jesus’ refusal to rely on civil power to accomplish his mission. “Better, ten thousand times better,” he maintained, “for a few missionaries to lose their lives at the hands of heathen savages than for heathen savages to lose their lives at the hands of those calling themselves Christians.” Moreover, he warned, if the idea of “the Bible in one hand and a shotgun in the other” was deemed a good policy for the Philippines, what was to prevent it from being applied in the United States itself?¹¹⁷

The claim that the Filipinos were not fit for self-government, Jones pointed out, was the very same as that set forth by Spain and others, against which the United States had initially joined Filipinos in fighting. He urged that it was time to say again what Lincoln had said in the debate over slavery: Americans must either tear the Declaration out of the statute book or stand firmly by it.¹¹⁸

Magan, as did most Americans, believed the intervention in Cuba had been justifiable; it had liberated the Cubans from Spanish oppression, and the United States had committed itself to the island's independence. The following year, however, Jones commented that the situation in Cuba was also evidence of imperialism, for despite the promise of self-governance, the United States was still exercising actual control there.¹¹⁹

It might be argued that Jones and Magan had little or no interest in actually changing American policy, their primary interest being in "signs" of Christ's soon return.¹²⁰ Indeed, Jones and Magan both insisted that their criticism of governmental policy was a matter of prophecy, not politics.¹²¹ The United States' repudiation of its principles led Jones to the conclusion that the tide of current events "speaks with a loud voice that the end of all things is at hand. . . . Get ready. Get ready. Get ready."¹²²

Yet in both authors there is the same mixture of apocalyptic inevitability and prophetic exhortation present in Adventist thought on other issues. While insisting that churchmen should have nothing to do with politics, and disclaiming any personal interest in it, Magan saw himself in a role similar to that of biblical prophets sent to warn kings and nations about the consequences of departure from the divine intention. In this sense, he believed, "ambassadors of Jesus Christ" should make their voices heard "in the courts and congresses of human powers, of earthly governments." He called upon all citizens of the coming kingdom of God to be true to principle "in things national as well as personal" and to "work for right principles while it is day."¹²³ Moreover, Jones's apocalyptic rhetoric must be seen in the light of his parallel approach to Sunday laws: the vividness with which he portrayed the imminent demise of liberty was proportional to the zeal with which he defended it. Adventists, in this period, were not hesitant to apply their apocalyptic world view to the foreign policy of their own government, and in so doing to hold the government to its own highest standards of human rights.

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As Adventists responded to the challenges of an industrializing, urbanizing nation, they did in one sense keep their distance from politics. They did so in order to avoid a religious nationalism that links with the coercive power of the state in the project of making America Christian and thereby oppresses minorities. Apocalyptic faith and a deeply held individualism in regard to both religion and government undergirded this approach. Christian faith, in their view, was to save and transform individuals, not society, and the purpose of government was to protect individual rights.

Yet, prior to World War I at least, this desire to avoid enmeshment with political power must be distinguished from quietism or disengagement from the public order. First, Adventists' conception of church and state and the urgency

given it by their interpretation of history led them to political action for liberty, aligning them with forces that eroded the dominance of the Protestant empire. Second, recognition of the need to uphold the well-being of society for the sake of the church's mission combined with an evangelical, humanitarian impulse to prompt action in some causes to ameliorate evil in society. Third, avoidance of party politics and disavowal of governmental support for religious practices did not mean placing controverted public issues outside the realm of Christian concern. From slavery to imperialism to Prohibition, Adventists had something to say about what faith meant for some of the nation's greatest moral dilemmas.



Ellen G. White (1827–1915), prophet and cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Used by permission of the Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.



James White (1820–1881), foremost formulator, organizer, and promoter of early Seventh-day Adventism. Used by permission of the Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.




John N. Andrews (1829–1883), scholarly author on Adventist doctrines and the first to set forth Adventism's apocalyptic interpretation of America. Used by permission of the Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.



Uriah Smith (1832–1903), *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* editor and the most influential expositor of apocalyptic prophecy in nineteenth-century Adventism. Used by permission of the Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.

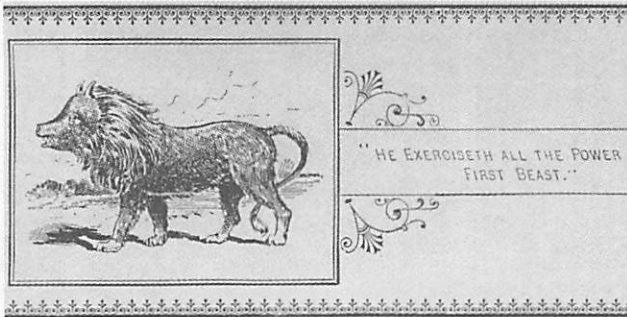
A NEW WORK.

The Two-Horned Beast of Revelation xiii, a symbol of

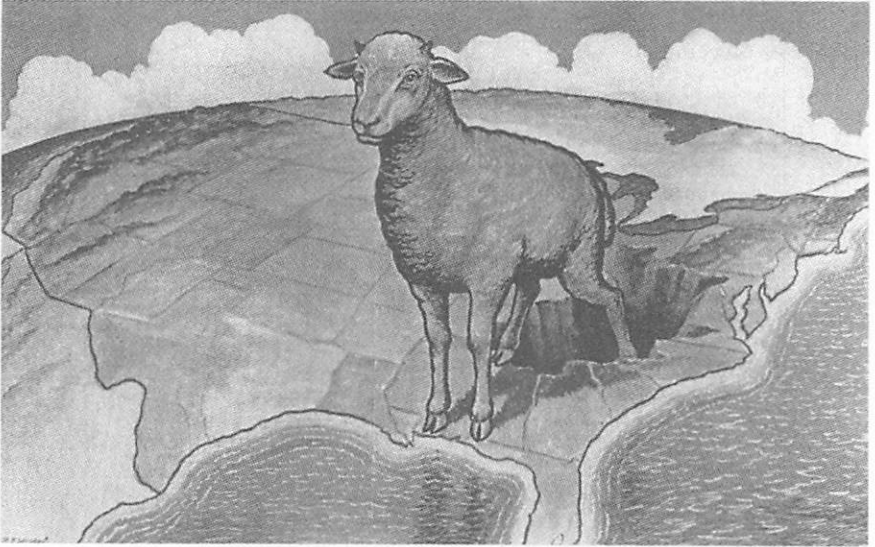


This work which is now appearing in the *REVIEW* will be ready for distribution in a few days. Orders may now be sent in.—Price 10 cents.

In this 1857 woodcut by **Uriah Smith**, a fierce American beast “maketh fire come down from heaven” (Rev. 13:13) while the papal beast looks on. From *Review and Herald*, July 2, 1857. Used by permission of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.



This 1888 illustration presents a calmer two-horned beast without jagged teeth. From *Bible Readings for the Home Circle*, 1888.



"I Beheld Another Beast Coming Up Out of the Earth; and He Had Two Horns Like a Lamb, and He Spake as a Dragon." Rev. 13:11

During the 1940s and 1950s, the American beast's appearance often became entirely lamblike. From *Review and Herald*, July 5, 1951. Used by permission of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.



In the twentieth century, the buffalo has been the most frequent choice for portraying the United States in prophecy. From *Signs of the Times*, July 1976. Drawn by Clyde Provonsha. Used by permission of Pacific Press Publishing Association, Inc., Nampa, Idaho.

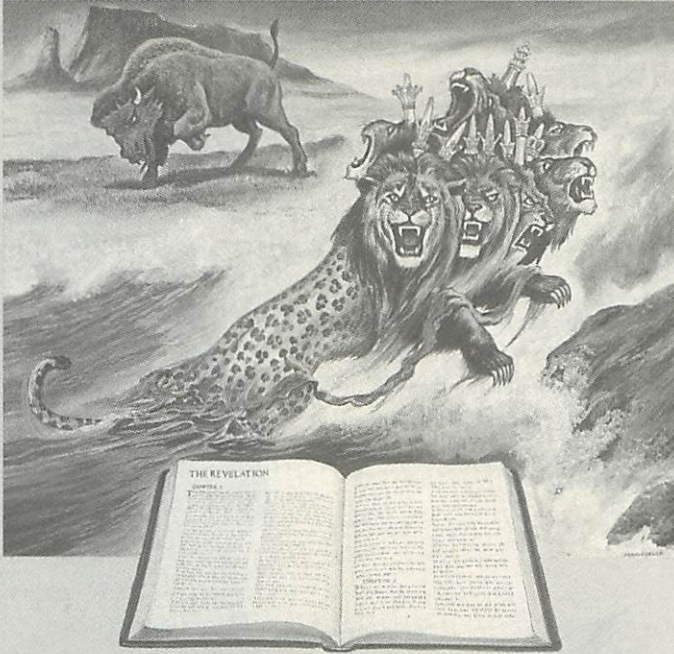
Since the 1960s, fiercer depictions of the same beast thought to represent America have made an occasional comeback, as in this Religious Liberty Department advertisement from 1968 and in the evangelistic magazine *These Times* in 1971.



Discoveries in Prophecy

Will the year 2,000 usher in the New World Order?

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A recent evangelistic depiction of the two beasts of Revelation 13. Note the dragonlike head of the buffalo representing the United States.

4 CONSCIENTIOUS COOPERATORS, 1914–1955

In the summer of 1940, as the possibility of participation in another world war loomed over America, Seventh-day Adventists were conducting camps across the nation to train young men in serving their country more effectively in the military—without bearing arms. A newspaper reporter in Fort Worth, Texas, observed that with the training program, called the Medical Cadet Corps, Adventists “have strikingly transformed their conscientious objection to war into conscientious cooperation.” Adventist spokesmen eagerly latched onto the phrase “conscientious cooperators.”¹ For despite their ongoing espousal of a theology of history that called on believers ultimately to resist the state, Adventists in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century sought mainly to cooperate with it, avoiding disturbance of the status quo.

The label “conscientious cooperators” fits not only Adventists’ approach to military service but also their relationship with the entire public order during this era of two world wars and the cold war. As *cooperators*, they no longer voiced passionate critiques of government policy such as they had from time to time in the nineteenth century. They sought to be loyal, responsible citizens—generally not politically active but conservative in orientation. They also pursued greater cooperation with other Christians. Yet as *conscientious* believers, they retained the main outlines of their historicist premillennialism and their claim on unique and decisive significance in the culmination of God’s plan for history. That outlook continued to impel a vigorous activism that contrasted with that of the dispensationalist premillennialists in the fundamentalist movement.

Many dispensationalists crusaded for conformity, promoting the goal of a homogenous “Christian civilization.” Adventist activism, on the other hand, sought liberty and a pluralistic public order. Expectation about America’s ultimately villainous apocalyptic role remained as a counterweight to the pull of religious nationalism built into the church’s view of history.

A Persisting “Prophetic” Identity

“In doing this work on the religious liberty front,” wrote *Review* editor Francis D. Nichol in 1952, Adventists “are concerned not so much with a philosophy of government as a philosophy of all history, the controversy between good and evil as it has displayed itself in the affairs of men and nations, a philosophy of history

that is best presented in the scrolls of the prophets.”² Nichol, who joined the *Review* staff in the 1920s and served as editor from 1944 until his death in 1966, was Adventism’s leading apologist in the twentieth century.³ His observation indicates that one cannot make sense of the activism for liberty that Adventists sustained in the twentieth century without attention to the continuing force of their philosophy or theology of history.

We have seen how that theology, as it developed in the nineteenth century, centered on the themes of freedom, dissent, and hope, and cast both Adventism and the American nation in decisive roles in the climax of Earth’s historical drama. The outlines of their philosophy remained intact in the twentieth century, remarkably impervious to change, though signs of questioning would appear. It remained the driving force behind the Adventist public agenda, energizing action and guiding priorities. Apocalyptic interpretations of nineteenth-century events, particularly in the last two decades of the century, formed the prism through which Adventists in the twentieth century viewed American public life. They vigilantly scanned the horizon for indications of a reprise of what they had perceived happening in the 1880s and 1890s: a coalition of religious forces seeking government support of religion through a national Sunday law, accompanied by persecution directed against keepers of God’s true Sabbath. Such developments would lead to the final conflict of the “great controversy.”

Thus Adventists continued to conceive of their identity and role in society as “remnant”—*the* agency for preparing the world for the Second Coming of Christ by upholding “the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.” William A. Spicer, missionary and General Conference administrator, and active in the Adventist cause for more than fifty years as editor, wrote in 1930 that the “advent movement of prophecy” that had arisen in 1844 and begun its “flight” to all nations was still “the only movement that ever came on earth answering to the prophecy [of Revelation 14].”⁴ This understanding of apocalyptic prophecy placed on the institutionalized church an unalterable stamp of unique importance as the central instrument of God’s purposes in the final phase of history.

The passing of the decades without the final crisis and the Second Coming materializing placed some strains on the Adventist self-concept as an eschatological remnant specifically designated by prophecy and on the related set of particular expectations about the outworking of history. Probably the most significant challenge in these decades came from Ludwig R. Conradi, foremost evangelizer and leader of Adventism in Europe during the first three decades of the twentieth century. He came to reject the interpretation of both the three angels’ messages of Revelation 14 as specifically forecasting the Adventist proclamations of the nineteenth century and the second beast of Revelation 13 as a prophecy concerning the United States, though he continued to interpret Daniel and Revelation in an “historicist” fashion. Conradi left Adventism and joined the

Seventh Day Baptist denomination in the early 1930s.⁵ Other church leaders repeatedly and sharply rejected any weakening of the remnant concept or the historicist interpretation of prophecy, and these would remain at the core of mainstream Adventism's identity.

In a series of articles in 1944 commenting on the centenary of the Adventist movement, Nichol worried that many Adventists, though orthodox in their views, were losing the feeling of vividness and conviction concerning the Second Coming and the church's role in final events. This loss of intensity made believers vulnerable to the "poisonous heresy" that Seventh-day Adventism was "just another denomination in the world." He sensed the importance of renewed conviction that God had revealed to the pioneers of Adventism "the meaning of the prophecies" of Daniel and Revelation "that mark out the chronology of God's great plan for the world." He declared that the "great dates of 1798, 1833, and 1844 stand out as sharply now as they did when the message began. We see no reason to change them and every reason for retaining them."⁶

In part as a response to the challenges raised by Conradi, the church commissioned Le Roy Edwin Froom (1890–1974) to produce an in-depth historical analysis buttressing the church's apocalyptic theology of history. A missionary editor during the 1920s in China, where he did graduate work at the University of Nanking, Froom launched the church's magazine for clergy, *Ministry*, in 1928 and served as editor until 1950. In the late 1930s, he ransacked the libraries of Europe and North America, gaining access—in what he later interpreted as a providential manner—to European materials before the war made them unavailable.⁷ The result was his massive *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, published in four volumes between 1946 and 1954.

As Ellen White in *The Great Controversy* had linked Adventism to a line of true witnesses stretching through the entire Christian era,⁸ Froom linked Adventism to a line of expositors of prophecy throughout the history of the church. Adventists, he claimed, had picked up and were holding aloft the "fallen torch of prophetic faith" that not only was biblical but also had previously been borne by such figures as Hippolytus, Joachim of Fiore, Luther, Newton, and Wesley.⁹ Although they had indeed discovered new insights regarding the meaning of the time prophecies, Adventists in so doing were merely completing construction of the cathedral of prophetic truth that, like the cathedrals of the Old World, had taken centuries to build.¹⁰ They were "not inventors of a new and strange interpretation but restorers of the tried and true prophetic principles and applications of the centuries." Moreover, they constituted "the *last* segment in the true line of God's prophetic stalwarts through the centuries."¹¹ Standing virtually alone as champions of the great tradition of the "historical school," Adventists, he declared, were in the "unique, favorable, and strategic position" of offering the world "the only satisfying philosophy of history to be found, for those who wish to think things through."¹²

The huge scale of Froom's work and the considerable support given him by the denomination for the time, travel, and translation assistance required are in themselves testimony to the importance Adventists continued to place on their theology of history. The results of a crucial interchange between Adventist and evangelical leaders soon after the publication of Froom's *Prophetic Faith* yielded similar evidence.

Since the nineteenth century, Adventism had sought, with limited success, to avoid the label of exclusivist "cult" or "sect," which Adventists' claim to be the true remnant over against "apostate" Christianity not surprisingly sometimes prompted. Discussions with Adventist leaders led *Eternity* magazine editor Donald Gray Barnhouse and cult researcher Walter Martin to conclude, contrary to the view widely held among conservative evangelicals, that Seventh-day Adventists, despite some erroneous doctrines, are fellow evangelicals, not heretical "cultists."¹³ "It is definitely possible, we believe," pronounced *Eternity*, "to have fellowship with Seventh-day Adventists."¹⁴ Not all evangelicals were persuaded; *Eternity* temporarily lost one-fourth of its subscribers. In addition, a vocal minority of Adventists opposed efforts to make the church's teachings seem more palatable to their evangelical opponents. Nevertheless, there was much truth to *Time* magazine's observation that "Fundamentalists have stretched out a hand, and the Seventh-day Adventists have accepted it gladly."¹⁵

The rapprochement with evangelicals signaled movement from "sectarian" toward "denominational" status for Adventism and was in many respects a defining moment in the church's history. Even this move, however, entailed no basic changes in the Adventist identity as remnant—the central player in the final outworking of salvation history. The book produced in response to the queries from Barnhouse and Martin, *Questions on Doctrine*, placed the most evangelical hue possible on Adventist beliefs. While stressing that Adventists recognized that the overwhelming majority of Christians were at present in other churches, *Questions on Doctrine* nonetheless affirmed Adventists' belief that "Revelation 12:17 points to us as a people of prophecy" and thus that "the Seventh-day Adventist church is the visible organization through which God is proclaiming this last special message to the world."¹⁶

Thus the fact that the church was now often on the defensive regarding its theology of history was no indication of an imminent collapse of that world view. Indeed, as will be discussed in chapter 6, Adventist leaders in the 1990s remained adamant about its centrality for the church's self-understanding.

The tenacity with which Adventists have clung to their remnant identity and the related set of apocalyptic interpretations may in part be attributed to another factor at the core of Adventism—the authority of Ellen White's writings. Though she had not originated any of the key interpretations of Daniel and Revelation, White had placed her stamp of approval on interpretations that had achieved what

she perceived as a sound consensus. Moreover, she incorporated the Sunday law controversy of the late nineteenth century into her writings about the conclusion of the “great controversy” between God and Satan. Phrases concerning “apostate” Protestantism “reaching over the abyss” to clasp hands with both the papacy and spiritualism and the coming repudiation by the nation of “every principle of its constitution as a Protestant and Republican government”¹⁷ through enforcement of Sunday worship were emblazoned on the Adventist consciousness.

Adventists have always insisted that the Bible was the only authority for doctrine and that all their beliefs, including their interpretations of prophecy, were derived from it. Nevertheless, Ellen White’s writings functioned as authoritative commentary on Scripture for most twentieth-century Adventists.¹⁸ Though the validity of White’s prophetic gift was measured by Scripture, it was assumed that the writings of a possessor of the genuine gift of prophecy must be truthful, as truthful as that of the biblical prophets. Thus, Nichol argued, it is untenable to judge White’s writings by one’s personal interpretation of the Bible. Her claim to the prophetic gift was either true or false, and if true, her scriptural interpretations must be accepted, for one “cannot justify a fractional acceptance of Mrs. White.” Alleged contradictions between her writings and the Bible were “only apparent, not real.”¹⁹

The ongoing authoritative role played by Ellen White’s writings was thus a major factor in the staying power of the interpretations of apocalyptic prophecy worked out by the Adventist pioneers of the nineteenth century. One could not deviate very far from her understanding of the events, players, and issues in the “great controversy” without rejecting her prophetic gift as most Adventists conceived of it.

It was not, however, simply the formal authority of White’s writings that kept Adventists wedded to the particulars of their conception of final events. The diagnosis of late-nineteenth-century American society that she provided in *The Great Controversy* remained compelling to many twentieth-century Adventists in a substantive way. The forces she had seen at work in her time—cooperative Protestant efforts at cultural dominance through legislation, Protestant-Catholic rapprochement, and the search for harmony with the cosmos through contact with the spirit world—would persist in new forms in the twentieth century. Adventists could then cite such developments as striking evidence of White’s accuracy as a divinely inspired forecaster.

Even the centrality White gave to Sunday laws, which could appear anachronistic as that issue generally declined in significance (despite some reheated interest in the 1920s and 1950s), could be given indirect validation through the interpretation of new developments. Nichol, for example, acknowledged in the 1930s that Sunday laws were no longer a major issue.²⁰ He nonetheless argued that the worldwide trend toward totalitarianism and statism made possible a

mechanism for truly severe persecution over Sunday laws that did not exist at the time when Ellen White wrote. He thus could declare that her prophecies in the 1880s of an “impending conflict” concerning religious liberty “find their real application today.” The repression of liberty that then “could be seen but darkly on the horizon” was now “almost upon us.”²¹ We have seen, of course, that for Adventists in the 1880s and 1890s, the final events were anything but vague and remote. At that time some American Adventists were still actually going to jail because of their beliefs. Even so, guided by creative “spin doctors” such as Nichol, their spiritual descendants easily found new developments in subsequent eras that seemed to make elements of the final conspiracy outlined by the prophet more imminently impending than ever before.

Recasting the Prophetic Identity

In spite of occasional doubts and questions, then, a relatively detailed framework of events, issues, and actors continued to structure Adventists’ conception of history. Yet within the fixed framework significant adaptation also occurred. Adventists still depicted America as an apocalyptic beast but did so in a way that indicated greater comfort with it and desire to cooperate with it for the present.

Changes in the way Adventist materials visually represent the two-horned beast of Revelation 13 illuminate the changing perspectives. In 1971 Ronald Graybill, a young historian employed at the Ellen G. White Estate in Maryland, published a brief article in *Insight*, the church’s youth magazine, documenting these changes. The depictions of a vicious predator in the 1850s moderated to a lion with lamblike horns in the 1890s, then to a buffalo early in the twentieth century, and finally to a gentle lamb in the 1940s.²²

Such iconographic transformations appear to reflect striking changes in Adventist attitudes toward the nation. In his study of religious outsiders in America, R. Laurence Moore has noted the changing images in Adventist apocalyptic art as part of a pattern in which the radical political implications of premillennialist beliefs held by various groups become tamed over time. By the mid-twentieth century, groups that originated proclaiming the soon demise of every human government now “incongruously juxtaposed” to their apocalyptic message “Cold War images of a righteous America battling a demon USSR” and, with their “frenzied flag waving,” proclaimed the “fundamental moral exceptionalism of the American nation.”²³

The monster-to-lamb progression in depictions of America offers a tempting clarity concerning just such changes in Adventism as Moore describes. With closer scrutiny, however, the clarity slips out of focus. The gentle lamb introduced in the 1940s, though regularly used, did not supplant the buffalo as the favored symbol.²⁴ The less stark contrast between a lion with some lamblike

facial features and a buffalo ejecting steam from its nostrils perhaps better represents the more nuanced changes one finds in examining the texts and actions accompanying the artwork.

In terms of the imagery of Revelation 13, perhaps the more significant change was one that was not expressed graphically. Whereas Adventists in the nineteenth century had at times pointed out major ways in which both religious and civil liberty—corresponding to the two horns of the beast—were being violated, after World War I the civil “horn” was largely neglected. Little attention was given to the nation’s performance in the realization of human rights beyond religious liberty.

It was particularly in connection with America’s deepening involvement in international conflict that Adventists deemed it necessary to adapt their presentations on Revelation 13 and the United States in prophecy so as to avoid the appearance of antagonism toward the Republic. The section on Revelation 13 in *Bible Readings for the Home Circle*, one of the church’s most widely used evangelistic books, was revised during World War I in order to avoid controversy. According to the 1914 edition, the prophecy of Revelation 13 “indicates that this nation, that for over a century has stood as a beacon-light of liberty to all the world, will repudiate its mild and lamblike professions of civil and religious liberty, and become a persecuting power.”²⁵ The revised version shifts the onus from the U.S. government itself to the “*ecclesiastical development* dealt with in this prophecy,” which, “obtaining a foothold for its initial power and influence in the government of the United States, will repudiate the mild and lamblike principles of civil and religious liberty, and become like the beast before it, a world-wide persecuting power.”²⁶

E. R. Palmer, general manager of the Review and Herald Publishing Association, explained to church leaders gathered for a Bible conference in the summer of 1919 that the changes were made in part due to an investigation of the book by the Department of Justice. Eight leaders of the International Bible Students (then often called Russellites, later known as Jehovah’s Witnesses) had recently been imprisoned for sedition because of their apocalyptic literature. Palmer reported that “the same men who were instrumental under the Government in putting the leaders of the Russellite movement in the penitentiary, came to our headquarters to see where we belonged, whether inside or out.” However, the purpose of giving “a little different slant to the subject,” Palmer maintained, was not “to sacrifice the truth at all in order to smooth our way with the Government.” Rather, the changes reflected the views of those “brethren” who believed that the prophecy must have a “greater scope,” extending beyond the United States.

Interpreting the second beast of Revelation 13 as an “ecclesiastical movement” or “apostate Protestantism” that would gain controlling political influence first in the United States and then become a “world-wide persecuting” power

thus had dual benefits. It both minimized the appearance of disloyalty during wartime and gave the prophecy greater global significance as Adventists continued to expand their worldwide missionary enterprise.²⁷ By no means, however, did everyone at the 1919 conference agree with the *Bible Readings* changes, and the church never explicitly or officially changed the standard interpretation of the nineteenth century.²⁸

Nonetheless, many Adventist interpreters in the subsequent three decades followed the basic outline of the *Bible Readings* revision. In a lengthy series of editorials in 1940 interpreting current events as “setting the stage” for the fulfillment of Revelation 13, Nichol referred to the two-horned beast as “apostate Protestantism in America, using the strength of government to do its bidding.”²⁹ John L. Shuler, a prominent evangelist, pointedly declared that the two-horned beast “is not the United States of America, merely as a civil power,” but “preeminently represents *protestantism* in its development in the United States of America.”³⁰

In portraying the two-horned beast as a corrupted American Protestantism that cloaks itself with civil power, Adventists placed culpability for engineering the nation’s impending turn to persecution almost entirely with *religious* forces that would gain control of the government, not with American political leadership or institutions. No longer was the civil or republican aspect of American life under question, as it had been when nineteenth-century Adventists had interpreted slavery and imperialism as signs of national apostasy.

Moreover, the coming persecution was more sharply dissociated from the present performance of the Republic, which was celebrated with less qualification than ever before. Storm clouds never disappeared from the skies of America’s destiny, but now they seemed more distant and less threatening. Since the 1850s Adventists had seen in present circumstances signs of the oppressive power of evil forces already being brought to bear as the prelude to manifestations of much greater magnitude in the “final crisis.” But, particularly in the 1930s through the early 1970s, the balance shifted more toward the future. Though certain current trends were always cited as preparatory, America’s “speaking as a dragon” was placed firmly in the future. As cooperative, patriotic citizens, Adventists could not challenge the status quo with fierce apocalyptic language of this nature, and explanations were needed as to why something so implausible could be conceived for the future.

While keeping a concerned eye on Sunday laws and educational issues as possible violations of the First Amendment, as well as on Catholic power and ecumenism, Adventists in the middle decades of the twentieth century generally were hard put to find much truly central to American political life that compelled expectation about imminent loss of freedom. “Lamentable developments” regarding separation of church and state, while cause for concern and vigorous opposition, were merely “vague and shadowy” preludes to a future crisis.³¹ Revelation 13, then, shed light on the future but little light on national social and political issues of the present.

Perhaps the most unabashed celebrator of America among Adventist writers on prophecy during the mid-century decades was Leonard C. Lee, author of numerous evangelistic tracts and articles. Lee considered America's international enterprise to be divinely blessed. As had A. T. Jones and Percy Magan decades earlier, Lee saw in biblical prophecy parallels between the career of ancient Rome and the United States. Yet for him, the immediate significance of the parallel was nearly the opposite of the "national apostasy" denounced by Jones and Magan. Writing in the aftermath of World War II, Lee characterized the pax Americana not as the result of imperialistic corruption of the nation's values but as a providential paving of the way for the Second Advent, just as the pax Romana had prepared the way for the first. "Like the legions of Rome," he rejoiced, "our armies have landed on a hundred shores and taken American culture and American ideals to every country on earth." He saw export of American culture with the backing of military force as "day of opportunity" for Christians.

For Lee, the fulfillment of Revelation 13 was not so much unfolding in the present as it was a cloud over a somewhat distant future: "Under the influence of misguided religious zealots, our beloved country will one day become intolerant." Meanwhile, he commented, America remained "conceivably the nearest approach to that eternal country" of heaven.³²

Adventists adhered to the main lines of the schematic for history bequeathed to them by their nineteenth-century forebears, but its immediate political relevance altered. Regarding the nation, it became less an impetus for criticizing and taking a forthright stand against political and religious oppression in the present and more the basis for a forecast about the future. The commitment to liberty remained strong but somewhat less a challenge to the status quo. America remained a dragon in disguise, its authority relativized, but less sharply so and on a narrower range of issues.

Significant as the changes were, it is just as significant that in retaining and amplifying their theology of history, Adventists kept their distance from religious nationalism and kept minority religious rights at the top of their agenda. If they embraced the American beast more snugly, they remained on the alert to push it away, still expecting an attempt to smother them.

From Noncombatants to Conscientious Cooperators

The pull and the push in relation to America can be seen in a changing attitude toward military service. During the Civil War Adventists had based their noncombatancy on scriptural pacifism. They were, they declared in 1865, "compelled to decline all participation in acts of war and bloodshed as being inconsistent with the duties enjoined upon us by our divine Master toward our enemies and all mankind." In the same statement, however, they pledged that

they would “cheerfully render to Caesar the things which Scripture shows to be his.”³³ In that spirit, James White and John Preston Kellogg had participated on a Battle Creek committee for raising bonus money for Union army volunteers.³⁴ The Adventist founders’ encounter with the Civil War thus established a legacy combining a scriptural pacifism with a commitment to cooperating with government to the furthest extent possible, both as a matter of expedience for the church and as acceptance of the rightness of the government’s cause.

During the Spanish-American and Filipino-American Wars, as discussed in chapter 3, the pacifist element of the Adventist tradition was dominant. A *Review* editorial denounced the “spirit of militarism” being fostered “right with the bosom” of American churches and the companies of “Christian cadets” being trained for action under church auspices.³⁵ Church leaders called on the church to adhere to a pacifist ethic.³⁶ A. T. Jones, then editor of the *Review*, maintained that “Christian love demands that its possessor shall not make war at all. ‘Put up thy sword,’ is the word of the Author of Christianity, the embodiment of Christian love.”³⁷

Also during this period, when “patriotism, imperialism, and the religion of American Protestantism” stood in more “fervent coalescence than ever before,”³⁸ Adventist writers frequently objected to the mingling of nationalistic patriotism with Christianity. The Christian’s citizenship is in heaven, they said, and thus “Christian patriotism” could only mean loyalty to the heavenly kingdom, not any earthly nation.³⁹

In responding to subsequent American wars of the twentieth century, Adventist leaders changed course entirely, uplifting and making central other aspects of the precedents set by their founders during the Civil War. They came to make a sharp distinction between their form of noncombatancy and pacifist renunciation of participation of war in general. Far from denouncing “Christian patriotism” as a contradiction in terms, they stressed civic obligation as a Christian duty, which they wished to fulfill during wartime by being “conscientious cooperators.”

World War I confronted Adventists with experiential problems not raised by the Spanish-American War. They faced military conscription for the first time and, despite the precedents from the Civil War, still lacked a position in regard to military service that was clearly defined and widely understood and recognized by either the government or the church membership. Also, they encountered a massive government effort to mobilize the nation’s entire economy for the all-out war effort and to persuade the populace that the war was a righteous crusade to “make the world safe for democracy.” All citizens were urged, in an extensive promotional campaign, to buy “liberty bonds” to help finance the war.⁴⁰

Church leaders grappled with the new situation at their spring council, held in Huntsville, Alabama, a week following the United States’ declaration of war in April 1917. According to a church official interviewed in 1970, a “heated debate” took place at the Huntsville meeting in which those favoring noncombatant mili-

tary service prevailed over those favoring “a more pacifistic stance.” No record of the substance of the debate remains. In the statement finally agreed upon at the council, the Adventists affirmed their loyalty to the government and petitioned that “we be required to serve our country only in such capacity as will not violate our conscientious obedience to the law of God as contained in the decalogue, interpreted in the teachings of Christ, and exemplified in His life.”⁴¹

The statement in itself is not precise about application of the demands of obedience to God’s law as interpreted by Christ, but Adventists found the exemptions in the selective service law soon passed to contain adequate provision for their adherence to conscience. The law exempted from combat members of religious groups with principles forbidding participation in war but required them to accept service declared by the president to be noncombatant.⁴² While holding strongly to their refusal to bear arms, Adventists were willing, even eager, to accept other roles defined for them by the government in its effort to mobilize the entire citizenry in support of the total war effort. They were, said Francis M. Wilcox, “seeking to assist the government in every way possible, aside from the work of actually bearing arms.”⁴³

Adventists believed that this approach enabled them to meet the responsibilities of dual citizenship in the nation and the kingdom of God. Resolutions adopted by church leaders in July 1918 made clear that they regarded service in both realms a matter of *religious* duty: “While ever in our history we have been of noncombatant principles by religious conviction, we believe equally, by the same religious conviction, that we should render to our government the lines of noncombatant service as defined by the President in his declaration of March 20, 1918.” Twenty years earlier Adventist writers had warned against identifying Christian loyalty with nationalism and the nation’s imperialistic military causes. Now, in the crusade to make the world safe for democracy, church leaders declared enthusiastic support for the war effort, in any way designated by the president other than combat, to be the outgrowth of religious conviction. They urged members to purchase liberty bonds, contribute to the Red Cross, and support the government’s program of conservation and economy in use of resources, in addition to performing noncombatant military service if called upon.⁴⁴

The church also began to take steps to provide its young men with training in basic nursing skills prior to induction so that they would both be enabled to serve more effectively and more likely be assigned a medical role. Two Institutes of War-time Nursing were established, one at the denomination’s Washington Sanitarium and the other at the College of Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda, California.⁴⁵

The accommodation reached between church leaders and government policy with apparent ease was worked out in actual experience only with considerable difficulty and conflict. Adventist young men still had to face local draft boards and training camp officers unfamiliar with either Adventists or government exemptions

for noncombatants. Many faced harassment, beatings, court-martial, and imprisonment for adhering to their convictions.⁴⁶

Despite these difficulties, World War I would prove to be the watershed in the Adventist relationship to the military in the twentieth century. The policy of encouraging noncombatancy along with willing support of war in ways other than combat became dominant, almost completely obliterating the pacifist dimension of the Adventist heritage. The arrangement that would prevail between Adventists and government was, in its essence, established. Adventists would insist upon not bearing arms or violating the Sabbath but also limit the requirements of loyalty to God during wartime to these stipulations, which freed them to serve enthusiastically, and even out of religious conviction, in other ways. The government, at some inconvenience, would accommodate Adventists' scruples but also utilize and affirm their distinctive form of service.

The problems Adventists experienced in World War I also prompted efforts during the 1920s and 1930s to be better prepared for the next war. Not all, however, were convinced the direction taken during World War I was the right one. Some pastors shared in the pacifism that, in large part as a reaction to the crusading militarism shown by the churches during the Great War, was widespread among American religious leaders during the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁷ In the early 1930s, while some Christian students were resisting compulsory ROTC training at public universities,⁴⁸ pressure for rethinking and clarifying the church's position also came from Adventist college students. One General Conference officer noted in 1934 that the question of noncombatancy is "a very acute one with our young people," adding that "they feel we do not have a very clear answer to give to the questions that arise regarding this fundamental doctrine of ours."⁴⁹

The renewed attention to the problem of military service, however, did not lead to a shift toward pacifism but a continuation of the course taken during World War I, along with a sharpening of the contrast between this style of noncombatancy and pacifism or general conscientious objection. In May 1934, the General Conference Committee approved a pamphlet by J. P. Neff, *Our Youth in Time of War*, to guide young people in preparing for the possibility of military service. Adventist youth, said Neff, "should be patriotic, ready to serve their country's welfare at personal sacrifice." In addition to providing instructions for eager, patriotic, alternative military service, Neff criticized pacifists as advocates of "peace at any price," conscientious objectors for refusing all forms of military service, and "antimilitarists" for their disrespect shown to "our uniforms and flag." Adventists more inclined toward pacifism protested these attacks, but Neff's approach and spirit prevailed.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, moves were underway to revive a program of preinduction training that would provide Adventist draftees with practical preparation for noncombatant service. With world tensions increasing in the mid-1930s, veterans of World War I were concerned that the difficulties Adventist young men

had experienced in that war not be repeated, should another one break out. Everett N. Dick, a historian at Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska, who initiated at Union what later became known as the Medical Cadet Corps (MCC), wrote that the purpose of the program was to give the Adventist recruit an orientation enabling him “to fit into a place where he could serve God and his country conscientiously.” In 1935 the General Conference recommended that all Adventist colleges and secondary schools provide the sort of medical cadet training that had been instituted at Union College, and after the war began in Europe in 1939 the program spread rapidly.

Implemented in close consultation with military authorities, the MCC curriculum was comprised of instruction in military drill and procedures and a medical component, including anatomy and physiology and emergency nursing. Acceptance with government authorities was cultivated; a representative of the surgeon general of the army spoke at an MCC graduation in Washington, D.C., in 1940, and MCC units manned first-aid stations along the route of the inaugural parade in 1941.⁵¹

Once the war came, Adventists were as convinced as most Americans about the rightness of their nation’s cause in resisting the aggression of ultranationalist dictatorships. Thus they depicted their noncombatant service not as a means of staying aloof from the conflicts between earthly nations but as conscientious cooperation in the defense of freedom.

When the Selective Service Act was passed in September 1940, those refusing to bear arms were classified as “conscientious objectors.” Carlyle B. Haynes, head of the National Service Commission (the organization’s name was returned to War Service Commission after the United States entered the war), took pains to show that despite this classification, the Adventist position was quite different from other forms of conscientious objection. Picking up J. P. Neff’s line of argument, Haynes wanted “a well-defined separation drawn between ourselves and war resisters, pacifists, conscientious objectors to war, and all others who refuse service to their country.” As “noncombatants,” he declared “we do not oppose war, we do not agitate against war, we do not organize against war, we make no protest against war, we are not unwilling to serve in the military organization when drafted, we are not opposed to saluting the flag, and we are not opposed to wearing our country’s uniform.”⁵²

In 1941 Adventists began using the “conscientious cooperator” phrase provided by the Fort Worth news reporter as a more descriptive and revealing label for their position and attitude than simply “noncombatant.” Haynes noted appreciatively that the Fort Worth story, and other stories, some of which were picked by the major national news agencies, highlighted the church’s distinctive approach. Adventists, while “adhering to their conviction against taking human life,” had come up with a unique solution to the conflict with the state’s

demands, and were “emphasizing cooperation with the government” rather than objecting to the call to national service.⁵³

Adventists were able to arrive at their unique solution by viewing the ethical problems raised by war in strictly individualistic terms. As Haynes put it, “Christian noncombatancy concerns itself only with the individual’s accountability and relationship to God.” Adventists refused to take responsibility for the corporate policies or actions of the state, thus participation in the “military establishment” posed no problem so long as the acts that they performed within that establishment were in themselves ethically proper.⁵⁴ “We do not sit in judgment upon the rulers of the nation in this matter of declaring war,” wrote Nichol. He argued that the Bible enjoins upon Christians a duty to the state and that war making was a function of the state, implying that Christians have a duty to the state in the execution of that function. Thus the Adventist position limited the authority of the state with a trenchant refusal to obey commands to perform the specific acts of killing and Sabbath breaking, but contained virtually no norms limiting the state’s claim on Christian civic obligation to support its general functions, including warfare. For Nichol, the question was not, How can we bear witness against war and avoid complicity in making it? Rather, it was, in view of the conviction against taking human life, “How then shall we make a direct contribution to the state in relation to the armed forces?”⁵⁵

For Adventists, then, the course of adhering to God’s commandments was not a course of seeking neutrality in international struggle, nor did they view their contribution to the war effort as a matter of grim necessity. Instead, they celebrated and advertised the ways in which their particular approach benefited the nation in prosecuting the war. Nichol, in his role as the denomination’s foremost apologist, issued a booklet in 1943 entitled *The Wartime Contribution of Seventh-day Adventists*, in which he argued that Adventists, not just through the MCC but also through their entire way of life, helped to strengthen the nation for war. Because of their high ethical standards and commitment to healthful living, he maintained, they strengthen the moral and physical health of the nation. He pictured Adventists as foremost defenders of the Four Freedoms: they were activists on behalf of freedom of speech and worship, and their spiritual message offered freedom from want because it addressed the causes of economic woes in human avarice, and freedom from fear through trust in Christ. By virtue of their noncombatancy, he further argued, Adventists could take the lead in bringing about reconciliation between former enemies after the war. Apparently he did not regard enthusiastic participation in the military an obstacle to this function. The Christianizing and civilizing impact of Adventist overseas mission work, he further suggested, could have the particular military utility of making natives helpful to downed aviators.⁵⁶

The MCC, was of course, the most obvious way in which Adventists were proving their love of country during the war, “so that none might have just cause for doubting our patriotism.”⁵⁷ Moreover, such service, Nichol and other Adventist

writers argued, demonstrated bravery as well, for Adventist medics faced the most dangerous battle situations.⁵⁸ Desmond T. Doss, with his bravery in winning the first Congressional Medal of Honor awarded to a noncombatant in 1945, would provide convincing support for that point.⁵⁹

Another side of the apologia by Nichol and the others must also be recognized. In trying to show that they were loyal, productive citizens during wartime, Adventists were not claiming that they deserved respect because they were just like everyone else. Rather, they were arguing that it was by virtue of holding to a way of life that differed from the majority that they were able to make a distinctive and valuable contribution to the national good. The distance from the national ethos that their convictions created led them to ask for special treatment, but it was also that distance that enabled them to make a positive impact.

At the same time, however, Adventists were jeopardizing that productive distance by placing only individual acts, and not the military itself, within the scope of their distinctive moral perspective. They had always been patriotic, affirming the greatness of America's civil and religious liberties, but in the nineteenth century their patriotism had been critical in that it sought to hold the Republic to its stated principles. Now, however, having found a niche for conscientious military service, Adventists at mid-twentieth century were moving toward full embrace of the military and its role in defending national interests. In this respect, they were tending toward a relatively uncritical Americanism that assumed the rectitude of national military policy and even discouraged opposition to it.⁶⁰

Adventists' insistence on freedom for individual observance of the Ten Commandments as they interpreted them contributed to a broadening of the scope allowed to conscience by the government in regard to military service. It was, for example, the case of a Canadian Adventist, James Girouard, that led, in 1946, to the reversal of the controversial 1931 *MacIntosh* decision by the Supreme Court. No longer would naturalization be denied conscientious objectors. Yet in winning the freedom to serve only within the bounds of their consciences, Adventists embraced the rationale given by Justice Douglas for the ruling in the *Girouard* case: refusal to carry a rifle did not mean their contribution to the total war effort was not patriotic and essential:

The bearing of arms, important as it is, is not the only way in which our institutions may be supported and defended, even in times of great peril. Total war in its modern form dramatizes as never before the great cooperative effort necessary for victory. The nuclear physicists who developed the atomic bomb, the worker at his lathe, the seaman on cargo vessels, construction battalions, nurses, engineers, litter bearers, doctors, chaplains—these, too, made essential contributions. . . . The

effort of war is indivisible; and those whose religious scruples prevent them from killing are no less patriots than those whose special traits or handicaps result in their assignment to duties behind the fighting front.⁶¹

As conscientious cooperators, Adventists succeeded in drawing boundaries around how they would serve and in gaining state recognition of their right to do so, but they could not and generally did not wish to escape from thorough identification with the nation's military goals.

Cautious Conservatives

The positions taken by thought leaders in the church on public issues in many respects reflected the increasing commitment to being cooperative citizens. They were much less inclined to speak out against injustice and oppression in the public realm than their nineteenth-century counterparts, tending to affirm the status quo with a cautious conservatism. The focus of Adventist piety became more narrowly individualistic. On the other hand, even in this period Adventists did not entirely give up the effort to make a public impact for the good. Although much of this effort was in the realm of humanitarian outreach, some of it took the form of political activism, particularly for Prohibition and religious liberty.

The political patterns prevailing among premillennialists in the conservative wing of Protestantism may be taken as a point of reference in looking at Adventism. George Marsden has described how a large segment of evangelicals early in the twentieth century held premillennialism, with its apolitical logic, in tension with the tradition of nineteenth-century revivalism that included social reform.⁶² During the 1920s premillennialists were a large and powerful segment of the fundamentalist coalition that took up the political battle against the teaching of evolution in public schools. That effort was part of a general crusade to save American civilization from the destructive effects of unbelief that threatened to open the way for Bolshevism. However, writes Robert Lindner, failure in that battle and the discrediting of fundamentalism on a nationwide scale that resulted from coverage of the Scopes trial in 1925 disillusioned fundamentalists about social and political activism. Increasingly, they identified involvement in social reform with the social gospel, which they, in turn, identified with the very theological modernism that was undermining civilization. In what has been called the "Great Reversal,"⁶³ evangelicals largely turned away from their heritage of social reform. Between 1930 and 1960 they stressed the apolitical, individualistic dimension of their heritage.

At the same time, however, they allied, in varying degrees of enthusiasm, with political conservatism, big business, and anticommunism.⁶⁴ Preachers such as J. Frank Norris and Gerald Winrod, and later Carl McIntire and Billy James

Hargis, represent the radical right wing of premillennialism during this period. They were virulent reactionaries who wanted to purge the nation of leftist influences while at the same time calling believers to sharp separation both from the world and from compromising Christians.

More moderate premillennialists, such as Billy Graham, were represented by the National Association of Evangelicals—formed in 1942 as an alternative to both the liberal Federal Council of Churches (FCC) and extreme fundamentalism—and by the magazine *Christianity Today*, founded under Graham's leadership in 1956. They developed a more congenial relationship with other Christians and the culture in general but were politically conservative and firmly anticommunist. They stressed eradication of individual sin and an imminent Second Coming instead of social reform. At the same time, though, they sought a revival of godly influence in public life to save the nation from communism, connecting a revival of Christianity with American capitalism and military power.⁶⁵

The political profile of Adventism from the 1920s to 1960s in many ways parallels this general picture of premillennialism, though important differences will also become apparent. We have seen how the Adventist tradition that developed in the nineteenth century contained both an individualistic separatism that resisted political entanglement and a reform impulse that prompted action toward restraint or amelioration of evil in society. In appropriating this dual heritage, Adventists from the 1920s to the 1960s, as did their fellow premillennialists, tilted the balance toward the separatist side. Adventists had always seen their major task as preparing individuals for the Second Advent. Their action in the public arena was always adjunctive to that mission. But something changed. After the repeal of the Prohibition amendment, Adventist attention to political issues, other than in regard to religious liberty, was indeed minimal, at least until the 1960s. The reform dimension of the Adventist heritage was obscured, and in the minds of many disengagement from public life became identified with the Adventist way. The look at Adventist attitudes toward political action for social justice, welfare, and peace that follows shows a general tendency toward quiet, cautious conservatism, though the picture is complicated by persisting elements of social concern.

Social Justice and Welfare

Into the 1930s at least, Adventists maintained some forms of action for social justice and welfare. On occasion they even applied the term “social gospel” to aspects of their work, and in the cause of Prohibition, this activism continued to have a political dimension. By the 1950s, however, there seems to be little such involvement as Adventists increasingly associated church-based efforts for social reform with the repressive potential of the major denominations in league with each other and with the expanding welfare state.

Writing in the midst of the Depression, Francis D. Nichol argued *for* the necessity of a social dimension to Adventist outreach. Particularly in view of the demands of the growing indigent class, he wrote, the church must “give some evidence of really being materially interested in the welfare of the masses.”⁶⁶ He warned that involvement in aspects of what was commonly called the social gospel might lead Adventists to violate their position on the separation of church and state. But health and temperance education and medical welfare work, he wrote, “provide a range of proper social-gospel activity for us, which instead of taking the vitality out of our evangelical preaching, gives new vitality to it.”⁶⁷ Nichol’s overarching concern was the evangelical mission of the church; social ministry would demonstrate the church’s concern, break down prejudice, and thus help attract new members. His comments nevertheless reflect a concern that the Adventist mission to the world continue to be holistic and thus include the social and material dimensions of life.

In 1941 Frederick Lee, another *Review* associate editor, responded to the charge that belief “in the sudden and complete termination of earthly history as we know it today” leads to passivity regarding the ills of present society. He argued that “Seventh-day Adventists believe in the social gospel” as demonstrated by their endeavors in the fields of health and liberty: “While we know that the world is soon to pass away and there is little we can do to bring about great and lasting changes for good, yet we must be ready to support every effort to relieve the oppressed, to bring liberty to those who are bound, to relieve physical suffering.”⁶⁸

During the Depression, Adventist social ministry included “penny-a-dish” restaurants and soup kitchens, conducted by the church’s local “welfare societies.” In 1932 these establishments were feeding about three thousand people a day in twenty-four cities throughout the nation. Some also provided temporary work for the unemployed.⁶⁹

The cause of Prohibition continued to galvanize Adventists for social action in this era—first in resisting repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and then, after the repeal, advocacy on the state and local levels. Tension between the separationist and reform aspects of their tradition can be seen in the reflections of Adventist leaders on this issue, but here they indeed used political means, in a vigorous way, on behalf of a moral cause. In view of their adamant opposition to coercive religious legislation, they could only justify the church’s organized support for Prohibition on the grounds that it was a measure crucial to the welfare of society, not imposition of a particular religious standard of behavior. Thus the American Temperance Society of Seventh-day Adventists petitioned Congress in 1932 to maintain Prohibition on the basis of “humanity, social justice, and the general welfare.”⁷⁰ Adventist action in connection with the 1928 and 1932 presidential elections indicates that although some of the church’s spokespersons disputed any suggestion that the church was involved in politics, the membership was nevertheless mobilized on a large scale for political action in behalf of a cause for social justice.

Editorials by *Review* editor Francis Wilcox during the 1928 presidential campaign between Herbert Hoover and Al Smith graphically demonstrate the Adventist struggle to reconcile the separationist and social reform strands of their heritage. Ellen White had seemed to give authoritative support to both strands. She had instructed believers to both avoid politics and take political action when moral issues were at stake, particularly on behalf of Prohibition, the supreme social reform measure. Facing an election in which Prohibition was a central issue, Wilcox first leaned to the separatist side. His editorial of 13 September declared that the church must keep aloof from politics and that the “Seventh-day Adventist church does not seek to dictate to its members as to how they shall vote or whether they shall vote at all.” On the other hand, he reminded readers, Ellen White had exhorted temperance advocates to “exert their influence by precept and example—by voice and pen and vote—in favor of . . . total abstinence.” Somewhat surprisingly and without any stated rationale, he declared that “this instruction is not mandatory” and that voting decisions must be left up to individual choice.⁷¹

Two weeks later, however, Wilcox addressed the issue again, acknowledging the apparent contradiction between Ellen White’s counsel to “bury political questions” and yet to speak out and vote for temperance. He suggested that the way to harmonize the “divine revelation” given through White was to see Prohibition as a great issue of “virtue and right” that transcended politics. The believer could “quietly” cast his vote on the side of Prohibition, exercising the franchise in such a way that placed “principles above men” and recognized “questions of right above allegiance to any party,” thus keeping his heart “free from the spirit of partisan politics.” The admonition by Ellen White that he had previously characterized as “not mandatory” was printed in large type on the front cover of the magazine.⁷²

Meanwhile, in the months just prior to the election, Adventists were circulating large quantities of special Prohibition issues of their evangelistic magazines *Signs of the Times* and *Present Truth*.⁷³ Advertising for the *Signs* special issue denied that it was intended as a “political instrument” but described the presidential election as a “national referendum” on the “biggest question before the American people” and urged that a copy be placed in every American home before 6 November.⁷⁴ *Signs* coeditor Alonzo Baker, more frankly than Wilcox, acknowledged that support for Prohibition necessitated political action. He declared the Christian duty-bound to “use a party as the channel for his vote” on this matter, observing that “there are times when moral questions arise which inevitably become involved politically.”⁷⁵

Similar actions were taken during the next presidential election campaign. The American Temperance Society of Seventh-day Adventists was reorganized and “carried forward a vigorous campaign during the summer and fall of 1932 in defense of . . . national prohibition,” circulating millions of copies of magazines, booklets, and stickers.⁷⁶ Adventists may have cast their votes quietly, but they were vocal about what they saw as the key issue in these election years.

Why, then, did Adventists in the middle decades of the twentieth century not apply the principle of nonpartisan political action in support of moral causes to issues other than Prohibition? Why did Nichol seem almost relieved by the repeal of Prohibition, commenting that Adventists were now free to reconstruct their temperance program to stress education and individual transformation, endeavors that “conform more closely to the distinctive pattern of the advent movement” than working for legislation?⁷⁷ Rather than find new outlets for the reform impulse in their heritage after the failure of Prohibition, Adventists turned away from political involvement for social justice.

One reason for this shift is that *the separatist conception of the church's relationship to society held by Adventists intensified in reaction to ecumenism and the social gospel*. Social reform became identified with the Adventist nightmare of concerted ecclesiastical action to exert political power. Reforms that could be advocated by Christians on the same grounds that Adventists worked for Prohibition became tainted by their association with what Adventists perceived to be the machinery for a corrupt union of church and state and ultimate repression of religious freedom. As a result, Adventists avoided the political dimension of moral causes more thoroughly than ever. The issue was not simply the priority of rescuing individuals out of a wrecked world, but the proper role of the church in helping to keep the wreckage temporarily afloat.

The Adventist image of churchly involvement in politics was to a large extent shaped by the encounter with the National Reform Association in the late nineteenth century. Adventists viewed the association's endeavors for a religious amendment and Sunday laws as improper use of political, coercive means to impose particular religious beliefs. When Adventists thought of church-based political action in the *twentieth century*, they recalled the style of the NRA, which seemed threatening to minority rights, even after the influence of this organization had long since subsided. Thus C. S. Longacre's pamphlet *The Church in Politics* (1927) was not about church support for economic and democratic reforms or disarmament but about Sunday laws as the most dangerous instance of clerical use of political machinery to promote church interests. Such “clerical politics” wrote Longacre, “has always wrought corruption in the church, mischief in the government, intolerance toward dissenters, and persecution of nonconformists.”⁷⁸

Sunday laws could be advocated (or disguised, from the Adventists viewpoint) as civil and economic measures, however. The Federal Council of Churches' inclusion of Sunday legislation in its social reform program in 1908 made it easy for Adventists to transfer their antipathy for the NRA to the FCC, the latter suspect anyway as a step toward a religious monopoly that could suppress dissent. Leon Smith declared the FCC to be a “gigantic federation” capable of “wielding a power which neither legislatures nor Congress can withstand, and which no political party would dare oppose.” Its support for Sunday laws, along with rejection of a resolu-

tion pledging not to support laws interfering with the convictions of Seventh Day Baptists (who were members of the FCC), demonstrated that it was “intolerant in character” and “fitted to become a mighty instrument of oppression against the religious minority who may venture to act independently of its authority.”⁷⁹

Despite the large substantive differences between the programs of the NRA and the FCC, and the fact that they had no quarrel with much of the FCC’s social program,⁸⁰ Adventists believed that the cooperative movement of progressive Protestantism shared the same fundamental flaw as the more conservative NRA: both movements linked governmental measures with the establishment or advance of the kingdom of God, threatening a coercive and oppressive use of state power to accomplish religious goals. For decades following the formation of the FCC, Adventists associated the entire social agenda of progressive Protestantism, including those aspects they regarded as commendable, with a misdirected and dangerous endeavor to bring on the millennium through political means—a recrudescence of the drive toward the apocalyptic union of false religion and nationalism that their forebears had seen in the NRA. A cartoon appearing in *Liberty* in 1919 made the connection between the NRA and FCC graphic. It depicts both organizations firing torpedoes at the American ship of state, the NRA’s labeled “National Compulsory Religion” and the FCC’s labeled “Enforced Sunday Rest Laws.”

Nichol commented in 1935 that however laudable such goals as slum eradication, shorter working hours, and world peace, Adventists “do not belong to that large group of religionists who think of moral betterment chiefly in terms of the legislation that can be enacted. That is the philosophy of the National Reformers, for example, who sincerely, though misguidedly, strive to bring in the kingdom of God through the gateway of politics.”⁸¹ He noted that there was a difference between the NRA, which was “a fervent by-product of a certain type of conservative religion,” and the liberals now at the forefront of efforts to reform the present world order. “The steps in the reasoning that prompts these two groups to their decisions are quite different,” he observed, but “the result, for all practical purposes, is the same.” The program of the liberal churches thus presented “a new crisis in the relation of civil and religious powers.”⁸²

With the most prominent advocates of social justice connected with what was perceived as an ominous movement for federated church action to establish the kingdom by force, Adventists reacted by trying to sever the mission of the church from sociopolitical causes more decisively than ever. Carlyle B. Haynes expressed the reaction forcefully in commenting on cooperative church plans to help shape the peace after World War II and promote racial harmony: “It cannot be said too often or too strongly that the Christian Church has no commission to educate the world, to reform the world, to civilize the world, to govern the world.”⁸³

Concern about the church’s distinctive mission and identity was a second

factor in Adventism's turn away from political involvement for social causes. Adventists viewed the church as indeed the vehicle for ushering in a transformed world, but it was to do so by calling individuals into a separate community prepared for divine intervention rather than through human political structures. Adventists could not afford to place high priority on social causes, even ones toward which they were favorable, and thus be distracted from their mission of preparing the world for the Second Coming. Commenting on an interfaith conference in 1941, Nichol maintained that Adventists are not apathetic toward endeavors to improve the world but believe that they have "a better program for ushering in a world of tomorrow that will be worth living in."⁸⁴

Implicit in these concerns about the church's distinctive mission was the issue of Adventist identity. From this perspective, federated Protestant social action was threatening precisely because its idealistic goals were so alluring. In a report on the National Council of Churches (NCC) General Assembly in 1963, Nichol wrote that "the argument in behalf of endless crusades for social betterment are so excessively persuasive that they can almost deceive the very elect." Such ecumenical crusades constituted "one of the dangers facing the Advent movement today" because involvement in them could cause Adventists to lose their sense of being called to a different task, to proclaim the Second Coming in way that "Christendom in general" was neglecting.⁸⁵ If Adventists were to join the social reform efforts now dominant in "most Christian bodies," he warned two years later, they would be "swallowed up" in the process.⁸⁶

In order to maintain their distinctive mission of proclaiming the apocalyptic gospel, Adventists made the unity, vitality, and welfare of the church as the vehicle of that proclamation a higher priority than worldly political involvements. Stands, therefore, on controversial social issues that could divide the church, narrow its appeal on the basis of race, nationality, or political persuasion, or unnecessarily provoke antagonism against it had to be avoided. As ambassadors of heaven to all people, they must not allow class, party, or racial divisiveness to alienate those they might reach.⁸⁷

It was in giving priority to its "spiritual task" as an international movement, declared Nichol in 1962, that the church could "best serve God and the cause of justice and peace."⁸⁸ But while admonitions to avoid political controversy that could fracture unity were sometimes based on an inclusive conception of the church, Adventists, in this period, failed to give major emphasis to the corporate nature of the church as an international community modeling the social ideals of peace and justice. The church's function was expressed primarily in terms of transforming individual lives. *A more exclusively individualistic style of piety* was a third factor in the shift away from political action for social causes.

This individualism was nothing new. Adventists had long stressed individual sanctification as the process for restoring the divine image in human lives.⁸⁹ We

have seen that the concept of individual rights was central to their theology of history and political philosophy. In the nineteenth century, however, Adventists often were attuned to the societal dimension of sin, denouncing slavery, alcohol's debilitating impact on the public realm, and American imperialism. From the 1930s to the 1960s, however, Adventists discussed sin and piety in almost exclusively individualistic terms.

In a series of editorials in 1934, Nichol discussed what he viewed as the most important issues in maintaining "separation from the world": marriage with unbelievers, business partnerships, dress, diet, social relations and pleasures, reading, and education.⁹⁰ For Adventists, the process of individual sanctification essential to those preparing for the Second Advent largely focused on resisting sin in these or closely related areas. Racism, economic injustice, and militarism, though no doubt acknowledged as evil by many, were rarely discussed as sins to be overcome or points at which the Christian must be separate from the world. To a significantly greater extent than in the nineteenth century, Adventists in the 1930s to 1960s placed social issues outside the sphere of Christian piety.

The growth of the welfare state was in itself a fourth factor in Adventists' deepening aversion to religious activism in the public arena. Since the Progressive era, Adventist writers had often expressed commendation for social reform legislation.⁹¹ But when the New Deal drastically expanded the role of the federal government in the nation's economic life with comprehensive programs for social justice, welfare, and public works, a reaction against big government borne out of the individualism Adventists deeply cherished overshadowed lingering sympathies for social reform. Increased government control over individual lives seemed a likely avenue for the final oppression Adventists expected. Some Adventist voices sounded similar to those of ultraconservative premillennialists who saw communist inspiration and apocalyptic conspiracy in the New Deal.⁹² Yet for Adventists the central concern was not international communism but continued to be the expected international conspiracy to enforce false religion, that might utilize the enhanced role of the American government.

Liberty editor C. S. Longacre expressed alarm about New Deal programs undermining economic individualism. In 1941 he lamented that Americans no longer seemed to value individual initiative, thrift, and hard work. Making no reference to the harsh economic realities of the Depression, he decried the fact that eighteen million Americans now depended on the government, whereas formerly only the disabled, widows, and orphans had relied on the state for support. He attributed most poverty to lack of initiative, frugality, and economy, and lambasted the new class of "everlasting leaners" who thought the world owed them a living. For Longacre, economic individualism, civil liberty, and religious liberty were all bound together. Paternalistic New Deal measures that made people dependent on the state and created bureaucracies to restrict, regulate,

and regiment economic life were crushing America's precious liberties. As to how economic recovery and justice might be realized, Longacre had almost nothing to say; his concern was to stop the advancing government encroachment over individual lives.⁹³

In an exposition on the United States in biblical prophecy published 1947, Carlyle B. Haynes declared that the creation of a "superstate," a welfare state designed to resolve social problems in a comprehensive way, threatened the American way of life. Freedom from want and fear, half of the "four freedoms" expressed by FDR were "totalitarian" in Haynes's view, if the government undertook to provide them.⁹⁴

Frederick Lee, the *Review* associate editor who had spoken of an Adventist "social gospel" in 1941, asserted in 1945 that phrases such as "planned economy," "general welfare," "full employment," and "social security" all "express a revolutionary concept of government that directly threaten man's vital liberties."⁹⁵

Other Adventist writers, on the other hand, were more alert to the possibility that failure to enact economic change could be an even greater threat to liberty. For example, Alonzo Baker, an Adventist college professor and editor in California who was the Republican nominee in an unsuccessful bid for a congressional seat in 1936, spoke in favor of social legislation to alleviate the distress of poverty in the 1930s. The masses should not be led to believe that "a man-made Utopia is just around the corner," he wrote, but believers in the Second Coming should vigorously apply the "first aid" of social betterment while waiting for the full recovery that only the "Great Physician" can bring upon his return.⁹⁶

In general, though, Adventists tended toward a conservative position on the role of government in the economy and society. Though some argued for the necessity of an expanded role, the predominant view remained that the government's primary responsibility was to protect individual liberty, and that a welfare state or "superstate" endangered that liberty. Concerns about America's expected apocalyptic role intensified the Adventist reaction against the trend toward a "superstate" as the means for creating a more just and compassionate society in the 1930s and thereafter, and that reaction could only have contributed to Adventists' increasing tendency to sever a large segment of public life from the realm of faith.

International Peace

Issues of peace and war further highlight the shift away from activism in the public arena during this period. During the 1920s and 1930s Adventist leaders were sometimes quite forthright in urging armaments reduction and denouncing militarism. During these decades many Protestant leaders embraced pacifism, in part out of remorse for the zeal the churches had shown in turning the Great War into a righteous crusade.⁹⁷ A new level of idealism was also at work among world

diplomats, as seen in Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the multinational treaty to outlaw war. To a certain extent, Adventist leaders shared in the widespread reaction against militarism, though, as one would expect, they cautioned against expectations that lasting world peace could be realized prior to the Second Coming.

The Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament convened by the Harding administration in 1921 elicited considerable and largely favorable comment from Adventists. From their annual council in Minneapolis, the church's leaders sent an address to the president, praising him for holding the conference and pronouncing that Adventists "strongly favor a limitation of armaments." They declared that they were "forced to this view by the very logic of our belief in Him who is the Prince of Peace, and of our experience as subjects of His kingdom." The address balanced realism about the elimination of war as long as human beings are sinful with hope that change for the better is possible:

We are well aware that as war springs from the selfishness of men, the perfect ideal of abiding peace can never be realized in this present world. . . . But while we may not hope to realize the full fruition of our strivings, the mitigation of the evils of war in any measure is well worth the effort, and should have the consistent support of every lover of peace.

We are therefore encouraging our people devoutly to pray . . . for the guidance of those assembled . . . and that the vast sums spent for armaments of war may be devoted to the amelioration of human woe and the advancement of peaceful pursuits.⁹⁸

On this issue, Adventists did not shy away from acting "in common with other religious bodies."⁹⁹ Such cooperation was justified, Wilcox explained to *Review* readers, because peace would provide time and opportunity for the Adventist interpretation of the "everlasting gospel" to go to the world.¹⁰⁰ Here again is the paradoxical rationale underlying all Adventist advocacy of public causes: restraint of evil, delaying its final onslaught, for the sake of the church, that its mission of hastening the end might prosper.

This rationale also prevailed in the attitude of Adventist writers toward the League of Nations and the United Nations. One might expect Adventists to have been sympathetic with the views of those premillennialists who denounced the league and the UN for being "atheistic," part of a communist plot, and a prelude to the "one-world government" prophesied by Revelation 13.¹⁰¹ Such international bodies would seem a likely means for the fulfillment of the Adventist understanding of the way in which the "whole world" would "wonder after the beast" (Rev. 13:3). Yet although they sounded occasional warnings about the persecuting potential involved,¹⁰² Adventists on the whole provide a striking

contrast to the ultraconservative premillennialist denouncers of the league and the UN. These international organizations were not essential to the Adventist view of the future, particularly in the absence of evidence for an imminent world Sunday law through their instrumentalities. Thus, desire to encourage world peace and human rights overcame apocalyptic wariness, and Adventists never became a source of concerted opposition to the league or the UN. In fact both Wilcox and Longacre urged support for the league and President Wilson's peace program in early 1919, and in the 1950s *Liberty* supported efforts to make the UN a means for fostering international religious liberty.¹⁰³

Other than the mild support for the United Nations, however, there is little evidence after the 1930s that Adventists themselves gave the "consistent support" to efforts against the evils of war that they had called for in their address to President Harding in 1921. During the cold war, Adventist sources were almost completely silent about the propriety of American action in the nuclear armaments buildup or military involvements overseas. Adventists maintained their form of conscientious objection to bearing arms, but provided no public peace witness until the 1970s, acquiescing almost totally to the policies of the American government.

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The separationist element of the Adventist tradition, which encouraged avoidance of political controversy to facilitate concentration on preparing individual lives for the Second Coming, became dominant in the church from the 1930s to the 1960s, reinforced by a reaction against the sociopolitical initiatives of ecumenical Protestantism. The intent in pursuing this course was to maintain the independence and spiritual integrity of the church as a distinct community transcending divisions of political ideology, national identity, or economic class. At all costs, Adventists wanted to avoid a "Constantinian" link between the church and the coercive power of the state. Their resistance to direct church involvement in public affairs, other than on behalf of religious liberty, was part of that very effort to maintain a free society, and not simply due to preoccupation with the Second Advent.

Yet that course in some ways ran counter to the purpose of bearing a witness for freedom. It meant placing most aspects of societal and political life outside the scope of faith and making cooperation the overriding theme in the church's relationship to the state. In giving tacit affirmation to the status quo, Adventists formed a quiet but nonetheless real form of alliance with the prevailing political power.

Vigilance for Liberty

Although a turn toward quiet, cooperative conservatism in general characterized the church's experience in the five decades following World War I, a

striking divergence from that overall trend is seen in the zeal for religious liberty that continued to motivate Adventists, as conscientious believers, to intensive political action. They liked to quote Dwight L. Moody's characterization of the world as a doomed vessel from which to save individuals, but they in fact worked very hard to influence political arrangements in the society they believed to be irretrievably sinking into doom. Moreover, their most significant form of political involvement was not directed toward a particularly conservative viewpoint but toward a pluralistic vision of America, often bringing them into alliances with liberal organizations.

In the twentieth century, American Adventists were rarely confronted with imprisonment or even a national Sunday law such as proposed by Senator Blair in 1888. Yet the conviction, rooted in their theology of history, that liberty was certain to end someday made them quick to take alarm at the first experiments toward that expected outcome. All Sunday laws, no matter how secularized or softened with exemptions, any form of state support for religion through the public schools, any restriction on the free exercise of the most unpopular or unusual religious viewpoint, had to be opposed in order to stave off the inexorable force destined to crush freedom.

Historians of American religion have often described approximately the time frame examined in this chapter as an era of major shifts in the public power of American religious groups—"a transition from Protestant America to a pluralist America," in the words of William Hutchison.¹⁰⁴ During this time (the 1920s and 1930s, at least), writes Martin Marty, there was "a climactic struggle over the role of the once imperial Protestantism."¹⁰⁵ Robert Handy refers to a "second disestablishment" beginning in the 1920s in which Protestantism was displaced as "the primary definer of cultural values and behavior patterns in the nation."¹⁰⁶

Adventists' advocacy of religious liberty led them into shifting alliances, depending on the issue, with a wide variety of the contenders for power on the American religious scene. Such alliances necessarily included those they suspected would be part of the apocalyptic conspiracy of evil, since virtually all organized religion outside of Adventism was liable to be drawn into that final coalition. They fought alongside Catholics for the right of parochial education but joined a Protestant coalition that included many liberals in opposing Catholics on state aid for parochial education. They defended the right of Jehovah's Witnesses to refrain from expressing patriotism while proudly stressing their own. With Jews, they opposed Protestant moralists who sought to strengthen Sunday observance through legislation. On the other hand, as vigorous advocates of Prohibition and staunch opponents of evolution, Adventists struck some blows for traditional Protestant social values.

They did not, however, identify the cause of faith with that of preserving a Christian civilization in America in the same way that many premillennialist

Protestants did in the aftermath of World War I, despite the many affinities between the two groups in terms of theological style and social attitudes.¹⁰⁷ Adventists were firmly patriotic, generally unquestioning of the nation's political and economic system, but they remained averse to the concept of a "Christian nation," which they had denounced in the 1890s as a theological oxymoron and repressive to religious minorities. Moreover, their alliances with Jews and Roman Catholics were against measures designed to bolster Anglo-Protestant cultural dominance. To be sure, Adventists also wanted to save America, at least temporarily. Because they made religious liberty the top priority in that cause, however, their primary public impact was to contribute to the increased pluralism that became the dominant feature of American religion by the 1950s.

The Religious Liberty Department

Before analyzing Adventist action for religious liberty in this period, a brief sketch of the workings and major leaders of the church's religious liberty department may be useful as a reference point. Adventist membership in North America increased from just over 50,000 at the turn of the century to 330,000 by 1960. These decades also saw a proliferation of educational, publishing, and health-care institutions, and rapid expansion of membership outside North America.¹⁰⁸ Major changes in the denomination's organizational structure around the turn of the century included incorporation of the various independent agencies that had developed within the church in the nineteenth century, such as the International Religious Liberty Association, the Sabbath School Association, and the Tract and Missionary Society, into departments of the General Conference.¹⁰⁹

The Religious Liberty Association, as it now became known, (RLA)¹¹⁰ was placed directly under the administration of the Religious Liberty Department of the General Conference. Each union conference (regional administrative units) and state conference had its own religious liberty department as a local unit of the central organization, with a minister serving as "secretary" of the department, thus taking responsibility for coordinating Adventist work for religious liberty in his area. In addition to public education primarily through publications, the activities of the Religious Liberty Department and RLA included circulating petitions, lecturing, and speaking at legislative hearings, and coordinating the defense and support of Adventists facing legal difficulties because of their religious practices.¹¹¹ The move of the church's headquarters in 1903 from Battle Creek, Michigan, to the Takoma Park suburb of Washington, D.C., placed Adventist leaders in an ideal location to monitor and respond to political developments affecting religious liberty.¹¹²

After a brief suspension of publication in 1904, the church's magazine for religious liberty was revived in 1906 and rechristened *Liberty*—a copiously illustrated, thirty-two-page quarterly. The masthead identified *Liberty* as "a maga-

zine of religious freedom, devoted to the American idea of religious liberty exemplified in the complete separation of church and state.” Its circulation was based on raising funds from the Adventist membership to sponsor subscriptions to non-Adventists, especially legislators, attorneys, editors, educators, and other societal leaders. Reported at 40,000 in 1911, the circulation increased to more than 130,000 by 1929. After a dip to 51,000 in the midst of the Depression, it picked up again to 175,000 in 1946.¹¹³

From the mid-1910s to the mid-1950s the leadership of the Religious Liberty Department and the editing of *Liberty* was primarily in the hands of two men whose careers overlapped: Charles S. Longacre (1871–1958) and Heber Herbert Votaw (1881–1962). Longacre edited *Liberty* and headed the Religious Liberty Department from 1914 to 1942, and he stayed with the publication as associate editor in an active semiretirement until his death. As a young man Longacre converted to Adventism from a Mennonite background, with six generations of preachers in his ancestry. He left a teaching job and night time law courses to become an Adventist minister and evangelist. The venerable Uriah Smith officiated at his marriage to Florence Martha Hughes in 1899.¹¹⁴ Longacre maintained an interest in legal and public affairs, earning a law degree from LaSalle Extension University and a master’s degree in philosophy with a minor in international law from George Washington University in 1916. In 1956, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU) recognized Longacre’s lengthy career with a citation for his “distinguished service on behalf of religious freedom.”¹¹⁵

Votaw was the first Adventist missionary to Burma and a brother-in-law of Warren G. Harding.¹¹⁶ After a decade in Burma and a brief teaching stint at the church’s Washington Missionary College, Votaw entered public life in 1918 as an assistant to his brother-in-law, then a senator from Ohio. When Harding became president, he appointed Votaw superintendent of federal prisons after removing that office from civil service status by executive order. After Harding’s death, Votaw returned to denominational work, serving as an associate editor of *Liberty* and associate secretary of the Religious Liberty Department from 1923 to 1941. He headed the department from 1941 to 1950 and in 1942 succeeded Longacre as editor of *Liberty*, serving in that capacity until 1954.¹¹⁷

The Religious Liberty Association’s Declaration of Principles, which appeared in most issues of *Liberty* with only minor modifications between 1909 and 1956 (see the appendix for the full text), expressed the theoretical touchstone guiding the positions taken by Adventists on particular issues. The Declaration is a theological document through and through. Adventists worked for a secularized state because they believed that was God’s will for the state. The separation of church and state, their first principle affirmed, had been taught by Christ himself, as seen in the saying, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s;

and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22:21). On a more fundamental level, the Declaration pointed to the noncoercive character of Christ's gospel. Because "love cannot be forced," the "religion of Jesus Christ needs no human power to support or enforce it" (principle 3). The separate, and secular, role of civil government was nonetheless "divinely ordained." In defining that role, Adventists turned to the language of the Enlightenment: it was "to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things" (principle 4). However, the divine purpose in ordaining the secular state to protect individual rights was not the secularization of human beings but the well-being of that uncoerced worship that characterizes true religion (principle 5).

The core of the Adventist public agenda, then, was opposition to all "religious legislation" as a violation of each of the above-stated principles. Such legislation "tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of church and state" (principles 6 and 7). Though church and state must be strictly separated, entry by agents of the church into the political arena is mandated by the "duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty" (principle 8).

Though *Liberty* was specifically a magazine of "religious freedom," that freedom was linked in the Constitution to other freedoms. Thus a secondary, and somewhat sporadically manifested, commitment of the magazine and the association was defense of "free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition" (principle 9).

The tenth principle seems almost an afterthought intended to cover Adventism's other major public involvement—Prohibition. It upholds temperance and condemns the "liquor traffic as a curse to society." In 1940, with all hope for national Prohibition gone, the association changed its last-stated principle to a statement of the Golden Rule.

Evolution and Liberty

In the early 1920s, the fundamentalist movement in America cohered as a "two-front" offensive against, first, those in the churches who denied the tenets of the faith as fundamentalists defined them, and, second, against the teaching of evolution in the public schools. George Marsden points out that in the fundamentalist view, "evolution and modernism were tied together and seen as a cultural as well as a specifically religious threat." These teachings were seen as a source of German barbarism, and the crusading spirit generated by World War I was carried over into the 1920s and directed into an effort to save Christian civilization by opposing these teachings and the new foreign threat, bolshevism. The battle against evolution "was swiftly transforming the character of the fun-

damentalist movement, particularly the premillennialist branch, which found that a social and political question was now virtually its first concern."¹¹⁸

On this issue, Adventists sided with the fundamentalists in their battle to save American civilization. This alliance appears to contradict the characterization of Adventists as champions of liberty and pluralism. Yet it is a good starting point for examining how Adventist public involvement was similar to and different from that of other conservative Protestant premillennialists.

Two deeply held Adventist values, the authority of the Bible and religious liberty, came together in their involvement in the public debate over evolution and the Scopes trial of 1925. Like fundamentalists, Adventists believed that evolution, and the religious modernism that embraced evolution and biblical criticism, undermined American civilization. They explicitly identified themselves with fundamentalists in the 1920s and took an active role in the public debate over evolution. Adventist author George McCready Price was a leading anti-evolution theorist whose works were influential among fundamentalists.¹¹⁹

Support for the fundamentalist program to restrict the teaching of science in the public schools on the basis of biblical criteria may appear to be at odds with support for liberty, but in the Adventist view it was the teaching of evolution that constituted the threat to liberty, for it constituted a state-sponsored attack on biblical religion. Adventists argued that the teaching of evolution in the public schools usurps "the right of parents to shape the belief of their children," giving state-sponsored privilege to a particular world view.¹²⁰ C. S. Longacre squared the law under which Scopes was prosecuted with *Liberty's* principles by arguing that the judge in Dayton had "placed the anti-evolution law of Tennessee upon a strictly civil basis." The intent of that law, ruled the judge, was not that the biblical account of creation should be taught in the public schools, but to prohibit evolution. Longacre reasoned that evolution was so bound up with controversial religious questions that it should be excluded from the public schools on the same grounds as teaching religion. The creation versus evolution battle should be fought in other arenas. "The public schools should be neutral territory in the bitter religious war, and each side should carry forward its propaganda at its own charges, for the public exchequer cannot furnish the ammunition . . . for both parties, therefore it should do it for neither of the contestants. The public schools belong to all the people, and a part of the people should not monopolize them, and make them the vehicle of their propaganda."¹²¹

Adventist leaders emphatically supported William Jennings Bryan and the prosecution of Scopes. Longacre was an old acquaintance of Bryan's from the days when both were part of the "flying squadron" of Prohibition crusaders.¹²² Thus, although allied with the fundamentalist premillennialists on this major issue, Adventists argued their case on the basis of their own particular concerns. In regard to other

issues, it becomes clearer yet that Adventists indeed had a differing springboard for their public action, driven by their distinctive form of premillennialism.

Citizenship and Conscientious Objection

In 1931 the Supreme Court upheld the naturalization court's denial of the applications for citizenship made by Yale Divinity School professor Douglas Clyde MacIntosh and nurse Marie Bland, both Canadians, because of their refusal to swear that they would bear arms in the event of any war. Justice Sutherland held that conscientious objection is a privilege granted by Congress, not a constitutional right. Therefore an alien who asserts that he will not serve in the armed forces even if Congress should terminate the privilege of conscientious objection has no right to citizenship.¹²³

The decision evoked widespread protests from many denominations and religious journals. However, William Bell Riley, influential premillennialist editor of the *Christian Fundamentalist*, cheered the decision in the name of the "conservative people of the land and true loyalists." The court was wise, he believed, to take into account that MacIntosh was a "radical modernist" whose influence at an important university could contribute "to growing communism in America." Riley noted that "not one soundly orthodox preacher or layman" was among those who signed a protest petition to the president and Congress, and he reported success in blocking a resolution in support of MacIntosh at the Minnesota State Baptist Convention.¹²⁴

Riley's analysis reflected the amalgam of fundamentalist theology, ultraconservative politics, and religious nationalism widely found among dispensationalist premillennialists. F. D. Nichol, on the other hand, characterized the "intense nationalism" reflected in the decision as part of an ominous trend in Western civilization toward subordinating individual rights to the military strength of the state. Nichol found particularly disturbing Justice Sutherland's declaration that "we are a Christian people" and thus that "unqualified allegiance to the nation and submission and obedience to the laws of the land . . . are not inconsistent with the will of God." Nichol viewed such reasoning as "the logical foundation for a religious despotism *exceeding* that of the Middle Ages," for it made the state, not the church, the infallible interpreter of the will God.¹²⁵

In responding to Riley, Nichol affirmed Adventist solidarity with fundamentalism in fighting modernism but argued that "to allow our opposition to Modernism to blind our eyes to the rights of conscience would be to repudiate the very basic principles of religious liberty for which we have always contended."¹²⁶ What one premillennialist saw as true Americanism, the other saw as militaristic ultranationalism.

Noting the high moral character of both MacIntosh and Bland, C. S. Longacre lambasted the court's ruling as indicative of a "military fetishism" that lifts "above

every other qualification for citizenship . . . an unquestioned devotion to the war god Mars, and an unconditional surrender of the conscience to the exactions of militarism in the defense of political nationalism.” Under the court’s ruling, declared Longacre, Christ himself would be ineligible for American citizenship.¹²⁷

Renewed Sabbath Crusades

In the contest for cultural influence following World War I, the Sabbath issue was once again the most prominent point of conflict between Adventists and other conservative Protestants. A renewed drive for Sunday legislation in the 1920s was an important part of the effort to maintain the dominance of Protestant values in public life. Ahlstrom described the 1920s as “the critical epoch when the Puritan heritage lost its hold on the leaders of public life.” The decline of the Puritan Sabbath was an indicator of this loss of hegemony, but it did not fade away quietly, for the decade was marked by “strenuous campaigns on its behalf.”¹²⁸ The increased competition to traditional Sunday observance and church attendance from the movies, radio, professional sports, and the ease of weekend excursions provided by the automobile, added urgency to the matter. Even the liberal Protestant magazine *Christian Century*, though not wishing to restrict Sunday recreation or compel worship, wanted to preserve the day as a time of quietude, free from business, labor, and the enervating excitement of commercialized entertainment.¹²⁹

The same journal also observed in 1921 that “no religious question has engaged so much journalistic space during the past several months as the question, ‘What shall we do with Sunday?’”¹³⁰ A parade on Fifth Avenue in New York staged by the International Sporting Club to satirize puritanical “blue laws” received extensive coverage, including photos, in the 26 December 1920 edition of the *New York Times*. The following month *Life* magazine issued a “Blue Sunday Number” with numerous poems and cartoons lampooning Sunday laws.¹³¹

Arrests for Sunday law violations were commonplace. *Liberty* recorded arrests for infractions ranging from a synagogue-sponsored dance to operating a shoe shine parlor and pitching horseshoes.¹³² Though Adventists no longer faced the severe prison penalties that some southern states had imposed in the nineteenth century, they were still occasionally subjected to arrest, fines, and brief imprisonment for outdoor work on Sunday in the 1920s and early 1930s.¹³³

For both Seventh-day Adventists and the more enthusiastic promoters of Sunday laws, the Sunday issue was more than just important, it was *the* issue on which the destiny of America turned. The Adventist reading of biblical prophecy told them that national Sunday legislation would mark the end of religious freedom in America and precipitate the final crisis of history. The Lord’s Day Alliance, the foremost organization mobilizing support for Sunday legislation in the 1920s, highlighted the decisive nature of Sunday with the slogan “As goes

the Sabbath in the United States, so will go this republic.”¹³⁴ The alliance’s leader, Harry L. Bowlby, declared in 1919, “If the Sabbath goes, everything goes. The Sabbath is so absolutely foundational to all the work of the church, that if we lose it, Christianity herself will go.” As a special interest group, the alliance would naturally place the highest premium on Sunday, but its efforts struck a responsive chord. Other Protestant leaders expressed similar sentiments. “There is in the subversion of the Christian Sabbath,” declared Methodist bishop Warren Candler of Atlanta in 1929, “the possibility of the overthrow of Christianity.”¹³⁵

With such high stakes in mind, the Lord’s Day Alliance, in conjunction with the International Reform Bureau and the National Reform Association, announced a new Sunday legislation offensive in 1920. Previously, they had thought to bring about a national Sunday law in the same way Prohibition had been enacted—an amendment to the Constitution followed by an enforcement act. When the Sunday reformers found that this approach would not bring quick success, they opted for the strategy of urging Congress to enact Sunday laws affecting areas of its direct jurisdiction, such as federal agencies, the postal system, interstate commerce, and the District of Columbia.¹³⁶ If such laws could be enacted, the precedent would be set for more comprehensive laws covering the entire nation.

The specific objective of the Lord’s Day Alliance campaign, said Bowlby, was to revive church attendance by eliminating all other alluring options for Sunday activity. “Of course, we shall back no law that would compel a man or a woman to attend church,” he noted. “But we believe that if we take away a man’s motor car, his golf sticks, his Sunday newspaper, his horses, his pleasure steamships, amusement houses, and parks, and prohibit him from playing outdoor games or witnessing field sports, he naturally will drift back to church.”¹³⁷

The Lord’s Day Alliance succeeded in raising public consciousness and considerable support. Bowlby claimed virtually unanimous support among the Protestant denominations. Sixteen had endorsed the movement.¹³⁸ The *Christian Century* observed in July 1921 that a year earlier the organization had been virtually unknown, even in evangelical circles, but was now known throughout the nation. The *Century’s* assessment of the alliance was that it “held to a moderate position with regard to Sunday keeping.”¹³⁹ For a large segment of Protestantism, then, Sunday observance was an attractive means of preserving cultural homogeneity.

Liberty reacted to the Sunday campaign with predictable alarm. Longacre warned that if the movement for Sunday legislation was not checked and existing Sunday laws repealed, “these shackles of religious bigotry and tyranny” would ultimately “destroy our free republican institutions.” He added, “If the churches are not driven out of politics . . . the horrors of the Inquisition will be renewed, and the streams of America will flow crimson with the blood of martyrs.”¹⁴⁰ The NRA publication, the *Christian Statesman*, scoffed at Longacre’s apocalyptic warnings, accusing him of “misrepresentation” and drawing upon a “superheated

imagination.”¹⁴¹ It was this apocalyptic “imagination,” however, that intensified Adventist commitment to oppose any form of legal support for Sunday observance as a dangerous precedent.

Moreover, if the Sunday law campaign did not seek a reprise of the Inquisition, it did represent an effort to link nationalism with a particular form of Christianity in a way that was uncongenial to outsiders and dissenters. A Lord’s Day Alliance resolution declared that if the American nation would turn away from Sabbath desecration and serve “Jesus Christ, the Governor of Nations,” then “the Almighty ruler of mankind will establish us on a secure foundation and make us ride on the high places of the earth.”¹⁴² Bowlby minced no words in asserting that those who did not desire to cooperate with such a program would simply have to accede to the wishes of the majority: “Only the Roman Catholics, the Unitarians, the Seventh-day Adventists, and the Jews are outside this movement. And, to be perfectly frank with you, they will have to conform to the laws if we succeed. The Jew will have to observe our Sabbath.”¹⁴³ A couple of years later Bowlby even boasted that a successful effort to retain Sunday laws that forced orthodox Jews to close their shops on Sunday as well as Saturday had saved the Christian businessmen of New York \$2 million. *Liberty* called this “robbing the orthodox Jewish merchants of one sixth of their legitimate time.”¹⁴⁴

As the Christian group most vocal and persistent in their opposition, Adventists drew particular ire from Sunday law proponents. Here was a group whose unconventional beliefs led them not only to deviate from the consensus that pronounced Sunday worship a bulwark of American Christian civilization but also to oppose it aggressively. The Lord’s Day Alliance singled out the Religious Liberty Association, supported by “one of the religious cults of our country,” as an oppositional organization requiring careful scrutiny.¹⁴⁵ In 1921, the Permanent Committee on Sabbath Observance of the Presbyterian Church, USA warned of the “insidious working of a little sect, the Seventh Day Adventists,” who “are always to be found at the State legislatures bitterly opposing the Sunday laws and doing their utmost to destroy the Christian Sabbath.”¹⁴⁶

Sunday observance bills for the District of Columbia became a focal point of the controversy over Sunday. Such bills were introduced in nearly every session of Congress during the 1920s. None ever made it out of committee, but the committee hearings aroused considerable controversy at times. A look at one bill and the action surrounding it will suffice to illustrate the entire decade’s congressional conflict over this issue.

The Sunday bill that came closest to succeeding was Georgia representative William Lankford’s H.R. 10311, introduced in March 1926. This bill would have made it illegal “to employ any person or pursue any trade or secular business on the Lord’s Day, commonly called Sunday, works of necessity and charity always excepted.” An exception was also made for personal work that “does not interrupt or

disturb the repose and religious liberty of the community.” The bill would also have prohibited all commercialized sports, amusements, and entertainment on Sunday. The penalty for a first offense would be a five- to fifty-dollar fine, and for subsequent offenses, a twenty-five- to five-hundred-dollar fine and imprisonment not to exceed six months.¹⁴⁷

Lankford’s speech introducing the bill made explicit his goal that the measure strengthen the nexus between his version of Christianity and America. Opposition to the “Christian Sabbath,” he declared, is “a thrust at the foundation of our Government and our Christian civilization.” To thus forget God was to “attempt to work the undoing of our Republic.”¹⁴⁸

According to *Liberty*, a “gigantic religious lobby” of more than twenty different religious and reform organizations such as the Lord’s Day Alliance joined in supporting the bill in the hearings.¹⁴⁹ Opposition to the religious coalition once again aligned Adventists with various commercial, entertainment, and labor interests—allies with whom they shared little other common ground—in the interest of a more open, pluralistic society. According to a publication of the International Reform Federation, the foremost opponents of Sunday laws were “the amusement businesses, especially motion pictures and vaudeville,” and the Seventh-day Adventists. One of the primary purposes of the Lankford bill was to resist the efforts by these two “most persistent foes of the American Sabbath.”¹⁵⁰

Although supporters cited the guarantee to the laborer of one day off each week as a major benefit, the Lankford bill and most of the Sunday legislation of the 1920s appeared too “Puritan” to garner much support from organized labor or among Roman Catholics. John B. Colpoys, a labor spokesman in the District of Columbia and editor of the *Trade Unionist*, stated in the Lankford bill hearings that the delegates of all the labor unions “unanimously opposed the compulsory Sunday observance measures.” Labor had secured the six-day work week through its own efforts, he observed, and workers were not inclined to have anyone dictate to them how to spend their day off by depriving them of the amusements available to them on that day.¹⁵¹

Thirteen three- to four-hour hearings were devoted to the Lankford bill in the Judiciary Subcommittee of the House District of Columbia Committee. According to Longacre, the hearings were particularly acrimonious, with some “very exciting and thrilling scenes . . . culminating in personal combat” between “reformers” and opponents of the bill. The subcommittee reported in favor of the bill to the House District Committee, which had a slight majority declared in favor of such legislation. Nevertheless, after two “very hectic sessions” the bill was shelved, and no further action was taken on it before the adjournment of the Sixty-ninth Congress at the end of March 1927. When Congress reconvened in the fall, Lankford reintroduced the bill as H.R. 78.¹⁵²

Meanwhile, the Adventist leaders were using the language of apocalyptic

crisis to mobilize their forces. When the Lankford bill, along with related measures, had been introduced in 1926, *Review* editor Wilcox, who a few years earlier had been rather sanguine about the failure of Sunday laws in Congress, now flatly asserted that “soon a national Sunday law for the country will be an accomplished fact, and we know what this portends in the fulfillment of prophecy.”¹⁵³ By the following year, with the majority of the House District Committee reported to be supporting it and a floor fight expected, the Lankford bill indeed appeared to have better prospects than any Sunday law in Congress since 1888. Hoping to arouse the Adventist membership to action against the bill, Longacre, in typical Adventist fashion, pessimistically predicted rapid movement toward a national Sunday law. “We need no longer say, ‘A great crisis awaits the people of God,’” he declared. “We are now facing the crisis. It is here.”¹⁵⁴

As in the 1880s and 1890s, the heightened immediacy of apocalyptic expectation led to more vigorous activism rather than to fatalistic passivity. The RLA launched a campaign, which Longacre claimed was “the most vigorous and intensive” in Adventist history, for signatures against the bill. Congress was inundated with petitions, letters, and telegrams. At the height of the campaign the *Congressional Record* registered from eight thousand to thirty thousand signatures per day for several days running. One congressman told Longacre he was receiving one to three thousand protests daily from his district alone. *Liberty* ran a photo of a 278-foot petition with seven thousand signatures sent from Denver. In sum, the RLA claimed to have organized seven million signatures of protest against the Lankford bill. According to Longacre, the outpouring caused some who had favored the bill to counsel Lankford to “lay low, and not press the bill for action until after the elections were over.”¹⁵⁵ Despite the fears of Adventists and likely in part because of their actions, the bill failed to make it out of committee after all.

With this failure, attempts at a comprehensive Sunday observance bill for the District of Columbia faded. In the 1930s and 1940s several more limited initiatives in Congress were aimed at requiring barber shops in the District to close on Sundays. *Liberty* staunchly opposed bills even of such a narrow scope as deceptively “innocent beginnings” of an inevitable slide toward full-blown religious oppression.¹⁵⁶

Perhaps to their surprise, the *Liberty* editors found themselves celebrating successes in the early 1930s. Nearly 150 Sunday observance bills were introduced in Congress between 1888 and 1933, and not one succeeded.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, while the church headquarters maintained vigilance in Washington, RLA leaders in the Adventist state and union conferences doggedly organized action against state Sunday laws.¹⁵⁸ The repeal of several such laws led *Liberty* to conclude in 1933 that “the prevailing sentiment in the States is in favor of religious liberty.”¹⁵⁹

The most vigorous form of Adventist public action during this period was directed against an important symbol of Protestant cultural dominance and religious

nationalism—"the American Sabbath." A claim on economic fairness in part drove this action. Adventists did not wish to be forced to take a day off from work or commerce in addition to their own Sabbath. Yet, paradoxically, it was their certainty that this form of oppression would ultimately prevail that fueled the urgency and tenacity with which they fought every form of Sunday legislation year after year. Conviction that the final persecution must surely come in this way made resistance and witness for truth and liberty, while opportunity remained, not just desirable but mandatory.

"Bogus Americanism"

Although Adventists stood with fundamentalists against the teaching of evolution in the public schools, they resisted a movement in several states during the 1920s to enforce "Americanization" through compulsory attendance at public schools. The nativist sentiment that surged in that decade, as seen in immigration restriction, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, and the famous Sacco-Vanzetti murder trial, motivated this effort. Roman Catholic education was the primary target of the campaign. Klan leader Hiram Wesley Evans justified such action by declaring that the problem with Romanism is that "it is a church in politics; an organized, disciplined, powerful rival to every political government," and "a church in politics is deadly to free institutions."¹⁶⁰

Virtually identical statements could be found in Adventist literature. Yet here Adventists joined forces with Catholics. Since the Adventist Church operated an extensive private school system, its own interests were also at stake in this issue.¹⁶¹ C. S. Longacre insisted, however, that Adventists were defending the rights of Catholics, as well as their own, solely as a matter of principle. He claimed that when a measure requiring children from ages five to sixteen to attend public schools was placed on the ballot in Michigan in 1920, "the anti-Catholic forces offered us an exemption . . . provided we would withdraw our opposition to their campaign." Our response, he declared, was that "our fight was not for the rights of Seventh-day Adventists, but for the rights of every citizen under the constitution."¹⁶²

Supporters of the Michigan amendment saw it as a measure for "100 percent Americanism"—a protection against the foreign, antidemocratic forces undermining American civilization. Their rallying cry was "One Flag, One Language, One School."¹⁶³ Adventists countered that the theory of compulsory public education was itself a "doctrine of Prussianism and Bolshevism," imposing the will of state at the expense of minority rights.¹⁶⁴ One proponent argued that "a non-democratic church or institution must necessarily fare badly in pure democracy."¹⁶⁵ Longacre, in connection with a similar campaign soon after in Oregon, maintained that under the U.S. Constitution, the Catholic Church "is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other church."¹⁶⁶ After Michigan voters soundly defeated the proposed amendment, the Jesuit publication *America* noted the Adventist role in opposing

the dangerous crusade for “Christian democracy,” characterizing Adventists as “fair-minded people” eager for the “vindication of a fundamental American principle.”¹⁶⁷

In Oregon, Adventist leaders lectured throughout the state and the church distributed thousands of copies of *Liberty* as part of an unsuccessful effort to defeat an initiative for a law similar to that proposed in Michigan.¹⁶⁸ The law passed in 1922 but was overturned by the Supreme Court three years later in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*. *Liberty* described the nationalism behind the effort to bolster Protestant cultural dominance through the public schools as a “bogus Americanism” that mistook “zeal for loyalty, and intolerance for love of country.”¹⁶⁹

John Higham observes that fundamentalism, with its “determination to fix and purify a Protestant orthodoxy,” converged with “100 percent Americanism” in epitomizing a “crusading conformity.” The two movements intermingled, contributing to fundamentalism’s emergence as “a religious version of postwar nationalism.”¹⁷⁰ Although regarding themselves as fundamentalist in doctrine, Adventists, because of their commitment to religious liberty, resisted the fusion of conservative theology and ultranationalism. The anti-Catholic dimension of their theology of history bore similarities to nativist attitudes, but the passion for liberty also engendered by that outlook directed them away from the extremes of anti-Catholic bigotry, as had been the case in regard to the Know-Nothing Party in the 1850s and the APA in the 1890s.¹⁷¹

Moreover, that commitment led them even to make common cause with the forces of the “beast,” in order to counteract Protestant actions tending toward formation of “an image to the beast.” The *Oregon Voter* noted this phenomenon in connection with a 1922 municipal election, reporting that “the Adventists, who were holding tabernacle meetings in which the Catholic church was violently attacked, lined up after the sun set Saturday and voted with the Catholic element.”¹⁷² While still regarding Rome as the taproot of the world conspiracy against liberty, in the 1920s Adventists saw in anti-Catholic, chauvinistic Americanism a more immediate expression of the fundamental evil they sought to resist.

Catholic Enroachments

Nonetheless, they continued to keep Catholicism under close scrutiny. Expectation that Catholic encroachments would eventually help topple the “wall of separation” between church and state kept Adventists on the alert to resist such movements. In the late 1930s Adventist leaders became concerned about an apparent escalation of Roman Catholic efforts to enlist state aid for the church’s schools. Longacre lamented in 1940 that the “Catholic hierarchy in America had undergone a complete change in recent years.” In earlier times Adventists and Catholics had been allies in fighting for the right of parochial education and against enforced Bible reading in the public schools, but now Catholics were openly advocating various means of state support for religious education.¹⁷³

Following World War II, the education debate intensified and became a major point of conflict between Protestants and Catholics. The Supreme Court's ruling in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947) aroused protest from Adventists and other Protestants committed to separation of church and state. Although the majority opinion affirmed the "wall of separation," it approved use of public funds to transport children to Catholic schools as constitutional on the grounds that such use was a public safety measure. *Liberty* urged the logic of Justice Jackson's dissent. Any form of tax aid to Catholic education—"the rock on which the whole [church] structure rests"—would be "indistinguishable from rendering aid to the church itself."¹⁷⁴

As fraught with potential danger as parochial aid to education appeared to be, Adventists viewed the efforts of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman to establish diplomatic ties with the Vatican as a matter of even greater urgency. FDR's appointment of Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican in 1939 sparked a flurry of activity and apocalyptic speculation. Adventists saw in the appointment striking evidence of the healing of the "deadly wound" (Rev. 13:3–4) inflicted on the papal beast in 1798 and of the cooperation between the United States and a resurgent Rome that would lead to religious persecution. Thus they zealously joined in the general Protestant outcry against Taylor's appointment.¹⁷⁵

Longacre warned that if FDR did not recall Taylor, America's forty million Protestants would turn militant and "force Senators and Congressmen to take notice of an issue that is repugnant to the ideals and consciences of Americans who believe in a separation between church and state." He accused the Catholic hierarchy of years of "artful maneuvering" for American diplomatic recognition of the Vatican. "Whenever a church organization seeks to gain special privileges and a preferential legal status and government favors by legal processes," he concluded, Americans are duty-bound to protest.¹⁷⁶

Liberty reprinted several articles from the *Christian Century* on the Taylor appointment, including *Century* editor Charles Clayton Morrison's plea that "the total political vigor of a unified Protestantism" be brought to bear on America's politicians and statesmen to counter the growing Catholic influence.¹⁷⁷ Adventists were already contributing their political muscle to the united effort. The church's 1940 Spring General Conference session commissioned the Religious Liberty Department to produce two million copies of a tract attacking the Taylor appointment and issued a statement urging Adventist members to arouse opposition by distributing the literature in their communities.¹⁷⁸ Prior to that, in late December 1939, Adventist General Conference president J. Lamar McElhany wrote President Roosevelt assuring him of far more united support in his efforts for world peace if he would withdraw the representative and not open the door that could lead to full diplomatic relations with the Vatican.¹⁷⁹

Soon afterward, McElhany, along with Lutheran and Baptist representa-

tives, was called to the White House to meet with the president, who explained that his purpose in establishing ties with the Vatican was to get his peace plan across to German Catholics. FDR told the press that the religious leaders had been satisfied with his explanation, but McElhany reported to his colleagues on the General Conference Committee that no one's mind had been changed. He commented that whatever doubts he might have had about the prophecies concerning the reemergence of papal political power were erased by the meeting. FDR, he believed, was either ignorant of papal claims and objectives or was consciously fostering their realization. He concluded that the "situation is very gloomy" as long as the nation is "led by a man who either does not know or cannot, will not see, the handwriting on the wall."¹⁸⁰

The Taylor appointment was not rescinded, but FDR made no attempt to establish official diplomatic ties with the Vatican. When President Truman tried to do just that, his appointment of General Mark Clark as the official American ambassador ran afoul of sharp Protestant opposition. Adventists and *Liberty* once again were vocal participants in that opposition.¹⁸¹

Disreputable Cousins

It was the pressures Adventists themselves experienced as a minority and the apocalyptic consciousness that dramatized the significance of those pressures that propelled them into activism for religious liberty. However, from the origins of the National Religious Liberty Association on, Adventists recognized that experiments on the liberty of others was in principle an experiment on their own. In the religious realm, the controversy over the Jehovah's Witnesses in the late 1930s and early 1940s tested Adventism's commitment to acting for the freedom of others. It was a tricky challenge for a variety of reasons. Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses were historical and theological cousins, emerging out of differing branches of post-1844 Adventism. For this reason, and because both groups were active in door-to-door evangelism, they were often confused with each other.

In the late 1890s, when Adventists had been outspoken against imperialism and militaristic nationalism, they had stirred controversy by teaching their children not to participate in certain patriotic songs and recitations in the public schools.¹⁸² Now, with a second world war on the horizon, Adventists were carefully cultivating the image of patriotic, conscientious cooperators with the government while Jehovah's Witnesses were arousing controversy because their children refused to salute the flag in public school ceremonies.

Liberty used such devices as a cover photograph of schoolchildren saluting the flag and patriotic poems about the flag, as well as straightforward disclaimers, to distinguish Adventists from Jehovah's Witnesses. Yet they vigorously defended the Witnesses' right to speak and act according to their convictions, and

did so at a time when most evangelicals failed to take up the cause of this unpopular group.¹⁸³

In criticizing the Supreme Court's 1940 decision in *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* to uphold the right of school authorities to expel students for refusing to salute the flag, Longacre declared that the "sacred right of dissent and nonconformity" had been undermined.¹⁸⁴ Changes in court personnel, severe criticism, and a wave of violence against Jehovah's Witnesses prompted a relatively quick reversal in 1943.¹⁸⁵

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Whereas the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses indicates that Adventists' commitment to liberty could extend beyond their own immediate self-interest, other cases indicate limitations to the range of that commitment. Rarely, if ever, did they speak out on behalf of the rights of political radicals, racial minorities, or women. F. M. Wilcox's attitude toward the Palmer Raids of 1920, in which the civil liberties of hundreds of leftists were violated in the "Red scare," might be taken as typical of how Adventists viewed the treatment of radicals. He warned against confusing this effort to "curb disloyalty" with the religious persecution predicted by the Bible. He believed that "the Government is fully justified in the measures which it has employed in ridding the country of radical elements that would seek the overthrow of all properly constituted law and authority."¹⁸⁶

Issues that many religious publications did address,¹⁸⁷ such as racial oppression and lynching, the activities of the KKK and similar organizations, and controversial prosecutions such as those carried out against Sacco and Vanzetti and against the Scottsboro boys, received virtually no mention in *Liberty*. Exclusion of such issues might be explained on the grounds that *Liberty* was specifically dedicated to religious freedom. Yet in view of the commitment to human rights in a broader sense reflected in RLA's statement of principles and in some of the more "secular" issues of civil liberties occasionally taken up by the magazine,¹⁸⁸ these omissions seem significant. They reflect twentieth-century Adventism's conservative, patriotic orientation—a desire to be "cooperators" with the Republic, which meant avoiding the risks to the church's reputation and mission involved in controversial public issues.

Such limitations should not be allowed to obscure the fact that between World War I and the middle of the century, Adventists did take action on a wide range of issues concerning religious liberty and other human rights. Such action not only emerged out of their premillennialist theology of history but also distinguished Adventism's public stance from that of prominent premillennialists of the dispensationalist variety. Themselves premillennialist, anti-Catholic, and in many respects fundamentalist, Adventists avoided the convergence of ultracon-

servative politics, religious nationalism, and Anglo-Protestant chauvinism manifested by many premillennialist fundamentalists.

Premillennialist leaders such as J. Frank Norris, William Bell Riley, and Gerald Winrod, in varying degrees and ways, exhibited a belligerent anticommunism, glorified their interpretation of the American way, and tended to see Catholics, Jews, and unbelievers as subversive of that way.¹⁸⁹ Concern for liberty counteracted tendencies Adventists might have had in a similar direction. They could not afford to be exclusive or resentful toward other outsiders as they defended their own right to nonconformity and thus often took the side of Jews, Catholics, and others in helping to realize a more pluralistic vision of American society.

“**B**ewilderment” was not a state of mind usually associated with Adventism’s self-assured apologist Francis D. Nichol, but in a 1963 editorial, the *Review* editor indeed confessed “bewilderment at times as to just how the principle of separation of church and state applies.” The source of his perplexity was government involvement, sharply increasing in the postwar decades, in such realms as welfare and education, which were major facets of the church’s ministry.¹ Nichol’s unusual uncertainty reflects the magnitude of the challenge confronting Adventism’s traditional commitment to strict separation of church and state.

The challenge came from several angles. The radical pluralism and societal fragmentation emerging out of the upheavals of the 1960s raised the question of whether public morality could thrive under separation of church and state. Was it possible to maintain a common set of values around which a society could cohere?² The rapid social changes prompted many conservative Christians to a new activism on behalf of traditional religious morality in the nation’s public life.

Controversial cases involving the free exercise and establishment of religion began to come before the Supreme Court in unprecedented volume. The court interpreted the significance of the First Amendment for a vast range of issues, including prayer, Bible reading, and the teaching of evolution in the public schools; government aid to church-related schools; Sunday laws; unemployment and public assistance entitlement rights for religious minorities; chaplains in state legislatures; and religious displays on public property. The “free exercise” and “establishment” clauses now often appeared to be in tension, and holding together commitments to separationism and religious rights, as Adventists had always tried to do, became a more complicated matter. An “accommodationist” or “nonpreferentialist” approach that defended positive cooperation between government and religion, so long as one religious group was not favored, became more influential among interpreters of the First Amendment.³

The expanding role of government, combined with Adventism’s deepening institutional stake in society, led to conflict within the church over whether and to what extent government funds should be used for church institutions. Whereas the leaders of the church’s work for religious liberty continued to uphold the separationist banner, others, particularly administrators of educational institutions, advocated a more accommodationist approach that would allow the church to accept some government funds.

The sometimes wrenching conflict was never fully resolved, but the church as a whole made a major shift toward selective acceptance of government benefits. Adventist leaders, broadly speaking, came to conceive of the wall separating church and state as flexible enough to allow openings for the church to take advantage of some provisions of the welfare state. Indeed, one of the principle contributions of the church's activism in this period came in helping to define how the principle of religious liberty would be applied to citizens' claims on the entitlements of the welfare state. At the same time Adventists continued to defend with zeal the concept of a separating wall as developments relating to education, Sunday legislation and ecumenism seemed to provide new signs of the necessity to forestall the ultimate demise of liberty.

Their understanding of separation of church and state continued in this period to distinguish Adventists from religious liberals who sought to transform society through political action. But though a conservatism linked with church-state separationism remained the prevailing political orientation in Adventism, voices calling for a new and progressive involvement with social issues made themselves heard. Moreover, that progressive influence, along with the sustained commitment to separation of church and state, contributed to the emergence of an even more significant distinction: that between Adventists and premillennialists of the developing New Christian Right (NCR).

Keeping the Wall

New "signs of the times" emerging in the 1950s would have a paradoxical character in relation to Adventism's apocalyptic expectations. Aspects of the new developments in Sunday legislation and ecumenism, for example, could be interpreted as dramatic confirmation of the nearness of the last things. In other respects, however, these developments went contrary to traditional Adventist expectations. Few Adventists publicly expressed doubts about the church's apocalyptic outlook, however. For the most part, their response was renewed energy for the cause of religious liberty.

As the Longacre-Votaw era came to an end, new leadership sustained the activist tradition. After Votaw's retirement in 1954, Frank H. Yost (1894–1958) was appointed editor of *Liberty*. An associate editor for a few years (1946–50, 1954), Yost held a doctorate from the University of Nebraska and had taught church history at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, then in Washington, D.C. He was a charter member and recording secretary of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and in 1958 that organization cited him as "Religious Liberty Man of the Year."

Alvin W. Johnson (1895–1958), who became director of the Religious Liberty Department in 1950, also had a background in higher education, having taught at

two Adventist colleges and served as president of a third. His doctorate was in political science from the University of Minnesota, conferred in 1933. Yost and Johnson had collaborated in the publication of *Separation of Church and State in the United States*, a widely used analysis of court cases bearing on church and state in American history, published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1948.

The tenure of these two scholars at *Liberty* and the Religious Liberty Department ended in 1958. Yost returned to an academic position in 1958 and died shortly thereafter, and Johnson also died that year.⁴

Roland R. Hegstad (b. 1926) soon emerged as the foremost Adventist spokesperson for religious liberty. A young minister from the Northwest who had begun his editorial career with the evangelistic magazine *These Times* in 1955,⁵ he brought a gift for pithy expression and creative imagery to the pages of *Liberty* after being appointed editor in 1959.

Hegstad also brought a conviction that previous editors had erred in obscuring Adventist identity and theology on the pages of *Liberty* in order to gain a broader reception. Under Votaw, Johnson, and Yost, *Liberty* had positioned itself as part of an interfaith struggle for religious freedom rather than promoting a distinctively Adventist agenda.⁶ Believing that such an approach went against counsel Ellen White had given regarding the *American Sentinel* in the 1890s,⁷ Hegstad, using articles and columns on doctrine and prophecy, made the publication's Adventist identity more forthright without altering the main focus on religious liberty. This approach proved appealing to the Adventist membership that sponsored subscriptions—indication in itself that Adventism's apocalyptic outlook, rather than gradually fading away, was again gaining strength. Under Hegstad's editorship, which continued to 1994, publication frequency increased from quarterly to bimonthly, and circulation increased from about 152,000 in 1958 to about 500,000 by 1975.⁸ The magazine also won numerous awards from the Associated Church Press in the categories of general excellence and graphics.⁹

Along with Hegstad, the foremost leaders of Adventist activism for religious liberty in the 1960s and 1970s were Marvin E. Loewen and W. Melvin Adams. Loewen served as a missionary in China and the Philippines during the 1930s and 1940s and as president of three conferences in the United States before heading the General Conference Religious Liberty Department from 1959 to 1975. Adams, who had been a pastor and evangelist in Nevada, Utah, and California during the 1940s and 1950s, also came to the General Conference Religious Liberty Department in 1959. As we shall see, he took a leading role in Adventist lobbying on several issues and was active in the leadership of Americans United for Separation of Church and State (as POAU became known in the early 1960s). He succeeded Loewen as head of the department in 1975 and remained in that capacity until 1980.

Sunday Revival

Support for Sunday laws, on the wane since at least the 1930s, revived in the mid-1950s, reheating Adventists' concern and activism. By the 1970s, however, the new encounter with Sunday laws also proved to be foundational for reappraisal of their apocalyptic significance.

The general religious revival in postwar America, Frank Yost observed, accounted in part for renewed interest in blue laws. But the new feature most significant to Adventists in this wave of advocacy for legislation protecting the sanctity of Sunday was the unprecedented level of zealous support for such measures from Roman Catholic clergy. In previous eras the hierarchy had tended to view Sunday legislation as primarily a Protestant concern. Now, prominent clerics, including archbishops in Oregon and Minnesota, advocated public action to keep stores closed on Sundays.¹⁰ The Ohio Catholic Welfare Conference declared opposition to an amendment that would weaken that state's Sunday law in 1962.¹¹ Dean M. Kelley, then a Methodist pastor in New York, reported in *Liberty* in 1958 that Catholic opposition defeated the Asch-Rosenblatt bill in the state legislature for a "fair Sabbath" law that would allow Jewish businesses to open on Sundays. Cardinal Spellman had adamantly opposed the proposed change, and Catholic councilmen and legislators voted against it. Kelley called such action indication of "the Roman Catholic hierarchy's effort to become the arbiter and proprietor of all legislation concerned with moral or religious issues."¹²

The new Catholic advocacy of Sunday legislation in tandem with Protestants was sobering but not surprising to Adventists, for it appeared to confirm the alignment of players in the "final crisis" pictured by Ellen White some seventy years earlier. "We have been expecting this from the pages of *Great Controversy*," Yost declared to a church religious liberty council in 1956, "and now it is here."¹³

Secular motivations were also prominent in the new and broader coalition now supporting the blue laws. Owners of downtown department stores sought Sunday closing laws in response to new competition from suburban discount stores. Some labor organizations also continued to see Sunday laws as a means of securing weekends off for laborers.¹⁴ In all, Alvin Johnson reported in 1958, efforts for stricter enforcement of existing Sunday laws or passage of new legislation had occurred in twenty-one states in the previous four years.¹⁵

The new Sunday law challenge again aroused vigorous opposition from Adventists, allied with Jewish groups and with commercial interests favoring Sunday store openings. The church's autumn council of 1958 called for "more concentrated activity for the cause of freedom" in view of the "reviving pattern of coercion" in the nation.¹⁶ The church's Religious Liberty and Public Relations Departments developed "Religious Liberty Kits," distributed by the state conferences, with step-by-step instructions and resources for organizing, lobbying public officials, and raising awareness through the news media.¹⁷

Legal contention over the issue resulted in cases from four states coming before the Supreme Court, and Adventist organizations filed briefs supporting the challenges to Sunday laws.¹⁸ In a ruling handed down on 29 May 1961, Chief Justice Earl Warren argued that despite their religious origins, most Sunday laws “as presently written and administered . . . are of a secular rather than of a religious character, and that presently they bear no relationship to establishment of religion.” The fact that Sunday happened to be of religious significance for the “dominant Christian sects,” he maintained, “does not bar the State from achieving its secular goals” in providing for “a uniform day of rest for all citizens.”¹⁹

Adventists heatedly rejected this justification of Sunday laws on a secular basis. Hegstad noted phrases such as “Lord’s Day,” “Christian Sabbath,” and “holy time” in the state statutes as clear evidence of their religious character. The *Liberty* editor concluded:

If the “face” of Sunday laws is not religious—from the “holy time” halo to the “desecration” dimple on the chin—what kind of plastic surgery would legislative doctors have to perform to make the religious wrinkle apparent through legal bifocals? . . .

In other words, pray tell, just *how* religious does a law have to get to be religious?²⁰

The *Christian Century* warned that “the excesses of overly zealous Christians who mistakenly see in the Supreme Court decisions sanction for the extension of old Sunday laws and the establishment of new ones” would necessitate review of the Court’s definition of Sunday as primarily a secular holiday.²¹ Though such a review was not forthcoming, there was indeed a flurry of activity to enforce and strengthen Sunday laws immediately after the decisions were handed down.

Believing, in the words of Marvin Loewen, that the Supreme Court action had put “another part of the prophetic jigsaw puzzle in place,”²² Adventists carefully monitored the subsequent state-level activity, particularly the role of religious leaders. Loewen reported moves toward stricter enforcement in twenty-six states.²³ Though agitation was widespread throughout the nation, the crackdown appeared to be strongest in states such as Massachusetts and Pennsylvania whose laws had been tested before the Supreme Court. *Liberty* reported “a state of total confusion” in Massachusetts as police with varying degrees of enthusiasm began to carry out state attorney general Edward McCormack Jr.’s order to begin rigid enforcement of the state’s blue law. Shoppers and tourists found their routines disrupted, storekeepers began to invent ways of circumventing the complex codes, and the press ridiculed blue-law anachronisms and inconsistencies.²⁴ In New York the following summer, the operator of a printing press associated with the Adventist *Faith for Today* tele-

cast was arrested for working on Sunday. Defended by Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress, he was acquitted by virtue of an exemption clause.²⁵

In Massachusetts, Catholic political muscle backed Sunday law enforcement in a way that Adventists found particularly disturbing. In the spring of 1962 the state legislature considered proposals to liberalize and secularize the Sunday law and at the same time provide for more consistent enforcement. A clause exempting those who observe a day of worship other than Sunday was initially approved in the state senate by a vote of twenty-one to fourteen. The lower house, on the other hand, rejected the exemption. The *Pilot*, a Catholic news weekly, lambasted the exemption amendment as “unjust and inoffensive” and published the names of senators who had voted for it. Copies of the editorial were distributed to parishioners the following Sunday, and Catholics were urged to express opposition to the amendment to their state legislators. When the exemption proposal was brought up for another vote, it was defeated thirty-one to eight. Hegstad viewed the dramatic reversal as indication that the Catholic hierarchy had the state legislature under its control. Pope John XXIII’s recent exhortation in *Mater et Magistra* (1961) that public officials support Sunday as a day of rest and worship, he noted, cast an even more serious light on the incident. The pope’s encyclical and the Massachusetts incident thus looked like steps toward the imposition of the will of the majority at the expense of minority rights that Adventists expected Rome would orchestrate in the last days.²⁶

As it turned out in the nation as a whole, however, the campaign for stronger Sunday laws and stricter enforcement met vigorous opposition and enjoyed only very limited success. Although some states, such as Massachusetts, Virginia, and Ohio, retained Sunday laws without exemptions for observers of other days, proposed Sunday legislation in the early 1960s was defeated in several states, including Minnesota, Georgia, Colorado, Montana, and California. Results were also mixed in several state supreme court verdicts soon after the 1961 decision. Sunday laws were upheld in Kentucky, Maine, and Missouri in 1963, whereas in Kansas a law modeled after Missouri’s was declared unconstitutional, as were blue laws in Michigan, North Carolina, and Illinois. In the interest of minority rights, some states adopted either “two-day” laws, which prohibited sale of certain items on successive Saturdays and Sundays, or one-in-seven laws guaranteeing employees twenty-four consecutive hours off work each week.²⁷

Adventists again took a prominent role in the resistance to the new state Sunday law initiatives. Typically, one of the denomination’s national leaders in the religious liberty cause would join local pastors and state conference officials in lobbying legislatures, speaking at hearings, and in giving interviews in the mass media. In 1967, Sunday legislation was defeated in Indiana and Colorado, for example, with the help of such Adventist efforts.²⁸

A colorful incident in Texas reveals the tenacity of Adventist opposition even

to mild Sunday laws. In 1966, several Texas cities enacted measures to put teeth into enforcement of the state's Saturday-Sunday blue law requiring merchants to refrain from selling certain items on their choice of either Saturday or Sunday. New city ordinances required customers, rather than the merchants as before, to provide proof of an emergency if they purchased prohibited items.

Both M. E. Loewen and W. M. Adams joined regional and local Adventist leaders in campaigning against these ordinances city by city. In Austin, an Adventist minister cited for buying a new pair of shoes on a rainy Sunday gave vivid, televised testimony before the city council concerning his arrest. After a lifetime of law-abiding citizenship, he declared, he was now "accused of being a criminal." He spoke of his son, recently sent to Vietnam: "If he spills his blood on that soil for liberty, I'll feel it is a worthwhile sacrifice. But I don't want him to come back to the United States and find that all the liberties my forefathers died for are gone." Thus Adventists dramatized even a blue law with both a Saturday-Sunday option *and* an exemption for emergencies into a major attack on American liberties. The ordinance in Austin was defeated, as were similar ones in Dallas and San Antonio.²⁹

By the late sixties it became clear that despite the favorable Supreme Court ruling earlier in the decade, the dominant trend was *away* from rather than toward the tough Sunday legislation Adventists expected. A *Liberty* article in 1964 pointed out increasing division over Sunday laws among both Protestants and Catholics and commented that the "once nearly solid front of church support for Sunday closing laws has been breached."³⁰ Even the 1961 Supreme Court ruling, viewed by Adventists at the time as a major step toward the long-expected national Sunday law, could be interpreted another way. As Hegstad commented in retrospect thirteen years later, the fact that Chief Justice Warren had deemed Sunday laws constitutional because they were now primarily *secular* in nature meant that the ruling could just as legitimately be interpreted as a step away from the national Sunday law that prophecy foretold, for that law would be clearly *religious* in nature. "Decided changes . . . in the American constitutional climate," he observed, would have to occur before such a law could be passed.³¹

The brief revival of support for Sunday laws in the 1950s and 1960s did not reverse the general twentieth-century decline of such legislation into oblivion as a public issue in America. Leo Pfeffer was probably correct in identifying the overriding factor in the erosion of support for Sunday legislation as "the potency of American capitalism that could not sanction a day in which people were not allowed to shop."³² Yet Adventist and Jewish activism based on the principle of religious freedom deserves some credit as well. As in earlier eras, the Adventists' apocalyptic outlook impelled them to action for liberty that, in turn, helped thwart the very developments they expected on the basis of prophecy. Although their action thus in some ways actually helped render the particulars of their picture

of the end of time less compelling, that action grew out of the remnant role to which their theology of history called them.

Catholic Power

One of the most remarkable manifestations of the ongoing influence of their nineteenth-century apocalyptic interpretations in the twentieth century is the way Adventists have continued to specify a leading role for the papacy in the final Antichrist conspiracy. Adventist perceptions of Roman Catholicism continued to be shaped by Ellen White's book *The Great Controversy*, which stresses the unchanging nature of the church of Rome, despite apparent changes on the surface. Though it was now presenting a "fair front to the world," she argued, the church is "silently growing into power," only awaiting the proper opportunity to reassert the principles of Gregory VII and Innocent III and suppress dissenters.³³

Though Vatican II compelled some reassessment, and a significant change of tone can be detected in the subsequent years, Adventism's theology of history has remained explicitly and resolutely anti-Catholic. On that basis Adventists maintained close scrutiny over developments in Catholicism and were inclined to interpret them in the most negative way possible. However, in taking public action on their views regarding Catholic power, Adventists worked on the basis of a conception of church-state separation thought to be beneficial to all groups rather than hatred directed toward exclusion or repression of particular groups.

Moreover, although their motivations were somewhat distinctive, Adventists, into the early 1960s at least, were part of a broad coalition of Protestants expressing rigorous criticism of Catholicism in regard to church and state. Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, founded in 1948 with Adventist leaders taking a prominent role, drew this coalition together. Frank Yost was cited in POAU literature as one the organization's co-founders, along with such mainline, ecumenical leaders as Charles Clayton Morrison of the *Christian Century* and Methodist bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. Yost served on the POAU executive committee until his death in 1958, and close ties between the Adventists' Religious Liberty Association and POAU continued after that.³⁴ The literature produced and endorsed by POAU was at times more strident in its anti-Catholicism than *Liberty* magazine.³⁵

The events of the mid-1950s to early 1960s appeared to confirm the Adventist interpretation of Revelation 13 that the "deadly wound" sustained by the papacy in 1798 would be healed, preparing the way for papal dominance in America. In addition to the widespread hierarchical support for Sunday laws, the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency seemed ominous. Breaking from their usual silence on presidential elections, Adventist publications had editorialized against the election of Kennedy in 1960. They maintained that despite his promises to the contrary, he would inevitably come under the sway of the Catholic hierarchy

and democracy would be subverted. Should Kennedy attempt to resist the hierarchy, imagined *Signs of the Times* editor Arthur Maxwell, “he would soon find himself like Henry IV at Canossa—outside the castle with his feet in the snow.”³⁶

A new campaign by the American bishops for federal aid to parochial schools in connection with the Federal Aid to Education Bill initiated by the president in 1961 quickly tested this prediction. Soon after the legislation was introduced, the Adventist Church declared opposition to inclusion of aid to parochial schools in a statement made to both the House and Senate committees debating the bill. The statement stressed that on this issue Adventists acted out of principle rather than self-interest. Since the Adventist Church operated the third largest parochial school system in the United States, it stood to gain substantially should federal aid be extended to parochial schools. However, Adventists believed that the principle of separation of church and state “precludes the granting of tax funds for the establishment or support of any or all religions, churches, or parochial school systems.” Thus, to any bill “that would grant, in effect, government subsidy to parochial schools,” the church stood opposed.³⁷

Review associate editor Raymond Cottrell called the efforts of Catholic bishops to have parochial schools cut in on the federal funds “the most daring power play ever staged by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States.”³⁸ Church leaders urged Adventists to write their members of Congress and the president urging that parochial schools not be included in the funding. Ironically, the letters to the nation’s first Catholic president were to be in support of his position.³⁹ Instead of being controlled by the church’s hierarchy, as Adventists had feared, Kennedy earned their praise for “courageously” upholding the barrier separating church and state, keeping his campaign promise to recommend federal aid to public schools only.⁴⁰

Beyond attacking Sunday laws, support for which was far from lasting and unified among Catholics, the drive to stop federal aid to parochial schools was the only significant organized action by the Adventist Church in this period that might be viewed as anti-Catholic. Although driven in part by apocalyptic concerns about the papal “beast,” this opposition to parochial aid, in view of President Kennedy’s position, could be termed anti-Catholic only in the narrow sense of opposing the bishops’ agenda.

Moreover, Adventists themselves, as will be seen, gradually moderated their stance on government aid benefiting church-operated schools, thus reducing the difference between themselves and Catholics on this issue. Over the subsequent decades the Supreme Court pursued the complex course of accommodating some forms of parochial aid within parameters set forth in the *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971) case.⁴¹ Adventists, though not without some anguish, essentially followed the Court’s lead, taking advantage of the forms of state aid approved by the Court rather than resisting on the basis of unchanging principle.⁴²

If the Catholic president's strong stand for separation of church and state went contrary to Adventists' expectations about the advance of Catholic power, the Second Vatican Council complicated matters even further, yet without fundamentally altering Adventist convictions. From the outset Adventists viewed the signs of liberalization and rapprochement with Protestants under John XXIII with grave suspicion and a strong sense that prophecy was being fulfilled. Again, passages from *The Great Controversy* shaped the Adventist perspective on the favorable Protestant responses to Vatican II: friendly hands were reaching "over the abyss," and Protestants were "opening the door for the papacy to regain in Protestant America the supremacy which she has lost in the Old World."⁴³

Adventist writers, however, were not so restricted by their apocalyptic perspective that they failed to recognize that real change of momentous proportions had occurred. Cottrell, by the end of 1965, had begun to conclude that the developments at Vatican II were not so superficial as he had predicted during the early stages of the council. Regarding religious liberty, he recognized that in accepting the contribution of the American Jesuit scholar John Courtney Murray, the council had fundamentally changed the Catholic position. Religious liberty was now being affirmed on the basis of the dignity of the human being, not expedience.⁴⁴ A few months later Cottrell urged Adventists to recognize that this stunning change meant that they would have to make corresponding changes in their approach to Catholicism. "The church that never changes is making the most earth-shaking changes any church has ever made," he wrote. "Many things that have truthfully been said about the church in the past are no longer true, or will soon not be. In all Christian fairness we should not be guilty of misrepresenting the present by citing the past. We can well afford to be fair and practice the golden rule."⁴⁵ Similar analysis came from Bert Beach, then serving as a church administrator in Europe. An American born to missionary parents, Beach earned a doctorate in church history at the Sorbonne and was becoming the church's foremost analyst on interfaith issues, authoring books on Vatican II and the ecumenical movement.⁴⁶

As with Sunday laws, Adventists had to recognize and even celebrate new realities about Catholicism that at first glance did not appear to fit with their apocalyptic expectations. Even the revolution in the Catholic Church, however, did not prompt them to change their views about the cast of characters and issues in the final events. On second glance, the new situation actually could be interpreted as helping to set the stage for the last crisis. Though Catholicism had changed more genuinely than Adventists had expected, Cottrell declared that its ultimate objective had not changed. It had only radically changed its tactics in order to conciliate Protestants, take the lead in healing the wounds in Christendom, and thus be in a stronger position eventually to fulfill "the role assigned the church in the Apocalypse."⁴⁷

Beach likewise expressed doubt that the positive changes would be lasting.⁴⁸ He drew the title of his book, *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss*, and quotations placed at the beginning of some chapters from the apocalyptic writings of Ellen White, clearly indicating that he interpreted the council within the standard Adventist outline of eschatological events. Significant and welcome as the changes it wrought were, Vatican II, in “bridging the abyss” between Protestants and Catholics, remained part of the grand conspiracy of evil. The apocalyptic remained the fundamental key to interpreting developments in Catholicism.

Since Vatican II, Adventists in general have presented a friendlier face toward Catholicism, employing gentler, less denunciatory language. At the same time, they have clung to their belief, on the basis of prophecy, that the church of Rome would one day use its improved status in America as a basis for a return to coercion. Hegstad put it this way in commenting on a perceived loophole in the Declaration on Religious Liberty: he did not expect “to see the Spanish Inquisition reincarnated come roaring through the loophole” tomorrow, but “there remains always the day after tomorrow.”⁴⁹ The tension between developing a friendlier approach and maintaining conviction about an emerging papal conspiracy would become increasingly difficult to hold together, as we will see in chapter 6.

Ecumenism

In Ellen White’s *Great Controversy*, twentieth-century Adventists believed they had an unerring guide to the significance of unfolding developments in the ecumenical movement. White had pointed to “a strong and growing sentiment in favor of a union” between the leading Protestant churches in the United States “based upon common points of doctrine.” She warned that in their united strength, the churches would then “influence the state to enforce their decrees and sustain their institutions,” which would inevitably result in “the infliction of civil penalties upon dissenters.”⁵⁰ Though White saw in her own time a trend toward this outcome that had been developing for decades, it was natural for Adventists to see in the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century the fulfillment of a divine forecast and another confirmation of her prophetic gift.

From the formation of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908 to the high point of ecumenical activity in the 1950s and 1960s,⁵¹ Adventist leaders fastidiously scrutinized ecumenical developments, often attending key sessions and giving extensive reports and analyses in their publications. Each ecumenical advance seemed to reveal a remarkable fulfillment of prophecy, yet here, too, not everything went as expected.

In his coverage of the formation of the FCC in 1908, *Review* editor W. W. Prescott had sounded two themes that echoed throughout subsequent Adventist comment. First, in emphasizing social reform, the FCC was departing from the true gospel, both in terms of spiritual vitality—which comes through individual

regeneration—and in hope for the future—which is the Second Coming of Christ, rather than establishment of the kingdom on Earth through improvement of social conditions.⁵² Second, and closely related, the FCC's stated goal of applying the "combined influence" of the churches to "all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people" revealed that in essence it was "a combination for religio-political purposes."⁵³ Any "combination," in the Adventist way of thinking, contained potential mischief for individual rights.

In assessing the FCC, and then the National Council of Churches, in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, F. D. Nichol perpetuated the themes laid down by his predecessor but also made important shifts in emphasis. Nichol, too, was concerned about a "church-state combine" relying on legislation to express Christian standards for the state, but his stress was more on the doctrinal and historical reasons why Adventists could not join the ecumenical organizations, points not highlighted in 1908.⁵⁴ Adventists were set apart by their distinctive beliefs on such matters as the Sabbath, conditional immortality, prophecy, and the Second Coming. Moreover, Adventism had originated as a prophetic call to come out of the established religious bodies. To shelve doctrinal differences in the name of ecumenical cooperation would thus mean a dilution of historic mission and identity.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, Nichol urged that Adventists revise the way in which apocalyptic shaped their perceptions of ecumenism. They were right, he believed, in interpreting all current events from the viewpoint of prophecy, specifically their knowledge of a final confederacy of evil in which Catholicism, apostate Protestantism, and spiritualism would ally. They were also right in maintaining vigilant watch for evidence of the development of this confederacy. But though prophecy should put Adventists "on guard," he argued, it should not "color and warp our thinking or to lead us to view all men instinctively with suspicion."⁵⁶ He could find no evidence that the Protestant leaders active in the NCC were engaged in "a sinister, long-range plan to dominate the religious world and drive out all who differ with them."⁵⁷

In interpreting the significance of events, Nichol tried to harmonize commitment to Adventist beliefs about the future with an honest appraisal of present reality. This necessitated placing a distance between the present ecumenical movement and apocalyptic events; the link between the two was not severed, but the specifics of that linkage could not be as clearly identified. Not only did a national Sunday law now seem remote, but Nichol and others couldn't help noticing and applauding the outspoken resistance to Catholic political power by liberal Protestants in the 1940s. Such action did not fit with the expected picture of a modernism that, having lost its theological moorings, would easily be drawn into Rome's scheme for dominance.⁵⁸

Moreover, having become personally acquainted with Protestant leaders through attendance at ecumenical gatherings, Nichol was impressed with their

spirituality and integrity, and he found it impossible to believe that they could knowingly be involved in “devising any sinister plots against us or against anyone.”⁵⁹ On the contrary, he concluded that Adventists were now being viewed in a much more favorable light than ever before. In 1957 he observed that whereas Adventists had been perceived as a “fanatical fringe” in their early days, then granted a sort of bemused tolerance in the early decades of the twentieth century, in the past fifteen years a “mood of respectable consideration” had prevailed. Journalists and scholars were according Adventists sincere, accurate, and even appreciative appraisals.⁶⁰

After attending an NCC conference on religious liberty in 1964, Nichol reported evidence of a favorable reassessment of Adventism among religious leaders, including Catholics. A Jesuit observer had expressed to Nichol vigorous and unsolicited support for Adventist rights regarding a day of worship, and the conference’s statement on Sunday legislation adopted the one-in-seven principle designed to accommodate observers of other days. For the present, though Nichol found it “slightly bewildering,” attitudes were moving away from rather than toward the onset of persecution. “As of the moment,” he wrote, “we are undoubtedly in a more fortunate position in the minds of religious world than we have ever been. . . . The great majority of church people, neighbors and friends, and others, are kindly people, who to the extent that they know us, bear us no ill will.”⁶¹

In this more congenial atmosphere, the church took active membership in various departments and committees of the NCC, such as Broadcast and Films, Religious Liberty, and Foreign Missions, while stopping short of regular membership in the council as such. Some Adventists objected to this cooperation with “Babylon” and the funds appropriated for it. Nichol responded by citing the utilitarian value of these involvements: they provided Adventists access to information useful in carrying out the church’s own distinctive mission.⁶²

Adventist leaders thus did not apply their apocalyptic view so rigidly as to preclude cordial, working relationships with other Protestants. The pragmatic rewards of such cooperation and the awareness through ecumenical contacts that they enjoyed increasingly favorable regard drew Adventists toward the “denominational” model. Yet still they officially stood apart as a latter-day remnant. Moreover, despite evidence that ecumenists were deeply committed to religious freedom both in general and for Adventists in particular, the latter did not surrender their view that ecumenism in some fashion was preparing the way for the persecuting confederacy of the last days. Only four months after Nichol’s optimistic report in 1964 about the fortunate status of Adventists in society, his associate editor, Kenneth Wood, wrote that with “every tick of the clock, Adventists move closer to the day when they must stand alone against the most ruthless religious monolith in history.”⁶³

School Prayer Controversy

If the Sabbath was the primary issue over which Adventists dissented from the program for a Christian America in the late nineteenth century, no issue distinguished Adventists more clearly from a similar agenda during the second half of the twentieth century than religion in the public schools.

The Supreme Court's ruling in *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), which declared prescribed use of a prayer composed by public officials in New York public schools unconstitutional, sparked widespread protest from religious Americans. Though Baptist leaders, several Protestant theologians, and many Jewish organizations supported the decision, Billy Graham voiced the dismay felt by many at what appeared to be a blow against national faith in God: "God pity our country when we can no longer appeal to God for help."⁶⁴ For many religious conservatives, the *Engel* decision was the beginning of a decade of blows to the nation's moral vitality from "the Warren Court." Subsequent blows were inflicted by the ruling against Arkansas' anti-evolution law in 1968 and *Roe v. Wade*, the decision in 1973 favoring the right to an abortion.⁶⁵ Thus the New Christian Right, which coalesced in the 1970s to take political action against what it viewed as a Supreme Court-sanctioned erosion of national morality, made prayer in public schools prominent on its agenda.⁶⁶

Adventists welcomed the *Engel* decision as a proper repudiation of state-established religion and defended it against charges that it was thereby hostile to religion itself. Cottrell argued that officially sponsored school prayers "make children a captive audience of the state for the promotion of religious beliefs and practices desired by the majority." Provision for voluntary participation only made possible the option of accepting "the status of second-class citizens among their fellow pupils."⁶⁷ Hegstad pointed out in *Liberty* that the decision did not mean that students were no longer allowed to pray at school or that references to God in patriotic songs and ceremonies would be prohibited. The court's decision ruled out only official, state-written prayers. Thus, he argued, the decision "should not be called anti-God but anti-state-enforced religion" and should arouse "little concern . . . that we have taken another step down the road to secularism."⁶⁸

Conservatives responded to the *Engel* decision and *Abington Township School v. Schempp* (1963), in which the Supreme Court made a similar ruling against Bible reading and prayer in public schools, with a spate of proposals for a constitutional amendment designed to undo the damage caused by the Court. Marvin Loewen blasted the drive to restore official school prayer as expressing an insipid yet potentially dangerous form of "national religion" that worships a God from whom protection of the status quo is demanded. He characterized this emerging national religion as "a weak, watered-down, homogenized form of faith" with "all the earmarks of a comfortable superstition." Yet he suspected that in a time of crisis it would have sufficient hold on adherents to cause them to

“rise up and destroy any who dared to be a nonconformist by rejecting the popular ‘faith.’”⁶⁹

With such a prospect in mind Adventists took vigorous action against the prayer amendment proposed by Congressman Frank Becker of New York in 1964. The Becker amendment permitted Bible reading and prayer “in any governmental or public school institution, or place,” provided that “participation therein is on a voluntary basis.”⁷⁰ Though opposed by the National Council of Churches, most mainline Protestant denominations, and even many evangelical leaders, it gained considerable popular support. Fundamentalist organizations of the far Right, such as Billy James Hargis’s Christian Crusade, waged aggressive campaigns on behalf of the amendment. “Project America,” sponsored by a subsidiary of Carl McIntire’s International Council of Christian Churches, alone generated more than a million signatures in support. Roman Catholic television preacher Bishop Fulton Sheen; Daniel Poling, editor of the Reformed Church of America’s *Christian Herald*; and Robert Cook, chairman of the Evangelical Action Committee of the National Association of Evangelicals all testified on behalf of the amendment in congressional hearings.⁷¹

General Conference president Reuben R. Figuhr issued a “Call to Action” in the *Review*, exhorting Adventists to write their congressmen expressing objections to the amendment.⁷² Calling the amendment “potentially one of the most dangerous to religious liberty that has been considered by Congress in our generation,” Loewen sent kits from the church’s Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department (PARL) to local and regional church leaders to aid and guide them taking action.⁷³ Seeking to rouse local pastors and church members to let Congress know that school prayer amendments did not enjoy unanimous support among the churches, PARL declared, “This is a time for action! The sponsors of the amendments to the Constitution have convinced most of the congressmen that every church member of all denominations in the United States is in favor of changing the Constitution. This impression must be changed! There is only one way it can be done. Letters! Hundreds of Letters! Thousands of Letters! Letters from every Seventh-day Adventist church member in the United States.”⁷⁴ In addition to generating letters, Adventist leaders made their case in person before the House Judiciary Committee.⁷⁵ Becker’s proposal never came to a vote on the floor, and Cottrell noted lack of support from the National Catholic Welfare Conference as a factor in its failure.⁷⁶

Since the failure of Becker’s effort, numerous proposals for some form of constitutional amendment bolstering prayer in public schools have recurred. Adventists have continued to meet all of them with the trenchant opposition demonstrated in the struggle over Becker’s bill.

In their general support for the Warren court decisions concerning religion⁷⁷ and in their aggressive opposition to constitutional amendments that would

counter or modify those decisions, Adventists diverged sharply from the significant segment of conservative Protestantism that crusaded for prayer in the public schools. Yet an emerging tension within Adventism can also be seen in this controversy. Some Adventists were showing increasing sensitivity to the difficulty of keeping church and state strictly separate without repressing the free exercise of religion. Representative Jerry Pettis of California, the first Seventh-day Adventist member of Congress, voted *for* a school prayer amendment in 1971 on the ground that denying prayer a place in the schools has the effect of establishing “a religion of secularism, and interferes with the children’s free exercise of religion.” In direct contrast to the arguments of Adventist leaders working for religious liberty, Pettis defended the amendment as a means of promoting “those practices which uplift and inspire us” in a time of general national decline in morals.⁷⁸ The growing split within Adventism between strict separationists and those favoring a more accommodationist⁷⁹ approach can be seen in an even more striking way in a controversy over accepting government aid to education.

Separationism and Government Aid

Qualification of the church’s adamant stance against accepting government funds began to appear at least as early as the 1930s. The growth of the federal welfare state in America began to create unprecedented, and what proved to be irresistible, funding opportunities for the church’s institutions that conflicted with the traditional stand on separation of church and state.⁸⁰

The conflict sharpened in 1943 when Paradise Valley Hospital in San Diego accepted a grant of \$136,000 through the Federal Work Agency to build an addition to the hospital and a new dormitory for nursing students.⁸¹ Vociferous protests from C. S. Longacre were viewed as a hindrance to raising additional funds for the project within the church and drew a sharp rebuke from J. L. McElhany, the General Conference president. McElhany cited Ellen White’s opposition to A. T. Jones’s criticism of the church’s acceptance of a land grant from the British South Africa Company in the 1890s.⁸² Here was clear evidence, McElhany declared, that Mrs. White favored acceptance of gifts from government. Longacre responded that White nowhere endorsed direct “government” aid to churches, only aid the rich and powerful were moved to bestow out of their own resources. The land grant in southern Africa fit the latter category since it came from Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, not from a government.⁸³ The ambiguity of this crucial precedent in Adventist history contributed to making the church’s twentieth-century struggle with the issue of government aid a protracted and messy one.

Two more developments in the 1940s prompted church leaders to seek a definitive policy on government aid. Under the provisions of the Surplus Property

Act of 1944, the Adventists' Central California Conference in 1948 acquired Camp McQuade, a large former military base, for one dollar and turned it into a denominational high school. H. H. Votaw decried this move as inconsistent with the church's long-held position and urged that the camp be returned to the government.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the Hill-Burton Act of 1946 made available funding for private hospitals, and Adventist administrators were eager to take advantage of it.

At the autumn council of 1948, church leaders voted to "reaffirm our full belief in the historic doctrine of the separation of church and state." They passed resolutions against accepting free textbooks from the government or public funds for teachers' salaries or school maintenance.⁸⁵ The council also declared that Adventist medical institutions in the United States, as "an integral part of our denominational program," should not accept government funds for operation or maintenance.⁸⁶

The unyielding policy didn't last long, however. The very next autumn council brought a crucial change, opening the door to capital funds from the government for medical institutions and to war surplus such as Camp McQuade. Acceptance of funds for capital development of hospitals, available through the Hill-Burton Act of 1946, was justified on the grounds that Adventist institutions "render a recognized service to the medical needs of the communities in which they are located" that was not specifically sectarian in nature.⁸⁷

Meanwhile, a theory on which to base the accommodationist stance toward government aid was gaining acceptance among some Adventist leaders. J. I. Robison, who had served the church for many years in Africa and Europe, argued in a position paper circulated in the late 1940s that a distinction should be made between religious liberty and separation of church and state. Religious liberty, he maintained, is basic, unquestioned Adventist doctrine. Separation of church and state, on the other hand, was an arrangement particular to the American government and not the only system under which religious liberty could be enjoyed. And now, the development of the welfare state in America had led to a "twilight zone" in the realms of education and social welfare where state and church have overlapping interests. The claims of both are legitimate, he argued, and he therefore called for "a plan of mutual agreement as to how each shall cooperate with the other."⁸⁸ Changes in the American government made mandatory an accommodation in which strict separationism is abandoned but the principle of religious liberty is maintained.

A change in the Religious Liberty Association's Declaration of Principles in 1956 reflects a consensus that separation of church and state, though ideal, was one particular means for realizing the more fundamental principle of religious liberty. Thus the RLA no longer declared separation of church and state as its first principle but rather affirmed belief in religious liberty, which "is best exercised when there is separation between church and state" (see appendix).

Nonetheless, the strict separationists were far from accepting Robison's prescription for the American context. Controversy deepened despite the policy voted in 1949 as the church's institutions of higher education began to push through the door cracked open by the provision for limited acceptance of government aid for the church's medical institutions. Many Adventist educational administrators were eager to take advantage of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1958, which offered government funds for one-third of the cost of new buildings, and other legislation for various forms of aid such as scholarships, fellowships, equipment, and training programs in specific areas. Also, numerous acquisitions of government surplus property were made in the 1950s. Thus, by 1963, Seventh-day Adventist institutions were listed by POAU among the violators of the "moral, spiritual, and constitutional aspects of the principle of Church-State separation."⁸⁹

Such departure from the separationism so long advocated in the pages of *Liberty*, significant enough to prompt criticism from an organization in which Adventist leaders themselves had a high profile, understandably sparked intense debate within the Adventist community. Many Adventists wondered if their own church was now entering the very sort of illicit union with the state that it had frequently attributed to others.⁹⁰ For their part, the church's religious liberty leaders, reluctantly conceding defeat on the issue of Hill-Burton funds, fought to maintain the policy against acceptance of government aid for capital improvements at Adventist colleges, even while adherence to the policy was in fact rapidly eroding.⁹¹

The debate continued through the 1960s, and the controverted issues were aired in an unusually frank public manner in a panel discussion printed in the *Review* in 1968. Moderated by Neal C. Wilson, vice president of the General Conference for North America, the panel included Robert H. Brown, a vice president of Walla Walla College; Herbert Douglass, president of Atlantic Union College; and F. E. J. Harder, chairman of the Department of Education at Andrews University. As educators, these men favored a relatively liberal policy on government aid. Also included were Roland Hegstad and attorney Warren Johns, who were concerned with upholding a separationist policy.⁹²

The educators developed the themes adumbrated by Robison. Harder emphasized the point that separation of church and state should be seen as a *policy* rather than a *doctrine*. Whereas a doctrine of "personal and religious freedom" could be derived from the Bible, he argued, separation of church and state was "not exemplified, described, or prescribed" therein.

Hegstad and Johns agreed with their brethren that complete separation of church and state was not possible and that the counsels of Ellen White made room for some forms of government aid. They argued, however, for adherence to separationist principles, based on the church's apocalyptic identity as remnant, that

would strictly limit the forms and conditions under which aid was accepted. Hegstad cited the Adventist interpretation of Revelation as depicting the emergence of an oppressive union between church and state to suggest that separationism was indeed a biblical principle. In view of such apocalyptic understanding, he asked, "can we hasten the erosion of the wall of separation for the sake of financial subsidy, or for any other reason, and yet claim to act in a principled way?" In fact it would be "criminal," he added, "for men with the prophetic insight of the Adventist ministry uncritically to involve the church in confederacy with government for the sake of financial aid."

Again the issue turned in part on how much emphasis would be placed on the church's remnant status. Johns maintained that the very survival of Adventism as a "viable 'remnant'" was at stake. If the church that claims to be the remnant of faithful believers described in Revelation "unites with government for economic gain," then, he suggested, "the prophetic term 'remnant' as applied to the Seventh-day Adventist Church would face redefinition."

For Hegstad and Johns, the twin dangers of governmental control and secularization highlighted the need for maintaining a critical perspective on government aid. As evidence of the danger of secularization, Hegstad pointed to the many church-related colleges, particularly Roman Catholic, that "were altering their organizational structure and admission requirements to allow for the secularization that will bring government subsidy." While many of the constitutional issues remained unresolved, he feared that with federal aid, Adventist schools would face similar pressure toward secularization.

Controversy over the issue of government aid continued to simmer until external and internal pressures prompted the church to another attempt at resolving it in 1972. Cuts in government appropriations by the Nixon administration and a general dip in enrollment created financial distress for colleges. Then, passage of the Higher Education Omnibus Bill in 1972 offered relief by extending old programs and funding new ones. Adventist educational administrators sought to take advantage of the programs, but there was some confusion as to what was allowable under church policy.⁸³ Moreover, some administrators were less conscientious than others about following denominational policy. Neal Wilson observed that numerous violations of existing policy were occurring and expressed the desire of church leaders that policy and practice be consistent within the denomination.⁸⁴

The new policy proposed at the 1972 autumn council was more permissive in that it no longer categorized some forms of government aid as inherently unacceptable. Government funds for capital improvements, equipment, general operating, and salaries might now be approved. However, a set of guidelines was established to restrict the conditions under which aid might be received. The guidelines stipulated that any participation in aid programs should not compromise the independence of Adventists schools, deflect them from their pur-

pose of inculcating Christian principles, or weaken the “historic position” of the church that “religious liberty is best achieved and preserved by a separation of church and state.” A system of monitoring and evaluation by church boards external to the institutions receiving aid was set up in an effort to avoid inconsistencies and violations.

In the floor debate at the autumn council, W. Melvin Adams registered sharp opposition. “This new policy is dishonest,” he said. “It begins by maintaining our historic position of separation of church and state and then turns 180 degrees.” Adamant opponents of the policy turned out to be a small minority, however. Hegstad’s somewhat reluctant support reflected the position of many whose views could allow for government aid under some circumstances but remained highly concerned about its potential threat to the church. “This has been a traumatic issue for me,” he observed, “but I am not afraid to depart from the policies of the past.” The council eventually approved the new policy overwhelmingly.⁹⁵ The denomination appeared to have achieved relative consensus on a policy that could be squared with the actual practice of its educational institutions, though concern continued to be expressed occasionally about the government funding reaching such an extent that it threatened the autonomy of Adventist schools.⁹⁶

Hegstad put the best face possible on the new policy, defending it in *Liberty* as an “uncompromising Declaration of Independence.” Though editor of the publication subsidized by the church “to advocate continued separation of church and state,” he recognized that the separation could not be absolute and that “Caesar’s sphere and God’s sphere sometimes overlap.” On the specific matter of government aid to church-related colleges, Adventist leaders declared that “they could not make the constitutional judgments necessary” and thus accepted the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Tilton v. Richardson* (1971), which permitted some forms of such aid. In earlier eras Adventists had rarely been so timid about expressing their judgment on constitutional issues of church and state, but Hegstad believed their principles were safeguarded by the stipulations of the new policy. He claimed that it was strict enough to ensure that the amount of government aid would “not exceed a trickle” and affirmed his conviction that “the First Amendment still stands as a desirable wall between tax dollars and the kind of schools Adventists are determined to maintain.”⁹⁷

Despite Hegstad’s efforts to reconcile the new policy with separationist principles, the Adventist solution to the problem of the expanding role of government and growing needs of its own institutions came at the price of a loss of clarity in the church’s stand on separation of church and state. Adams’s objection seems irrefutable. While on the one hand continuing to affirm separation as the best way of achieving religious liberty, the church had given official approval to forms of cooperation with government of the sort that it had condemned in earlier years as an egregious trespass of the wall of separation.

Regarding the “wall of separation,” it was Bert B. Beach who perhaps best expressed the position to which Adventism, by and large, had come: “Separation of church and state must at times be an invulnerable wall, but on occasion it must also be a permeable honeycomb allowing legitimate cooperation and even government regulation. . . . Think of church schools and state education laws, church construction and building codes, church financial operations and laws affecting them, to name but a few spheres of joint influence where ironclad separation is out of the question.”⁹⁸ Adventists still wanted the barrier between church and state to be strong where necessary, but less uniformly absolute than they had previously envisioned it.

Free Exercise in the Welfare State

Although the issue of how to handle the provisions of the welfare state in regard to the church’s *institutions* created a crisis for Adventism, church leaders had little hesitation about asserting the right of *individuals*—Adventists and others—to claim the entitlements and legal protection afforded by the state without suffering discrimination because of their religious practices. Here Adventist activism contributed to extending the principle of religious freedom in the new historical context brought about by the progressive social legislation of the twentieth century.

Workplace conflicts created by their distinctive practices constituted one of the most difficult challenges faced by Saturday Sabbatarians in a society that recognizes Sunday as the day of rest. Faithful Seventh-day Adventists insisted on abstaining from work for the entire twenty-four hour period from sundown Friday evening to sundown Saturday evening and frequently found it necessary to give up jobs that demanded Saturday work in order to be faithful to their beliefs.⁹⁹ As government expanded its role in providing for the needs of the unemployed, disputes arose concerning whether Adventists who were out of work solely because of their Sabbatarianism were entitled to unemployment benefits. Could Adventists claim benefits on the basis of their right to the free exercise of religion, even though the state was doing nothing directly to restrict their practices? Or would the payments in effect subsidize the practices of a particular group and thus be an unconstitutional establishment of religion? This convergence of Adventist practice, the welfare state, and the Constitution led to a Supreme Court decision in 1963 that came to be regarded as one of the most significant interpretations of the First Amendment in the court’s history.¹⁰⁰

The issue of the Sabbath and unemployment compensation surfaced as early as 1948. Several Adventist women in Battle Creek, Michigan, initially denied benefits, appealed their case successfully to higher state officials. Frank Yost described the incident as “an important precedent in favor of liberty of conscience.”¹⁰¹ The issue was far from settled, however, and with other cases arising,

church leaders voted the following spring that the denomination should bear the expenses of members seeking legal redress.¹⁰² In 1954, laws that stipulated denial of unemployment benefits to those refusing work on either Saturday or Sunday were tested in the state supreme courts of Michigan and Ohio. Alvin Johnson argued in *Liberty* that such laws exhibited a governmental hostility toward religion in violation of the “free exercise” provision.¹⁰³ Both courts agreed, ruling in favor of the Sabbatarians claim on benefits, as did the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1956.¹⁰⁴

In South Carolina, however, a legal battle began over the issue in 1959 that eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court. Adell Sherbert, who had been employed for more than thirty years at Spartan Mills, a textile mill in Spartanburg, converted to Seventh-day Adventism in 1957. At this time the mill was operating only five days per week; thus she had no Sabbath work conflicts. In 1959, however, the mill shifted to a six-day work week, and Sherbert lost her job for refusing to work on Saturdays. After failing to find work that accommodated her convictions at three other mills in the area, and filing unsuccessfully for unemployment benefits, she took her case to court.¹⁰⁵

The Supreme Court decided in favor of Sherbert in 1963 by a seven-to-two majority. In the majority opinion, Justice William Brennan held that the government was imposing on Sherbert a choice between practicing her religion and accepting work, which was equivalent to fining her for her worship on Saturday: “To condition the availability of benefits upon this appellant’s willingness to violate a cardinal principle of her religious faith effectively penalizes the free exercise of her constitutional liberties.” Such a burden to free exercise could be constitutional only if necessitated by some “compelling state interest,” and Brennan could find none in this case. His ruling did not foster the “establishment” of Adventism in South Carolina, Brennan further argued. Rather, providing those who worshiped on Saturday and Sunday alike with access to unemployment benefits constituted “nothing more than the governmental obligation of neutrality in the face of religious differences.”¹⁰⁶

Adventists naturally celebrated the decision as a vindication of “equal justice for all” and reason to “thank God anew for His protecting care over those who conscientiously witness for the truth of the Sabbath at the risk of discrimination in the matter of unemployment compensation.”¹⁰⁷ The landmark application of the free exercise clause that they embraced in the Sherbert decision was perhaps an indirect part of a process leading Adventists toward a more nuanced view of the relationship between church and state. In an era when the role of government was expanding, “neutrality” was becoming at least as important as “separation.”

In the 1970s another dimension of the welfare state, namely, its regulations protecting civil rights, came to prominence in connection with Sabbatarian employees. Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its 1972 amendments forbade job discrimination on the basis of religion. Guidelines issued by the Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission stipulated that employers “make reasonable accommodations to the religious needs of employees and prospective employees where such accommodations can be made without undue hardship on the conduct of the employer’s business.” When Edward Shaffield, an Adventist helicopter mechanic employed at Northrop Worldwide Aircraft Services in Alabama, was fired for leaving work early on Fridays to avoid working after the Sabbath began at sundown, he filed a suit charging religious discrimination in federal court. Northrop claimed that its policy was to treat all employees alike, thus it could not give preferential treatment to Shaffield. The court, however, ruled in Shaffield’s favor, arguing that the company had “numerous opportunities to effect an accommodation with only minimal disruption of business.” *Liberty* columnist Elvin Benton, in an appreciative analysis of the decision, commented that treating everybody alike would only be fair if “all people were identical.”¹⁰⁸

Here it must be noted that when it came to application of Title 7 to *church* institutions, Adventism’s top leadership put up trenchant resistance. In 1973 Merikay Silver filed a suit alleging sex discrimination in hiring and payment practices against the church’s Pacific Press Publishing Association. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Department of Labor filed related suits on behalf of Silver and another female employee of Pacific Press, Lorna Tobler. The Department of Labor also filed a complaint in 1975 against the Pacific Union Conference, an umbrella organization for the church’s associations, schools, and colleges on the West Coast, which charged that unequal pay for basically equal work had been rendered to employees of different genders.

The fundamental contention made by the defense in these cases was that the First Amendment placed church institutions beyond the jurisdiction of the state. The defense in the case involving Pacific Press declared that “in doing its work, the church is free to ignore, even to flout, measures which bind all others,” and that “the church claims exemption from all civil laws in all its religious institutions.” In both of the cases, the church’s sweeping claims to freedom from government regulation was rejected in federal court. The ruling in the Press case declared that it was the job of the courts, not the church, to interpret the Constitution, that workers in religious institutions had the right to protection against discrimination, and that it was the clear intent of Congress that Title 7 apply to religious organizations, with the only permissible form of discrimination being the practice of hiring church members exclusively.¹⁰⁹

In the secular arena, however, Adventist activism contributed to a broadening of the state’s role in protecting workers against religious discrimination. This point was true not only in regard to Sabbatarian accommodation and unemployment compensation but also in regard to yet another employment-related issue—compulsory labor union membership.

The origins of Adventist distrust of labor unions in the late nineteenth cen-

tury was briefly discussed in chapter 3. Unions were viewed as “combinations” that repressed individual freedom through coercive collective action. Labor violence was expected to lead to the final apocalyptic conflict, with the strong Roman Catholic influence helping to make unions appear a likely instrument of the last conspiracy. Unions thus posed a fundamental challenge to the believer’s loyalty to God and the church, and Ellen White urged Adventists to avoid them and “stand free in God.” It should also be reiterated that White and other Adventist writers at this time were just as severe on the large trusts for conspiring to deprive individuals of economic rights and thus prompting social upheaval.¹¹⁰ In the years following White’s death, Adventist spokespersons continued to dissociate the church from the strikes and violence of the labor movement, point out the guilt of capital in establishing unjust economic conditions, and urge that those injustices be redressed through legal means.¹¹¹

It was not until the late 1930s, however, that union membership became a personal, ethical dilemma for many Adventists. As the number of Adventists living in cities increased, both through conversion¹¹² and the nation’s general trend toward urbanization, and organized labor made advances under the New Deal, more and more faced pressure to join unions. They were confronted with the perplexing choice between retaining their jobs in a union shop and defying the church’s historic position, which was given prophetic authority through Ellen White’s admonitions.

For more than two decades the Adventist leadership took the approach of negotiating agreements with labor unions. Some unions accepted a document, called the Basis of Agreement, that committed the unions to certify Adventist workers for employment if they would contribute the equivalent of union dues to union-supported charities and not cross picket lines in the event of a strike. In a manner similar to their “conscientious cooperation” with the military, Adventists could thus avoid direct, personal involvement in actions violating their beliefs while not interfering with and in some ways supporting the unions. However, these agreements were not sufficiently lasting, widely accepted, or consistently applied to resolve the problem.¹¹³

In the early 1960s church leaders sought new ways to apply their two-pronged approach of encouraging members to “stand apart” from unions while negotiating ways for them to keep jobs normally requiring union membership. While reiterating the longstanding position that union membership was not a barrier to Adventist membership,¹¹⁴ church leaders continued to emphasize the spiritual perils of unions. Rather than fading away as an issue, union membership continued to be strongly and repeatedly discouraged, if not absolutely forbidden.

Neal C. Wilson, then the church’s vice president for North America, drew on numerous arguments from the past in summarizing the case against unions in 1969. He cited the teachings of Jesus on treatment of enemies, and the inclusive

nature of Christianity that makes impossible affiliation with organizations that divide and create conflict along social and political lines. The capstone of his biblical argument was chapter 5 of the Epistle of James, which had become a favorite in Adventist polemics against unions. The epistle pronounces judgment on the wealthy who have made their fortunes by fraud and oppression, and then calls for patience until the coming of the Lord. “James does not advocate a workingman’s confederacy,” commented Wilson, but instead “cautions all Christians to be patient and not retaliate.” This passage seemed useful in not only justifying the Adventist position but also distinguishing it from support for the interests of big business.

Wilson also found Ellen White’s warnings concerning the apocalyptic threat of unions still pertinent. The papal support for labor exhibited since the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 was evidence that unions were “helping to implement the Catholic church’s objectives” in America, which, according to Revelation 13, meant “erecting an image to Catholic power.” Some labor leaders expressed support for Sunday laws, underscoring the ultimate danger of unions to Adventists.¹¹⁵ Wilson in fact devoted greater attention to apocalyptic concerns than many *Review* articles on the topic of labor unions in the 1940s—yet another indication of the continued strength of the Adventists’ interpretation of history in influencing their action in the public arena and creating permanent distance between them and public institutions.

Yet again here the apocalyptic outlook did not simply produce a quietism that preferred to wait for the coming of the Lord rather than join the struggle to achieve justice for workers. It also correlated with an activism that used the political process to preserve and extend liberty. Having failed to establish a satisfactory arrangement through direct negotiation with unions, Adventist leaders in the mid-1960s turned to legislation and litigation as means to help working people in the church enjoy religious liberty without loss of economic opportunity. And, ironically, that effort at times brought them into political alliance with organized labor.

President Johnson’s call upon Congress in 1965 to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 provided the occasion for an Adventist legislative initiative. Taft-Hartley, with its limitations on the power of organized labor, had afforded Adventists some support in their endeavor to work without joining unions. However, rather than oppose the repeal of section 14(b), which provided for state right-to-work laws, Adventist lobbyists proposed attaching to the repeal an amendment preventing the exclusion of religious objectors to labor unions from work places under union contract.

W. Melvin Adams, then associate secretary of the General Conference Religious Liberty Department, spearheaded the intensive lobbying effort for what became known as the “conscience clause.”¹¹⁶ Adams’s plea, in the setting of the Johnson administration’s ambitious program for social justice and welfare, was

expressed in the title of a *Liberty* article: "Is There Room for Religious Conviction in the Great Society?" He argued that since voluntary agreements between the church and unions had failed, and the spotty protection afforded by state right-to-work laws was now jeopardized, "it is now time for the Government to step in and guarantee the God-given right every man has to make a living for himself and his family, one of those rights our forefathers called 'unalienable.'" In other words, the government must combine with its program to combat poverty and expand economic opportunity strong provisions for individual liberty.

Specifically, he, on behalf of the church, recommended to House and Senate subcommittees in June 1965 an amendment stipulating that to require an individual who has religious convictions against so doing to "join or financially support any labor organization" shall be "unfair labor practice." Such an individual would be required, in turn, to pay the equivalent of union initiation fees and periodic dues to the treasurer of the United States.¹¹⁷

Adams persuaded Rep. Edith Green of Oregon to sponsor the amendment. A pro-labor Democrat, she had initially regarded Adams's proposal as anti-union. After agreeing to sponsor it, however, she stuck by it despite some opposition from labor supporters.¹¹⁸

In addition to Adventists, representatives of a branch of the Plymouth Brethren, the Mennonites, and the National Association of Evangelicals spoke at congressional hearings, pressing the case for protecting religious convictions against union membership. Additional support, elicited by Adams, came from pro-labor ecumenical organizations. Representatives of the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis sent a joint telegram urging Congress to "find a formula which simultaneously guarantees the legitimate rights of organized labor and the rights of those workers . . . whose religious beliefs make it impossible for them to join or support a labor organization."¹¹⁹

In this vigorous effort to promote legislation, the church, said Adams, was "neutral on the political, economic and social aspects of the repeal of Section 14(b)" and concerned only with defending religious conviction.¹²⁰ However apolitical the church's motivation, though, it had definitely taken a side in a political fight. Moreover, the desire to "stand free" from labor unions led Adventists in this instance to take the side of organized labor, supporting labor's leading legislative priority, so long as the conscience clause was included.¹²¹

As it turned out, the bill to repeal 14(b), to which a modified form the conscience clause became attached, was killed by a filibuster. Yet despite its failure in Congress, the conscience clause served as a new general framework for Adventist efforts to make arrangements with unions. A boost came from the executive council of the AFL-CIO, which endorsed the provisions of the conscience clause while it was pending in the Senate and urged unions "to accommodate themselves to

genuine individual religious scruples."¹²² For its part, the church, through its Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty, issued a "statement of cooperation," pledging Adventists to abide by the stipulations of an amendment proposed by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon regarding the payment of the equivalent of union dues and fees to charity. By such action they sought to show that they were not, as sometimes accused, "free riders." Additionally, in the event of a strike, they would "not side with the union by participating in the strike activities, nor with the employer by interfering with the union picketing."¹²³ In essence, this was a renewal of the terms of the Basis of Agreement established in the 1940s, with one major difference: the money paid by the religious objector would go to an independent charity rather than into union coffers.

With AFL-CIO policy not binding on union locals, however, it remained often difficult to persuade them to accept the conscience clause. Adventists continued to encounter pressure, with some losing their jobs and others either agreeing to join unions or accept arrangements that fell below the standard recommended by the church. An occurrence in 1972 in Long Island, New York, is illustrative. Nine Seventh-day Adventists, employed as cooks, housekeepers, and nurses aides, were affected when the Drug and Hospital Workers' Union No. 1199 won the right to represent workers at the United Presbyterian Home. Four of the Adventists quit, wishing to avoid any connection with labor unions. Two agreed to join the union. The other three contacted church officials for help. Representatives of the General Conference and local union conference Religious Liberty Departments arrived to negotiate with union leaders. The union refused to accept a proposal based on the conscience clause, which would have allowed the workers to retain their jobs if they paid an amount equivalent to union dues to a national charity. However, the union was willing to exempt them from actual membership, oaths, picketing, and meeting requirements, if the money was paid to the union instead. The workers accepted these terms.¹²⁴

While Adventists, with increasing success, pressed the issue in the courts during the 1970s,¹²⁵ Adams and his colleagues persisted in seeking congressional action on a conscience clause.¹²⁶ Success came slowly and in stages. A crucial breakthrough came in 1975, when New Jersey congressman Frank Thompson, a pro-labor Democrat who chaired the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, indicated his support for such action. A bill sponsored by Thompson early in 1977 providing for substitution of charity payments for union membership and dues passed overwhelmingly in the House. In the Senate, however, it was attached to a broader Labor Reform Bill that was defeated by a filibuster. Finally in 1980, with Adams now retired and Gordon Engen leading Adventist lobbying, conscience clause legislation made it all the way through the congressional maze, despite continuing opposition from some unions. Reaching the Senate floor just a day before Congress was to adjourn, it passed by a voice vote

without dissent and was signed into law by President Carter on 24 December 1980. After fifteen years of congressional lobbying, Adventists won the backing of federal law for the right of individuals with religious convictions against union membership to not have their economic opportunity thereby obstructed, so long as they did not take unfair advantage by pocketing the amount that would go to union dues.

The ethical approach taken by Adventists toward labor unions paralleled that taken toward the military (see chapter 4) in some important ways. They believed that the violence and coercion practiced by these institutions was contrary to biblical teaching concerning individual Christian behavior, yet they did not protest the existence of such institutions in a sinful world, nor did they address the broad issues of peace and justice surrounding the activities of armies and unions. In exchange for the freedom to follow their understanding of certain biblical injunctions, they could offer silent neutrality and, sometimes, tacit blessing and willing cooperation to the institutions participating in conflict. In some respects, then, they tended toward uncritical nationalism, moral passivity, and indirect complicity in actions they regarded as morally impermissible for themselves.

At the same time, they would not entirely be swallowed up by conformity to the dominant institutions of American society. Indeed, Adventists sought with some rigor to maintain their social nonconformity on the issues they expected ultimately to be decisive. So even in the period when American Adventists were eagerly cultivating a cooperative relationship with the powerful institutions of the surrounding society, their apocalyptic view of history continued to undergird a sphere of resistance. Their earthly citizenship was, after all, only temporary; the heavenly was soon to supplant the earthly. In pursuing the course required by that expectation for the future, American Adventists succeeded in expanding the scope of individual freedom recognized by their earthly government.

Although during the 1930s and 1940s many of the church's editors and evangelists had denounced the welfare state as a potential instrument of repression, Adventists in the postwar decades did not perpetuate intransigent denunciation of "big government." Instead, they used legal channels in pressing for full realization of religious liberty under the provisions of the welfare state.

Conservatism under Challenge

In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, "cautious conservatism" remained the dominant, though no longer unchallenged, political style among American Adventists. Not only did they generally refrain from challenging the status quo, but many leaders stressed more than ever that belief in the premillennial return of Christ and separation of church and state meant the church must avoid political activism. That emphasis, however, was in part a reaction to significant voices being

raised in the church on behalf of a new and deeper involvement with the issues dividing American society.

Separationism and Conservatism

Reacting to the increasing involvement of American churches in progressive social causes, *Review* editor Kenneth Wood exclaimed in a 1971 editorial, “When will Christians really believe that the second coming of Christ is the only answer to this world’s problems!”¹²⁷ Wood here ignored the history, which we have examined, of extensive activism on the part of apocalyptically motivated Adventists. He and other Adventist leaders posited a sharp distinction between the religious—the church’s proper realms of activity, and the secular—the proper sphere of government and politics. Making such a distinction was certainly nothing new for Adventists, but now leading spokespersons seemed to be making it in a more unqualified fashion than in previous eras. Borrowing the language of a Gallup poll question, Wood declared in 1968 that although the church should indeed be attentive to human rights and needs, it should “stick to religion” and not be “sidetracked” by such worthwhile causes from its “God-given assignment” to preach the gospel throughout the world, particularly the “three angels’ messages of Revelation 14—God’s saving messages for this judgment hour.”¹²⁸ Similarly, F. D. Nichol, in 1965, described the increasing Protestant interest in political, economic, and social issues as an effort to “reform the world in its *secular* aspects.”¹²⁹

Though they thus tended to distance themselves from church-based political activism, Adventists could not be described as politically neutral or entirely aloof. Though hard evidence is sketchy, Adventist Church historian C. Mervyn Maxwell’s observation about late-nineteenth-century Adventists being “overwhelmingly Republican in political sympathies”¹³⁰ held equally true into the 1970s, at least for the white majority.¹³¹

The record of Jerry L. Pettis, the first Adventist elected to Congress, gives us a window on Adventist political leanings. Pettis began his remarkable career as a minister, then turned to aviation, and then to business ventures in audio-tape distribution and tape-duplicating equipment that made him a millionaire. He also took up citrus and avocado ranching. Then, in 1966, he was elected to represent the southern California district that included Loma Linda, the site of the Adventist medical school. A private plane crash brought a tragic end to his life in 1975 while he was still in Congress.¹³²

The *Almanac of American Politics* described Pettis as “safely conservative” though straying from party orthodoxy enough “to indicate the presence of an original mind.” Analysis of his voting record from 1968 to 1970 shows support for all major weapons programs and opposition to the Coop-Church amendment to limit presidential authority to conduct military operations in Cambodia. These votes earned him a 100 percent rating on the National Security Index of

the American Security Council. He also received high ratings from the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action. Ratings from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action ranged from 0 percent in 1968 to 28 percent in 1970.¹³³

Probably no church official expressed Adventist identification with conservatism and the Republican Party in more direct fashion than J. James Aitken, who served as the General Conference representative to Congress and the United Nations in the early 1970s. After President Nixon's speech in April 1972 declaring plans for intensive bombing of North Vietnam, Aitken sent him a letter of appreciation and, in a second letter a month later, expressed the hope that "the nation will understand the extreme importance of the most courageous action which you have taken."¹³⁴ Writing to Pettis on the same topic, Aitken summarized in a sentence the aggregate of church-state separationism, quietism, and conservatism that had become the dominant political style in Adventism: "Other Churches may take whatever action they desire on Vietnam, but the Seventh-day Adventist Church feels that it should pray for the Chief Executive that the state might make the right decisions without pressure from the Church."¹³⁵ Under Aitken's approach, the church could support a favored government such as Nixon's with complicity and spiritual legitimation and yet remain ostensibly apolitical, not crossing the wall separating church and state.

During the Watergate crisis, Aitken assured Nixon and other Republican leaders of ongoing support from the Adventist Church. In a letter to George Bush, then chairman of the Republican National Committee, Aitken declared that "in all the political crisis we have been going through recently, we as a church want to be loyal to our President and to the Republican Party who put him there. . . . We have not lost faith in you, your party, and above all, the President of the United States. We stand firm in our support of him." Acknowledging that some Adventists vote Democratic, he maintained that the majority "have through the years been on the conservative side and appreciate the great principles of the Republican Party."¹³⁶ Though no public church pronouncement would be so openly partisan and Aitken's sweeping statements no doubt exceeded any authority with which to back them, he did speak as the church's official representative to Congress and effectively conveyed a political orientation that was rarely stated so explicitly in public.

Emerging Diversity

The quietism and cautious conservatism that Adventists continued to exhibit in this period derived in part from their belief in the separation of church and state, which biased them against church-based advocacy for governmental solutions to social problems. However, just as the expanding welfare state battered strict separationism regarding government aid, the issues of war, race, and poverty that stirred the nation in the 1960s prompted challenges to the blend of patriotic conservatism, individualistic piety, and disengagement from public controversy that

had come to be viewed as normative for American Adventism. Particularly from black Adventist leaders and a growing class of young, highly educated academics and professionals, came calls for the church to break out of its isolation and relate its message to the turbulent issues facing the nation.

It was controversy over these issues of war, race, and poverty that sharpened into what Robert Wuthnow has called the “Great Divide” between religious conservatives and liberals in America. Liberals sought to galvanize direct action by the church for peace in Southeast Asia and racial justice. Conservatives judged such activism improper for the church, while favoring a strong military posture and a lesser role for the government in resolving racial and economic problems.¹³⁷ The new voices in Adventism identified, at least vaguely, with the liberal side.

Reaction by adherents of cautious conservatism against the new calls to such involvement was strong, but not so overwhelming as to silence the voices for change. The “Great Divide,” which marked conflict between liberals and conservatives within denominations rather than between denominations, now manifested itself in the new plurality of views that persisted in Adventism. Each of the key issues that divided the nation—war, race, and poverty—brought new tension and new dynamism into Adventism.

God, Country, and Biological Weapons

During the postwar decades, church leaders fostered deeper ties than ever with the nation’s military establishment. Expansion of the church’s ministry to military personnel in the 1950s and 1960s tended to encourage the related conceptions that military service performed for one’s country was also performed for God and that it was not the church’s role to question the rightness of American military action. With the onset of the Vietnam era, however, came new voices of protest and finally acceptance of a greater diversity of approaches to the military in Adventism.

In 1954 church leadership expressed with forceful clarity the link between Christian faith and patriotic citizenship that had begun to emerge in the World War I era: “Genuine Christianity,” they declared, “manifests itself in good citizenship and loyalty to civil governments.” Christian duty thus placed Adventists under an “obligation of citizenship,” requiring that if called upon they should serve in any noncombatant capacity—civil or military—that contributes to saving life.¹³⁸ Through the National Service Organization (NSO), formed in 1954 in a merger of the old War Service Commission and the International Service Commission, which sponsored Medical Cadet Corps training, the church provided broadened support for the fulfillment of that obligation. The NSO not only provided a strong program of ministry to Adventist soldiers but also sought to enhance the effectiveness of their service. It functioned as liaison between the church and the Pentagon, dealt with problems faced by service personnel in following their religious beliefs, conducted centers and retreats, and coordinated MCC training.¹³⁹

The strengthened support for Adventist soldiers through the provision of chaplains and the NSO entailed ongoing cultivation of government favor through a conscientious cooperation that eschewed critical scrutiny of military or defense policy. Adventists thus tended to partake in what sociologists Peter Berger and Daniel Pinard called “military religion”—a religious legitimizing of the military by establishing a close affinity between the symbols of the Judeo-Christian tradition and the national state.¹⁴⁰ For example, the phrase NSO used for the title of its newsletter, *For God and Country*, had wide currency in literature used by chaplains of many denominations and captured the sentiment that both divine and national purposes could be advanced through military service. For Adventists, service for God and country held the particular significance of overcoming the obstacles created by their religious practices in order to fulfill that dual service. Working through those obstacles meant not only that they could maintain faithfulness while in the military but that the service rendered there was also for God.

The outlook that serving one’s country in the military was a divine requirement remained dominant into the 1970s. Clark Smith, director of the NSO during the 1960s and 1970s, amplified the theme in educational material for the MCC. He exhorted Adventist draftees to “go proudly to serve your country,” for it is “through the collective support of its citizens that a nation is made great.” He rejected what he called a “pacifist” view “that the follower of God need give only nominal service or obedience to his earthly government.” Rather, Romans 13:5 placed the believer under a “sacred obligation to obey the earthly government.”¹⁴¹ Regarding military service, except for particular aspects that violated God’s law, as a “sacred obligation” of obedience to government both provided religious legitimation for the military in general and discouraged critical judgment about the nation’s particular uses of military power.

On occasion, identification of divine purposes with national military goals was stated explicitly. Chaplain R. L. Mole expressed hope that the utilization of American military resources in Vietnam would advance the cause of Christ. He declared it a privilege to serve God and country in the “current struggle” and to risk death to defend God-given rights. “It took the blood of the Son of God to free men from eternal death. It may require your blood and mine that those who dwell in Southeast Asia might know that God who so loved them.”¹⁴²

Although church leaders rarely gave such explicit endorsement to the nation’s military endeavors, the at-least-tacit blessing they provided made Adventists part of an overwhelmingly unified national sentiment during the two world wars and throughout the 1950s. In the 1960s, when many Americans questioned their government’s military action in Vietnam and then in nuclear proliferation—often on the basis of religious convictions—Adventist organizations and publications in general held to the approach worked out during the world wars. An NSO pamphlet published around 1974 stated, “Your church believes that it is

not its prerogative to make a judgment as to whether or not nations should enter into war, whether general or particular.”¹⁴³ In contrast to their predecessors at the turn of the century, Adventist leaders exhibited little concern about the way that American military power was being used. Moreover, they were eager to highlight the difference between their selective but enthusiastic cooperation and resistance to American policy.

Adventist publications thus in general maintained silence about the war in Vietnam, neither supporting nor opposing it. Clark Smith, however, pointed with pride to an article in the December 1967 issue of *Selective Service* that contrasted demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam with the willing service of Seventh-day Adventists in the medical corps of the armed forces. The article quoted a resolution passed at the 1967 autumn council of the General Conference stating that along with “deep religious convictions against the taking of human life,” Adventists held “an equally keen sense of responsibility toward . . . military obligation.” The resolution went on to thank the government for its generous provision of the I-A-O classification, which designated draftees for noncombatant service.¹⁴⁴ Thus the Adventist conscience was highly sensitive to the obligation of individual military service but unresponsive to the question of whether the war itself was in accordance with the nation’s highest principles.

By the early 1970s, with opposition to the Vietnam War widespread, at least one newspaper report focused on the seeming irony of the established Adventist position rather than lauding its patriotism. After visiting an Adventist college campus, the reporter noted that while nearly all the males carried an I-A-O classification in the draft registration, the vast majority of the students wished President Nixon would escalate the war and resume bombing North Vietnam.¹⁴⁵ Firmly resistant to taking life themselves, the Adventist students tended to be hawkish about the war.

However, new questions were being raised. Project Whitecoat, perhaps the most striking exhibition of the ethical style Adventists had developed in relationship to military service, became of point of controversy during the Vietnam era, though not itself directly related to the war. Nearly fifteen hundred Adventists participated in Project Whitecoat, a program for testing defenses against biological weapons, in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁴⁶ Army surgeon general George E. Armstrong, aware of Adventists’ desire both to serve in the military and avoid bearing arms, sought and received the blessing of church leaders in 1954 in seeking Adventist volunteers for a program to study vulnerability to biological attack and to test Q fever and tularemia vaccines. Eventually, nearly all the volunteers for the project were Adventists. Church leaders touted Project Whitecoat as an excellent way for Adventists to uphold their noncombatant and humanitarian principles while demonstrating patriotism with a contribution to national defense. Participation also required a particular kind of courage as it often meant

being exposed to diseases so that vaccines could be tested, further evidence that noncombatancy did not mean cowardice.¹⁴⁷

In the late 1960s, however, critics both within and outside the church raised questions about the church's cooperation with research involving biological weapons. Journalist Seymour Hersh argued that Project Whitecoat was inextricably connected with the army's biological warfare program, both of which were conducted at Fort Detrick, Maryland. Testing immunization, according to experts he quoted, was necessary in the development of biological weapons for *offensive* use. Both the NBC television program *First Tuesday*, in February 1969, and the CBS program *60 Minutes* in July of the same year dealt with chemical and biological warfare and included coverage of Adventist involvement in Project Whitecoat. At the same time, Martin Turner, a young Adventist who was seeking the church's endorsement for his refusal to enter any form of military service in Vietnam because of his moral opposition to the war, also raised questions about the project.

These prods compelled Adventist leaders to take a closer look at the project and provide an explanation to the church membership. A small committee formed to investigate the matter accepted the assurances of military officials that Project Whitecoat was strictly medical and humanitarian in nature and had virtually no connection with the biological warfare operation at Fort Detrick. However, Clark Smith acknowledged that since the published work of the project was freely available, "those working in the offensive field may utilize this information as any other interested party might do."¹⁴⁸

Regardless of whether Adventist leaders had strong grounds for accepting the army's assurance that the two operations at Fort Detrick were kept sharply discrete or whether in fact they were being "duped," as Rep. Richard McCarthy charged,¹⁴⁹ the furor forced them to take a new look at the church's moral stance in relation to the military. Project Whitecoat, the most dramatic demonstration of the lengths the church was willing to go to display, simultaneously, humanitarianism, patriotism, and courage, became a test of the moral reasoning underlying the formula of "conscientious cooperation."

If the church's committee had judged that Project Whitecoat was contributing directly to offensive biological weapons capability, then it presumably would follow that at least this form of noncombatant service was improper. The alleged connection with the development of a particularly horrific form of weaponry was causing church leaders to ask questions about the broader consequences of individual action in military service that they had not asked before. The investigation and the need to defend participation in the project on the ground that it was separate from the offensive program show that Adventists were beginning to think in a new way about military service. They were now being forced to examine the larger moral ramifications of noncombatant service in a way that they did not during times when the basic justice of the nation's military causes and programs was more broadly

assumed. More and more Adventists would wonder whether there was a fundamental moral difference between using weapons and serving as a medic, now that the operations of the military itself were coming under greater critical scrutiny.

The church, therefore, was not immune to pressures related to the more skeptical attitude toward the military in American society during the Vietnam era. While the influence of the “conscientious cooperator” model remained strong, the consensus on it was breaking down. Somewhat reluctantly, church leaders went on record supporting their young men who chose other options. The autumn council of 1969 voted to support members seeking I-O classification (complete conscientious objection to military service), and while the church had never made noncombatancy a test of membership, the 1972 autumn council made clear that those who accepted I-A classification for *combatant* service would not be denounced or excluded either. Denominational leaders still strongly recommended the I-A-O classification (noncombatant military service) but tacitly recognized that the rationale for it was not so compelling as to make it inconceivable that Adventists might also be conscientious as pacifists or even combatants.¹⁵⁰

In 1969, articles appearing in *Spectrum*, a new, independent Adventist journal, expressed a range of views reflecting a new critical thinking about war itself and the larger consequences of individual actions. One author, advocating “selective nonpacifism,” maintained that choices about participation in war should turn on the justice of the war as a whole, not the mode of individual service. Another article defended the denominationally recommended position, while a third spoke for full conscientious objection.¹⁵¹

Antiwar activists by no means gained major influence in Adventism by the mid-1970s, but the conservative, relatively uncritical patriotism that had shaped the “conscientious cooperator” model could no longer claim overwhelming allegiance either. Some Adventists in the Vietnam era were rediscovering that endeavoring to serve God could lead to conflict with government not easily resolved by a cooperative arrangement.

Contrasting Perspectives on Civil Rights

The moral outrage that Adventists had expressed against slavery was for the most part not transferred to the segregation and prejudice that remained after slavery ended. As with the issue of America’s use of military power, Adventist publications largely ignored the issue of racial injustice until the late 1960s. *Liberty* magazine’s commitment to equal rights simply did not extend to racial equality. Yet by the 1960s, calls came for a recovery of the fervor for racial justice that had marked Adventist pioneers.

The ambivalent legacy of Ellen White regarding segregation is crucial background for examining Adventist positions on race relations in the twentieth century. White had been fervent in her support of abolitionism, issuing numerous state-

ments on racial equality in the late nineteenth century. In 1896, for example, she urged that Christians adhere to the principle of equality “and not be cowards before the face of the world,” and that “by precept and example” they should “win others to this course.”¹⁵² She also indicted the government and the Christian churches, including the Seventh-day Adventist Church, for the inadequacies of their efforts to provide the freedmen with the aid and education needed after the Civil War.¹⁵³

As Adventist evangelistic efforts increased in the South around the turn of the century, however, she recommended that, as a concession to entrenched prejudice, black and white Adventists worship separately “until the Lord shows us a better way.” If Adventists were to act as if the prejudice did not exist and create agitation over the color line, she wrote, “we could not get the light before the white people.” She regarded racial prejudice as evil, but not to be directly challenged, so that the Adventist message could gain a foothold in the South.¹⁵⁴

White Adventists subsequently transmuted the racial separatism that the prophet had blessed as a temporary expedient into a basic operational principle while ignoring her strong affirmations of equality. A pattern of segregation developed in Adventist schools and hospitals,¹⁵⁵ and racism was kept largely outside the scope of evils the church sought to address.¹⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Adventism attracted a significant number of black adherents in the first half of the twentieth century, totaling around eighteen thousand by the mid-1940s. After the organization of separate black conferences that began in 1944 provided black ministers with a greater degree of leadership responsibility, greater growth occurred. By 1976 there were well over one hundred thousand black Adventists in North America, one-fifth of the membership.¹⁵⁷

Adventists roughly paralleled the nation at large in their neglect of racial justice in the period between Reconstruction and the 1950s. However, when the civil rights movement confronted the nation with the racial dilemma in a decisive way, white Adventists were slow to regain the moral consciousness on race that the movement’s founders had expressed a century earlier. Desegregation of church institutions and reform of hiring practices came gradually and belatedly in response to black protest in the 1960s and 1970s. Even as stalwart a defender of the church as Kenneth Wood acknowledged in 1976 that the church had in many respects “lagged behind secular society” on race relations, only relatively recently desegregating its institutions.¹⁵⁸

Although accepting gradual change in the church, white Adventist leaders in the 1960s tended to view the civil rights movement not as a great moral crusade but as a troubling instance of improper involvement by religious leaders in politics. Part of the Adventist objection to the movement had to do with the coercion involved in boycotts and marches. Just as Adventists avoided military combat and labor strikes, Nichol commented, they preferred a “more quiet and perhaps indirect approach” to resolving the race issue than “Freedom Marches.”¹⁵⁹

More fundamental, however, was the fact that although Adventists in the past had recognized that there were some issues of moral principle regarding which Christians must take political action, at this point the church's leaders did not see race as one of those issues. They instead associated clergy advocacy of civil rights with a rising tide of ecumenism.¹⁶⁰ Of greater concern to the *Liberty* editors than the realization of constitutional rights for blacks was the growing influence of activist clergy. A prominent minister at an interfaith conference on race relations in 1964 characterized such ministers as a "new breed of churchman," who were "hard-boiled" in pressing the government for legislation.¹⁶¹

Reaction against such politically muscular ecumenists sometimes led Adventist writers to make arguments that could be turned against the political involvement seen in the church's own history. In a *Review* article critical of clergy participation in the March on Washington in 1963, Raymond Cottrell rejected the argument, often used in the past to explain Adventist political action for prohibition, that the church must speak out on moral issues in the public realm. "The Achilles' heel of this argument," he objected, "is that every public issue has moral overtones."¹⁶² The "gospel way" of reforming society, he maintained, is through the transformation of individuals, not involvement in controversial political issues.

Responding to criticism of his editorial in a later issue he reasoned, "If civil rights is a religious matter, the state has no right to legislate with respect to it. If, on the other hand, civil rights is a proper subject for civil legislation, the church has no right to press for it." He noted that action for antiliquor laws had been an exception to this approach in the church's past but gave no explanation for that.¹⁶³ The "ingenious device" of putting slavery outside the scope of Christian concern by calling it "politics," which J. N. Andrews had blasted a century earlier,¹⁶⁴ was now employed by the *Review* editors in regard to civil rights.

It is noteworthy, however, that the negative response to Cottrell's editorial was sufficient to prompt a reply in print. Evidence from the *Message*, the church's evangelistic magazine directed toward blacks, suggests that many black Adventists indeed took a more favorable view toward churchly involvement in the struggle for civil rights. The magazine's primary purpose was to present distinctive Adventist teachings. However, under the guidance of its first black editor, Louis B. Reynolds, appointed in 1945, it began occasionally to address racial injustice in society.

When the *Message* commented on race relations, its tone was moderate and hopeful, but nonetheless forthright.¹⁶⁵ It affirmed leading organizations and individuals advocating nonviolent action for equality as exemplars of practical Christianity. For example, Reynolds praised Myles Horton, director of Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, the controversial training center for economic justice and interracial cooperation, for his "admirable project and his capable effort to make Christianity more than a pretty word."¹⁶⁶ In 1957 the *Message* pointed to Martin Luther King Jr.'s emphasis on love and patience in the Negro

struggle as indication that “ancient Biblical precepts do apply to our modern complex life.”¹⁶⁷

It was in making this connection between faith and racial justice in society, and in affirming cooperative Christian action to effect social change, that black Adventist leaders, as far as can be judged from the pages of the *Message*, differed most dramatically from their white counterparts. The *Message* carried its share of articles on the prophecies concerning ecumenism as a harbinger of coming persecution, but in contrast to the approach now dominant in other major Adventist publications, that wariness of ecumenism did not lead to condemnation of cooperative Christian action on the matter of race relations, where principles of justice and morality were so clear and pressing. Far from reacting against movements dedicated to racial justice in society as a danger to the church and its distinctive mission, the *Message* lauded—in addition to Horton and King—the NAACP, the Urban League, and the “numerous other social *and religious* organizations” that had “bound together their efforts toward achievement of a practical human brotherhood.”¹⁶⁸

In the late 1960s and 1970s black Adventist leaders became even more forthright in addressing civil rights and poverty. One prominent black minister, Charles D. Brooks, decried the “moral blandness” regarding racial justice that characterized the church. He called for a recovery of early Adventism’s moral passion about race, both in regard to conditions in the church and in society.¹⁶⁹

E. Earl Cleveland, perhaps the most renowned of all black Adventist ministers, brought his considerable rhetorical skills to bear on the racial dilemma. An evangelist who is said to have brought more than nine thousand people into the Adventist Church,¹⁷⁰ he became, in 1954, the first black appointed to a General Conference position outside of the department concerned specifically with oversight of ministry to blacks.¹⁷¹ Cleveland authored several works on Adventist beliefs from a black perspective, including *The Middle Wall*, in which he addressed racism and poverty as well as the broader question of how believers in the Second Coming should relate to sociopolitical problems. After showing the need for action with a powerful evocation of the black experience of oppression, Cleveland moved directly to that crucial factor in Adventist disengagement from social concerns: reaction to the social gospel. Out of the ruins of the discredited social gospel, said Cleveland, an “equal evil” of “passivism” had arisen: “It is a type of self-righteous inertia. The professors of this philosophy would watch the world collapse at their feet, proclaiming, ‘We told you so.’ These unhappy purveyors of misery are not the servants of God.” Cleveland was too much an evangelist to want to see such activities as voter registration and mass protests displace preaching of the gospel of individual conversion as the church’s top priority. Nevertheless, for him individual conversion should lead to such action for social reform, precisely the connection Adventists in the twentieth century had gradually severed. As an individual

becomes “spiritually alive,” wrote Cleveland, “he becomes increasingly aware of the needs of those about him and moves to meet the need. Thus the spiritual approach inevitably affects social reform.”¹⁷²

What then of separation of church and state, the grounds on which Adventists had reacted so strongly against social reform? Cleveland agreed that the church must not try to use the coercive power of the state to enforce religious authority and the state must not control the church. But, he maintained, there is a realm, which includes “human welfare and civil freedom,” that is “the business of both church and state.” A true church cannot remain silent while governments oppress, he declared. Adventists should apply the principle behind their action for religious liberty to other societal problems: “The church does not hesitate to make its position known when there is an abridgment of religious freedom. How can it remain silent when thousands are starving in the midst of plenty? The ministry to the poor is the work of church and state. . . . From the voice of the church Caesar must at least hear the Word of the Lord.”¹⁷³

As the nation faced the prospect of another “long, hot summer” in 1969, Cleveland called upon the government, which was spending \$38 billion dollars a year on foreign wars, to devote more of its resources to alleviate the urban crisis. At the same time, he urged the church to join with public and private agencies in devoting its energies “to avert what could amount to a national catastrophe.”¹⁷⁴

In sum, there was widespread recognition among black Adventists of “the dynamic role of the Black church in the struggle for freedom,” as Benjamin Reaves, a black professor then at the church’s theological seminary, put it.¹⁷⁵ Black Adventist ministers generally were not at the forefront of the civil rights movement, and to some extent they reflected the typical Adventist style of quietness and caution on controversial social issues. Yet it is apparent that for many of them, racial justice in society was simply a matter of putting into practice basic Christian virtues and the principles of American democracy. If liberal, ecumenically minded Christians made it a cause, so much the better. Their white brethren, though ultimately not unresponsive to the need for change in the church, tended to place civil rights in the category of secular, political concerns outside the proper realm of the church’s concern. Any ecumenical tampering in this realm could only be seen as dangerous. Church-state separationism, underscored by apocalyptic expectations, remained a barrier to social action for racial justice. But it was a barrier that a major segment of Adventism now refused to observe.

New Engagement and Reaction

By the late 1960s young academics and professionals were also calling the church to break through the separationist barrier toward a “new engagement” with society. Changes in the denomination’s publication for youth in 1970 provide striking evidence of the new climate. The venerable *Youth’s Instructor*, which

the church had published since 1852, was widely perceived to have lost touch with the youth it was intended to serve.¹⁷⁶ During the 1960s, the *Youth's Instructor* paid little heed to the issues of race, poverty, and war that gripped society. It remained almost wholly preoccupied with a sphere of individual sanctity comprised of such concerns as temperance, worldly entertainment, Sabbath observance, propriety in dating, and the dangers of the "new morality."¹⁷⁷

A denominational committee formed in response to growing dissatisfaction with the *Youth's Instructor* concluded that an entirely new publication was needed. Thus *Insight*, designed to be more in tune with the times both in style and content, was launched in 1970. In discussing the purposes of the new publication, editor Don Yost announced that it would "focus on matters of broader significance" in the world, not just "ourselves," and in so doing would seek to "avoid the mistakes of the past." This engagement with the world would include discussion of ways to improve social conditions. While Adventists indeed "look for a perfect world to come," he wrote, "we want to provide for one another a world where love expels hate, peace triumphs over war, and plenty replaces poverty. The compelling personal needs of humanity are included within the view of Christian youth today."¹⁷⁸

In the next four years *Insight* contained numerous articles expressing a social idealism rarely seen before in Adventist publications in the twentieth century. In direct opposition to the stance taken in the *Review* in the 1960s, theology teacher Sydney Allen declared, "As surely as the church's voice should be heard concerning religious liberty, it should be heard concerning civil rights and poverty."¹⁷⁹ Discussion of social issues in *Insight* were not very detailed or precise in analyzing problems and proposing solutions, but they did reflect a desire to find and demonstrate the social relevance of Adventist faith.

Youthful writers such as Chuck Scriven, *Insight* associate editor, and Jonathan Butler, a graduate student at the University of Chicago Divinity School, explored the significance of traditional Adventist doctrines for contemporary society. Scriven argued that the Holy Spirit empowered social transformation, not just individual sanctification.¹⁸⁰ Butler saw social implications in believers' baptism (which Adventists practice): "The true church condemns bigots and warmongers along with smokers and drunkards. Baptism by immersion means that materialism and racism and war and intemperance are drowned in baptismal water."¹⁸¹ Adventists' commitment to apocalypticism, he wrote, should lead them, in the spirit of Daniel and John, as well as the Adventist pioneers, to confront the beastlike oppression practiced by the political establishment of their own day.¹⁸²

The launching of *Insight* reflects a more fundamental factor contributing to the call for involvement with society: the growing number of articulate and questioning young academics and professionals in the church. With the number of Adventists pursuing graduate study at non-Adventist universities increasing, demand arose for a setting in which the relationship between faith and secular

learning could be probed in a candid way, and critical thinking about conditions in the church openly expressed. In 1968 the Association of Adventist Forums (AAF) was formed “to encourage thoughtful persons of Seventh-day Adventist orientation to examine and discuss freely ideas and issues relevant to the Church in all its aspects and to its members as Christians in society.” Although AAF and its journal, *Spectrum*, were independent of denominational control, the organization was formed in close consultation with and approval of the General Conference.¹⁸³

Spectrum, in keeping with the final clause of AAF’s statement of purpose, carried numerous articles on race relations, war and peace, and Adventist involvement in government and social ministry. Roy Branson, one of the key organizers of AAF and editor of *Spectrum* from 1975 to 1998, did more than any other single figure in prompting Adventist attention to social issues. Branson earned a doctorate in religious ethics from Harvard University and taught at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary from 1967 to 1973. Several seminary students influenced by Branson, such as Butler and Scriven, joined him addressing social issues in *Spectrum* and other publications, as well as in their professional activities as pastors, teachers, and administrators.¹⁸⁴

The major practical manifestation of the new sentiment for engagement with society came in programs for urban social ministry, which endeavored to bring longstanding Adventist strengths in health and education to bear on the problems of the nation’s cities in new ways. Projects in numerous cities sprang up from the mid-1960s to early 1970s, designed to meet the needs of the most disadvantaged. The autumn council of 1968, recognizing “the great human needs of metropolitan areas as a call to apply Christian principles,” recommended that each union conference establish a model health and welfare center in a large city, to be operated with a racially integrated staff.¹⁸⁵ At least one Adventist urban endeavor, a Harlem program providing tutoring, counseling, and employment services, utilized government funding.¹⁸⁶

These programs remained within the Adventist tradition of meeting individual human need in a holistic way and did not emphasize structural political change, but the zeal for offering educational, medical, legal, and other humanitarian services to expand the opportunities of individuals encumbered by oppressive circumstances reflected the new social idealism. Many Adventists were seeking to engage society with a recovery of the “disinterested benevolence” advocated by Ellen White and John Harvey Kellogg in the nineteenth century. As Roy Branson put it, they wanted to meet human need, without a specific goal of baptisms into the Adventist Church in mind, and saw the work of “love, justice, freedom, and unity” as itself an important part of the work of the gospel, even if it did not lead directly to a large number of conversions.¹⁸⁷

The new advocacy of social involvement, though strong and significant, was by no means generally embraced by the church and in fact evoked strong oppo-

sition from those who saw it as a dangerous deviation from the church's mission of preparing souls for the Second Coming. *Insight* articles calling for protest against the government aroused particularly sharp reaction. A General Conference official in youth ministry linked one such article with "Satan's purpose to sidetrack the Seventh-day Adventists from their prophetic mission to prepare a people to meet God" and charged the editors with doing "a great disservice to the youth of this church in even offering this kind of fare."¹⁸⁸ *Liberty* editor Roland Hegstad argued in an *Insight* article that the injunctions of Paul in Romans 13 ruled out civil disobedience for the Christian.¹⁸⁹ He encouraged Adventist youth to address the moral issues of the day and support civic reform, but, on the basis of a statement made by Ellen White, insisted that it was improper for them to "attack civil authorities." The issue on which Adventists would have to take their decisive stand, he said, was the soon-expected national Sunday law. In the meantime, no statements in Adventist publications should appear that would give grounds for accusing Adventists of defying civil authority.

Here again, the influence of a detailed, apocalyptic interpretation of history is evident. While some Adventists were attempting to recover and broaden one aspect the church's tradition—that of resisting evil and relieving suffering in society—others were concerned that such action would undermine another, fundamental aspect: a conception of the church's role in history in which the key events and issues were clearly defined and set. Matters pertaining to religious liberty were organically connected to this conception of history. Although arguments might be made for a connection with civil rights, war, and poverty as well, such issues remained peripheral at best to most Adventists' conception of the direction in which history is going.

The tension between these two perspectives on the Adventist heritage and the desirable path for the church in the present came to play perhaps most clearly in debate over the nature of the church's urban ministry. Recovery of the legacy of John Harvey Kellogg, David Paulson, and Ellen White regarding humanitarian ministry in large cities had helped inspire the new burst of such activity beginning in the late 1960s.¹⁹⁰ However, Adventists concerned that evangelism not lose top priority pointed out that Mrs. White had rebuked Kellogg for devoting too great a proportion of the church's resources to ministry for the lowest classes in Chicago.¹⁹¹

Thus, on the one hand, Adventists interested in a new engagement with society stressed inner-city programs as a means of applying Christian compassion to the nation's social problems. On the other hand, Adventists desiring to maintain the individualistic, evangelistic style wanted health and community services in the cities to be fully integrated into a program of leading individuals into the church. As *Review* associate editor Herbert Douglass put it regarding Adventist health ministry, the "humanitarian impulse" must be subordinate to the "soteriological principle."¹⁹² By the late 1970s it appeared that the approach

of linking urban service programs directly to evangelism was becoming more dominant than urban ministry as a means toward social change.¹⁹³

Editorial changes at *Insight* in 1974 also reflect a reaction against the kind of engagement with issues in society and the church that had flavored the new publication, and a desire to foster a more individualistic form of piety. The new editorial staff issued "A New Declaration of Principles," declaring that in view of the imminent return of Jesus, the magazine would emphasize that which was most important, "becoming personally acquainted with Jesus Christ." Toward that end, emphasis would be placed on "such vital topics as the latter rain [the final outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Adventist eschatology], how to develop an exciting prayer life, getting real victory over real sin, the power of surrender, saving a troubled marriage, how to really enjoy the Sabbath, getting ready for Christ's second coming, and witnessing with power." Such "issues and causes" as "ecology, social reform, consumerism, [and] women's liberation" should not to be ignored, but, the declaration clearly implied, should receive less emphasis than in the past.¹⁹⁴

The developments concerning the church's youth publication from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s reflect the overall trends in the church in regard to sociopolitical involvement. Though it did not win over the majority of Adventists and prompted considerable negative reaction, the movement toward a new engagement had by the 1970s mounted a major and lasting challenge to the cautious conservatism typical of mid-twentieth-century Adventism. Not only that, it, along with a change in Adventists' perception of the greatest source of danger to liberty in America, helped effect a lasting shift in the denomination's general political orientation, something that would become manifest in the 1980s.

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The interrelated challenges of the expanding welfare state, the growth and needs of their own institutions, and the desire of many to make an impact in the public arena made it difficult for Adventists to draw the line of separation between church and state as sharply as they once had. In the face of these challenges, they maintained the role of keeping vigilance on the wall of separation. But now it was a flexible wall they defended, yielding enough to let through forms of government aid and regulation not previously countenanced, solid enough (in their view) to keep out Sunday laws, state-administered prayers in public schools, and state aid to parochial primary and secondary schools. Moreover, for a significant minority of Adventists, the wall of separation now constituted no barrier to public activism based on religious conviction.

Despite the ambiguities created by the complex issues of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the Adventist witness for religious liberty through *Liberty* magazine and the Religious Liberty Association thrived as never before and remained Adventism's

chief priority in public affairs. In campaigns against Sunday laws and school prayer initiatives, and for the religious rights of workers, the church sustained its tradition of action for a truly free and pluralistic society. Still, human rights for racial minorities, women, and dissidents suppressed by regimes supported by the United States remained largely outside the scope of that commitment to liberty. Despite the attempts to revive the nineteenth-century legacy of involvement, Adventists generally continued to avoid controversial public issues not directly related to their conception of the development of religious persecution.



Alonzo T. Jones (1850–1923), editor of the *American Sentinel* and Adventism's leading public spokesperson for religious liberty in the late nineteenth century. Used by permission of the Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.

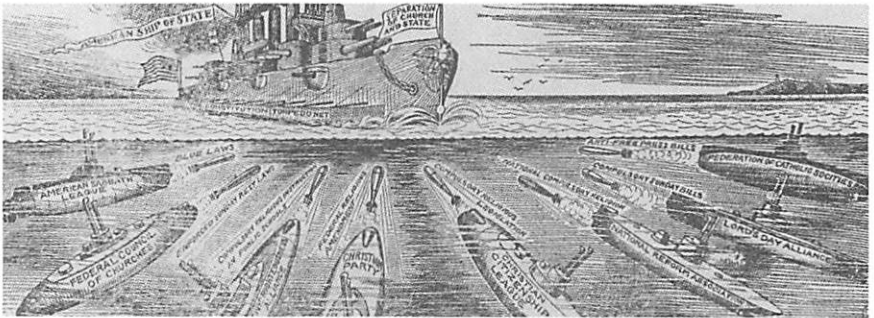
AMERICAN SENTINEL

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 7, 1895.

THE PROBABILITY OF THE SOUTHERN SABBATHS.

SOME OF THE ABUSES OF THE GEORGIA CHAIN-GANG SYSTEM.

The *American Sentinel*, dedicated to “the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.”



“Serious dangers” threaten to torpedo the American ship of state. From *Liberty*, 1919. Used by Permission of the North American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

This advertisement urges Adventists to support *Liberty* magazine in order to facilitate the church’s apocalyptic mission of proclaiming the “loud cry”—God’s final message to humanity. From Religious Liberty Department, January 1964.

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BY SENDING**

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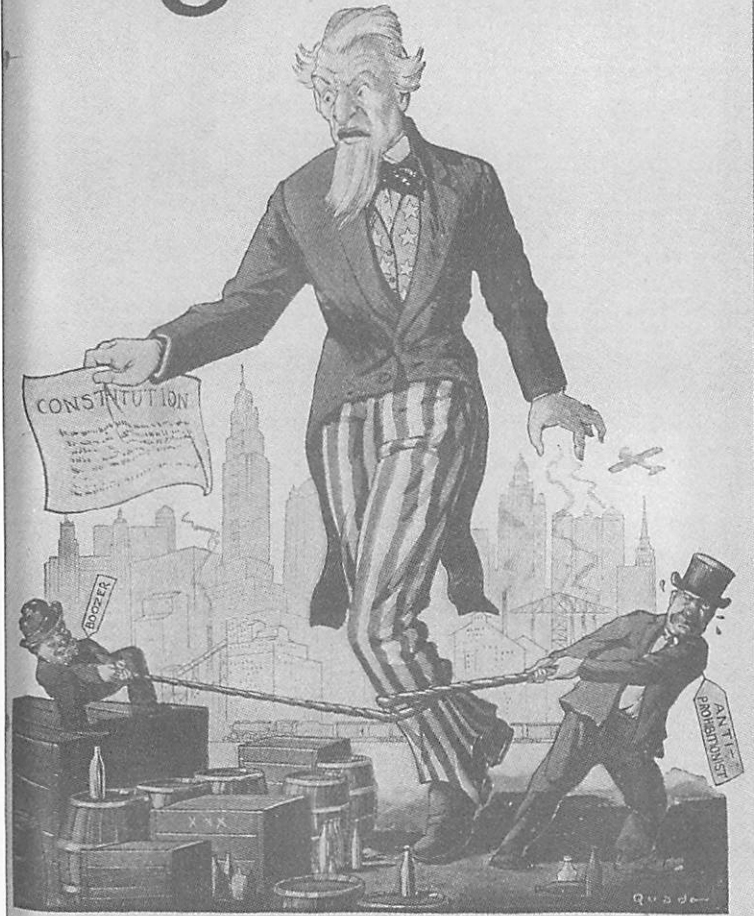
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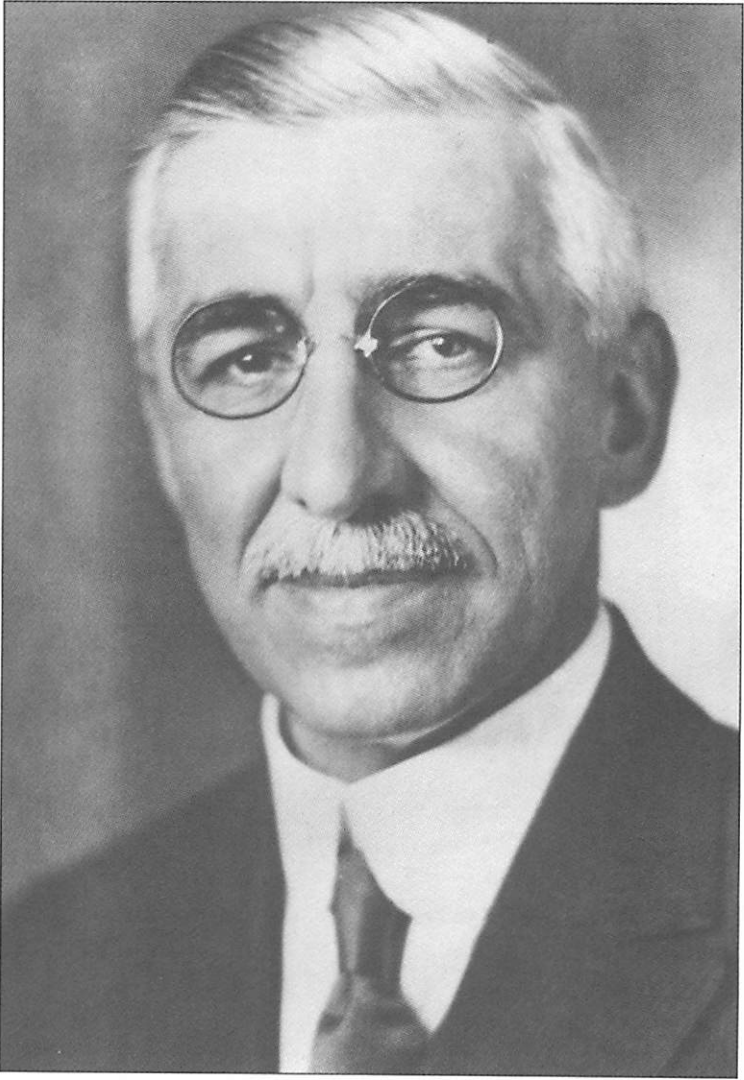
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Signs of the Times



SHALL PROHIBITION STAND OR FALL?

A special issue of *Signs of the Times* seeks to influence voters on behalf of "dry" candidates in the election of 1928.



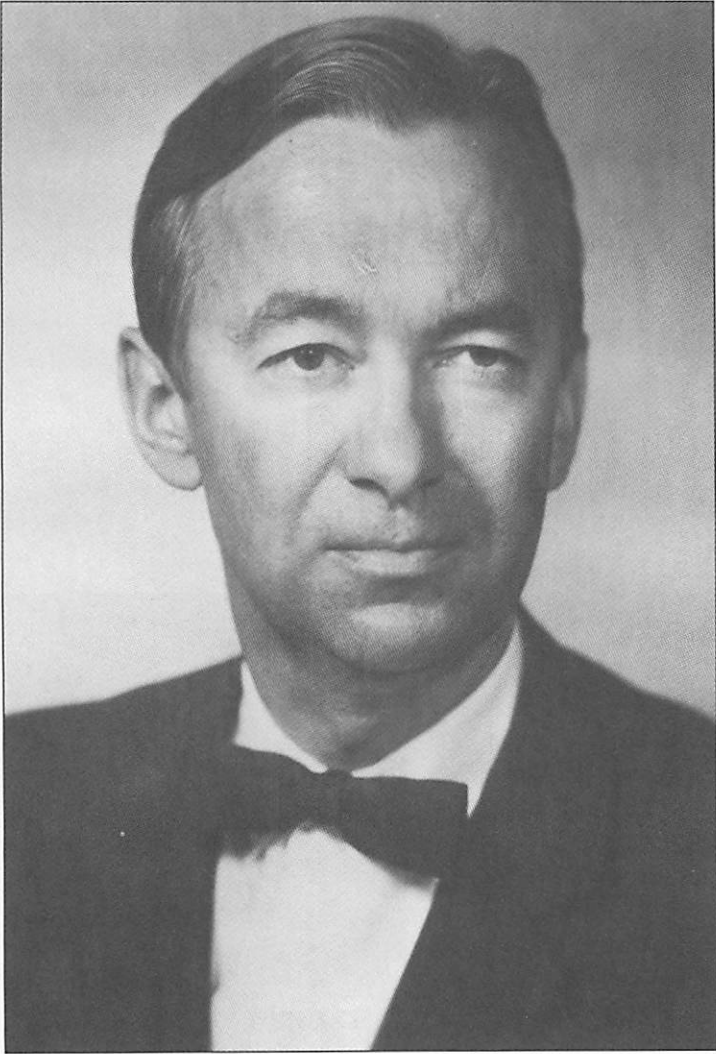
Charles S. Longacre (1871–1959), the church's leading advocate for religious liberty in the first half of the twentieth century. Used by permission of the Archives and Special Collections, Loma Linda University.



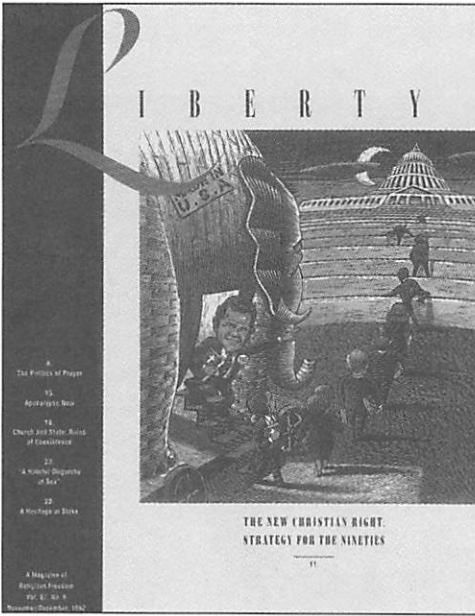
Review editor **Francis D. Nichol** (1897–1966) wrote numerous books defending Adventism and articulated the church's stand on public issues. Used by permission of the Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.



Evangelist **E. Earl Cleveland** spoke out for racial justice in the church and in society. Used by permission of the Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

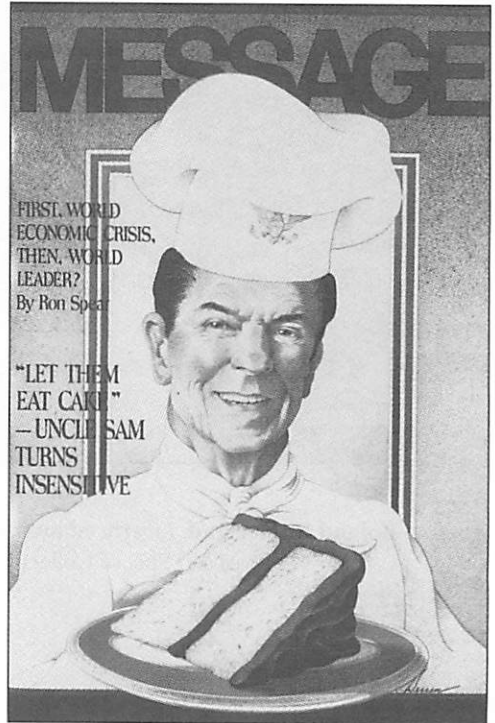


Roland R. Hegstad, *Liberty* editor, 1959–1994. Used by permission of the Archives and Special Collections, Loma Linda University.



Liberty magazine takes on the New Christian Right, 1992.

Message magazine, the Adventist publication directed toward an African American audience, lampooned President Reagan's economic policies in 1983.



6

A PLURALISTIC REMNANT, 1976–2000

Are Adventists, with their beliefs about coming prophecy fulfillment, living in a “hermeneutical Fantasyland”? The seminary professor who raised this question in a book published in 1994 offered a carefully reasoned no in response.¹ But the fact that no thoughtful book on the topic could now avoid that question indicates how, in the final decades of the twentieth century, the historicist premillennialism that structured Adventist interpretation of history came under challenge as never before. The challenges resulted in a new pluralism in the interpretation of the church’s apocalyptic message, and the church became more conflicted than ever about whether it would be more like a “sect” or a “denomination.” Similarly, a pluralism in Adventist outlooks on social and political issues became more pronounced as the progressive forces that began to take shape in the 1960s left their mark.

Even more remarkable than these challenges was the continued influence of the theology of history that Adventists had developed in the nineteenth century as a central, driving force behind the church’s interaction with American society in the late twentieth century. The most striking influence of that perspective in the past two decades has been in galvanizing Adventist opposition to the New Christian Right. Thus although it became increasingly difficult to generalize about Adventist views on prophecy and politics, the longstanding influence of the apocalyptic outline of history remained powerful. It engendered in a new era the now-familiar if complex combination of political passivity and selective activism, zeal for liberty and narrowness of vision, cooperative citizenship and resistance to religious nationalism.

A Remnant in Conflict

Revising the Last Days

In the 1970s, rethinking of the traditional understandings of apocalyptic prophecy began to take place on an unprecedented scale in the Adventist community.² Some writers broke new ground in applying the apocalyptic symbols while remaining within the basic historicist framework of final events that the early Seventh-day Adventists had worked out by the 1850s. Others raised fundamental questions about the significance of 1844, Adventism’s status as the unique latter-day remnant, the Sabbath/Sunday question as the decisive issue in final

events, and the entire historicist system of apocalyptic interpretation. These questions were deeply significant because they went to the heart of Adventism's identity and because they were connected to the related issue of the authority of Ellen White's writings. No new version of apocalyptic interpretation carried the day; indeed, traditional understandings were vigorously defended. For many Adventists, though, unsettling questions remained.

Bert Beach provides an outstanding example of someone who brought fresh ideas to bear without attempting to alter the main structure of Adventism's historicist reading of prophecy. Writing in America's bicentennial year, he retained the identification of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13 as specifically the United States but offered a broader and richer interpretation of the way in which the Republic was betraying its promise of lamblike innocence and virtue.

Drawing heavily on Reinhold Niebuhr's *Irony of American History* (1952), Beach synthesized elements of Niebuhr's critical perspective on American pretensions with Adventism's apocalyptic imagery. The two-horned beast thus became a symbol for a wide range of contradictions in the American past and present. The Founding Fathers saw the nation as a "tutor to lead in the regeneration of mankind," but the "dragon-voiced nation sees itself as the master or policeman of the world" and in this role found it necessary to support "questionable dictatorships." Thus it was in the growth and use of its "industrial-technological power and military might" that America had already and was now "speaking like a dragon." Beach further identified the "gap between profession and practice" in the treatment of Native Americans and blacks and in the "industrial Molochs" that "are allowed to devour the natural resources of land, water, and air and to build seemingly limitless nuclear armaments."

The breach of principle that Adventists had always claimed as the basis for their opposition to Sunday laws Beach now cited as the basis for challenging the nation on issues more pressing in the present. Without explicitly claiming to do so, Beach was apparently the first major Adventist figure since World War I to use Revelation 13 as the basis for a comprehensive critique of the nation's claim to virtue as a liberal republic, rather than restricting the commentary to that which could lead to Sunday laws.³

Beach thus went beyond, but did not directly contradict, the Sunday law-focused scenarios of Adventist writers working in a more traditional mode. *Spectrum*, however, published articles that, employing the methods of critical-historical scholarship, called into question the Adventist outline for final events in a more fundamental way. In a cluster of articles published in 1976 on the topic "Adventist Eschatology Today," Richard Coffen, a book editor at the Adventist Southern Publishing Association, called for interpretation of Revelation, including chapter 13, in its original historical context. He rejected the assumption that "the Revelator's primary audience would live in the 19th and 20th centuries."⁴ Jonathan Butler chal-

lenged Adventists to “demythologize and remythologize” their apocalypticism, making it a message for “the contemporary world, not a past world.”⁵

Three years later, Butler took a further step in carrying out that program by demonstrating that Ellen White’s picture of the end time in *The Great Controversy* was thoroughly embedded in the Protestant America of the late nineteenth century and thus did not constitute a forecast about the distant future. The Protestant America to which Sunday observance was central *did* in fact come to an end, Butler pointed out, but without leading to the persecution and Second Coming that Ellen White envisioned. Thus, he argued, Adventists must acknowledge an element of “prophetic disconfirmation.” The particulars of Ellen White’s prophecies concerning Sunday legislation as central to the final crisis of history should be viewed as conditional. Adventists, Butler urged, must provide an eschatological perspective on their times that would differ in detail from that which White provided for her times.⁶

Butler’s article was particularly significant because it was the first direct challenge, backed by sophisticated scholarship, to the cherished conception of *The Great Controversy* as an immutable divine forecast of final events. Moreover, it came at a time when scrutiny of other aspects of White’s work challenged widely and deeply held beliefs about the divine inspiration of her writings.⁷ Historian Ronald Numbers’s profile of Ellen White as a health reformer, *Prophetess of Health* (1976), dealt a blow to the conception that her writings were entirely based on direct visionary revelation. He demonstrated her dependence on other health reformers of that era and affirmed that she changed her views on some subjects. Another historian, Donald McAdams, analyzed portions of *The Great Controversy* treating church history and concluded that they consisted entirely of “selective abridgments and adaptation of historians.” These sections contained nothing uniquely revealed to Ellen White but did contain material now regarded by historians as erroneous.

Meanwhile, Walter Rea, an Adventist pastor, began to notice similarities between White’s writings, which he had studied minutely, and religious works by other nineteenth-century writers. In 1977, he began making bitter public charges of plagiarism that culminated in the publication of his book *The White Lie* (1982). Rea’s research compelled Adventist leaders to acknowledge that, in her writing, Ellen White depended on other authors to a much greater extent than they had realized.

Though only Butler’s article dealt directly with Ellen White’s handling of apocalyptic prophecy, each of these writers showed the historical influences on her writings, calling into question their status as pristine divine revelation. The collective impact of these researchers was serious erosion of a major buttress for Adventism’s entire historicist system of apocalyptic interpretation.

While scholars were forcing a traumatic reassessment of the nature of Ellen White’s prophetic gift, another major controversy, one that had powerful implications for Adventism’s theology of history, struck. Australian evangelist and biblical

scholar Desmond Ford became a controversial figure in the church during the 1970s with his advocacy of the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone.⁸ A powerful public speaker, Ford and his sympathizers mounted a major challenge to the segment of Adventism that placed strong emphasis on development of perfectly sanctified characters as the key to preparing for and hastening the Second Coming of Christ.

Much of the church leadership supported the sanctification emphasis and took measures to counter Ford's justification theology. It was his open challenge, in 1979, to the traditional understanding of 1844 that led to the full eruption of Adventism's most significant theological controversy since the turn of the century. An assembly of the church's scholars and administrators met at Glacier View camp in Colorado the following year. Their conclusions acknowledged validity in aspects of Ford's revisionism but reaffirmed the teaching that in 1844 Christ entered a new phase of his high priestly ministry in heaven that entailed an "investigative" or "pre-Advent" judgment of professed believers.⁹

In challenging the belief that biblical prophecy marks 1844 as the starting point for the pre-Advent judgment, Ford was tampering with the core of Adventism's identity and conception of history—and that the church's leadership could not countenance. He was defrocked soon after the Glacier View conference and began an independent ministry. Final efforts at reconciliation two years later foundered on the insistence of Ford and his associates that "the traditional historicist interpretation of apocalyptic Scriptures could not be sustained" and on the inability of the General Conference leaders to tolerate that view and all it implied for the church's message and identity.¹⁰ The fact that denominational leadership deemed Ford unacceptable even though he remained a staunch apologist for the seventh-day Sabbath and other distinctives of Adventism—such as its health message—shows how crucial it was to them that the church's theology of history, with its outline of literal dates, be kept intact.

The Ford crisis, coming as it did on the heels of the dramatic revelations concerning Ellen White's literary dependence, prompted talk of a major schism.¹¹ More than a hundred ministers and teachers, mainly in the United States and Australia, resigned or were fired. However, the dissidents were never numerous or unified enough to create an ecclesiastical structure, and many simply left Adventism altogether.¹²

Though the crisis subsided, controversy has persisted, central to which is the issue of meaning and identity forged through use of the historicist system of interpretation. An identifiable and prominent—if imprecisely bounded—"evangelical" segment of Adventism emerged in continuity with the theological concerns of Ford and, prior to him, *Questions on Doctrine* (see chapter 4).¹³ The evangelical Adventists advocated concepts such as salvation by grace alone, the final authority of Scripture (with Ellen White's writings clearly subordinate), and openness to the evangelical

Christian world. In this segment of Adventism, the historicist interpretation of prophecy and the remnant identity embedded in it surfaced again in the 1990s as a defining issue. A stance on this question signaled which direction one tilted in the effort to balance an Adventist identity with an orientation toward evangelical Christianity—and the degree of one's acceptability to the church's leadership.

In 1997 Richard Fredericks, senior pastor of an innovative, thriving evangelical Adventist congregation in Damascus, Maryland, and his associate, Robert Fournier, were dismissed for asserting a congregational autonomy in matters of finance and church governance that violated denominational policy. Those involved on both sides of the controversy, however, observed that an underlying and perhaps more basic issue was Fredericks's repudiation of Adventism's last-day remnant theology.¹⁴ A large majority of the Damascus congregation of more than five hundred followed their pastors in forming a nondenominational congregation. The congregation continued to worship on Saturdays but was otherwise indistinguishable from the moderate evangelicalism of the well-known Willow Creek Community Church in suburban Chicago, to which it looked for guidance.

A minority of the Damascus membership accepted the leadership of a new, denominationally appointed pastor, David Newman. Soon after beginning his assignment, Newman addressed the remnant issue. Although stressing that Adventism did not view itself as the sole vehicle of salvation, he nonetheless affirmed the church's historicist understanding of prophecy and its claim to be designated therein as the remnant chosen "to take the lead in preparing the world for the Second Coming of Christ."¹⁵ A member of the original Damascus congregation, Newman was thoroughly evangelical in his theology and had himself been controversial to the point of losing his position as editor of *Ministry*, the church's magazine for clergy, in 1995. Little of theological substance now distinguished Newman, the loyal Seventh-day Adventist minister, from Fredericks, maverick pastor of an independent congregation, other than historicism and the remnant conception of the church.¹⁶

The controversy involving the Damascus church and a handful of similar congregations¹⁷ only brought to light widespread questioning that had long existed among both evangelical Adventists and progressives influenced by critical methods of scholarship. Revisionists generally avoided direct, public expression of their views on this subject after the crackdown on Ford, but the reactions from defenders of the traditional position give evidence of considerable unofficial dissent.

In the late 1980s, conservative Adventist scholars and their supporters formed the Adventist Theological Society to counteract the influence of critical approaches to Scripture in Adventism. Upholding the traditional Adventist understanding of apocalyptic prophecy was a leading concern of this organization. Writing in the *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* in 1991, Jack J. Blanco, chair of the Religion Department at Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists, warned against

those “who are undermining the pillars of our historic position on the interpretation of prophecy.” Such voices were denying, among other things, that the two beasts of Revelation 13 represent the “Papal system and the United States.” If such is the case, declared Blanco, “then our mission has lost its meaning.”¹⁸

Books arguing for a new relevance to Adventist prophecy belief in the 1990s frequently made reference to the critical attitude that had emerged within the Adventist community toward various aspects of the apocalyptic outlook. Clifford Goldstein, one of the church’s most prolific popular writers on prophecy in the 1980s and 1990s, observed in 1993 that the sharp anti-Catholicism of *The Great Controversy* had become an “embarrassment” for many Adventists, sounding in places “more bigoted than David Duke in his glory days as a Grand Dragon.”¹⁹ New Testament scholar Jon Paulien, a professor at the church’s theological seminary at Andrews University, pointed out in 1994 that the irrelevance of the Sabbath/Sunday issue for today’s world had led many Adventists, especially younger ones, to wonder if that issue was “merely a vestige of the church’s experience with the national Sunday law that was debated in Congress in the 1890s.” Thus Paulien felt compelled to address the question of whether the day of worship would really be the decisive issue during the end time or if Adventists were living in a “hermeneutical Fantasyland.”²⁰

The defenses of standard interpretations that these and other authors gave, to which we shall return, indicate that the questioning in this era did not bring about a fundamental shift in Adventism’s stance on apocalyptic prophecy. Nevertheless, the revisionist developments created a new diversity in apocalyptic outlook that has not gone away.

Progressive scholars, while not frontally attacking the traditional system, have found meaning in a new direction by stressing the apocalyptic as a resource for social ethics. Roy Branson, Charles Teel Jr., and Charles Scriven have been foremost in taking this approach. In an article published in *Spectrum* in 1991, Branson argued that since apocalyptic envisions a coming social ideal, social reform is a “sacrament of the Second Advent,” seeking to make visible that invisible future. Apocalyptic is concerned with more than individual salvation, he maintained. It is concerned with corporate power and institutions and a force for change in the direction of justice and freedom. Along with biblical and theological arguments, Branson cited the abolitionism of the early Adventists as historical precedent for connecting apocalyptic with social change.²¹

The theme of apocalyptic as a source for social consciousness entailed a broadened conception of remnant. Teel, a religion professor at La Sierra University in California, described the remnant as a prophetic community “always called to stand against those forces that oppose God’s truth and justice in the present.” Not only did he call for recognition of the social dimension of the radical obedience that is to characterize the remnant, but Teel decried the

exclusivism, triumphalism, and incapacity for self-criticism that went with strict identification of the remnant with the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He presented a more dynamic concept of the remnant as including those who in every age and situation bear social witness to “present truth.”²²

Scriven, then pastor of Sligo Church in Takoma Park, Maryland, the second largest Adventist congregation in North America, in similar fashion called for an understanding of the remnant metaphor that went deeper than the usual depiction of adherence to the seventh-day Sabbath as the dominant feature. The remnant, he argued, is characterized by radical obedience to the way of Christ, “including his non-violence as well as his concern for the victims of injustice.”²³

Revisionists have thus not only challenged or minimized standard interpretations, but some have proposed ways to reappropriate the apocalyptic heritage. For many Adventists, however, and certainly for most of the church’s leadership, these proposals came at too high a price—that of downplaying the distinctiveness of the church’s identity and mission. Moreover, at the same time as the progressives were shifting the emphasis away from the historicist outline of forecast and fulfillment, a resurgence of interest in prophecy gained strength as many found that events in the 1980s and 1990s could be connected with the traditional outline in ways that seemed compelling.

Dissent of the Historic Adventists

A portion of the renewed interest in prophecy fulfillment swept beyond the bounds of official church control and approval. During the 1980s, several “independent ministries” emerged advocating what became known as “historic Adventism.” These organizations—the best known of which were Hartland Institute, Hope International, and Prophecy Countdown—were driven by the conviction that apostasy from the historic teachings of Adventism and an undermining of belief in the divine inspiration of Ellen White’s writings had become widespread in Adventism. Though the church had not officially departed from its distinctive doctrines, the “historic Adventists” believed that the denomination’s institutions and leaders were not dealing forcefully enough with liberalizing trends—thus the need for independent organizations to foster the pure faith.

The nature of Jesus Christ and the sanctification of believers stood foremost among the historic Adventists’ theological concerns. They reacted against what they frequently referred to as the “new theology”—often associated with Desmond Ford and the evangelical Adventists—which stressed Christ as a sinless substitute for sinful human beings who receive salvation by faith alone. The historic Adventists, by contrast, understood Jesus to have had a sinful human nature—like every other human—yet he withstood actual sinning. Therefore, just as Jesus succeeded in overcoming sin as a human, so, too, can Christians, even reaching perfection of character in preparation for his Second Coming.²⁴

The perfection theme thus connects with a powerful apocalyptic consciousness. Crucial to the historic Adventist mind-set is the theme of an eschatological “shaking time” found in Ellen White’s writings. In the end-time “shaking,” lax Adventists are to be shaken out of the faith in the final test. The historic Adventists believed that the “apostasy” they saw gaining influence in the church was the beginning of that process. Their role was to nurture the true remnant, which would remain after the “greater portion” in the church fails the test. The development of perfected characters on the part of the true remnant within the remnant would prepare the way for Christ’s return.²⁵ In addition to the remnant theme, the traditional understandings of prophecies about final events in the world also, as we will see, took on heightened intensity in historic Adventism. In contrast to the uncertainty and loss of identity they believed revisionist and evangelical influences had introduced, they had a renewed and powerful sense of identity as key agents in the apocalyptic drama.

The tense relationship between church leadership and the historic Adventists became openly adversarial in the early 1990s. The church’s annual council, held in Perth, Australia, in the fall of 1991, attempted to both respond to the concerns of the historic Adventists and rebuke their excesses. In the Perth Declaration, the council affirmed “the Seventh-day Adventist Church to be . . . the remnant people called of God to bear a unique message to earth’s last generations, to announce the imminent return of Christ in power and glory.” And, in an apparent reference to progressive revisionists, the declaration expressed “regret that there are some among us who wish to participate in and be thought of as contributing to the Adventist work, while at the same time denying or ignoring fundamental components of our message and work.” On the other hand, the church leaders reproved those who “exercise a separatist spirit to present themselves as defenders of authentic Adventist faith, the correctors of others, often elevating to importance issues not agreed upon by the body as vital.”²⁶

The historic Adventists were neither convinced that anything significant was being done by the church leadership to reverse the tide of apostasy nor dissuaded from their course. In fact, they were moving beyond criticizing the situation in the church, taking upon themselves the functions of a church in a more formal way. Already in September 1991, Ralph Larson, the movement’s leading theologian, had published a justification for the independent ministries’ acceptance of tithes from church members. According to denominational policy, backed by the writings of Ellen White, the tithe of faithful members was only to be given to the denomination and to be used mainly to support the ministers and other workers employed by the church. Unauthorized ordinations, baptisms, and organization of local congregations also took place in 1991 and 1992.²⁷

Apocalyptic prophecy also became a central point of contention. The historic Adventists’ primary concern was that the denomination was downplaying

or even denying the interpretations formulated in the nineteenth century, particularly in regard to the papacy. Because it involved the way in which the Adventist message should be presented to the world, the prophecy issue went beyond disputation among Adventist factions. It had to do with the kind of presence Adventists would have in the world and how the apocalyptic should influence that presence.

When the church met for its General Conference session in Indianapolis in 1990, some historic Adventists saw an opportunity to bring their hard-hitting approach to prophecy into the public spotlight. Adventist Layworkers Affiliate, a small, Tennessee-based organization, sponsored mass mailing of a pamphlet entitled *United States in Prophecy* to Indianapolis households. The pamphlet brought together the most forceful anti-Catholic statements from Ellen White's book, *The Great Controversy*. Embarrassed church officials dissociated themselves from the mailing. A church spokesperson told the press that the modern church is trying to move away from its anti-Catholic past and that those desiring to cling to the historic anti-Catholic beliefs represent only about one-thousandth of the church's North American membership.²⁸ The historic Adventists viewed this response as confirmation of their charge that denominational leadership was refusing to stand by the traditional interpretations of prophecy.

A Jamaican-born lay evangelist, David Mould, was a leader of the historic Adventists' effort in connection with the 1990 General Conference session. In 1979, Mould founded a prison ministry, Jesus Behind Bars, which thrived in the 1980s and enjoyed the enthusiastic endorsement of church leadership. Mould, however, was unable to convince church administrators to support his ambitious and costly proposals to use mass media to proclaim the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecy. Increasingly antagonized by the lack of support, he founded Laymen for Religious Liberty in 1989 as a means for carrying out his plans independent of denominational control.²⁹

Mould and Laymen for Religious Liberty (LRL) made their greatest impact in Orlando, a city in which Adventists have a relatively high profile due to the presence of the largest Adventist hospital in the world, Florida Hospital.³⁰ Late in 1992, LRL launched a major media campaign in which a new and heavily illustrated edition of *The Great Controversy* was offered for \$19.95. In addition to radio, television, and newspaper advertisements, LRL rented space on forty-two billboards. Initial "teaser" questions on the billboards asked, "When church and state unite, what do you lose?" or "How secure is our Constitution?" The teasers were followed by billboards with a picture of the pope, the question "Why is the Vatican trying to change our Constitution?" and an 800-number with which to order the special edition of *The Great Controversy*.

The LRL campaign generated considerable stir in Orlando, with the news media and talk shows focusing on the issue of intolerance. A Catholic caller to a

radio talk show expressed doubts about undergoing surgery scheduled at Florida Hospital. The Catholic bishop of Orlando, Norbert Dorsey, protested the “outrageous implication . . . concerning the leader of our church and a plot for changes in the Constitution, to limit religious conscience and legislate morality.” He described the anti-Catholic media blitz as “hurtful and insulting” and *The Great Controversy* as a “hodgepodge of theology and history, woven together by prejudice, half-truths, superstitions and old lies.”³¹ At Florida Hospital, some non-Adventist staff reacted with perplexity and anger upon learning that *The Great Controversy* was indeed a major Adventist publication.

As for the Adventist community, reactions ranged from outrage to embarrassment to satisfaction that someone was presenting the church’s apocalyptic message in such a forthright and dramatic way. The administrators of the Florida Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and of Florida Hospital faced the delicate problem of minimizing damage to the reputation of their institutions without repudiating *The Great Controversy*. In a letter to the *Orlando Sentinel*, Florida Conference president Obed Graham argued that LRL, in taking portions of *The Great Controversy* out of the context “so as to create an adversarial relationship between Christians of different persuasions,” had gone contrary to the intent of Ellen White, as seen in her larger body of writings and life work. His point could be supported by White’s cautions a century earlier against making harsh, condemning statements about Catholics.³² Yet *The Great Controversy* remains a thoroughly antipapal document—not just with reference to the past but in its depiction of an end-time conspiracy against liberty—and thus offensive to many no matter how presented.

For a time it appeared that anti-Catholic billboards sponsored by dissident Adventists would become a widespread phenomenon. Mould pledged to take his campaign nationwide. Also, in the spring of 1993, another historic Adventist group, Printed Page Ministry in Troy, Montana, sponsored billboards in Portland, Medford, and Salem, Oregon, presenting the pope as the “man of sin” referred to by the apostle Paul in 2 Thessalonians.³³ However, the Troy group’s plans to target the papal visit to Denver in August 1993 were neutralized by an intensive public relations campaign on the part of official Adventist representatives.³⁴

Meanwhile, infighting and scandal were damaging some of the other dissident independent ministries. Mould, for example, was discredited by allegations of repeated sexual and financial misconduct, and since 1993 has had little public impact.³⁵

In the end, the anti-Catholic media campaigns created only a temporary stir and did not even succeed in selling very many copies of *The Great Controversy*.³⁶ Nevertheless, the episode dramatized the powerful appeal that the system of prophetic interpretation established by nineteenth-century Adventism continued to hold for many. And the historic Adventists’ insistence that the message be

set forth in a vigorous, uncompromising way, no matter who might be offended, was part of a pattern of events that compelled the church to take a new look at its apocalyptic message.

The Center: Reaffirmation and Renewed Interest

For the revisionists, the lesson of the historic Adventists' media campaigns was that the church must face up to the anachronistic nature of Ellen White's end-time scenario.³⁷ Such an approach would free the current church from the taint of bigotry and allow for a reformulation of its message more relevant to the contemporary situation. However, the billboard embarrassment did not deter the Adventist mainstream from the course it had pursued since the crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Reaffirming of the apocalyptic outline endorsed by Ellen White was still the goal. The media campaigns only served to underscore the necessity of presenting the apocalyptic interpretations in such a way as to minimize offense and highlight the positive dimensions of Adventism's message. With this approach, Adventists hoped to retain public respect and still find purpose and identity by adhering to the church's traditional beliefs about apocalyptic prophecy, even if, upon close inspection, outsiders might find such beliefs outmoded and bigoted.

In an interview concerning the LRL activities in Orlando, Robert Dale, a vice president of the church's North American Division, stated that church leaders had "no substantive disagreement with the book *The Great Controversy*." Although Dale claimed that church leaders were open to scholarly views disputing a literal reading, he nonetheless declared that "the church believes in that book and supports what it says." The problem was with the historic Adventists' tactics in disseminating the message.³⁸

In regard to apocalyptic prophecy, then, the differences between the far-right fringe of Adventism and the mainstream leadership were more methodological than substantive. In response to criticism in 1996 from William Donohue, president of the conservative Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, church representatives affirmed publicly that an antipapal reading of history—past, present, and future—remained crucial to Adventism, and thus was not just a relic resurrected by fringe groups.

In an Associated Press feature that appeared in newspapers throughout the nation, Donohue complained that *God's Answers to Your Questions*, a book published by the Review and Herald and sold door-to-door by student "literature evangelists," identifies the papacy as the Antichrist, the beast of Revelation, and thus an ally of Satan in the final conflict of history. Donohue's criticism sprang particularly from the fact that such anti-Catholic views would be found in literature officially promoted by the Seventh-day Adventist Church—described in the article as "a major Protestant evangelical denomination"—and not from a

splinter group. Adventist officials defended the book on the grounds that its treatment of Catholicism reflected the views of the leading Protestant Reformers and that its polemic was directed against the papal system—not against particular popes or individual Catholics.³⁹

The Associated Press article was revealing about Adventism's ambiguous position in American society in the late twentieth century. On the one hand, the mainstream status accorded the church—which was the backdrop for the surprise and dismay expressed by Donohue and others that it would publish anti-Catholic sentiments—suggests that Adventists have succeeded in cultivating a public image of moderation, civility, and benevolence. The church is often regarded as an established denomination rather than an outsider sect. On the other hand, defense of the controversial book indicates that the church's theology of history perpetuates a sectarian distance from the dominant culture.

Moreover, that theology of history continued to drive the church's evangelistic mission. The Adventist mainstream wanted to be Christ-like and Christ-centered but was not dissuaded by revisionist challenges on the Left, embarrassing tactics on the Right, or criticism on the outside from proclaiming that biblical prophecy specifies institutions and organizations comprising the final alignment of Antichrist forces. Such proclamation was prominent in NET '96, a massive evangelistic endeavor utilizing satellite technology that so galvanized the energies and resources of the church that the *Adventist Review* characterized it as “by far the biggest evangelistic campaign Adventists have ever attempted” and “arguably the largest single thrust in Christian history.”⁴⁰ In the fall of 1996, Mark Finley, speaker and director of the church's leading television program, *It is Written*, delivered a series of twenty-six messages from Orlando, Florida, over a five-week period. The broadcasts were linked by satellite to nearly two thousand other locations throughout North America. The nightly audience at the downlink sites averaged one hundred thousand, and seventeen thousand baptisms into the Adventist Church were attributed to the campaign.⁴¹

The standard Adventist theology of history was a central theme in Finley's messages. The latter ones in particular were intended to convince listeners that the Adventist Church was God's true church in the final era of history. Thus, joining it was a matter of loyalty to Jesus Christ. Finley asserted that the worldwide popular acclaim accorded Pope John Paul II was “foretold by Bible prophecy,” specifically Revelation 13:3: “*All the world* wondered after the Beast.” With the “deadly wound” sustained in 1798 being healed as predicted, a “powerful confederacy under the pope of Rome” was emerging to bring about civil enforcement of Sunday observance. A choice would have to be made between the mark of the beast (the “papal Sunday”) and the “seal of God” (adherence to the true Sabbath as a sign of loyalty to Christ): “Out of Rome” Finley declared, “the pope will rise to incredible prominence, and America will be an ally to his part of

that coalition. In a time of great crisis, the Religious Right—the political arm of conservative Protestants in the United States—will lend its support to Catholicism, and *the Pope will become the spiritual leader* of both Protestants and Catholics. The result will be an unholy alliance which compromises truth right here in the United States of America.”⁴² For all of the Adventist Church’s respectability and tameness in the mid-1990s, its foremost effort to present its message implicated specific parties—the government, the papacy, and the religious Right—in a vast conspiracy of evil that would bring about the final crisis of history.

Concerns about the church’s stance regarding Catholicism prompted General Conference president Robert Folkenberg to release a statement to the media in April 1997. The statement acknowledged that Adventists, along with other Protestants, have at times “manifested prejudice and even bigotry” in presentations about Catholicism. It went on to recognize “some positive changes in recent Catholicism.” Nevertheless, Folkenberg declared that Adventists “continue to hold our views regarding end-time events” and the expected alignment of “the major Christian bodies” against God and the Sabbath. Adventists were not revising their teachings but acknowledging that “authentic Christianity” requires that they express love as they present those teachings.⁴³

So despite the occasional awkwardness resulting from media attention, the 1980s and 1990s saw not only reaffirmation of Adventism’s traditional understanding of apocalyptic prophecy but also a significant revival of interest in it. In 1974, Don F. Neufeld, an influential biblical scholar and associate editor of the *Review*, had written that the Adventist interpretation of Revelation 13 “has comparatively little effect today” because the oppressive action of the two-horned beast was “clearly future.” It would only become a compelling message in the future as prophecies met their fulfillment.⁴⁴ By the late 1980s, many Adventists became convinced that such fulfillment was much nearer and were seeing a much more immediate relevance in Revelation 13. A spate of new books on the subject appeared, prompted in part by the fall of communism and the rise of the New Christian Right, as well as by the controversies within the Adventist community. The church’s publishing houses disseminated a variety of expositions, ranging from the slick and sensational to the sober and scholarly.

Attorney G. Edward Reid’s *Even at the Door* (1994) differed little in tone and substance from material produced by the historic Adventists. Like them, he claimed that the Second Coming would occur when faithful Adventists, through the power of the Holy Spirit, perfect their characters and take the gospel to the world. What made his book particularly sensational was his use of Bishop Ussher’s chronology and the six-thousand-year theory for the duration of human history as part of the “overwhelming evidence” that the present generation will see the Second Coming. Without setting specific dates or years, Reid clearly used the six-thousand-year theory to draw attention to the year 2000 as an approximate time for the return of Christ.

All of the recent Adventist apocalyptic writings make much of the growth of papal influence and cooperation between Catholics and evangelicals on social issues. But Reid went further than most in speculating on the Catholic conspiracy. He maintained that the papacy's "Plan A" was to take over the presidency of the United States—a plan that failed with the assassination of John F. Kennedy. "Plan B" was to take over Congress and the Supreme Court, and the appointment of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court indicated the success the plan was enjoying. Though Thomas had become an Episcopalian, Reid warned that because of his Catholic background he would form a Catholic voting block with Justices Kennedy and Scalia. It was for this reason, Reid maintained, that Thomas was confirmed, despite low qualifications and the "trumped up" charges of sexual harassment. Reid even saw significance in the appointment of a Roman Catholic, Gen. John Shalikashvili, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.⁴⁵

Reid's book was on the fringes of the Adventist mainstream. The Review and Herald Publishing Association identified itself only as the printer, not the publisher, of the book. On the other hand, the Review and Herald claimed it as one of their best sellers the following year, and it carried the enthusiastic endorsement of Jack Blanco, chair of the Department of Religion at Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists. The book's popularity and at least partial official backing shows strong support for its sensational and highly conspiratorial approach, even among those who, unlike the historic Adventists, remained firmly loyal to the church.

The appointment of new editors at two major Adventist publications in 1994 and 1995 gave further indication of a renewed emphasis on apocalyptic prophecy in the church's mainstream. At *Signs of the Times*, Greg Brothers, a young editor who resigned to pursue a doctorate, was replaced by author and book editor Marvin Moore, whose stated agenda was to restore to the publication an emphasis on prophecy that had diminished in recent years.⁴⁶

At *Liberty* magazine, Roland Hegstad retired after thirty-five years as editor. In contrast to his predecessors, Hegstad had seen to it that Adventist eschatology directly inform and to a certain extent be expressed openly in the pages of *Liberty*. The appointment of Clifford Goldstein as his successor virtually guaranteed that that commitment would be sustained. Goldstein converted to Adventism from a Jewish background as a young man in 1980. He quickly became a zealous and leading apologist for the church's doctrines concerning 1844 and last-day events, which had been brought into question in the controversy surrounding Desmond Ford. Beside publishing several popular books on prophecy during the 1980s, Goldstein published numerous articles for *Liberty* as staff writer and then assistant editor. A gifted wordsmith, well-informed on public affairs, deeply dedicated to Adventism's traditional apocalyptic framework and to separation of church and state, Goldstein was well-positioned to perpetuate the Hegstad legacy.

Although somewhat more restrained than Reid, both Moore and Goldstein also saw in current events powerful confirmation of Ellen White's end-time scenario in *The Great Controversy*. Their works are representative popular statements of the revived apocalyptic consciousness pervading the denomination in the 1990s. In contrast to critics of Ellen White as a forecaster, both men, perpetuating a tradition that goes back at least to F. D. Nichol in the 1930s, argued that *The Great Controversy* actually has greater plausibility now than when it was written. The Pacific Press's unprecedented promotion of Goldstein's *Day of the Dragon* (1993) reflected and no doubt boosted the persisting popularity of this approach. The *Adventist Review* included a free sixteen-page excerpt from the book, juxtaposed to a full-page advertisement with endorsements from General Conference president Robert Folkenberg, Mark Finley, and other prominent Adventists.⁴⁷

The fall of Soviet communism was the great event convincing many Adventists that the world had come to the brink of the last days. Suddenly it seemed much more plausible to say that the United States, the sole remaining superpower, would, in collusion with the papacy, enforce religious oppression throughout the world.⁴⁸ Not only that, the former communist lands were now open to hear the worldwide proclamation of the Adventist message necessary before the return of Christ.⁴⁹

In *Day of the Dragon*, Goldstein commented that throughout the 1980s the notion that the United States would impose the mark of the beast on the world "seemed at best far off—at worst far out."⁵⁰ In his own writing during the 1980s Goldstein had expressed no such reservations about the imminent fulfillment of prophecy. The rise of the New Christian Right and its cooperation with Catholicism, he wrote in 1988, indicated that "the time of trouble is close" and that "the days the prophets wrote about are here."⁵¹ But now, in 1993, with communism fallen, he declared that the biblical warning about the mark of the beast "could not have happened, according to our understanding, just a few years ago." While he acknowledged that the Adventist pioneers expected Christ's return in their times and that this could have taken place, the thrust of Goldstein's analysis was to present Ellen White as an amazing forecaster whose predictions, wildly implausible when written, were being proven a century later.⁵²

For Adventists, of course, it was not simply government but government allied with false religious forces that would bring about the final crisis. Adventists of the late twentieth century believed they were seeing striking new evidence that the very players Ellen White had identified in the late nineteenth-century—spiritualism, Roman Catholicism, and apostate Protestantism—were having a profound impact.

The widespread popularity of the New Age movement, with its promise of contact with "spiritual guides" and "soul entities" appeared to be striking

confirmation of Ellen White's warning that spiritualism would be a powerful medium of deception in the final days. Indeed, with its syncretism and adoration for spiritual teachers of various religious traditions, the New Age movement was helping to prepare the way for the climactic deception of the "great controversy" described by White: Satan would impersonate Christ just prior to the real Second Coming and declare that the Sabbath has been changed to Sunday.⁵³

In the early 1990s, nothing did more to fire Adventist imaginations about the apocalyptic role of Catholicism than Malachi Martin's *Keys of This Blood* (1990), the controversial ex-Jesuit's treatise on the geopolitical ambitions of John Paul II.⁵⁴ To Adventists, Martin's description of the pope's vigorous drive to position himself "as a special leader among leaders" and to "emerge the victor" in the competition among world leaders fit perfectly with Ellen White's warnings that the Roman Church "is employing every device to extend her influence and increase her power in preparation for a fierce and determined conflict to regain control of the world."⁵⁵ Though written in the present tense more than a hundred years before, her language seemed to describe current events so well that it was easy for Adventists to see it as a prediction come true with stunning accuracy.

As for coercive, "apostate" Protestantism, the New Christian Right fit the profile given by Ellen White better than any movement since the National Reform Association and its allies in the late nineteenth century. Adventists saw in the NCR a blatant and powerful movement to obliterate the separation of church and state and use governmental power to impose religious values. Here, it seemed, was rapid advance toward Ellen White's prediction that American Protestants would cooperate to "influence the state to enforce their decrees and to sustain their institutions," thus forming an "image" to the Catholic beast.⁵⁶

Marvin Moore's treatment of this point offers another example of the remarkably ahistorical character of much Adventist discussion of prophecy fulfillment. Moore pointed out the NCR's active antagonism toward separation of church and state, its political clout, and its fundamentalist style—which entails a tendency to repress dissent. All of these points, he declared, show that "*the very thing we have predicted these 150 years, which seemed so absurd during almost that entire time, is now coming to pass.*"⁵⁷ In fact, as we have seen, Adventists throughout most of their history, far from regarding their interpretation of the prophecies as "absurd," have found in their own times signs that convinced them that the prophecies were being fulfilled before their eyes and the end was near. Yet the early 1990s seems comparable to the early 1890s, the mid-1920s, and the early 1960s as a period when signs of the end seemed to be converging in particularly impressive ways.

Not only did the New Age movement, the aggressive papacy of John Paul II, and the NCR appear to be bringing about the final three great apostate forces Ellen White had seen, but the deepening ties between conservative Protestants

and Catholics in America provided evidence that these forces were clasping hands, as White also expected, to form a persecuting alliance. Adventists had long been wary of the conservative Protestant-Catholic alliance on abortion. As the Christian Coalition cultivated the political cooperation of Catholics in the 1990s, Adventist concern deepened. The “Evangelicals and Catholics Together” statement, signed in 1994 by prominent, mainly conservative leaders from both camps, appeared particularly portentous. This effort to “mend the split” between Protestants and Catholics by affirming commonalities and pledging cooperation on social concerns prompted Robert Folkenberg to declare, “Certainly we are seeing the fulfillment of the words ‘And all the world wondered after the beast’ (Revelation 13:3).”⁵⁸ In particular, the prominence of politically influential NCR leaders such as Pat Robertson prompted Goldstein to assert, “Few events have confirmed our end-time scenario more than the continuing rapprochement [*sic*] between Catholics and Protestants.”⁵⁹

Thus while traditional apocalyptic interpretations were being questioned as never before in the Adventist community, those who accepted the framework of assumptions underlying those interpretations were finding increasingly compelling evidence for their truth. But though they could persuasively point to evidence for an increase in the influence of the papacy, and found political forces in America with an intolerant bent that were unfriendly to the separation of church and state, they lacked empirical evidence for the centerpiece of their apocalyptic drama: Sunday legislation. In discussing the significance of the new evangelical-Catholic cooperation, Goldstein acknowledged that the Sunday issue had not yet surfaced, though that did not diminish his certainty that it would in the future.⁶⁰

While writers such as Reid, Goldstein, and Moore produced popular works that plugged current events into Ellen White’s scenario in *The Great Controversy*, some Adventist academics rallied to scholarly defense of the biblical basis for the church’s apocalyptic teachings. These scholars, such as *Review* editor William Johnsson, a former seminary professor who earned a doctorate in New Testament from Vanderbilt University, and Jon Paulien of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, by and large did not devote much energy to correlating Daniel and Revelation with the specifics of history or the future. Rather, taking the broad outlines of Adventism’s traditional scheme of interpretation as a given, they devoted more energy to the literary structure of the text, thereby seeking a richer understanding of its religious themes.

In his book *What the Bible Says About the End-Time*, Paulien, for example, commented that Adventist interpreters tended to lose the “inner coherence” of Revelation when jumping too hastily from the text to history. His work therefore concentrated on analyzing the text itself, rather than on history. For example, his analysis of the second beast of Revelation 13—the “land beast” in his terminology—did not touch on its application to the United States. Rather, he

dealt with its character as part of an anti-Trinity—the counterfeit of the Holy Spirit that would produce a counterfeit of Pentecost.⁶¹

When these scholars did get around to applying the text to the present day, they demonstrated considerably more restraint than did the popular interpreters. At a time when other Adventist voices were fervently proclaiming that the fall of communism and evangelical-Catholic cooperation showed that the world was on the brink of the end-time, Paulien sounded a cautionary note. Despite the collapse of the Soviet empire, he pointed out, “A number of major barriers still stand in the way of a full and final fulfillment of the New Testament scenario of the end.” Among the barriers he cited were militant Islam, secularism, and the failure of the church by and large to make a significant impact on contemporary society.⁶² Johnsson, though not disputing the Adventist pioneers identification of the second beast of Revelation 13 as the United States, called for frank acknowledgment that “full understanding of this prophecy of the land monster still awaits us.” Although a Sunday law and the United States’ world leadership must somehow be involved, the way in which “the entire mass of humanity will be drawn into the vortex of deception,” Johnsson concluded, “is not apparent at present.”⁶³

Scholars such as Johnsson and Paulien took new approaches to the apocalyptic texts, were open to expanded understanding, and were more cautious than some other popular authors about declaring specific events to be the fulfillment of prophecy. What distinguished Johnsson and Paulien from their more thoroughly revisionist colleagues was their adherence to the historicist framework and their conviction that the Sabbath question would be decisive in the final crisis—a “litmus test,” as Johnsson put it, of one’s relationship with God.⁶⁴

Adventists enjoyed less unanimity on apocalyptic interpretation than ever during the late twentieth century. The title of a book published in 1993 by Jack Provonsha—*A Remnant in Crisis*—captured a widespread sentiment, and its publication by a official church publishing house suggested an openness to acknowledging the crisis on the part of church officials. Provonsha, a Loma Linda University ethicist and one of the church’s most highly regarded intellectuals, delineated a crisis of identity centering on the meaning of 1844, the remnant concept, and the church’s entire interpretation of history. Adventists lacked the certainty and near unanimity they once had concerning the outworking of God’s plan for history and their singular importance in it.

Provonsha’s solutions were difficult to categorize and among the most creative. With the revisionists he admitted to questions about the biblical basis for traditional teachings about what happened in heaven in 1844. But with the traditionalists he affirmed the importance of the date in salvation history. Provonsha argued that the earthly, historical reality of a new movement to proclaim the truth about God and to challenge the Darwinist and social Darwinist philosophies emerging at the same time could be the starting point for belief that the final phase in the unveiling of

God's truth had begun. With the revisionists he rejected identification of the remnant with institutional Adventism. But with the traditionalists he maintained that the concept had particular meaning for the Adventist people. They could view themselves as a "prophetic movement," a "proleptic remnant" called to be a catalyst for a much larger "final remnant"—the faithful people of God at the last day—that would transcend all earthly institutions.⁶⁵

Provonsha's retrieval of meaning for historically cherished symbols is a sophisticated version of what appears to be the overriding trend in the final quarter of the twentieth century as Adventism grappled with its apocalyptic heritage. Amid and in response to severe crisis and turmoil, traditional themes were reinvigorated and applied to a new era.

As for what all of this meant for the church's relationship with the American public order, two points are particularly noteworthy. First, the remnant identity gained renewed force in response to the challenges. Johnsson, in 1982, pictured the Adventist "world view," in which he included the "sense that God has raised us up on time, for a purpose," as the "engine" of Adventism. The church of the late twentieth century was still driven by its self-understanding as "a prophetic gathering movement" and "a creative remnant in earth's last hour."⁶⁶ This meant, he reiterated amid renewed controversy in 1998, that Adventism is "not just one more denomination" but a "called and covenanted" people portrayed as remnant in biblical prophecy.⁶⁷ A powerful consciousness of having a crucial role in the final apocalyptic drama imbued all of the church's interaction with society with a transcendent meaning that called forth an added dimension of urgency and vigor.

The second point, explored in the next section, is that the primary political target of that vigor was the New Christian Right. The theology of history that, though wounded, was also given new life in the 1980s and 1990s, absolutized Adventists' opposition to the NCR because in it they saw not just undesirable politics but also nascent apocalyptic evil.

New Pluralism in Political Outlook

Along with the new diversity regarding apocalyptic prophecy, the American Adventist membership became more diverse in political orientation in the final decades of the twentieth century. Trends, discussed in chapter 5, that emerged in the 1960s, challenging the status quo conservatism of the earlier era, continued and in some ways strengthened. Liberal voices in the church's academic community made their influence felt. Blacks and Latinos constituted a growing proportion of the overall membership and tended to the left politically. And with the New Christian Right now perceived as the primary threat in public life, the church directed its energies and rhetoric directly against what was probably the single most influential force in the Republican Party. Conservative influences

remained strong, but in overall profile the church of the 1990s was more moderate and diverse politically than the church of the 1950s.

Battlefront on the Right

We have seen how Adventists in the twentieth century turned their attention to the ecumenical movement and the more liberal side of American Protestantism as the means through which apocalyptic religious oppression could develop. Conservatives continued to appear threatening in the 1920s because of their involvement in the renewed crusade for Sunday laws. Subsequently, however, liberalism, social gospel, and ecumenism, rather than conservative zealotry for enforced morality, were seen as the primary agents of the corruption of Protestantism. In an exposition of Revelation 13 published in 1976, *Signs of the Times* editor Lawrence Maxwell gave the leading role in the final development of persecuting Protestantism to liberal ministers. Such leaders, he predicted, would turn to Congress to enforce religious measures because, having abandoned the authority of the Bible, they were no longer able to win support for their goals through preaching.⁶⁸

But then the resurgence of fundamentalism allied with right-wing politics in the 1970s—along with the decline of mainline, ecumenical Protestantism—prompted Adventists to shift the spotlight of Revelation 13 back to conservatives. In the NCR, Adventists saw a movement analogous to the National Reform Association of the nineteenth century in its efforts to legislate a conservative moral and religious program. These zealous conservatives could incorporate Sunday laws into their campaign to rebuild America's spiritual foundations and ultimately launch the final persecution of nonconformists.⁶⁹

It is striking that the Adventist form of premillennialism would lead to direct political opposition to the NCR, for a large portion of the politically active fundamentalists also espoused premillennialism, albeit the dispensationalist variety. Though not the sole cause, the substantive differences between the two systems of premillennialist interpretation help account for the contrasting political stances.

At first glance, it may appear that dispensationalism and NCR politics simply coexist in tension, rather than having a clear, logical relationship. In contrast to the Adventist interpretation, dispensationalism sees no specific identification of the United States in prophecy. Israel is the center of God's future redemptive activity, and its restoration to modern nationhood is the major indicator of the imminent rapture of the church into heaven. In the most popular form of dispensationalism, the rapture is followed by a seven-year period of tribulation during which the Antichrist wields power, the other apocalyptic traumas described in Daniel and Revelation occur, and the Jews suffer fierce persecution while a large number accept Jesus as Messiah. After the seven-year tribulation comes the millennium and Christ's visible rule on Earth.⁷⁰

Not only does America have no directly demarcated role in this scheme, but American democracy itself is relativized. Like all other Gentile nations, the United States will finally suffer divine judgment. Democracy, like all other human systems, will ultimately fail.⁷¹ On the other hand, the dispensationalists in the NCR believe that the nation was founded under divine auspices by men of deep faith, and a revival of morality in public life is needed to bring the nation back to God.⁷² Robert G. Clouse has argued that the NCR political program reflected a type of post-millennialist vision for America that is inconsistent with its premillennialist eschatology. They preached a premillennialism centered on Israel and an imminent rapture of the church to heaven, after which a sin-corrupted America careens to its doom. At the same time, they have also preached a nationalistic civil millennialism, attributing the nation's past glory to divine blessing and demanding political action to strengthen the nation's military defense, free enterprise system, and conservative morals in order to retain that blessing and ensure future glory.⁷³

However, although the NCR political ideology does not flow directly out of dispensationalist premillennialism, links between the two do exist. Tim LaHaye, a prominent speaker and author of the NCR, writes of a "pretribulation tribulation" that America may avoid if it responds to God. In other words, by reviving public decency and morality, America can prosper until the church is raptured and the seven-year tribulation that precedes the millennium is unleashed on the unbelieving world. If "liberal humanists" control the government, however, the nation, Christians included, will unnecessarily suffer pretribulation tribulation. LaHaye and others, such as Hal Lindsey, the best-selling premillennialist author in recent decades, also point to America as a bulwark of the church's mission. An America morally ordered at home and militarily powerful abroad would facilitate the task of worldwide evangelization.⁷⁴

Moreover, though not specifically symbolized in Daniel and Revelation, America also has a crucial, if tangential, role in the dispensationalist scheme—that of supporting the state of Israel, which has been restored according to biblical prophecy as a prelude to final events. This link between premillennialism and international affairs has prompted efforts by the dispensationalists of the NCR on behalf of a strongly pro-Israel American policy.⁷⁵ To fulfill its biblical obligations toward Israel, they maintained, America must be strong, militarily and morally, and it could only receive the divine blessing needed for that strength if it supported Israel.⁷⁶

Thus the dispensationalists wedded their religious passion with ultraconservative politics on issues such as American military power and the welfare state. At the same time, they struggled to uphold traditional Protestant morals in the public realm by supporting measures for school prayer and against abortion, pornography, and special protection of homosexual rights.⁷⁷ Adventists, however, believed that the governmental measures that the dispensationalists of the

NCR thought would rescue American civilization and prevent unnecessary pretribulation tribulation would instead be the gateway to the final apocalyptic persecution of believers.

The mobilization of a fundamentalist-evangelical voting bloc in 1980 prompted *Liberty* editor Hegstad to sound a warning against the endeavor to bring the Republic under Christian influence by electing the “right kind” of Christian politicians—as determined by their stands on issues such as the Panama Canal, busing, social welfare programs, and prayer in public schools. Such a program, he charged, would be at the least “divisive within Christian ranks” and at most “a threat to treasured American—and, I believe, Biblical—concepts of church-state separation.” This effort to apply Christian values to the public order looked like a movement toward “legislated religious conformity,” which boded ill for freedom.

In describing his own view of how Christians should relate to the political system, Hegstad took the position that although only divine apocalyptic intervention can establish the kingdom of God, earthly governments are established by God for the purpose of preserving order and liberty. Christian citizens have an “obligation to work within the system to advance these legitimate functions.” On this general point he differed little from the NCR. In its effort to bring the weight of government to bear on moral issues, however, the NCR stressed the ordering purpose of government to a degree that Hegstad found inimical to the purpose of liberty. And in his discussion of the type of action Christians should take, Hegstad made clear that he regarded liberty as the paramount purpose, for it is liberty that is most critical to the mission of the church: “By vote, by participation in the processes of government, or by advocacy from outside of government, the Christian may advance the freedoms that have permitted the church to fulfill its God-given mandate to preach the gospel. To work through the democratic system to improve the system, without abandoning the priorities of men commissioned to herald the imminent establishment of God’s kingdom, is consistent with the instructions of Christ.”⁷⁸

The foremost issue of direct conflict between Adventists and the NCR was school prayer. After Ronald Reagan won the presidency in 1980, he fulfilled a campaign pledge by renewing the drive—which had fallen short in the 1960s and 1970s—for a constitutional amendment that would counteract *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) and permit organized school prayer. In 1982, the president submitted the following amendment to Congress: “Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No persons shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer.”

In leading the Adventist protest, Hegstad renewed his insistence that the right of voluntary prayer by individuals in public schools had not been abridged by the Supreme Court in the first place.⁷⁹ Moreover, a clear intent of fostering

prayer in public schools, “hardly the business of government,” lay behind the president’s proposal. Although supporters claimed that the measure would get the “federal government out of the business of protecting or invalidating prayer,” Hegstad argued that it thereby “puts fifty states into that business . . . thus enhancing the fiftyfold likelihood of ‘entangling alliances’ between church and state.”

Beyond the amendment itself, Hegstad objected to the dangerous religious aspirations he believed surrounded it. “It creates unrealistic hopes for national regeneration, which will come, if at all, not from a common-denominator prayer mouthed at the beginning of the school day, but from the hearts and homes and altars of a free people who freely choose to pray.”⁸⁰

The amendment won support from a majority in the Senate, but less than the two-thirds needed. Despite the defeat, the NCR did not give up on a school prayer amendment. Nor has Adventist opposition diminished, as seen in the debate over the Istook amendment of 1998.⁸¹

Consideration of two other seemingly disparate issues together—America’s policy toward Israel and President Reagan’s appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican—further illuminates the difference that variations in premillennialist belief can make for public action. Dispensationalists, we have seen, favored an aggressively pro-Israel American policy. For them, the Zionist movement was the central fulfillment that confirmed their understanding of prophecy, and they predicted its success well in advance.⁸² In Adventist eschatology, on the other hand, the modern state of Israel holds no significance. The historical event to which the Adventist apocalyptic system remained anchored was the increasingly remote captivity of Pope Pius VI in 1798. Nevertheless, Adventists refused to update their eschatology by finding a place for modern Israel as the momentum for a Jewish state increased. The Jews as a people, Adventists believed, had no role in salvation history after the crucifixion.

One Adventist, writing in *Signs of the Times* in 1947, was sure that the Jews’ loss of “choseness” meant that Zionism could not succeed. The Scriptures indicate, he claimed, that “the literal descendants of Abraham, as a nation, will never be re-established in the Holy Land.”⁸³ More cautious Adventist prognosticators argued that even if Zionism should enjoy some success, it still would not be the eschatological “great gathering of Israel” foretold by the Old Testament prophets. Those promises applied only to the church in the Christian era.⁸⁴ Thus, once the state of Israel was formed, F. D. Nichol called it merely a political development that didn’t invalidate the Adventist claim that “there would never be a return of the Jews to the literal land of Palestine by any outstretching of God’s hand to restore them to their former glory as his peculiar people.”⁸⁵

The increased popularity of the dispensationalist view after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and the publication of Hal Lindsey’s best-selling *Late Great Planet Earth* (1970),⁸⁶ stimulated numerous Adventist refutations of the dispensationalist

system of interpretation and the special place it held for Israel.⁸⁷ Though Adventists did not often express views on the political issues involved, Don F. Neufeld in 1977 pointed approvingly to an editorial by James M. Wall of the *Christian Century* that criticized efforts by evangelicals to garner the support of the United States for the specific territorial claims of the present Israeli government. Neufeld expressed “apprehension” about “tampering with so explosive a situation on the basis of a particular view of Scripture” and “alarm” about “any pressuring of President Carter based on his evangelical conviction.”⁸⁸

The success of the state of Israel gave dispensationalism a striking correlation in contemporary world affairs that Adventists at times found difficult to match. Yet in keeping their view of the papacy as the root of the end-time conspiracy, Adventists did not lack entirely for contemporary signs. Although critical of dispensationalists’ efforts to influence policy toward Israel, Adventists took strong action to influence the relationship between the Vatican and the United States—a project for which the dispensationalists showed little enthusiasm.

In 1983, the Senate, without public hearings or debate, lifted a prohibition enacted in 1867 against use of federal funds for diplomatic relations with the Vatican. This move opened the way for official diplomatic recognition and elevation of the president’s personal representative, William Wilson, to the status of ambassador. Adventists responded with a vigor similar to that which they had shown on this issue during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. The church’s annual council in 1983 issued a statement of opposition and encouraged church members to express their concern to both the White House and Congress. The church leaders declared their belief that any step toward United States–Vatican diplomatic relations would be inimical to church-state separation, discriminatory toward other churches, and would entangle the U.S. government in the affairs of a church and religion.⁸⁹

Bert Beach, by then director of the church’s Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty, pointed out that in the brief Senate discussion of the matter, Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana had advocated recognition of the Vatican as “world state,” an obvious reference to the Roman Catholic Church and clear indication that “diplomatic relations with the Holy See will entangle the United States with the problems, views, claims, and aims of a *church*.”⁹⁰ Not only the principles involved but also the procedure taken in changing Vatican policy raised the ire of Adventists and others. Hegstad accused Congress of an “appalling dereliction of duty . . . in failing to hold hearings *before* the President confronted Protestant and other religious leaders with a *fait accompli*.”⁹¹

When the Wilson nomination came before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February 1984, Beach testified in opposition. C. E. Bradford, president of the North American Division (NAD), and Gordon Engen, public affairs and religious liberty director for the NAD, sent an urgent memo to church

pastors throughout the nation, asking that they appeal to their church members the following Sabbath to send mailgrams or letters to their senators. The memo cautioned against getting into “prophetic” aspects of the issue, leaving that instead to “subsequent Revelation Seminars and Bible studies.”⁹²

Though it was the issue of separation of church and state that Adventists pressed in public debate, the language of the memo reflects the fact that apocalyptic remained an animating factor behind their involvement. Indeed, the Reagan administration’s success in establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican found its way into Adventist apocalyptic presentations. Writing nearly a decade later, Marvin Moore cited the fact that President Reagan had “secretly and swiftly pushed a bill through the U.S. Senate establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican” as evidence both of advancing papal power and the weakness of American Protestant response to it.⁹³

Other groups, such as the National Association of Evangelicals, the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, and Americans United, also objected to official diplomatic ties, but the intensity of the Adventist protest stood out more than it did in 1940 and 1951. The *Christian Century’s* review of religious news in 1984 noted that the president’s action once would have “occasioned an uproar” but now “elicited only muted protest.”⁹⁴ The *Century* had led the opposition at mid-century, but now, commented senior editor Dean Peerman, “we haven’t exactly been frothing at the mouth in righteous rage” over the issue.⁹⁵

Conservative Protestants were also generally low-key in their opposition. National Association of Evangelicals representative Robert Dugan called the establishment of official diplomatic ties “a disappointment,” but said other issues were of much greater concern to evangelicals. According to Adventist officials, Billy Graham consulted with other evangelical leaders on behalf of the Reagan administration and reported that the appointment should cause few problems among evangelicals if handled properly.⁹⁶ Jerry Falwell, an independent Baptist minister who, as head of the Moral Majority, was the foremost figure among the dispensationalists in the NCR, opposed Wilson’s appointment as ambassador but regarded it as inevitable. He thus sought to make a bargaining chip out of it, calling for Vatican recognition of Israel as a condition for his support.⁹⁷ Since the papacy was not crucial to his eschatology, Falwell could afford to be flexible, especially in service of something that was crucial, namely, the status of Israel.

For Adventists, the papacy remained the kingpin of the gathering forces of apocalyptic evil. Neither Israel nor communism had a central role in the truly significant events of the future. Thus diplomacy with the Vatican remained a concern of high priority for them, while it receded for both other premillennialists and liberal Protestants. Although Adventists were willing to make adjustments to their separationist policy to allow for some forms of state aid and room for free exercise of religion, they were unwilling to see any pragmatic concessions

made to the geopolitical value of diplomatic ties with the Vatican. Here the wall of separation had to be kept strong to close off any avenue which the papacy might use to bring governments under its influence.

On issues of family life and sexual morality, such as abortion, pornography, and homosexuality, Adventists did not so much oppose the NCR as maintain a cautious distance from political activism on behalf of the values they shared with other conservative Christians.⁹⁸ Abortion probably generated more passion for political action on the part of dispensationists than any other issue, but Adventists had little identifiable presence in the antiabortion crusade. Church policy issued in 1970 permitted abortions in denominationally owned hospitals under some conditions, and the practice of some hospitals was more permissive than the policy. Adventist publications tended to depict abortion as contrary to Christian morality,⁹⁹ but generally did not advocate public policy to restrict it. Not surprisingly, given the coalition of Catholics and conservative Protestants in the pro-life movement, *Liberty* kept a wary eye on it for possible violations of the separation of church and state.¹⁰⁰

The church did seek to clarify its stance with the appointment of a Christian View of Human Life Commission in 1988. The commission's conclusions, which had the status of guidelines rather than mandatory policy, appeared four years later and expressed a moderate position. The guidelines stated that abortion should not be used as a means of birth control or for the purpose of gender selection but also affirmed that in some instances involving jeopardy to the mother's health, severe deformity, rape, or incest, abortion may be a moral option.¹⁰¹ Adventists did not aggressively oppose the pro-life movement the way they did school prayer amendments, but the commission guidelines gave church members and institutions scope for freedom of decision under complex circumstances—a position that would presumably be recommended for society as a whole.

The conflict between Adventists and the NCR could also be seen, if somewhat ambiguously, in key election years. Although Adventist leaders continued to pronounce the church apolitical, *Liberty* in the Hegstad era did not hesitate to evaluate presidential candidates when their stands on matters of church and state differed in significant ways. In 1980, *Liberty* gave President Carter "high marks for fidelity to his stated views on church and state." The president was praised for "choosing principle over political expediency" in resisting pressure from fellow evangelicals to support a school prayer amendment. Ronald Reagan, enthusiastically backed by the NCR, was ranked a "distant third" behind Carter and third-party candidate John Anderson because of "his support for state-sponsored prayer in public schools, his sponsorship of tax aid for nonpublic schools while governor of California, and his commitment to an abortion amendment." *Liberty* considered the latter a church-state issue because of its backing by a broad Roman Catholic–evangelical coalition. No endorsement was made, of course, and the editors acknowledged that a choice for president should not revolve around one

issue. However, the magazine so stressed the dangers of electing Reagan, including his potential impact on the Supreme Court and his courtship of the “*far, Far Right,*” as to imply strongly that the issue of church and state should weigh heavily in this election.¹⁰²

In 1992 *Liberty* made no comment on Bill Clinton or Ross Perot but instead delivered a hard-hitting critique of the ties the Republican Party and President George Bush had formed with the NCR. The cover of the November-December issue, which appeared in October, depicted a GOP “Trojan Elephant” out of which proceeded Pat Robertson and minions, marching up the steps of the Capitol. Hegstad described Republican rhetoric, such as Newt Gingrich’s pronouncement that Democrats “have no concept of families,” as “verbal toxic waste.” He warned that “dollops” of such rhetoric would be “dumped on the character of those opposing so-called ‘voluntary’ prayer in the public schools or government aid for parochial schools—both of which will be by-products, we are assured, of the Bush-Quayle ticket.”¹⁰³ The direct and unmistakable message of this issue of *Liberty* was that in the 1992 election the Republican Party, because of its link with the NCR, posed a great danger to freedom in America.

Concerns about religious liberty did not dissuade the majority of Adventists from voting Republican, but available data suggest a relatively moderate overall political profile of American Adventism in the 1980s and 1990s. The NCR agenda by no means won unanimous support in the Republican Party, and Adventists could maintain their majority Republican orientation while still opposing or withholding support from much of that agenda.

Although the differences between Adventism and the NCR stand out, one must not overlook areas of agreement and cooperation to which their shared moral and theological conservatism led them. Education, the realm in which the two camps had their most bitter conflict—over school prayer—was also the general realm of their greatest concord—on the issue of evolution and creationism in the public schools.

Liberty articles in the 1970s and 1980s reiterated the argument from the 1920s that evolution is a hypothesis, a world view antithetical to traditional religion, rather than scientific fact. Thus, it would be unjust and a violation of religious liberty for taxpayers to have to support it as such.¹⁰⁴ Now, however, Adventists and other religious conservatives did not now support laws banning the teaching of evolution in public schools, but urged that evidence for a creationist view of the origins of life also be presented on a scientific, secular basis.¹⁰⁵

Following in the legacy of George McCready Price, Adventists continued to place high priority on finding concordance between science and a literal interpretation of Genesis 1–11. Many Adventist scientists concluded that the enterprise was futile. But the church-funded Geoscience Research Institute (GRI) made important contributions to the advancement of “scientific creationism” in

the 1970s and 1980s—to the theory itself and toward its inclusion in public school curricula. In 1981, GRI director Ariel Roth gave the keynote address to a hearing of the Oregon House Education Committee in which he advocated a bill requiring the state's public school teachers to acquaint students with special creationism. At the widely publicized trial in Arkansas later that year—sometimes referred to as “Scopes II”—three of the eleven witnesses testifying in favor of a state law requiring “balanced treatment” of “creation-science” and “evolution-science” were Adventist scholars.¹⁰⁶

On this issue, Adventists broke with their sometime ally, the ACLU, which opposed the Arkansas law as a violation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment.¹⁰⁷ Adventists here placed the threat to religious freedom perceived in state imposition of a teaching hostile to the religious convictions of many citizens ahead of the possible compromise of the separation of church and state in the religious intent behind “balanced treatment” laws.

The convergences of mentality and cause that can sometimes be found between Adventists and other conservative premillennialists actually serve to underscore the critical importance of their contrasting theologies of history in accounting for the divergences. Adventist writers often stated their support for much of the political agenda of NCR. Their objections to it were based only on prophecy and cases in which separation of church and state was specifically threatened. Lewis R. Walton, an attorney, author, and lecturer on apocalyptic themes popular among conservative Adventists, commented that the ideas of the religious Right “in themselves are difficult to argue with.” He observed that were it not for “the special guidance of providence, one could accept almost any of them as necessary solutions to the problems that endanger us all.”¹⁰⁸ Robert Folkenberg commented favorably on the conservative social agenda of the “Evangelicals and Catholics Together” document signed in 1994. “If we didn’t understand the role of this alliance in end-time events,” he observed, “some Seventh-day Adventists might have signed this document as well.”¹⁰⁹

Without their distinctive form of premillennialism, therefore, Adventists were people who might be favorably inclined toward state measures to preserve a “Judeo-Christian America” with world military dominance. But they vigorously resisted key elements of the right-wing dispensationalists’ program and were relatively quiet on others. They responded in this way in part because of a theology of history which taught them that entwining national purposes with religion too closely would mean the end of freedom for those whose beliefs were deemed subversive of that connection.

New Diversity and Involvement

The new alignment that made the NCR, rather than ecumenical liberals, their foremost opponents among politically active Christians, was not the only factor

changing the profile of Adventist public involvement in the 1980s and 1990s. Adventists also engaged somewhat more in advocating their own public causes, and that involvement, overall, tended in a somewhat more progressive direction.

First, progressives who had emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the church's academic community, continued to call for and organize public involvement. *Spectrum* editor Roy Branson, for example, who conceptualized social reform as a "sacrament of the Second Advent," in the 1990s focused his dedication to reform on the issue of tobacco control. In 1986, he called the Adventist Church to go beyond helping individuals overcome the smoking habit and lead "a crusade against those conglomerates profiting from exploitation of the vulnerable, those corporate and political interests who conspire in nothing less than the killing of men, women, and children."¹¹⁰

Toward that end, Branson took the lead in forming the Interreligious Coalition on Smoking OR Health in 1991 and became the coalition's co-chair. This organization brought together a wide spectrum of religious organizations in the cause of tobacco control—including the Friends Committee on National Legislation; NETWORK: A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby; the social action jurisdictions of the Church of the Brethren, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the United Methodist Church; and the Seventh-day Adventist Church.¹¹¹

Though not himself an official representative of the denomination, Branson cultivated official church support for the coalition's positions. Other Adventist leaders also took strong stands on the issue. In early 1995, Roy Adams, associate editor of the *Adventist Review*, enthusiastically praised controversial FDA commissioner David Kessler's "raw courage" in standing up to the tobacco interests.¹¹² Bert Beach issued a call for "a uniform ban on tobacco advertising, stricter laws against smoking in public places, more aggressive and systematic public education, and substantially higher taxes on cigarettes."¹¹³ In June 1998, the editors of the *Review* took the rare step of urging members to action on a legislative issue outside the realm of religious liberty: the McCain tobacco bill then being debated in the Senate.¹¹⁴

The Adventist involvement in this issue of public policy is another significant marker in a political profile that contrasts with that of the resurgent Right. In the Interreligious Coalition, Adventists linked with organizations that generally took liberal to moderate stands on public issues. And though some on the more conservative end of the spectrum, such as the National Association of Evangelicals and Mormon representatives, also spoke out for tobacco control, the religious Right was noticeably absent from such efforts. In fact, Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, pointedly criticized the Clinton administration's anti-tobacco actions.¹¹⁵ Due in part to the church's longstanding commitments on issues involving public health (such as to the prohibition crusade) and the leadership of progressives such as Branson, the church not only

took a stand on a public issue but also allied itself with political groups leaning predominantly toward the left.

The rapid increase of racial minorities in church membership was a second factor making the American Adventist political profile a somewhat more progressive one. By 1990, black Adventist membership stood at 193,000, about 25 percent of the total, up from 20 percent in 1976. Latino membership grew a spectacular 127 percent during the 1980s, reaching 64,500 by 1990, or 8 percent of the total.¹¹⁶ Members of these two minorities had come to constitute one-third of the church's American membership, and both groups exhibited much more progressive political attitudes, in general, than their white counterparts. As Calvin Rock, a prominent black Adventist leader and a vice president of the General Conference, observed in his *Adventist Review* column, those who have been "victimized by social injustice" are more politically liberal than their fellow believers.¹¹⁷

For black Adventists, the conflict with conservatism in the 1980s was not just over separation of church and state but also over social and economic policies. In his social and political "agenda for the eighties," Rock, then president of Oakwood College in Alabama, criticized the newly prominent "reactionary conservatism" for ignoring "the principles that have produced the positive social gains of the past several decades" and thus reducing funding for social programs and reversing affirmative action.¹¹⁸ J. Paul Monk, editor of *Message*, repeatedly challenged the economic policies of the Reagan administration. He charged the administration with an insensitive "let them eat cake" attitude toward the poor.¹¹⁹ Placing Reagan's economic doctrines "ahead of God's instructions concerning care of the poor," said Monk, "is idolatrous." He declared that "God's children of all colors and positions will not sit silently while the poor are made the victims of some diabolic triage."¹²⁰ At the same time, *Message* spoke favorably of the achievements of progressive black politicians such as Jesse Jackson, Chicago mayor Harold Washington, and members of the Congressional Black Caucus.¹²¹

The contrasting political tendencies of black and white Adventists was strikingly illustrated in the voting records of Adventist members of the 104th Congress. The Christian Coalition's 1995 "Congressional Scorecard" rated Roscoe Bartlett of Maryland and Bob Stump of Arizona, both white Republicans, at 100 percent. Sheila Jackson-Lee, a black Democrat from Houston, Texas, received a score of 0 percent.¹²²

As for Latino Adventists, a recent study led by sociologist Edwin Hernandez reveals a decidedly progressive political orientation. A large majority of those who voted in the 1992 election voted for Bill Clinton. With the exception of the strongly conservative Cuban subgroup, Democratic Party affiliation outnumbered Republican by about two to one. Hernandez comments that although the social attitudes of Latino Adventists are conservative, "they hold progressive political views" and "are more likely to vote for progressive and liberal candidates."¹²³

The need to counter the religious Right, the influence of progressive scholars, and the growing proportion of racial minorities in the church all contributed to a general shift in the political posture of Adventism. In contrast to the quiet conservatism that characterized the middle decades of the twentieth century, Adventist leaders both affirmed a Christian responsibility for involvement in selected public issues and took a moderately progressive stance on most of those issues.

In 1981 Bert Beach, while upholding the traditional emphases on apocalyptic hope and personal salvation, sounded a call to involvement in a different key than heard in discussions about such involvement issued by church spokesmen in the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1968, *Review* editor Kenneth Wood had admonished the church to “stick to religion,” not to “tell the state what policies to pursue.”¹²⁴ Now the director of the General Conference Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty declared that the religious concern of Adventists had to embrace social problems, for theirs was “not a religion of laissez-faire otherworldliness.” Though only the Second Coming would bring about a truly just, free, and peaceful society, “it is the mission of the church to witness and proclaim the coming of such a society by standing for justice, brotherhood, and peace *now*.”¹²⁵

The increased attention to public affairs was also displayed by General Conference president Neal Wilson, who, at the General Conference session in 1985, took the unusual step of issuing statements on political matters. Adventist leadership had not addressed public issues other than religious liberty in such a direct and official way since a memorial favoring Prohibition was sent to President Hoover from the 1930 General Conference session.

Wilson made pronouncements on peace, racism, home and family, and drugs, the latter two having little direct political content. Following language used by Beach in a *Review* article on disarmament,¹²⁶ Wilson noted that governments’ claims to be working for disarmament and peace were belied by their expenditures of “a huge portion of their financial resources to stockpile nuclear and other war materials, sufficient to destroy civilization as it is known today.” He described the arms race as a “colossal waste of human funds and resources” and “one of the most obvious obscenities of our day.” He also declared that the Adventist Church “deplores all forms of racism, including the political policy of apartheid.” Racism, he said, is a “heresy and in essence a form of idolatry, for it limits the fatherhood of God by denying the brotherhood of all mankind and exalting the superiority of one’s own race.”¹²⁷

At the 1990 General Conference session, Wilson again spoke out on public affairs. He called for strict control of automatic and semiautomatic weapons and for ecological responsibility, observing that “belief in the imminent Advent” and such responsibility “are not mutually exclusive.” Addressing homelessness and poverty, Wilson stated that the physical and the spiritual are inseparable. Thus it was necessary to support “those church and public policies that relieve suffering.”¹²⁸

These circumspect statements, appearing only after years of agitation over these issues in American religious communities, could hardly be described as radical or prophetic. Yet they reflect movement on the part of the Adventist leadership toward broadening the horizon of moral concerns to which the church must speak.

The 1985 and 1990 statements by the General Conference president highlight the fact that the Adventism of the late twentieth century had moved away from the earlier identification with conservatism.¹²⁹ The pronouncements on peace and racism demonstrated concerns shared with the religious Left. The silence on abortion marks a further contrast with the religious Right. Moreover, a comprehensive study of Adventist social and political attitudes in the 1980s conducted by the Institute of Church Ministries at Andrews University suggests that the General Conference president was not far from the dominant sentiments of the church membership. The study showed a majority of Adventists favored seven of nine "liberal positions," including a U.S.-Soviet freeze on nuclear weapons, registration of all firearms, and the Equal Rights Amendment. At the same time, the majority favored only three of nine "conservative positions." While most Adventists favored capital punishment and a tougher response to crime, most did not support the Strategic Defense Initiative, aid to the Nicaraguan "Contras," or the appointment of conservative justices to the Supreme Court.¹³⁰

On the other hand, along with such indications in the 1980s and 1990s that they were moving in the direction of the "peace and justice" concerns of religious liberals, Adventists could hardly be characterized as predominantly in that camp, either. After all, the Institute for Church Ministry study also showed that they voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984 by a three-to-one majority. Regarding human rights, they maintained their strong tradition of action for religious liberty but were not particularly outspoken for legislation to strengthen and extend civil rights for women and minorities. *Liberty* did not make an issue of American support for foreign regimes accused of abusing human rights and did not regard the "sanctuary" movement for harboring illegal aliens fleeing such regimes in Central America as a legitimate or theologically warranted means of defending liberty.¹³¹ Little was said in Adventist publications other than *Message* regarding social programs or policies to promote economic justice. Though somewhat more sensitive now to the relevance of Christian faith to peace and justice in the societies of this world, Adventists still kept a distance from many of the causes of the Left as well as the Right.

In sum, American Adventism in the final quarter of the twentieth century has become more pluralistic in political outlook just as it has in theological interpretation. With the new pluralism came, in general, cautious movement toward greater engagement with public issues and, on several issues, toward a moderately progressive approach.

CONCLUSION

In his recent study of how “Antichrist” and related apocalyptic symbols have been interpreted and used in American history, Robert Fuller finds “few heroes, few people who championed ideas that would seem to work for a richer universe.” Apocalyptic, he argues, is used for a kind of “tribalistic boundary posturing.” Threatening external forces are labeled and vilified as “beast” and “Antichrist” so as to sharpen and reinforce the lines between them and believers. This function has particular appeal for those with a “curtailed sense of agency,” providing them with the weapon of “apocalyptic name-calling” to compensate for their lack of social power. The extensive amount of apocalyptic vitriol expressed by fundamentalist Protestants in the first half of the twentieth century, for example, can thus be attributed, in part, to their realization that “they were losing hold of the cultural center.” Because of its tribalistic function, Fuller maintains that apocalyptic imagery turns adherents away from “the prophetic core of the Judeo-Christian witness” and thus “away from activity designed to promote peace or good will on earth.”¹

Fuller’s argument holds some attraction for understanding Seventh-day Adventism, though he devotes little attention to post-Millerite Adventism. The church originated as a tiny, alienated community that found empowerment and significance through apocalyptic labeling, both of itself and of the major sectors of influence surrounding it. Yet the story of Adventism’s public involvement in America suggests that a premillennialist appropriation of apocalyptic need not necessarily lead to demonization of outsiders and crusades of hate. We have repeatedly seen that although the apocalyptic in the Adventist experience has at times been connected with prejudice, narrowness, and dubious speculation, its public impact has, by and large, been on behalf of human liberty and wholeness.

Following Fuller’s analysis, one could attribute the benevolent dimensions of Adventism’s involvement in the public arena to non-apocalyptic influences at work within the church. Such influences must indeed be given their due. If any work had a greater impact on Adventists than Ellen White’s *The Great Controversy*, with its bracing apocalyptic interpretation of history, it was *The Desire of Ages*, her devotional commentary on the life of Christ. Here the prophet lifted up as exemplary a compassionate Savior who “lived to bless others” and excluded no social class from his love and mercy.² In 1895, White remonstrated with the editors of the *American Sentinel* to point their opponents to that Jesus and not

be so eager “to make hard thrusts at the Catholics.”³ Vilification of others, she pointed out, would only defeat the Adventist mission: “If we wish men to be convinced that the truth we believe sanctifies the soul and transforms the character, let us not be continually charging them with vehement accusations. In this way we shall force them to the conclusion that the doctrine we profess cannot be the Christian doctrine, since it does not make us kind, courteous and respectful. Christianity is not manifested in pugilistic accusations and condemnation.”⁴ Such challenges to reflect Christlike characteristics in evangelistic outreach and interaction with all people no doubt functioned, however partially, as an antidote to the perpetual danger of mean-spiritedness marring apocalyptic witness.

Recognition that apocalyptic has not been the *only* influence shaping Adventism’s public involvement does not negate the fact that it was and remains a *central* influence. The apocalyptic reading of history has indeed functioned to draw boundaries around and infuse meaning into a separate Adventist identity. Its persistence has prevented Adventism from making an easy transition from sect to denomination—that is, from being an exclusive “remnant” set over against the rest of society to being a denomination that views itself as one among many religious options of relatively equal validity, enjoying a harmonious relationship with the surrounding culture.

In sustaining the remnant identity, Adventists have too often fallen into the temptation of retreating into a fortress of cultural isolation and from there hurling denunciations at outside forces. Nevertheless, it is their theology of history that has itself put much of the zeal into their efforts on behalf of oppressed minorities and outsiders. Paradoxically, then, the Adventists’ perspective on history and claim to have a decisive role in its outworking as a sectarian remnant has itself been a powerful springboard to action for religious liberty and public health and welfare. That action, in turn, brought them into alliances that have eroded barriers between them and other sectors of society.

Adventism’s theology of history is a key factor in keeping the church poised between the categories of sect and denomination, reflecting characteristics of both. That ambivalent position, moreover, makes for a dilemma as the church enters the new millennium. Important as apocalyptic is to maintaining a distinctive existence and winning new converts, the antagonism toward government and other religious groups that it implies creates tension with other values Adventists have cultivated in establishing themselves in American society. The church has committed itself to settled institutional life, responsible citizenship, and congenial interaction with other denominations. And, not least, it has fostered higher education, which has encouraged the critical thought that has battered the theological and biblical underpinnings of the traditional historicist method of interpretation. In responding to this dilemma, the various contemporary factions of the church have utilized aspects of the church’s heritage in differing ways.

The revisionist Left seeks to foster a progressive, constructive role for Adventism in society, drawing on the legacy of abolitionism and humanitarian reform from the nineteenth century. In raising questions regarding traditional apocalyptic interpretations, however, this group may jeopardize the church's sense of its distinctive and decisive role in history.

The dissident Right seeks to push Adventist apocalypticism to its logical extreme with direct public castigation of anticipated persecutors. This approach renews a sense of vigor and significance to the remnant but sacrifices the characteristics of moderation, respectability, cordiality, and humanitarianism that Adventists generally value.

Meanwhile, the center strives to hold together two disparate and sometimes contradictory strands of the Adventist heritage. The church's mainstream adheres to the traditional theology of history, at least in broad outline, with all its stark implications concerning the United States, Catholicism, and "apostate" Protestantism. At the same time, it places high priority on maintaining a respected place and performing a constructive role in the society of the present world. Thus far, the Adventist center has managed this awkward tension with a degree of success.

This approach also exacts some costs, however—in terms of consistency, forthrightness, and, for some, intellectual integrity. The rigidity with which Adventists have held to the particulars of their apocalyptic outlook has also contributed to a narrowness that has limited the ways in which they have acted for freedom. Preoccupied with Sunday laws, they have had little to say about the nation's performance in upholding human rights for political radicals, women, or racial minorities, or in its foreign policy. Penetrating critiques of governmental departures from the nation's ideals, such as found in the nineteenth-century protests against slavery and imperialism, have seldom been expressed after the turn of the century. Thus, despite recent signs of change, apocalyptic interests during the twentieth century have in some respects weakened the church's capacity to engage the social and political order.

Nonetheless, Adventists desiring to retrieve value from their heritage should not neglect the tradition of grappling with apocalyptic prophecy. For despite the limitations noted, adherence to their interpretation of history has helped Adventists maintain a clear sense of mission and identity in the interplay of American religious and political forces. It has prompted them to a significant if inconsistent public witness on behalf of those denied the American promise of liberty, and it has—consistently—impelled them to resist the linkage between fundamentalist religion and conservative nationalism that some premillennialists have forged in their program to save "Christian civilization." For Adventists, America itself was always on the verge of becoming an apocalyptic villain, for the nation's experiment in freedom was being eviscerated from within by a spiritually bankrupt but imperialistic Christian coalition about to gain full dominance.

To prevent premature catastrophe, the church's chief public priority has been to resist the efforts of religious leaders to gain government support for religious practices or restrict religious freedom. The conviction that they were specially placed in history to be a faithful remnant, called to uphold "the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" and the right of all human beings to choose their own way of response to God, has contributed to the staying power of the commitment Adventists have shown to liberty and a pluralistic public order—the features defining their vision of a truly Protestant America.

APPENDIX

DECLARATIONS OF PRINCIPLES

Religious Liberty Association Declaration of Principles, 1914

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it is our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional rights of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

International Religious Liberty Association Declaration of Principles, 1956

We believe in religious liberty, and hold that this God-given right is exercised at its best when there is separation of church and state.

We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights, and to rule in civil things; and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful and willing obedience of all.

We believe in the individual's natural and inalienable rights of freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, practice, and to promulgate his religious beliefs, or change them according to his conscience or opinions, holding that these are the essence of religious liberty; but that in the exercise of this right he should respect the equivalent rights of others.

We believe that all legislation and other governmental acts which unite church and state are subversive of human rights, potentially persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of church and state; and therefore, that it is not within the province of human government to enact such legislation or perform such acts.

We believe that it is our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent the enactment of legislation which tends to unite church and state, and to oppose every movement toward such union, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.

We believe that these liberties are embraced in the golden rule, which teaches that a man should do to others as he would others do to him.

NOTES

Abbreviations

AHC	Adventist Heritage Center, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan
AS	<i>American Sentinel</i>
GCA	Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, Maryland
PF	Le Roy Edwin Froom, <i>The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers</i> , 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946–54)
Review	<i>Advent Review and Sabbath Herald</i> , renamed <i>Review and Herald</i> (1961), original name restored (1971), renamed <i>Adventist Review</i> (1978)
SOT	<i>Signs of the Times</i>

Introduction

1. Marvin Moore, *The Crisis of the End-Time* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1992), 203–14, 240.
2. For a brief analysis of the role of apocalyptic views of history in the militia movement and other groups on the radical Right, see Michael Barkun, “Militias, Christian Identity and the Radical Right,” *Christian Century* 112 (2–9 Aug. 1995): 738–40; and Jeffrey Kaplan, “A Guide to the Radical Right,” in the same issue of the *Christian Century*, 741–44.
3. Richard John Neuhaus, “The Naked Public Square: A Metaphor Reconsidered,” *First Things* 23 (May 1992): 78–81.
4. “Adventist Vanguard,” *Liberty Confidential Newsletter* 8 (July-Aug. 1985): 3, 4. The claim is somewhat misleading in that it excludes the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. But since that entity involved several Baptist denominations working together, it may remain true that Adventists invested more in religious liberty than most other single denominations.
5. Edson’s undated manuscript is in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1987), 213–16.
6. *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 1995* (Silver Spring, Md.: Office of Archives and Statistics, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1995).
7. Steven G. Daily, *Adventism for a New Generation* (Portland/Clackamas, Ore.: Better Living Publishers, 1993), 267.
8. Frank Manuel, *Shapes of Philosophical History* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1965), 137.
9. Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 3d ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1999), 230.
10. For example, Albanese, *America*, 423–29; William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978); H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1937); and Ernest Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America’s Millennial Role* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968). Analysis of the large body of historiography on

- millennialism in America is provided by David E. Smith, "Millenarian Scholarship in America," *American Quarterly* 17 (Fall 1965): 535-49; Leonard I. Sweet, "Millennialism in America: Recent Studies," *Theological Studies* 40 (Spring 1979): 510-31; and Dietrich G. Buss, "Meeting of Heaven and Earth: A Survey and Analysis of the Literature on Millennialism in America, 1965-1985," *Fides et Historia* 22 (Jan. 1988): 5-28.
11. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, xiv.
 12. Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (hereafter cited as *PF*), 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946-54), 1:219-67, 465-91, 896-97; 2:528-32; 3:181-85, 217-21, 250-59; Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 164-77.
 13. See James H. Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880," *Journal of American History* 71 (Dec. 1984): 524-42.
 14. Jonathan Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England*, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. John E. Smith, vol. 4, *The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press), 353.
 15. Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 109.
 16. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 130.
 17. James H. Moorhead, "The Erosion of Postmillennialism in American Religious Thought," *Church History* 53 (Mar. 1984): 61-77.
 18. The social gospel movement, for example, with its optimism that the American social order could be Christianized as a step toward progressive realization of the kingdom of God, sustained the postmillennial impulse. Sydney Ahlstrom highlights the millennial character of the thought of Walter Rauschenbusch, the leading figure in the social gospel movement, in *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972), 785-87; cf. Robert Handy, *Undermined Establishment: Church-State Relations in America, 1880-1920* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991), 110, 117. In a looser sense, the influence of postmillennialism could be seen in the work of leading Protestants such as Reinhold Niebuhr, with his public theology of Christian realism, and Martin Luther King Jr., with his vision of a transformed America of freedom and equality.
 19. *PF* 3:301.
 20. *The Disappointed* brings together recent scholarship on Millerism, and editors Numbers and Butler evaluate the historiography of the movement in their introduction.
 21. Jonathan M. Butler, "The Making of a New Order: Millerism and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventism," in Numbers and Butler, *Disappointed*, 189-208.
 22. *PF* 3:738-52; *PF* 4:56-410; Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District* (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), 320-21.
 23. *PF* 4:525, 784-86; R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979), 43-51.
 24. Cross, *The Burned-Over District*, 317; cf. Ronald Graybill, "The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection," in Numbers and Butler, *Disappointed*, 139-52; Jonathan M. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin Scott Gaustad (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 175-76.

25. This brief discussion of the emergence of futurism is drawn largely from Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970), 37–38, 59–102.
26. *PF* 2:484–505; *PF* 3:533–54.
27. Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 184, 265–66.
28. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980); Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1983); Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard Univ. Press, 1992).
29. Following Miller, Seventh-day Adventists were premillennialists in that they preached the return of Christ and destruction of the world as it is prior to the millennium. However, they came to differ with Millerism and all other forms of millennialism in adopting the position that the resurrected and “translated,” or raptured, saints spend the millennium in heaven while the earth is desolate, occupied only by the devil, who, with no one to tempt, is imprisoned in idleness. Yet the ultimate hope is an earthly one, for at the end of the millennium, the New Jerusalem, with God and his people, descends to Earth. The wicked are resurrected, only to perish with the devil for eternity after a final assault on the city of God. Sin, suffering, and death are thus destroyed in a transformed Earth that becomes the center of God’s eternal rule over the universe. This position is set forth in the first official statement of beliefs issued by Seventh-day Adventists in 1872. See P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1977), 305; *PF* 4:1088–89.
30. The term “denomination” is used here as described by Winthrop Hudson: it is “the opposite of sectarianism” for “the group referred to is but one member of a larger group, called or denominated by a particular name.” See Hudson, “Denominationalism as a Basis for Ecumenicity: A Seventeenth-Century Conception,” in *Denominationalism*, ed. Russell E. Richey (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1977), 22. For a summary of the classic sociological definition of “sect” in the writings of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, see H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 17–21. Albanese provides an insightful orientation to the sect-denomination question as it relates to Adventism in *America*, 218–23, 228–32.
31. George M. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), 2–4.
32. Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion*, vol. 2, *The Noise of Conflict, 1919–1941* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991), 10. I did not consult Stephen D. O’Leary’s *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994) until the very final stages of preparing this manuscript. However, it seems to me that my approach harmonizes with his treating in treating Adventism’s theology of history as a rational, rhetorical strategy for public persuasion. Its appeal resided in its use of a widely shared authoritative text—the Bible—to provide a symbolic theodicy “through discursive construction of temporality” (O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 14; see also, in particular, 7–14, 111–33, 206–8).

1. Remnant versus Republic, 1844–1861

1. The influential New Testament scholar Norman Perrin made a distinction between a “steno-symbol,” which has “a one-to-one relationship to that which it represents, such as the mathematical symbol *pi*,” and a “tensive-symbol,” which has “a set of meanings that can neither be exhausted nor adequately expressed by any one referent” (*Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976], 93–96, cited in Wendell Willis, ed., *The Kingdom of God in Twentieth Century Interpretation* [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1987], 121). For Adventists, apocalyptic symbols functioned as “steno-symbols.”
2. David Tallmadge Arthur, “Come Out of Babylon”: A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840–1865” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Rochester, 1970), 279–371; George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993), 267–93, 327–29. With apologies to these other Adventist groups, in this study I am using “Adventist” as shorthand for Seventh-day Adventist.
3. Gary Land, ed., *Adventism in America* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1986), 36–38.
4. Godfrey T. Anderson, *Outrider of the Apocalypse: The Life and Times of Joseph Bates* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1972), 40–45.
5. Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2 vols. (Battle Creek, Mich.: James White, 1858–60), 1:21–35.
6. Land, *Adventism in America*, 38–39.
7. Ellen G. White, *Early Writings* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1882), 63.
8. On the development of the “third angel’s message,” see Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 140–143.
9. Land, *Adventism in America*, 40–41; Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 74–76.
10. J. N. Andrews, “Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV,” *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (hereafter cited as *Review*) 1 (May 1851): 81.
11. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 60.
12. Subsequently published as a book in five editions, J. N. Andrews, *The Three Messages of Revelation XIV, 6–12, Particularly the Third Angel’s Message, and the Two-Horned Beast*, 5th ed. (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1892).
13. *PF* 2:786–87; *PF* 4:394–95, 850–51; J. N. Andrews, “The Three Angels of Rev. XIV, 6–12,” *Review* 6 (20 Mar. 1855): 194–95.
14. The seventeenth-century New England Puritan leader John Cotton declared that the “image of the beast” applied to those in the Church of England who were devoted to “Popish” elements, while Roger Williams leveled similar charges against the Massachusetts Bay Puritans. See Thomas More Brown, “The Image of the Beast: Anti-Papal Rhetoric in Colonial America,” in *Conspiracy: The Fear of Subversion in American History*, ed. Richard O. Curry and Thomas M. Brown (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), 8–9. Isaac Backus, the Baptist opponent of religious establishment in Massachusetts identified the second beast with tyrannical Protestantism in *The Infinite Importance of the Obedience of Faith, and of Separation from the World*, 2d ed. (Boston: Samuel Hall, 1791), 26–38, cited in *PF* 3:213–14; cf. *PF* 4:1009. In 1850 a correspondent to the Sabbatarian

- Adventist paper *Present Truth* connected the second beast with a Protestant union of church and state; see PF 4:1089.
15. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," 83–84.
 16. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. XIV," *Review* 6 (3 Apr. 1855): 203.
 17. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," 84.
 18. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. XIV," *Review* 6 (20 Feb. 1855): 178 and (6 Mar. 1855): 186–87.
 19. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," 84–85.
 20. *Atlantic Monthly* 1 (1858): 862–63, cited in Timothy Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1980), 37.
 21. Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), 48–51. The roots of the powerful influence of Sabbatarianism in American culture, shaping attitudes toward work, worship, and play and thus the entire use of time, are discussed in Winton U. Solberg, *Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977).
 22. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. XIV," *Review* 6 (3 Apr. 1855): 203–4.
 23. J. N. Loughborough, "The Two-Horned Beast," *Review* 5 (21 Mar. 1854): 67, and "The Two-Horned Beast of Rev. XIII, a Symbol of the United States," *Review* 10 (9 July 1857): 75.
 24. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 564–68; Ray Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938).
 25. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast of Rev. XIII, a Symbol," 73; R. F. Cottrell, "How Shall I Vote?" *Review* 8 (30 Oct. 1856): 205.
 26. Uriah Smith, "The Two-Horned Beast,—Rev. xiii: Are the United States a Subject of Prophecy?" *Review* 9 (19 Mar. 1857): 156–57.
 27. See, for example, Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. XIV," *Review* 6 (6 Mar. 1855): 187.
 28. Timothy Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, 219–24.
 29. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast," 66.
 30. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," 83.
 31. See, for example, M. E. Cornell, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," *Review* 6 (19 Sept. 1854): 43.
 32. Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860*, rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 16–17, 221.
 33. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," 185.
 34. Nathan O. Hatch, "Sola Scriptura and Novus Ordo Seclorum," in *The Bible in America*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), 59–78; Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989).
 35. Wayne R. Judd, "William Miller: Disappointed Prophet," in Numbers and Butler, *Disappointed*, 29.
 36. Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 299–300.
 37. Don F. Neufeld, "Biblical Interpretation in the Advent Movement," in *A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics*, ed. Gordon M. Hyde (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974), 109–25.

38. George Marsden shows the influence of the Common Sense philosophy on biblical interpretation in America in “Everyone One’s Own Interpreter? The Bible, Science, and Authority in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America,” in Hatch and Noll, *Bible in America*, 79–100, and in his *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 14–18, 55–56, 110–16, 216–21.
39. James White, *Bible Adventism* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, n.d.), 118.
40. Hatch, “Sola Scriptura,” 74–75.
41. See Judd in Numbers and Butler, *Disappointed*, 20,33.
42. Marsden, “Bible, Science, and Authority,” 83–84.
43. Thomas A. Davis, “The Traditions of Puritan Typology,” in *Typology and American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 15; Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 19–20.
44. Davis, “Traditions of Puritan Typology,” 39.
45. *PF* 4:404–5.
46. *PF* 2:723, 791; *PF* 3:254; Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, 5–7; James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1977), 283–84.
47. White, *Bible Adventism*, 103–4.
48. Sandeen argues that the decline of historicism after 1844 was due in part to the repeated failure of expected events to materialize; see *Roots of Fundamentalism*, 59–60.
49. Numbers and Butler, *Disappointed*, appendix, 215.
50. Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan* (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1888), 401–2.
51. Butler, “The Making of a New Order,” 196–97.
52. Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1886), 59.
53. The phrasing is from the 13 November 1844 issue of the Millerite paper *Advent Herald*, quoted in James White, “The Parable of Matthew XXV, 1–12,” *Review* 1 (9 June 1851): 100.
54. Butler, “The Making of a New Order,” 203.
55. Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1959), 38–39; cf. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 66–69; Jonathan M. Butler, “Ellen, Mother of Millions,” *Signs of the Times* (hereafter cited as *SOT*) 111 (Feb. 1984): 13.
56. James White, “A Test,” *Review* 7 (16 Oct. 1855): 61.
57. James White, “The Gifts—Their Object,” *Review* 7 (28 Feb. 1856): 172–73.
58. Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Association, [1875?]-1909), 2:605.
59. See “Communication from Sister White,” *Review* 7 (10 Jan. 1856): 118.
60. Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 194–95.
61. Butler, “Adventism and the American Experience,” 185.
62. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1:206.
63. Ronald Graybill has shown that several Millerite leaders had backgrounds in reform movements and remained favorable toward reform, though their preoccupation with the Second Coming did limit their reform activity. See “Abolitionist-Millerite Connection,” 139–50.

64. J. H. Waggoner, "National Degeneracy," *Review* 12 (12 Aug. 1858): 100.
65. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast of Rev. XIII, a Symbol," 81.
66. Uriah Smith, "The Review—It's Object," *Review* 8 (10 Apr. 1856): 4.
67. Uriah Smith, "Politics," *Review* 8 (11 Sept. 1856): 152.
68. "Religious Liberty Endangered by Legislative Enactments," *Review* 4 (10 Oct. 1854): 64–66.
69. Smith, "Politics," 152.
70. Joseph Bates, *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press, Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 262.
71. McLoughlin, *Revtvals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 130.
72. "From A. Byington," *Review* 13 (10 Mar. 1859): 124.
73. "Communication from Bro. A. Byington," *Review* 13 (21 Apr. 1859): 174–75.
74. Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1944), 60–61, 536–43.
75. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:201–2.
76. *Ibid.* 1:359–60.
77. *Ibid.* 1:533–34.

2. An Activist Remnant, 1861–1886

1. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," 174.
2. This point will be developed in chapter 3.
3. Butler also recognizes the persistence of apocalyptic influence; see "Adventism and the American Experience," 200.
4. James White, "The Nation," *Review* 20 (12 Aug. 1862): 84.
5. Uriah Smith, "The War," *Review* 17 (7 May 1861): 196.
6. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:264.
7. *Ibid.*, 256–60.
8. Peter Brock gives an excellent analysis of the Adventist approach to the problem of war during the Civil War in *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1991), 230–45.
9. White, "Nation," 84.
10. Henry Carver, "The War," *Review* 20 (21 Oct. 1862): 166–67; Otis Nichols, "Our Duty Relative to the War," *Review* 21 (16 Dec. 1862): 22–23.
11. Joseph Clarke, "The Sword vs. Fanaticism," *Review* 20 (23 Sept. 1862): 135; J. H. Waggoner, "Our Duty and the Nation," *ibid.*, 132–33; B. F. Snook, "The War and Our Duty," *Review* 20 (14 Oct. 1862): 159.
12. James White, "Our Duty Relative to the War," *Review* 20 (16 Sept. 1862): 124.
13. James White, "Letter to Bro. Carver," *Review* 20 (21 Oct. 1862): 167; cf. White, "Nation," 84.
14. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:356–57.
15. J. N. Andrews, "Seventh-day Adventists Recognized as Non-combatants," *Review* 24 (13 Sept. 1864): 124–25.
16. Uriah Smith, "Can God Work?" *Review* 25 (14 Mar. 1865): 116.
17. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 100–102.
18. "The Time Has Come!" *Review* 25 (21 Feb. 1865): 100.
19. James White, "Non-combatants," *Review* 25 (31 Jan. 1865): 76–77.
20. "Time Has Come!" 100.

21. "Report of the Third Annual Session of the General Conference of S.D. Adventists," *Review* 25 (23 May 1865): 196–97.
22. White, "Non-combatants," 76–77.
23. Catherine Albanese provides a particularly helpful overview of the influence and features of "public Protestantism" in *America*, 396–431.
24. Marty, *Righteous Empire*, 155–65.
25. Handy, *Christian America*, 84–88. Schaff distinguished between the "civil Sabbath" that was necessary for the public good and thus should be enforced by law and the "religious Sabbath"—Christian worship on Sunday—that could not and should not be enforced by law.
26. *Ibid.*, 88–92; Joseph R. Gusfield sets forth the thesis that the temperance movement was a way of affirming the prestige and dominance of the cultural values of the sober middle class in *Symbolic Crusade* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1963). Ahlstrom summarizes three waves in the temperance movement from the era of humanitarian reforms prior to the Civil War to the enactment of Prohibition in *Religious History of the American People*, 867–72.
27. Uriah Smith, "United States in the Light of Prophecy, Chapter IX," *Review* 39 (19 Dec. 1871): 4 and "United States in the Light of Prophecy, Chapter X" (26 Dec. 1871): 12.
28. Handy discusses the nature of the Protestant establishment, the ways in which it cooperated with government to maintain strength, and the ways in which its public hegemony was beginning to weaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in *Undermined Establishment*.
29. Land, *Adventism in America*, 44–65.
30. Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958), bk. 2, 337.
31. "Report of the Third Annual Session of the General Conference," 197.
32. On Ellen White's career as a health reformer, the views of contemporary advocates of health reform, and their influence upon her, see Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventist Health Reform*, rev. and enlarged ed. (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1992).
33. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 104–17.
34. Yvonne D. Anderson, "The Bible, the Bottle, and the Ballot: Seventh-day Adventist Political Activism, 1850–1900," *Adventist Heritage* 7 (Fall 1982): 42; Uriah Smith, "Grand Rally in New England," *Review* 49 (7 Sept. 1876): 84. White's activism is typical of the leading role taken by women in this phase of the temperance movement; see Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 867–69.
35. James White, "The Temperance Movement," *Review* 50 (5 July 1877): 5.
36. Eric D. Syme, *A History of SDA Church-State Relations in the United States* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1973), 56–65.
37. Ellen G. White, *Spirit of Prophecy Counsels Relating to Church-State Relationships* (Washington, D.C.: Ellen G. White Estate, 1964), 115; Letter 6, 1881, in Anderson, "Bible, the Bottle, and the Ballot," 43–44.
38. Ellen G. White, "Temperance and the License Law," *Review* 58 (8 Nov. 1881): 289–90.
39. Uriah Smith, "The Temperance Cause in Battle Creek," *Review* 59 (11 Apr. 1882): 232. See also George I. Butler, "Politics and Temperance," in the same issue, 234.

40. Handy, *Christian America*, 100.
41. Handy, *Undermined Establishment*, 25–27; Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 42–43; Daniel G. Reid, coordinating ed., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1990), 800; Dennis Pettibone, “Caesar’s Sabbath: The Sunday Law Controversy in the United States, 1879–1892” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Riverside, 1979); Gary Scott Smith, *The Seeds of Secularization: Calvinism, Culture, and Pluralism in America, 1870–1915* (St. Paul, Minn.: Christian Univ. Press, 1985), 58–69.
42. Uriah Smith, “United States in the Light of Prophecy, Chapter IX,” *Review* 39 (19 Dec. 1871): 4. Smith’s series of *Review* articles were published as a book, *The United States in the Light of Prophecy* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press, Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872). See also M. E. Cornell, “An Image to the Beast,” *Review* 32 (12 May 1868): 337–40.
43. Smith, “United States in the Light of Prophecy, Chapter XII,” *Review* 39 (13 Feb. 1872): 68.
44. Smith, “United States in the Light of Prophecy, Chapter VII,” *Review* 38 (28 Nov. 1871): 188.
45. R. F. Cottrell, “Prophetic Description of the United States,” *Review* 49 (10 May 1877): 145–46.
46. C. O. Tayler, “The Case of Bro. Mitchell,” *Review* 52 (22 Aug. 1878): 67; “The Dragon’s Ire,” *ibid.*, 72.
47. Land, *Adventism in America*, 76–82, 251.
48. Sandra Sizer Frankiel, *California’s Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives in Anglo-Protestantism, 1850–1910* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988), 47–58. I am indebted to George Graham for bringing this work to my attention. See also Warren L. Johns, *Dateline Sunday, U.S.A.* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1967), 79–94.
49. “Sunday in California,” *SOT* 9 (5 Oct. 1882): 456.
50. J. H. Waggoner, “Not a Politician,” *SOT* 9 (14 Sept. 1882): supplement.
51. Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 26–28.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Frankiel, *California’s Spiritual Frontiers*, 55.
54. “The Sabbath Sentinel,” *Review* 60 (4 Dec. 1883): 768; D. H. Lamson, “National Reform and Liberty of Conscience,” *Review* 61 (29 Jan. 1884): 66; George I. Butler, “The Sabbath Sentinel,” *Review* 61 (22 Jan. 1884): 64.
55. George I. Butler, “The Sunday Crisis Approaching,” *Review* 63 (6 July 1886): 424–25.
56. *Ibid.*
57. George I. Butler, “Relief for the Sabbath-Keepers in Arkansas,” *Review* 64 (22 Feb. 1887): 122–23.
58. Letter to G. I. Butler and S. N. Haskell, in White, *Selected Messages*, bk. 2, 334–35.
59. Here I am paraphrasing Jonathan Butler’s incisive formulation of the irony of the Adventist position: “They wished to delay the end in order to preach that the end was soon.” See “Adventism and the American Experience,” 194.
60. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 5:711–18.
61. Ellen G. White, “Our Duty in the Present and the Coming Crisis,” *Review* 64 (11 Jan. 1887): 17–18.

3. Apocalyptic Faith and Industrial America, 1886–1914

1. White, *Great Controversy*, 442.
2. M. E. Olsen, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1925), 626–28.
3. R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), 3–69; Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 488–90.
4. White, *Great Controversy*, 588.
5. George I. Butler, “The Righteousness of the Law Fulfilled by Us,” *Review* 66 (14 May 1889), in *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones*, by George R. Knight (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987), 55.
6. Ellen G. White, “Christ Prayed for Unity Among His Disciples,” *Review* 67 (11 Mar. 1890): 146.
7. Ellen G. White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1923), 91–92.
8. *American Sentinel* (hereafter cited as AS) 4 (Jan. 1889): 8.
9. *General Conference Daily Bulletin* (hereafter cited as GCB) 3 (25 Oct. 1889): 75–76.
10. *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1976), 1158–64.
11. Butler outlined plans similar to what would be adopted in the formation of the NRLA in “The Circulation of the ‘American Sentinel’ and ‘Marvel of the Nations’ Among the Influential Class,” *Review* 64 (15 Feb. 1887): 105.
12. Knight’s *From 1888 to Apostasy*, though dominated by the author’s homiletic concerns, provides an insightful introduction to A. T. Jones’s career and character.
13. *Ibid.*, 28; A. T. Jones, “Religion and the Public Schools,” *Sentinel Library* 17 (1 Sept. 1889).
14. Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 30–31.
15. S. N. Haskell, “Catholics and Protestants,” *Review* 65 (18 Dec. 1888): 794; “Who Has Changed—Papists or Protestants?” *Review* 66 (1 Jan. 1889): 10. Soon afterward, when W. F. Crafts and Senator Blair would claim that Gibbons’s endorsement represented the support of 7.2 million Catholics for the Sunday law, other Adventist spokesmen sought to deflate the importance of the cardinal’s action. In a letter to D. E. Lindsey printed in the *Review*, Gibbons’s chancellor P. J. Donahue explained that the cardinal, in supporting the bill out of concern for the working poor, had neither the authority nor the intention of binding the American Catholic clergy or laity; see D. E. Lindsey, “Rome and National Reformers Against Religious and Civil Government,” *Review* 66 (7 May 1889): 290.
16. W. C. White, “Petitions for Religious Liberty,” *Review* 65 (11 Dec. 1888): 760–61.
17. A. S. Bowen, “Petitions Presented to Congress,” *Review* 66 (23 Apr. 1889): 262.
18. Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy*, 76–77.
19. Handy, *Christian America*, 118–19.
20. A. T. Jones, “The Late Decision of the Supreme Court, and the Image of the Beast,” *Review* 69 (31 May 1892): 337–39; (7 June 1892): 353–54; (14 June 1892): 369–70; (21 June 1892): 385–87.
21. Manuscript 27, 1892, Ellen G. White Estate, in Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy*, 89, emphasis added.
22. Jones, “Late Decision,” 21 June 1892, 387.

23. Jones, "Late Decision," 31 May 1892, 337–39.
24. Ellen G. White, "The Perils and Progress of the Last Days," *Review* 69 (22 Nov. 1892): 722.
25. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 8:104–6.
26. Karl Loewith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949), 1.
27. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture*, 38–39; Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1931), 34–46.
28. *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1890) introduces the controversy, and covers its origins in heaven, the creation and fall of humanity, and the history of the patriarchs and Israel to the time of King David. *Prophets and Kings* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1917) treats the subsequent history of Israel to the post-exilic era. *The Desire of Ages* (Chicago: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1898) is devoted to the life of Christ and *The Acts of the Apostles* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1911) to the New Testament church. *The Great Controversy* narrates the history of the church from the close of the apostolic era to the present and the conclusion of the controversy in the future establishment of "a new heaven and a new earth."
29. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 34, 42, 48–49.
30. White, *Desire of Ages*, 22–26, 759.
31. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 70.
32. Ellen G. White, "Religious Liberty," *Watchman* 15 (1 May 1906): 257–58. Here White appears to be influenced by A. T. Jones, who distinguished between morality as the purview of the church and civility, enforced by the state, in his book *Civil Government and Religion or Christianity and the American Constitution* (Chicago: American Sentinel, 1889), 21.
33. "Our Position," *Liberty* 2 (Third Quarter 1907): 3.
34. A. T. Jones, "National Apostasy Means National Ruin," *Review* 76 (11 Apr. 1899): 233–34.
35. See, for example, L. A. Smith, "A Perfect Government," *Review* 80 (7 Apr. 1903): 5–6.
36. Manuscript 29, 1895, in White, *Spirit of Prophecy Counsels*, 15–16.
37. Ellen G. White, "Sustainers of the Liquor Traffic Responsible for Its Results," *Review* 71 (22 May 1894): 321–22; and "Law-Makers Required to be Public Benefactors," *Review* 71 (29 May 1894): 337–38.
38. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," 85.
39. Ellen G. White, *Education* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903), 254.
40. White, *Acts of the Apostles*, 68–69.
41. See White, *Desire of Ages*, 509, for one such passage—probably the one most frequently cited by twentieth-century Adventists.
42. Ellen G. White, "Special Testimony Relating to Politics" (1899), in *Fundamentals of Christian Education*, by Ellen G. White (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1923), 478–79.
43. In addition to "Special Testimony," 122–25, see "Militarism and Christianity," AS 14 (28 Sept. 1899): 596; C. P. Bollman, "War Anti-Christian," *Sentinel of Liberty* 15 (10 May 1900): 282.
44. Ellen G. White, "Political Controversy," *GCB* 7 (17 Feb. 1897): 59.
45. Uriah Smith, "Christ in Politics," *Review* 72 (15 Oct. 1895): 602.

46. White, "Political Controversy," 59.
47. Letter 4, 1898, in White, *Selected Messages*, bk. 2, 336–37.
48. White, "Special Testimony Relating to Politics," 475–76.
49. White, "Religious Liberty," 257–58.
50. White, "Special Testimony Relating to Politics," 482.
51. White, *Education*, 238; cf. Calvin P. Bollman, "The Influence of the Gospel upon Social and Political Life," *Liberty* 9 (First Quarter 1914): 24–26; and Leon A. Smith, "Christians and the Laws," *Review* 80 (3 Mar. 1903): 6–7.
52. J. N. Andrews, "Slavery," *Review* 24 (25 Oct. 1864): 172.
53. *GCB* 5 (5 and 6 Mar. 1893): 475, 484.
54. Documents relevant to the tax exemption and South African land grant issues are collected in White, *Spirit of Prophecy Counsels*, 141–76. Jones's criticism of the land grant is found in an untitled back-page news item in *AS* 9 (22 Nov. 1894): 346.
55. Letter 44, 1898, in White, *Spirit of Prophecy Counsels*, 177–78. In the same letter, White took a more moderate stance than Jones on the issue of Bible study in the public schools. She cautioned him against opposing it too aggressively, reasoning that God could use such Bible reading to advance the cause of truth.
56. R. W. Cottrell, "The Christian Citizenship Program," *Liberty* 8 (Third Quarter 1913): 103–7.
57. Charles M. Snow, *Religious Liberty in America* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1914), 422.
58. C. S. Longacre, "Bryan's Plowshares and the No-More-War Policy," *Liberty* 10 (First Quarter 1915): 21–23. *Review* editor Francis McLellan Wilcox took a similar position in regard to the League of Nations in "The Peace of the World," pts. 3 and 4, *Review* 95 (12 Dec. 1918): 3–5, and (19 Dec. 1918): 3–6.
59. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 793–804; McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 162–78.
60. Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 330–46.
61. Handy, *Christian America*, 74, 147.
62. Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion*, vol. 1, *The Irony of It All, 1893–1919* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), 251–68.
63. Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 228, 233.
64. *Ibid.*, 236, 238.
65. *Ibid.*, 237.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Jonathan Butler, "Ellen G. White and the Chicago Mission," *Spectrum* 2 (Winter 1970): 42.
68. Ellen G. White, "Our Duty to the Poor and Afflicted," *Review* 71 (18 Dec. 1894): 785–86, and "Draw Out Thy Soul to the Hungry," *Review* 72 (13 Aug. 1895): 512–13 and (20 Aug.): 529–30.
69. Ellen G. White, "The Kingdom of Christ," *Review* 73 (18 Aug. 1896): 513.
70. Ellen G. White, "Duty of Man to His Fellow Man," *Review* 72 (12 Nov. 1895): 721–22.
71. Kellogg's humanitarian projects in Chicago are detailed in Richard Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: Adventism's Social Gospel Advocate," *Spectrum* 1 (Spring 1969): 15–27.
72. Butler, "Chicago Mission," 46–47.

73. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 16.
74. Butler, "Chicago Mission," 43–50.
75. A. G. Daniells, "Our Work for the Cities," *Review* 87 (18 Aug. 1910): 14; Ellen G. White, "City Work," *Review* 89 (18 Jan. 1912): 3–4 and (25 Jan. 1912): 3–4.
76. Ellen G. White, *Ministry of Healing* (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1905), 346.
77. See E. J. Waggoner, "Our Position," *SOT* 8 (16 Feb. 1882): 78.
78. A. T. Jones, "The WCTU and Sunday Laws," *AS* 15 (4 Jan. 1900): 3–4.
79. Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 55.
80. Ellen G. White, "Disseminating Temperance Principles," *Review* 84 (18 June 1907): 8.
81. K. C. Russell, "Camp-Meeting Temperance Rallies," *Review* 85 (16 July 1908): 5–6.
82. David Paulson, "The Awful Curse of Intemperance: The All-Sufficient Remedy," *SOT* 34 (2 Oct. 1907): 3–4.
83. Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 56–65.
84. Russell, "Camp-Meeting Temperance Rallies," 5–6.
85. C. S. Longacre, "The Liquor Traffic a Menace to Personal Liberty," *Liberty* 8 (Fourth Quarter 1913): 187–88.
86. J. H. Waggoner, *From Eden to Eden* (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1890), 174–75.
87. J. H. Waggoner, "Christian Statesmen and the Jews," *Review* 48 (14 Sept. 1876): 92; Waggoner, "The Republic of Israel," *Sentinel Library* 12 (15 June 1889): 5–6; A. T. Jones, "The National Reformed Constitution and the American Hierarchy," *Sentinel Library* 1 (1 Jan. 1889): 9.
88. Handy, *Undermined Establishment*, 70–74, 154–57.
89. Jones, "Religion and the Public Schools," 15–17.
90. A. T. Jones, "Baptists Appeal to Civil Law," *AS* 7 (8 Sept. 1892): 278; news note, *AS* 7 (3 Nov. 1892): 343; A. F. Ballenger, "Lessons from the Closing of the Marlowe Theater," *GCB* 5 (6 Mar. 1893): 487–88.
91. Leon Smith protested the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in "The Flight of Liberty," *Review* 70 (23 May 1893): 328–29, and the repression of the civil rights of anarchists following the assassination of President William McKinley in "Anarchy and its Meaning in the United States," *Review* 78 (17 Sept. 1901): 606.
92. See Reinder Bruinsmaa, *Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes Toward Roman Catholicism* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews Univ. Press, 1994).
93. Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 165–68.
94. Uriah Smith, "A National Peril," *Review* 65 (28 Feb. 1888): 136.
95. Adventist commentators in the 1850s had associated the mysterious number of the beast (666) in Revelation 13:18 with the numerous divisions of Protestantism. By 1866 Uriah Smith, Adventism's most influential apocalyptic interpreter, connected the number with the numerical value of the letters in the sometime papal title "Vicarius Filii Dei." See Uriah Smith, "The Two-Horned Beast: A Review of H. E. Carver," *Review* 28 (20 Nov. 1866): 196–97. The sharpened anti-Catholicism expressed by Adventists in the final two decades of the nineteenth century paralleled a general trend in society; see James Hennesey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), 182–83.
96. Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 183.

97. Uriah Smith, "The Pope's Encyclical," *Review* 70 (11 Apr. 1893): 232–33.
98. Uriah Smith, "Rome and the United States," *Review* 73 (22 Sept. 1896): 605–6.
99. "Passing Events: Archbishop Ireland Is Going to Explain," *Review* 75 (28 July 1898): 410–11.
100. Richard Hofstadter characterized the "paranoid style" as "a secular and demonic version of adventism." In the paranoid style, history is seen as a conspiracy "set in motion by demonic forces of almost transcendent power." For Adventists, the meaning of human history is found in the metahistorical conflict between God and a supernatural conspiracy of evil. The paranoid style entails "systematized delusions of persecutions and of one's own greatness." Paranoia in this sense does not imply insanity, stupidity, or a lack of verifiable facts to support one's theories, but a projection of those facts into the framework of the grand conspiracy. Adventists suffered considerable hardship and sometimes imprisonment for their faith and could point to oppressive tendencies in the National Reform Association and in European Catholicism. But their conception of a vast, sinister coalition of Catholicism, Protestantism, and spiritualism, and of their own movement as the vehicle for the divine counter stroke required a revealed conception of history. The warnings issued in the paranoid style "portray that which impends but which still may be avoided," a characterization fits the way in which Adventists' simultaneously proclaimed that liberty was about to be crushed and worked to preserve it. Hofstadter also observes that a sound issue or program may be advocated in the paranoid style. Thus, the Adventist commitment to freedom must be recognized along with that which was "parochial or mean-spirited" in some of their pronouncements about Catholicism. See Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952), 3–40.
101. Uriah Smith, "Protestantism Which Doesn't Protest," *Review* 69 (19 Jan. 1892): 38.
102. Uriah Smith, "When It Does Not Apply," *Review* 74 (5 Jan. 1897): 8–9.
103. See, for example, A. O. Tait, "Sectarian Politics," *AS* 7 (28 Jan. 1892): 27.
104. C. P. Bollman, "The A.P.A. and the Papists," *AS* 8 (28 Sept. 1893): 299.
105. M. E. Kellogg, "The Catholic Church and the APA," *Review* 72 (19 Feb. 1895): 119.
106. Smith, "Perfect Government," 5–6.
107. G. C. Tenney, "Our Duty in the Present Crisis," *Review* 71 (10 July 1894): 440–41.
108. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 7:84.
109. Letter 26, 1903, in White, *Spirit of Prophecy Counsels*, 192–93.
110. Cf. P. T. Magan, "France Then—America Now," *Review* 73 (12 Dec. 1896): 775, which compares the increasing inequality of wealth in America to the injustices of pre-Revolutionary France.
111. White, *Education*, 43–44.
112. See Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), for a treatment of the variety of individuals critiquing American policy and their differing rationales.
113. Percy T. Magan, *The Peril of the Republic* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1899), 17, 114–17.
114. *Ibid.*, 162–64.
115. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 879–80.
116. W. E. Colcord, "The Gospel of War," *Review* 75 (3 May 1898): 351. For examples of criticism of leading Protestant journals, see A. T. Jones, "A Novel Christian

- Duty," *Review* 75 (12 July 1898): 444–45, and "The Principles of the Fathers," *Review* 76 (27 June 1899): 412.
117. Magan, *Peril of the Republic*, 121.
 118. A. T. Jones, "The Necessity of 'Imperialism,'" *Review* 75 (27 Dec. 1898): 834.
 119. A. T. Jones, "Through His Policy Also He Shall Cause Craft to Prosper in His Hand," *Review* 77 (7 Aug. 1900): 504.
 120. Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart argue that such was the case with regard to Adventist protest against slavery in the 1850s; see *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 197.
 121. Magan, *Peril of the Republic*, 159; A. T. Jones, "The Third Angel's Message: It Must Be Given," *Review* 77 (3 July 1900): 424.
 122. A. T. Jones, "Present Truth," *Review* 76 (16 May 1899): 312.
 123. Magan, *Peril of the Republic*, 158, 192–93.

4. Conscientious Cooperators, 1914–1955

1. C. B. Haynes, "Conscientious Objection or Conscientious Cooperation," *Review* 138 (13 Feb. 1941): 18.
2. Francis D. Nichol, "A Pertinent Comment on Sunday Laws," *Review* 129 (24 Jan. 1952): 12.
3. F. D. Nichol's *Answers to Objections* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1932, 1952) defended distinctive Adventist doctrines. *The Answer to Modern Religious Thinking* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1936) argued for the contemporary relevance of Adventism in the social and religious setting of the 1930s. *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944) was a defense of William Miller and the Millerites. *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1951) was a detailed response to the detractors of the prophetess.
4. W. A. Spicer, "No Other Advent Movement of Revelation 14," *Review* 107 (11 Sept. 1930): 3–4.
5. L. R. Conradi, *The Impelling Force of Prophetic Truth* (London, 1935), 590. For an overview of Conradi's career, see Daniel Heinz, "Ludwig Richard Conradi, Patriarch of European Adventism," *Adventist Heritage* 12 (Winter 1987): 17–24.
6. F. D. Nichol, "The Advent Movement Enters Its One Hundredth Year," *Review* 121 (6 Jan. 1944): 6–7, "Has the Passing of a Century Weakened the Validity of Our Advent Hope?" *Review* 121 (13 Jan. 1944): 4–6, and "A Deadly Heresy that Threatens the Church," *Review* 121 (20 Jan. 1944): 3–4.
7. Prior to the publication of his findings, Le Roy Edwin Froom published the tract *Finding the Lost Prophetic Witness* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946) in which he explained the motivations behind his work and narrated his research experiences as a series of providential events.
8. See White, *Great Controversy*, 448–50, for a representative passage.
9. Froom, *Finding the Lost Prophetic Witness*, 53.
10. *PF* 4:9–10; cf. *PF* 2:785; *PF* 3:12, 740.
11. Froom, *Finding the Lost Prophetic Witness*, 53, 59, emphasis added.
12. *Ibid.*, 52; *PF* 4:1166.

13. On this encounter between Adventists and evangelicals, see T. E. Unruh, "The Seventh-day Adventist–Evangelical Conferences of 1955–1956," *Adventist Heritage* 4 (Winter 1977): 35–46; and Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 28–29, 69–74.
14. "Peace with the Adventists," *Time* 68 (31 Dec. 1956): 48–49.
15. "Peace with the Adventists," 48.
16. *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1957), 186–96.
17. White, *Great Controversy*, 588, and White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 5:451.
18. Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 19–32.
19. F. D. Nichol, "Questions Some Adventists Raise," *Review* 140 (16 Mar. 1963): 15.
20. Nichol, *Answer to Modern Religious Thinking*, 195–216, 227–38, 296–97.
21. F. D. Nichol, "Setting the Stage for Revelation 13, Part VIII," *Review* 117 (8 Apr. 1940): 10.
22. Ron Graybill, "America the Magic Dragon," *Insight* 2 (30 Nov. 1971): 6–12.
23. R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), 128–49.
24. In my own perusal of Adventist sources from the 1940s to the 1980s, the buffalo actually turned up more frequently than the lamb.
25. *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1914), 191–92.
26. The changes appear in an edition of *Bible Readings* distributed by Pacific Press (though copyrighted by Review and Herald Publishing Association) bearing the date 1916, which seems odd since E. R. Palmer's account (see note 27 below) suggests the changes were made in the context of *American* involvement in the war. The earliest Review and Herald Publishing Association issued edition that I could locate incorporating the changes bears the date of 1921. Emphasis added.
27. 1919 Bible Conference transcript, 17 July 1919, 33–36, in General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Archives, Silver Spring, Maryland (hereafter cited as GCA).
28. *Ibid.*, 37–44.
29. F. D. Nichol, "Setting the Stage for Revelation 13, Part VII," *Review* 137 (4 Apr. 1940): 10.
30. J. L. Shuler, *Evangelistic Lectures*, vol. 2, mimeographed, 1941, 21–22.
31. Arthur S. Maxwell, *Christ and Tomorrow* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1952), 74–78.
32. Leonard C. Lee, *Clouds Over America* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1948), 55–59, 68, 86–90, 105–8.
33. "Report of the Third Annual Session of the General Conference," 196–97.
34. D. E. Robinson, A. L. White, and W. C. White, "The Spirit of Prophecy and Military Service," manuscript, 1936, 6–7, Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, Md.
35. Colcord, "Gospel of War," 351.
36. G. A. Irwin, "The Present Crisis," *Review* 75 (3 May 1898): supplement, 1.
37. Jones, "Novel Christian Duty," 444–45.
38. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 880.
39. See the discussion in chapter 3.
40. David M. Kennedy, *Over Here* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), 45–143.
41. Roger G. Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-day Adventists and Military Service, 1860–1945" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington Univ., 1970), 113–15.

42. In his *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1936), Francis McLellan Wilcox compiled military laws and policies regarding conscientious objectors and Adventist statements and experiences regarding war. Exemptions and regulations for noncombatants in World War I are set forth on pp. 109–34.
43. F. M. Wilcox, “Are Seventh-day Adventists Loyal to Their Government?” *Review* 95 (18 July 1918): 3–5.
44. “Resolutions of Loyalty and Service,” *Review* (1 Aug. 1918), cited in Wilcox, *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War*, 143–44.
45. Wilcox, *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War*, 144–45; cf. Davis, “Conscientious Cooperators,” 141.
46. The problems faced by Adventists during the war and the denomination’s response are discussed in Wilcox, *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War*, 149–59, and Davis, “Conscientious Cooperators,” 142–59.
47. Davis, “Conscientious Cooperators,” 168.
48. The Supreme Court, in *Hamilton v. Regents of the University of California* (1934) upheld the suspension of several Methodists from UCLA for refusing to take a required ROTC class; see Robert T. Miller and Ronald B. Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality: Church, State, and the Supreme Court* (Waco, Tex.: Markham Press Fund of Baylor Univ. Press, 177), 149, 167–72.
49. M. E. Kern letter to the General Conference Committee, 21 May 1934, cited in Davis, “Conscientious Cooperators,” 176.
50. J. P. Neff, *Our Youth in Time of War* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1934). Davis treats the debate surrounding publication of the pamphlet in “Conscientious Cooperators,” 174–75.
51. Everett N. Dick, “The Adventist Medical Corps as Seen by Its Founder,” *Adventist Heritage* 1 (July 1974): 19–27; Davis, “Conscientious Cooperators,” 186–87, 193; Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 71–74.
52. C. B. Haynes, “Conscription and Noncombatancy,” *Review* 137 (10 Oct. 1940): 17–18.
53. Haynes, “Conscientious Objection,” 18.
54. Haynes, “Conscription and Noncombatancy,” 18.
55. Francis D. Nichol, *The Wartime Contribution of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1943), 7.
56. *Ibid.*, 11–13, 21–37, 42–57.
57. *Ibid.*, 56.
58. Haynes, “Conscription and Noncombatancy,” 18; F. D. Nichol, “Medical Corpsmen ‘the Bravest,’” *Review* 128 (22 Mar. 1951): 15, and “The Present World Crisis,” *Review* 139 (8 Nov. 1962): 12–13.
59. Heber H. Votaw, “A Noncombatant Receives the Nation’s Highest Honor,” *Liberty* 41 (First Quarter 1946): 15–17.
60. The “Resolution of Seventh-day Adventists to Civil Government and War,” issued by the General Conference in 1954, provides a good distillation of the position that developed along the lines laid down during World War I. See Davis, “Conscientious Cooperators,” 236.
61. Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 173–74. Portions of the opinion were quoted approvingly in a book coauthored by two Adventist scholars and leaders in the field of church and state, Alvin W. Johnson and Frank H. Yost, *Separation of Church and State in the United States* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1948), 197.

62. Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 127–32.
63. *Ibid.*, 85–92; David O. Moberg, *The Great Reversal: Evangelism Versus Social Concern* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1972).
64. Robert D. Lindner, “The Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern (1925–1975),” in *The Evangelicals*, ed. David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), 191–200.
65. George H. Williams and Rodney L. Petersen, “Evangelicals: Society, the State, the Nation (1925–1975),” in Wells and Woodbridge, *Evangelicals*, 211–48; McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 186–91.
66. F. D. Nichol, “The Signs of the Times and Their Challenge to the Church—Part Four,” *Review* 114 (30 Dec. 1937): 9–10.
67. F. D. Nichol, “The Social Gospel—No. 2,” *Review* 113 (19 Nov. 1936): 11.
68. Frederick Lee, “Seventh-day Adventists and the Social Gospel,” *Review* 118 (27 Nov. 1941): 12–14.
69. “A Petition to the Honorable Mr. Whiteside in Behalf of the Welfare Societies of the Seventh-day Adventist Churches” and E. H. Fries to C. C. Mattison, 17 Aug. 1933, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA. The petition sought from the National Recovery Administration recognition that the “penny-a-dish” restaurants and soup kitchens were charities and thus not required to conform to the NRA wage and price codes.
70. “Petition to Congress,” 19 Dec. 1932, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
71. F. M. Wilcox, “Church and Politics,” *Review* 105 (13 Sept. 1928): 3.
72. F. M. Wilcox, “Politics and Prohibition,” *Review* 105 (27 Sept. 1928): 3–4.
73. J. F. Ferren, “Million Prohibition ‘Signs’ Circulated,” *Review* 105 (11 Nov. 1928): 24; advertisement, *Review* 105 (30 Aug. 1928): 23.
74. *SOT* 55 (28 Aug. 1928): 15
75. Alonzo Baker, “Shall We Desert the Cause?” *SOT* 55 (2 Oct. 1928): 16.
76. C. S. Longacre, “American Temperance Society of Seventh-day Adventists,” *Review* 115 (29 Dec. 1938): 57–58; O. Montgomery, “The American Temperance Society of Seventh-day Adventists,” *Review* 109 (2 June 1932): 506, 515; and “Voting for Prohibition,” *Review* 109 (4 Aug. 1932): 732–33.
77. F. D. Nichol, “Shall We Actively Support Proposed Dry Legislation?” *Review* 112 (7 Feb. 1935): 10–11; cf. F. D. Nichol, “Big Business and Prohibition,” *Review* 110 (6 Apr. 1933): 14–15, and “A Three-Point Program for Solving the Liquor Problem—Part I,” *Review* 120 (12 Dec. 1943): 12–13.
78. C. S. Longacre, *The Church in Politics* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1927), 89–91.
79. Leon A. Smith, *The United States in Prophecy* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association 1914), 336–37.
80. *Ibid.*, 313; F. M. Wilcox, “The Federal Council of Churches,” *Review* 91 (5 Feb. 1914): 9.
81. F. D. Nichol, “What Temperance Program Should We Stress in This Repeal Era?” *Review* 112 (31 Jan. 1935): 4.
82. Nichol, *Answer to Modern Religious Thinking*, 212.
83. Carlyle B. Haynes, “The Church and the Peace,” *Review* 122 (1 Mar. 1945): 6–7.
84. F. D. Nichol, “Comments on a Notable Meeting,” *Review* 118 (9 Oct. 1941): 10, 11, 16.
85. F. D. Nichol, “The Ecumenical Tide Rises Higher,” *Review* 140 (19 Dec. 1963): 20.

86. F. D. Nichol, "The Church and Social Reform," *Review* 142 (15 Apr. 1965): 15.
87. Wilcox, "Politics and Prohibition," 4, and "Temperance and Prohibition: The Coming Presidential Election," *Review* 105 (2 Aug. 1928): 3.
88. F. D. Nichol, "The Present World Crisis," *Review* 139 (8 Nov. 1962): 12-13.
89. See White, *Desire of Ages*, 37-38, 826-28, for representative expressions of this theme.
90. F. D. Nichol, "Seven Points of Separation from the World," *Review* 111 (6 June 1934): 3-4; (14 June 1934): 14-15; (28 June 1934): 4-5.
91. For example, Smith, *United States in Prophecy*, 279-80; F. M. Wilcox, "Attacking the Foundations—Part 5," *Review* 110 (2 Mar. 1933): 2-5.
92. Robert C. Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist: The History of an American Obsession* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 150-54; Ralph Lord Roy, *Apostles of Discord: A Study of Organized Bigotry and Disruption on the Fringes of Protestantism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), 229-35; Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1983), 102-6.
93. C. S. Longacre, "What Is the Matter with Americans?" *Liberty* 118 (Second Quarter 1941): 16-18.
94. Carlyle B. Haynes, *America in Bible Prophecy* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1947), 59-75. In making this charge, Haynes may have been influenced by Norman Vincent Peale's *For Americans Only* (1944), which compared FDR's references to freedom from want and fear to excerpts from Hitler's speeches (Roy, *Apostles of Discord*, 233).
95. Frederick Lee, "The Philosophy of State Control," *Review* 122 (20 Feb. 1945): 3-4.
96. Alonzo L. Baker, *Is the World Going Red?* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1935), 94-95. See also Russell Quinn, "The Challenge to America," *Liberty* 112 (Third Quarter 1935): 16-18; and Russell Quinn, "The American Concept of Liberty," *Liberty* 114 (Fourth Quarter 1937): 11-13.
97. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 930.
98. "Address to President Harding," *Review* 98 (8 Dec. 1921): 2. See also C. S. Longacre, "The International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments," *Liberty* 99 (First Quarter 1922): 7, 16-17.
99. "Address to President Harding."
100. F. M. Wilcox, "The Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments," *Review* 99 (13 Apr. 1922): 3-5.
101. Prominent fundamentalist denouncers of the UN in the 1950s and 1960s included James DeForest Murch of the National Association of Evangelicals and ultraconservative preachers such as Billy James Hargis and Carl McIntire. See Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 160-62; Richard V. Pierard, *The Unequal Yoke: Evangelical Christianity and Political Conservatism* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1970), 168-72.
102. Cautions about the League of Nations can be found in W. F. Martin, "Shall the League of Nations Regulate Religious Practices?" *Liberty* 14 (Fourth Quarter 1919): 104; C. S. Longacre, "The Religious Liberty Situation," leaflet circulated by Religious Liberty Department to Seventh-day Adventist churches for "Religious Liberty Sabbath," 1920. George McCready Price raised the specter of "powerful ecclesiastical organizations" dominating a world federation in "Modernizing Some Old Disputes," *Liberty* 38 (First Quarter 1943): 20-22; (Second Quarter 1943): 20-22; (Third Quarter 1943): 23-24.

103. F. M. Wilcox, "The Terror of Future War," *Review* 96 (27 Mar. 1919): 4–5; C. S. Longacre, "The League of Nations," *Liberty* 14 (First Quarter 1919): 5, 21; "Declarations on Religious Liberty," *Liberty* 40 (Third Quarter 1945): 19–20; Leif Kr. Tobiassen, "Religious Rights and the United Nations," *Liberty* 49 (First Quarter 1954): 8–11; "Tenth Anniversary of Human Rights," *Liberty* 54 (Second Quarter 1959): 14–15; Frank H. Yost, "The Organization of American States," *Liberty* 54 (First Quarter 1959): 28.
104. William R. Hutchison, ed. *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), vii.
105. Marty, *Modern American Religion*, 2:2.
106. Handy, *Christian America*, 195.
107. Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 149–64; Marty, *Modern American Religion*, 2:174, 184–98.
108. Land, *Adventism in America*, 251–53; Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 314–32, 354–72.
109. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 276–81.
110. There have been several minor variations in the name and administrative structure of Adventist organizations dedicated to religious liberty in the twentieth century. The International Religious Liberty Association (IRLA) that had been in existence from 1893 until the denominational reorganization in 1901 was reconstituted in 1946, with the RLA in effect being the American division. In 1964 the American organization became known as the Religious Liberty Association of America. For ease of identification and in accordance with common usage in the denomination, the Adventist organization in America sponsoring *Liberty* and other forms of public education and activism concerning religious liberty will simply be referred to as the Religious Liberty Association (RLA). See *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 667, 1199–1200.
111. *Seventh-day Adventists Encyclopedia*, 1162–64.
112. J. S. Washburn, "A Glorious Opportunity," *Review* 81 (10 Mar. 1904): 6–7.
113. K. C. Russell, "Religious Liberty Department Statement," *Review* 88 (2 Nov. 1911): 17; C. S. Longacre, "The Religious Liberty Association," *Review* 107 (9 June 1930): 153; Heber H. Votaw, "Religious Liberty Department," *Review* 123 (13 June 1946): 165; *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 785.
114. Obituaries—GC Personnel 1958, RG 52, GCA.
115. *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 810–11; Nathaniel Krum, *Charles S. Longacre: Champion of Religious Liberty* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1959), 113–14.
116. Harding's mother converted from Methodism to Seventh-day Adventism in the 1880s, and most of her children, including Votaw's wife, Carolyn, followed her in becoming faithful Adventists. Her husband remained a Baptist and that eventually became Warren's denominational affiliation. See Francis Russell, *In the Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding and His Times* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 46.
117. Russell, *In the Shadow of Blooming Grove*, 162, 258, 298, 439; *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 1562.
118. Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 152, 161, 164, 169–70.
119. Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992), 167–69; Bernard Ramm, *The Christian View of Science and Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1954), 125.

120. L. A. Smith, "Evolution, Christianity, and the State," *Liberty* 20 (Fourth Quarter 1925): 102-3, 121.
121. C. S. Longacre, "The Issues Involved in the Evolution Case in Tennessee," *Liberty* 20 (Fourth Quarter 1925): 101, 120-21.
122. Krum, *Charles S. Longacre*, 64-65.
123. Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeiffer, *Church and State in the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 117.
124. "The Douglas McIntosh [sic] Case," *Christian Fundamentalist*, Nov. 1931, 163-65.
125. Nichol, *Answer to Modern Religious Thinking*, 203-7.
126. F. D. Nichol, "Comments on Current Events," *Review* 109 (10 Dec. 1931): 11, 12.
127. C. S. Longacre, "Christ Not Eligible for Citizenship in the United States," *Liberty* 26 (Fourth Quarter 1931): 104, 118-19.
128. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 899, 915; cf. Handy, *Christian America*, 198.
129. "Sunday," *Christian Century* 46 (7 Mar. 1929): 319.
130. "What Shall We Do with Sunday," *Christian Century* 39 (6 Jan. 1921): 10-13.
131. *Life* 77 (20 Jan. 1921).
132. "Sunday Blue Laws Operate in Baltimore," *Liberty* 18 (First Quarter 1923): 25; "Religious Persecution in Swing Again," *Liberty* 19 (Second Quarter 1924): 54; "Blue Law Traps Boys," *Liberty* 16 (Fourth Quarter 1921): 127.
133. Charles S. Longacre, "Religious Liberty Department," *Review* 99 (29 May 1922): 3; and "Religious Liberty Association," *Review* 113 (8 June 1936): 284.
134. Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 3:170. The Lord's Day Alliance, then called the American Sabbath Union, was formed in 1888 "to uphold and defend the sanctity of the civil institution of Sunday."
135. C. S. Longacre, "Proof that Sunday Laws are Religious," *Liberty* 24 (Fourth Quarter 1929): 85.
136. "What Shall We Do with Sunday," 10.
137. Portions of the interview are cited in C. S. Longacre, "The Big Sunday Blue Law Campaign," *Liberty* 16 (Second Quarter 1921): 37-38.
138. Longacre, "Big Sunday Blue Law Campaign."
139. "Lord's Day Alliance Thrives on Opposition," *Christian Century* 39 (14 July 1921): 28.
140. Longacre, "Big Sunday Blue Law Campaign," 35ff.
141. C. S. Longacre, "Are We Guilty of Misrepresentation?" *Liberty* 16 (Third Quarter 1921): 67ff.
142. "Plan, Purpose and Programme of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States," n.d., C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
143. Longacre, "Big Sunday Blue Law Campaign."
144. C. S. Longacre, "'Reformer' Robbing Peter to Pay Paul," *Liberty* 18 (Fourth Quarter 1923): 108.
145. "Plan, Purpose, and Programme."
146. *Second Annual Report of the Permanent Committee on Sabbath Observance to the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, 19 May 1921, 8, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
147. "Copies of Sunday Bills Before Congress," *Liberty* 21 (Second Quarter 1926, Extra): 78.
148. "Protecting Sunday in the Nation's Capital," Extracts from Speeches of Hon.

- William C. Lankford of Georgia on Sunday Observance Bill for District of Columbia (H.R. 10311) and including address by Dr. R. H. Martin, of Pittsburgh, Pa., and sermon of Dr. Joseph Sizoo of Washington, D.C., in the House of Representatives, 5 and 18 Mar. and 18 June 1926 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1926), 4.
149. C. S. Longacre, "Congress Invaded by Gigantic Religious Lobby," *Liberty* 21 (Second Quarter 1926, Extra): 67-74.
 150. "Reasons for Sunday Law," *Twentieth Century Progress* 27 (Nov. 1927): 6; "Public Sentiment Arrayed Against the Lankford Sunday Bill," *Liberty* 22 (First Quarter 1927): 10.
 151. "Public Sentiment Arrayed Against the Lankford Bill," 11.
 152. Longacre, "Religious Liberty Association," 151-52.
 153. F. M. Wilcox, "A Personal Letter to the Readers of the 'Review,'" *Review* 103 (6 May 1926): 2.
 154. C. S. Longacre, "High Time to Awake," *Review* 104 (1 Sept. 1927): 3-5, and "Approaching the World Crisis," *Review* 104 (10 Nov. 1927): 8-10.
 155. Longacre, "Religious Liberty Association"; "The Sunday Blue Law Situation Before Congress," *Review* 105 (16 Feb. 1928): 13; "What the Religious Liberty Association Has Done," *Liberty* 23 Third Quarter 1928): 82.
 156. "Innocent Beginnings," *Liberty* 27 (Second Quarter 1932, Extra): 34.
 157. "Much-Agitated Question Submitted for National Recovery," *Liberty* 28 (Fourth Quarter 1933): 99.
 158. An instance of a successful action at the state level is described in "Hearing Before the Indiana Legislature," *Liberty* 20 (Second Quarter 1925): 40-41; H. A. Lukens, "Religious Liberty Still Lives in Indiana," *Review* 102 (19 Mar. 1925): 24; and C. S. Longacre, "Two National Sunday Bills Fail," *Review* 102 (2 Apr. 1925): 21.
 159. C. S. Longacre, "No Sunday Laws in Wisconsin," *Liberty* (Third Quarter 1933): 67-68.
 160. On religion and the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant attitudes of the 1920s, see Marty, *Modern American Religion*, 2:79-102; Evans is quoted on page 95.
 161. W. F. Martin, "The Effort to Close Our Schools," C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
 162. C. S. Longacre, "Developments in State Legislation Affecting Our Elementary Schools and Our Attitude Toward Them," C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
 163. James Hamilton, "Michigan School Amendment," undated pamphlet, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
 164. "To the Voters of Michigan," Seventh-day Adventist pamphlet issued from Grand Rapids, Mich., 1920, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
 165. Eli J. Forsythe, "Michigan School Amendment, The Real Issue," undated pamphlet, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52 GCA.
 166. C. S. Longacre, "Reasons Why the Proposed Anti-Parochial School Amendment Is Wrong," *Liberty* 17 (Fourth Quarter 1922): 119-21.
 167. Joseph T. Wayne, "A Danger Signal," *America* 29 (25 Dec. 1920): 228; cf. A. J. Beck, "A Crusade for Christian Democracy," *America* 29 (11 Dec. 1920): 376-78; and "Credit from Our Catholic Contemporary," *Review* 98 (10 Feb. 1921): 6.
 168. On Adventist efforts against anti-parochial school measures in Oregon, Washington, Michigan, and Indiana, see C. S. Longacre, "Report of the Religious Liberty Department," *Review* 103 (9 June 1926): 17; and Lukens, "Religious Liberty Still Lives in Indiana," 24.

169. "The Menace of Bogus Americanism," *Liberty* 17 (Fourth Quarter 1922): 117-18.
170. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1988), 291-94.
171. In connection with this point it seems significant that although Adventists took a strong interest in the 1928 election because of Prohibition, I have discovered no references to Al Smith's Catholicism in their publications.
172. Carlos A. Schwantes, "When Oregon Outlawed Church Schools: Adventists Interpret a National Event," *Adventist Heritage* 8 (Spring 1983): 39.
173. C. S. Longacre, "A Menace Facing Our Schools," *Liberty* 36 (First Quarter 1941): 33-34.
174. "The New Jersey School-Bus Case," *Liberty* 42 (Second Quarter 1947): 19-20.
175. F. D. Nichol, "Protestant Leaders Repose Hope in Sunday," *Review* 117 (4 Apr. 1940): 9-10.
176. C. S. Longacre, "The President's Representative to the Vatican," *Liberty* 35 (Third Quarter 1940): 16-19.
177. Charles Clayton Morrison, "Why Protestants Care," *Christian Century* (24 Apr. 1940), reprinted in *Liberty* 35 (Third Quarter 1940): 19-22.
178. E. D. Dick, "Principles of Protestantism and Separation of Church and State," *Review* 117 (16 May 1940): 13.
179. "The United States and the Vatican," *Review* 117 (11 Jan. 1940): 4-5.
180. Unpublished report to the General Conference Committee Minutes, 10 Jan. 1940, J. L. McElhany Papers, Adventist Heritage Center, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan (hereafter cited as AHC).
181. Alvin W. Johnson, "The Appointment of an Ambassador to the Vatican—Part 2," *Review* 128 (13 Dec. 1951): 5-6; cf. Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 87-88.
182. "Religion in the Public Schools in Colorado," *AS* 12 (25 Nov. 1897): 723-25; "That Flag Salute," *AS* 13 (6 Jan. 1898): 3-4; "Seventh-day Adventists and the Public Schools," *AS* 13 (6 Jan. 1898): 10-11; News note in *AS* 13 (3 Feb. 1898): 80.
183. George H. Williams and Rodney L. Peterson, "Evangelicals: Society, the State, the Nation (1925-1975)," in Wells and Woodbridge, *Evangelicals*, 222-23.
184. C. S. Longacre, "Should the Flag Salute Be Forced?" *Liberty* 36 (First Quarter 1941): 32-33.
185. Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 64-65.
186. F. M. Wilcox, "The Glorious Consummation—No. 11," *Review* 97 (13 May 1920): 5.
187. Robert Moats Miller details the positions taken by Protestants on many of these issues in the 1920s and 1930s in *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1958).
188. See, for example, Longacre, "Religious Liberty Department," 3; "Shall the Radio Be Muzzled?" *Liberty* 26 (First Quarter 1931): 22; C. S. Longacre, "Modern Alien and Sedition Acts," *Liberty* 34 (Third Quarter 1939): 18; Heber H. Votaw, "Is This the Antidote for Race Hatred and Religious Intolerance?" *Liberty* 39 (Third Quarter 1944): 2, 19-20; C. S. Longacre, "Two Extremes," *Liberty* 39 (Fourth Quarter 1944): 14.
189. Marty, *Modern American Religion*, 2:194-98, 265-67; Moore, *Religious Outsiders*, 156-65; Roy, *Apostles of Discord*; Ribuffo, *Old Christian Right*.

5. A Flexible Wall, 1955–1976

1. F. D. Nichol, "Further Comments on Religious Liberty," *Review* 140 (1 Aug. 1963): 14–15.
2. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 1079–80.
3. Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 297. Laurence H. Tribe makes the case for separationism in regard to several Supreme Court decisions in the 1980s in "The Cross and the Sword: Separating the Realms of Authority," in *Government Intervention in Religious Affairs*, ed. Dean M. Kelley (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982–1986), 2:14–27. Michael W. McConnell argues that religious liberty requires government accommodation of religion in "Accommodation of Religion," *Supreme Court Review* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), 1–59.
4. "To the Memory of Two Great Leaders in the Call to Freedom," *Liberty* 54 (Second Quarter 1959): 18–19, 26.
5. Fact sheet issued by General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Department of Communication, Apr. 1974.
6. Beginning in 1956, the *Liberty* masthead announced that the Religious Liberty Association advocated "only one doctrine, the doctrine of soul liberty." In a speech to the North American Division Religious Liberty Council, Yost maintained that presenting the "full program of Adventist doctrine" in *Liberty* would cause cancellations because the publication "would be looked upon as just one more medium of Adventist evangelization and not be read for the sake of religious liberty." Yost, "The Place of *Liberty*: A Magazine of Religious Freedom," Council/NAD Religious Liberty Council, RG 52, GCA.
7. Roland R. Hegstad, "*Liberty* Learns a Lesson," *Review* 163 (15 May 1986): 8–10.
8. M. E. Loewen, "Circulation of *Liberty* Now Highest in History," *Review* 145 (29 Aug. 1968): 24, and "Public Affairs and Religious Liberty," *Review* 152 (31 July 1975): 25–26.
9. See, for example, Roland R. Hegstad, "On Seeing 'Eye to Eye'" *Liberty* 72 (July–Aug. 1977): 34; Carol Marie Longard, "A Palatable Delight," *Liberty* 73 (July–Aug. 1978): 34; Loleta S. Thomas, "Well Done! Good and Faithful Staff," *Liberty* 79 (Sept.–Oct. 1984): 31.
10. Roland R. Hegstad, "Modern Sunday Laws Not Religious?" *Liberty* 56 (Nov.–Dec. 1961): 27; Kenneth H. Wood, "A Sinister Shadow on Today's Religious Horizon," *Review* 135 (20 Feb. 1958): 17; Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 169.
11. Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 170.
12. Dean M. Kelley, "Sabbath Observance and the Eight Dilemmas of Protestantism," *Liberty* 53 (Fourth Quarter 1958): 10–15.
13. Frank H. Yost, "New Impetus to Sunday Legislation," talk given to North American Division Religious Liberty Council, Jan. 1956, Council/NAD Religious Liberty Council, RG 52, GCA.
14. Gilbert S. Fell, "Blue Laws—A Minority Opinion," *Christian Century* 77 (25 Nov. 1959): 1373–75; C. S. Longacre, "Sunday Bill Before Congress," *Review* 122 (7 July 1955): 4. The National Retail Merchants Association and Variety Stores Association went on record in favor of Sunday laws in 1958 ("Major Retailing Groups Call for Sunday Closing," *Liberty News* 5 [Jan. 1959]: 2).
15. Alvin W. Johnson, "The Religious Liberty Department," *Review* 135 (23 June 1958): 71–72.

16. F. R. Millard, "1958 Autumn Council Actions," *Review* 135 (27 Nov. 1958): 7.
17. Kits, Box R 750, GCA.
18. Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 117; W. M. Adams, "Seventh-day Adventists File a Brief with the United States Supreme Court," *Liberty News* 6 (14 Oct. 1960): 1–2.
19. Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 216.
20. Hegstad, "Modern Sunday Laws Not Religious?" 26–27.
21. "Blue Laws and the Court," *Christian Century* 75 (19 July 1961): 867–68, quoted in Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 163.
22. M. E. Loewen, "Supreme Court Decision on Sunday Laws," *Review* 138 (15 June 1961): 12.
23. M. E. Loewen, "Moves Toward Stricter Enforcement," *Review* 139 (24 May 1962): 2–4.
24. M. Carol Hetzell, "Chaos on Sunday," *Liberty* 57 (Mar.–Apr. 1962): 9–13; Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 165–73.
25. W. A. Fagal, "Faith for Today Sunday Violation Trial," *Review* 139 (14 June 1962): 4–5.
26. Roland R. Hegstad, "Clerical Power Controls Massachusetts," *Review* 139 (12 July 1962): 16, and "An Uncommonly Good Argument," *Liberty* 58 (Jan.–Feb. 1963): 30–31; Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 166–67.
27. Joseph G. Smoot, "Recent Trends in Sunday Legislation," *Review* 144 (14 Sept. 1967): 4–6; Gordon F. Dalrymple, "Churches Against Sunday Laws?" *Liberty* 59 (Jan.–Feb. 1964): 18.
28. Dwight S. Wallack, "The War, Is It Over . . .," *Liberty News* 13 (June 1967): 36–37; "Another Sunday Law Attempt Becomes History," *Liberty News* 13 (Aug. 1967): 48–49.
29. Don R. Christman, "Church Meets Sunday Law Challenge in San Antonio," *Liberty News* 12 (Dec. 1966): 64; "Extra," *Liberty News* 13 (Jan. 1967): 7–12.
30. Dalrymple, "Churches Against Sunday Laws?" 14–15.
31. Roland R. Hegstad, "Get a Good Blanket," *Insight* 5 (12 Feb. 1974): 9–11.
32. Leo Pfeffer, "An Autobiographical Sketch," in *Religion and the State: Essays in Honor of Leo Pfeffer*, ed. James E. Wood (Waco, Tex.: Baylor Univ. Press, 1985), 491.
33. White, *Great Controversy*, 563–81.
34. Glenn L. Archer, "Dr. J. M. Dawson—Fearless Leader," *Church and State Newsletter* 1 (Oct. 1948): 1, 3; "Launching of POAU Came at Crucial Hour," *Church and State* 3 (Dec. 1950): 5–6; "Frank H. Yost (1894–1958)," *Church and State* 12 (Jan. 1959): 2. For a brief time in the early 1980s, the president (Robert Nixon), executive director (W. Melvin Adams), and general counsel (Lee Boothby) of Americans United (as the organization was by then called) were all Seventh-day Adventists.
35. This is a general impression based on the author's perusal of numerous issues of *Liberty* and POAU's publication *Church and State* appearing in the 1950s and early 1960s.
36. Arthur S. Maxwell, "That Religious Issue," *SOT* 87 (Oct. 1960): 6–7; cf. F. D. Nichol, "Rome and the United States," *Review* 126 (28 May 1959): 3–4; Raymond F. Cottrell, "What Is Bigotry," *Liberty* 55 (July–Aug. 1960): 30–31; Marvin E. Loewen, "A Catholic Candidate for President," *Review* 137 (11 Aug. 1960): 4–5.
37. Roland R. Hegstad, "Church Opposes Government Aid to Parochial Schools," *Liberty* 56 (Sept.–Oct. 1961): 28.

38. Raymond F. Cottrell, "Federal Aid to Parochial Schools," *Review* 138 (24 Aug. 1961): 9, "Held for Ransom," *Review* 138 (21 Sept. 1961): 9, and "The Bishops Have Their Way," *Review* 138 (28 Sept. 1961): 8–9.
39. M. E. Loewen to Cyril Miller, 3 Apr. 1961; M. E. Loewen to W. J. Hackett, 13 Mar. 1961, Congressional Statement, Miscellaneous Topical Files, RG 52, GCA.
40. "Religious Liberty in Action," *Liberty News* 7 (Mar. 1961): 3.
41. According to the "lemon test," laws must have a secular purpose, the primary effect of neither inhibiting nor advancing religion, and not involve excessive entanglement between church and state. See John T. Noonan, Jr., *The Believer and the Powers that Are: Cases, History and Other Data Bearing on the Relation of Church and State* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 422–24.
42. Roland R. Hegstad, "Adventists and Government Money," *Liberty* 68 (Mar.–Apr. 1973): 16, 18.
43. White, *Great Controversy*, 573, 588, cited in R. R. Figuhr, "A Letter from Our President [monthly column written by the General Conference president]," *Review* 142 (6 May 1965): 5.
44. Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Declaration on Religious Liberty," *Review* 142 (21 Oct. 1965): 3–4, and "Saint Peter's Bark Tacks About," *Review* (28 Oct. 1965): 5–6.
45. Raymond F. Cottrell, "Post-Conciliar Shock-Waves," *Review* 143 (11 Aug. 1966): 12.
46. Bert Beverly Beach, *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1968); and *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane?* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974).
47. Raymond F. Cottrell, "Vatican II and the Future," *Review* 142 (18 Nov. 1965): 9–11.
48. Beach, *Vatican II*, 208.
49. Roland R. Hegstad, "Religious Liberty and Public Order," *Liberty* 60 (Nov.–Dec. 1965): 28–29.
50. White, *Great Controversy*, 444–45.
51. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 1083–84.
52. W. W. Prescott, "The Federal Council of Churches," *Review* 85 (24 Dec. 1908): 3–4.
53. *Ibid.* (17 Dec. 1908): 3–5.
54. F. D. Nichol, "Why We Cannot Join the Federal Council of Churches," *Review* 124 (30 Jan. 1947): 3–4, and (6 Feb. 1947): 3–4.
55. F. D. Nichol, "Why We Do Not Join the National Council" (six-part series) *Review* 128 (4 Jan. 1951–8 Feb. 1951). See especially (18 Jan.): 11–12; (25 Jan.): 14; and (8 Feb.): 12–13.
56. F. D. Nichol, "Should We View Protestant Leaders with Suspicion?" *Review* 124 (23 Jan. 1947): 4–5.
57. Nichol, "Why We Do Not Join the National Council," 11 Jan. 1951, 13–14. Nichol's remarks appear to be directed both toward Adventists overzealous in their use of apocalyptic and fundamentalists such as Carl McIntire and James DeForest Murch, who alleged communist influences in attacking the ecumenical movement (see Roy, *Apostles of Discord*, 181–250). Nichol specifically rejected such charges.
58. F. D. Nichol, "Voices Raised Against Rome," *Review* 125 (3 Apr. 1948): 4–5; W. A. Spicer, "A Well-Placed Protest," *Review* 122 (8 Mar. 1945): 2–3.
59. Nichol, "Should We View Protestant Leaders with Suspicion?" 4.

60. F. D. Nichol, "The Goal of Our Publicity," *Review* 134 (21 Mar. 1957): 8–9; "A New Day for Adventists," *Review* 135 (8 May 1958): 9–10.
61. F. D. Nichol, "The National Council of Churches Speaks on Church-State Relations," *Review* 141 (27 Feb. 1964): 2–4.
62. F. D. Nichol, "Our Relationship to the National Council," *Review* 137 (12 May 1960): 3–5; and "The Critics Examined," *Review* 137 (23 June 1960): 3–4. Cf. Walter R. Beach, "SDA Relationships to the National and World Councils of Churches," *Review* 146 (9 Oct. 1969): 6–8.
63. Kenneth H. Wood, "Speaking Out on Ecumenism," *Review* 141 (18 June 1964): 16. Probably the most sophisticated treatment of the subject, Bert Beach's *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane?* exhibited scrupulous effort at fairness along with an apocalyptic-influenced wariness.
64. Edwin Scott Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1990), 320.
65. Gary Wills, *Under God: Religion and American Politics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 117–18.
66. Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1988), 205.
67. Raymond F. Cottrell, "The First Step on a Long Road," *Review* 141 (9 July 1964): 13–14.
68. Roland R. Hegstad, "Supreme Court Decision Misunderstood," *Liberty* 57 (Sept.–Oct. 1962): 32.
69. M. E. Loewen, "The Meaning of Current Attempts to Add a Religious Amendment to the Constitution," *Review* 140 (31 Oct. 1963): 5.
70. Gaustad, *Religious History of America*, 322.
71. Steven K. Green details the positions taken by religious leaders, particularly evangelicals, on the Becker amendment in "Evangelicals and the Becker Amendment: A Lesson in Church-State Moderation," *Journal of Church and State* 33 (Summer 1991): 541–67; cf. Gary Clabaugh, *Thunder on the Right: The Protestant Fundamentalists* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1974), 17, 199–202.
72. R. R. Figuhr, "A Call to Action," *Review* 141 (21 May 1964): 8–9.
73. M. E. Loewen to Union Presidents, Union Religious Liberty Secretaries, Conference Presidents, Conference Religious Liberty Secretaries, 9 Apr. 1964, Becker Amendment, Box R 747, GCA.
74. "Attention: Pastors and Church Religious Liberty Secretaries," *Liberty News* 10 (June 1964): 38.
75. "Testimony of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the U.S.A.," *Liberty News* 10 (July 1964): 45–46.
76. Raymond F. Cottrell, "Becker Amendment Not Dead," *Review* 141 (27 Aug. 1964): 12–13.
77. Though unenthused about the Warren Court's treatment of obscenity and strongly opposed to its ruling in 1961 that Sunday laws are constitutional, Hegstad to gave Warren a positive overall assessment in 1968, for separation of church and state had been strengthened under his stewardship. Hegstad, "The Warren Court: Post Mortem," *Liberty* 63 (Sept.–Oct. 1968): 28.
78. Jerry L. Pettis to D. A. Neufeld, 29 Nov. 1971, 1971–P, RG NA 11, GCA; cf. "Thumbs Down on the Prayer Amendment," *Insight* 3 (18 Jan. 1972): 11.

79. I will use this term in a loose sense for those Adventists who favored the concept that government may accommodate religion by providing, on an even-handed basis, at least some forms of funding that benefit church-operated institutions.
80. "Church-State Relationships in the United States: Compilation of Actions & Policies," unpublished manuscript prepared by Department of Public Affairs & Religious Liberty, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, n.d., Documents, Various, RG 52, GCA.
81. "Church-State Relationships in the United States," 10–11.
82. See chapter 3.
83. J. L. McElhany to C. S. Longacre, 20 Sept. 1944, and C. S. Longacre to J. L. McElhany, 6 Nov. 1944, Religious Liberty Emergency Committee, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
84. For an account, see M. E. Loewen, "The Federal Aid Issue," *Liberty News* 14 (1 Apr. 1968): 19–20.
85. The Supreme Court, on the basis of the "child benefit theory," ruled in favor of a Louisiana law providing funds for students, including those in parochial schools, to purchase secular textbooks in *Cochran v. Louisiana State Board of Education* (1930). Funds for bus rides were similarly approved in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947). See Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 424, 433–54.
86. Norman W. Dunn, "Autumn Council Proceedings," *Review* 125 (2 Dec. 1948): 6–8.
87. Actions cited in M. E. Loewen, "State Support for the Church," *Review* 140 (14 Nov. 1963): 6.
88. J. I. Robison, "Religious Liberty vs. Separation of Church and State," unpublished manuscript, n.d., Govt. Grants to SDA Institutions, Sample Letter, RG 52, GCA. J. I. Robison to R. R. Figuhr, 8 Sept. 1953, Box RC825, GCA.
89. Syme, *History of SDA Church-State Relations*, 128–29; Richard Hammill, "The Story of the Church and Government Aid—Part I," *Insight* 4 (3 July 1973): 7–11.
90. See, for example, "Adventists and Government Aid" (letter from Fred Morgan), *Liberty* 62 (Jan.–Feb. 1967): 5.
91. M. E. Loewen to Arthur W. Griffith, 24 Nov. 1964, Miscellaneous Topical Files, RG 52, GCA.
92. "Church-State Relations," *Review* 145 (26 Sept. 1968): 1–7.
93. Hammill, "The Story of the Church and Government Aid—Part II," *Insight* 4 (10 July 1973): 12.
94. Pat Horning, "Glimpses of a Changing Church," *Insight* 3 (5 Dec. 1972): 13.
95. Horning, "Glimpses of a Changing Church," 13–14.
96. For example, Kenneth H. Wood, "The Peril of Aid," *Review* 152 (27 Nov. 1975): 2, 10.
97. Roland R. Hegstad, "Adventists and Government Money," *Liberty* 68 (Mar.–Apr. 1973): 14–21.
98. B. B. Beach, "What Religious Liberty Is Not," *Liberty* 65 (May–June 1970): 10–12.
99. Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 192–93.
100. Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 254.
101. Frank H. Yost, "On the Religious Liberty Front," *Review* 126 (3 Feb. 1949): 22.
102. Action of the 1949 Spring Meeting in State Sunday Bills/Unemployment Compensation, C. S. Longacre Reference Files, RG 52, GCA.
103. Alvin W. Johnson, "Eligibility for Unemployment Compensation," *Liberty* 50 (First Quarter 1955): 10–16.

104. Alvin W. Johnson, "Courts Favor Unemployment Compensation for Seventh-day Adventists," *Review* 131 (30 Mar. 1954): 24, and "Court Ruling Favors Seventh-day Adventists," *Review* 133 (23 Feb. 1956): 32.
105. Johns, *Dateline Sunday*, 193–94.
106. Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 256–58.
107. F. D. Nichol, "A Seventh-day Adventist and the Supreme Court," *Review* 140 (11 July 1963): 12–13.
108. Elvin L. Benton, "Sanctimonious Sameness," *Liberty* 70 (Jan.–Feb. 1975): 31. Other cases of successful use of the Civil Rights Act in court on behalf of Adventist employees included that of a fireman in New Mexico and a factory worker in Indiana. See "Adventist Fireman Unlawfully Dismissed," *Liberty News* 20 (Jan.–Feb. 1974): 3; "Employer of SDA Found in Violation of Civil Rights Act," *Liberty News* 20 (June 1974): 13, 16. Two subsequent Supreme Court cases, *TWA v. Hardison* (1977) and *Thornton v. Calder* (1985), went against employee claims for accommodation of their beliefs about the observance of holy days. But in neither ruling did the court question the constitutionality of the religious accommodation requirements of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. See Miller and Flowers, *Toward Benevolent Neutrality*, 254–55.
109. Douglas Welebir, "Is the Church Above the Law? God and Caesar in the California Lawsuits," *Spectrum* 9 (Mar. 1978): 6–15; Tom Dybdahl, "Court Verdict on the Pacific Press Case," *Spectrum* 11 (July 1980): 14–17.
110. In addition to references in chapter three, see Carlos A. Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists: The Formative Years, 1879–1903," *Adventist Heritage* 4 (Winter 1977): 11–19; Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 512–14.
111. For example, F. M. Wilcox, "The Growing Controversy Between Capital and Labor," *Review* 96 (10 July 1919): 3–4, and "The Glorious Consummation—3," *Review* 97 (18 Mar. 1920): 2, 4–5; F. D. Nichol, "Treasures Heaped Together," *Review* 108 (26 Feb. 1931): 10.
112. The success of Adventist evangelism in the cities in the first half of the twentieth century is documented in Howard B. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969), 33–181.
113. See Robert C. Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984).
114. The 1961 autumn council statement counseled church members "to seek employment under union-free conditions" but added that the way an individual relates to the church's "historic teaching regarding labor unions" is a matter for individual conscience and does not affect his standing with the church (see M. E. Loewen, "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," *Review* 139 [15 Mar. 1962]: 1, 9).
115. Neal C. Wilson, "Where We Stand on Labor Unions," *Review* 143 (22 May 1969): 6–9.
116. Adams's efforts are documented in W. Melvin Adams, "The Conscience Clause and the United States Congress," *Liberty News* 11 (Aug. 1965): 45–47, and (Sept. 1965): 54–57; W. Melvin Adams, "Labor Unions and Conscience," *Review* 142 (5 Aug. 1965): 4–5; Tom Dybdahl, "You're Fired!" *Liberty* 73 (July–Aug. 1978): 16–20.
117. Adams, "Is There Room for Religious Conviction in the Great Society?" *Liberty* 60 (Sept.–Oct. 1965): 14.
118. Dybdahl, "You're Fired!" 17.

119. Adams, "Conscience Clause," 55–57.
120. *Ibid.*, 47.
121. Roland R. Hegstad, "The Conscience Clause," *Liberty* 61 (May–June 1966): 29.
122. Statement issued 20 Sept. 1965, in Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions*, 119–20.
123. *Ibid.*, 120–21.
124. Robert Nixon, "Attention Pastor: How Would Your Members React?" *Liberty News* 18 (Aug. 1972): 47–48.
125. Dybdahl, "You're Fired!" 19; Gordon Engen, "Judge Rules in SDAs Favor," *Review* 155 (21 Sept. 1978): 24; Robert W. Nixon, "Two SDAs Win Conscience Cases," *Review* 155 (2 Nov. 1978): 32; Shirley Burton, "Court Upholds SDA's Stand," *Review* 156 (15 Feb. 1979): 23.
126. The continuing efforts for a conscience clause leading to its passage in 1980 are described by Dybdahl, "You're Fired!" and Gordon Engen, "U.S. Congress Enacts Conscience Clause," *Review* 158 (7 May 1981): 4–8.
127. Kenneth H. Wood, "The Church and Its Mission," *Review* 148 (19 Aug. 1971): 2.
128. Kenneth H. Wood, "The Church Should 'Stick to Religion,'" *Review* 145 (23 May 1968): 12–13.
129. Nichol, "Church and Social Reform," 14–15, emphasis added.
130. C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Adventists and Politics: A Second Look," *Ministry* 49 (Oct. 1976): 10–11.
131. While hardly definitive, reports on polls and precinct voting in Adventist college newspapers substantiate a strongly Republican orientation. For example, 55 percent of the students polled at Walla Walla College in Washington in 1964 favored the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater, whereas only 22 percent favored President Johnson, slightly less than the "undecided." See Ron Schaffner and Chuck Scriven, "Poll Shows Preference for Goldwater," *Collegian* 49 (29 Oct. 1964): 1. A poll in which Andrews University students participated in 1968 gives further indication of the Republican leanings of Adventist students in the 1960s. In the "Choice '68" National Collegiate Presidential Primary, 47 percent of Andrews students indicated Richard Nixon as their first choice for president, compared with 19 percent of students nationwide. More than 29 percent of Andrews students made Robert Kennedy or Eugene McCarthy their first choice, but more than 49 percent did in the national total (*Student Movement* 54 [16 May 1968]: 2).
132. Miriam Wood, *Congressman Jerry L. Pettis: His Story* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1977).
133. Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, *The Almanac of American Politics* (1972; reprint, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1975), 115.
134. J. James Aitken to Richard M. Nixon, 28 Apr. 1972 and 24 May 1972, Box R 760, GCA.
135. J. James Aitken to Jerry L. Pettis, 24 May 1972, Jerry Pettis, Box R 760, GCA.
136. J. James Aitken to George Bush, 28 Dec. 1973, Box R 747, GCA. In a letter to Richard Nixon following the president's news conference of 6 Mar. 1974, Aitken lauded the president's performance as "most noble" and commented that he wished "the press could be more objective"; J. James Aitken to Richard Nixon, 7 Mar. 1974, Box R 760, GCA.
137. Wuthnow, *Restructuring of American Religion*, 132–34, 145–49.
138. "Resolution of Seventh-day Adventists to Civil Government and War," in Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators," 236.

139. J. R. Nelson and Clark Smith, "Directors Recount Work of WSC After Four Years of Ministry," *For God and Country* 11 (Third Quarter 1962): 3–4, 7; *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 946.
140. Peter Berger and Daniel Pinard, "Military Religion: An Analysis of Educational Materials Disseminated by Chaplains," in *Military Chaplains*, ed. Harvey G. Cox Jr. (New York: American Report Press, 1971), 87–108. This work, sponsored by Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam, was criticized for taking too negative a view of military chaplaincy by Richard G. Hutcheson Jr. in *The Churches and Chaplaincy* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975). However, Hutcheson noted that because of their environment, military chaplains need carefully to guard against a distorted civil religion that is simply an instrument of national purpose (129–43).
141. Clark Smith, "Character Guidance Studies for the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Cadet Corps," chapter on "Privileges and Responsibilities of Citizenship," 2, and chapter on "Noncombatancy and Governmental Relationships," 11 (unpublished syllabus, n.d.), AHC.
142. Chaplain R. L. Mole, "Are You Committed?" *For God and Country* 17 (Third Quarter 1966): 8.
143. *Military Service and You* (n.p., c. 1974), 3, AHC.
144. Clark Smith, "Church Position on Draft Cited in Government Journal," *Review* 145 (25 Jan. 1968): 24.
145. LaVonne Neff, "Who's in Charge Here," *Insight* 3 (24 Oct. 1972): 10–16, relates the reporter's analysis without identifying the reporter or the college.
146. Brief overviews of and rationale for Adventist involvement in the project are given in Clark Smith, "Adventist Medics in America Volunteer to Serve Humanity by Assisting in Disease Research in Project Whitecoat," *Review* 142 (20 Mar. 1969): 20, and "Project Whitecoat: An Interview with Clark Smith," *Review* 142 (27 Nov. 1969): 2–4. For critical analysis, see Seymour Hersh, "Germ Warfare: for Alma Mater, God and Country," *Ramparts* 8 (Dec. 1969): 21–24; Martin D. Turner, "Project Whitecoat," *Spectrum* 2 (Summer 1970): 55–70; and Krista Thompson Smith, "Adventists and Biological Warfare," *Spectrum* 25 (Mar. 1996): 35–50.
147. Smith, "Adventist Medics"; Don A. Roth, "Operation Whitecoat," *Youth's Instructor* 114 (8 Oct. 1963): 12–16 and (15 Oct. 1963): 15–16.
148. "Project Whitecoat: An Interview with Clark Smith," 3. One Project Whitecoat volunteer, Arthur R. Torres, later claimed he frequently was required to carry containers of the toxin anthrax, cultivated on the Project Whitecoat side of Fort Detrick, over to the "hot area" for use in weapons development. See Doug Morgan, "Promises Betrayed: One Whitecoat's Experience," *Spectrum* 25 (Mar. 1996): 38–39.
149. Turner, "Project Whitecoat," 65.
150. Clyde O. Franz, "The Greatest Days of the Advent Movement . . .," *Review* 146 (18 Dec. 1969): 16–18; "Recommendations of General Interest from the Autumn Council, 1972–1," *Review* 149 (30 Nov. 1972): 20.
151. Chuck Scriven, "The Case for Selective Nonpacifism," *Spectrum* 1 (Winter 1969): 41–44; Donald R. McAdams, "A Defense of the Adventist Position," *ibid.*, 44–49; Emmanuel G. Fenz, "The Case for Conscientious Objection," *ibid.*, 50–55.
152. Manuscript 7, 1896, cited in Ronald D. Graybill, *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1970). Graybill discusses the historical context of Mrs. White's varied comments on race

relations and shows her in general to be an advocate of equality, acquiescing to segregation only in particular settings where to do otherwise would have made the advance of the Adventist mission extremely difficult.

153. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9:204–5.
154. *Ibid.*, 204–16.
155. See Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 193–206.
156. See Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (published by the author, 1975), 39, for a statement written in 1914 by Adventist historian A. W. Spalding that sums the position generally taken by white Adventists for the subsequent half-century. In 1963 General Conference president R. R. Figuhr rebuked a black Adventist leader for permitting a meeting by the local NAACP chapter to take place in the black Adventist church in Topeka, Kansas, because the NAACP had the reputation of “disturbing the peace between Coloreds and Whites” (see W. W. Fordham, *Righteous Rebel: An Autobiography* [Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1990], 104).
157. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 564–72.
158. Kenneth H. Wood, “Race Relations,” *Review* 153 (15 July 1976): 2, 12.
159. F. D. Nichol, “Unity in the Faith,” *Review* 142 (29 Apr. 1965): 12.
160. Nichol, “Ecumenical Tide Rises Higher,” 12–13, 20–21.
161. Roland R. Hegstad, “A New Breed of Churchman,” *Liberty* 60 (Mar.–Apr. 1965): 28.
162. Raymond F. Cottrell, “Rendering Unto Caesar What Belongs to God,” *Review* 140 (17 Oct. 1963): 12–13.
163. Raymond F. Cottrell, “Church and State Again,” *Review* 141 (2 Jan. 1964): 14–15.
164. Andrews, “Slavery,” 172.
165. James E. Dykes, “Can a New ‘Moses’ Lead to the Promised Land,” *Message* 29 (Aug. 1963): 5–6, and “Ye Have Need of Patience” (editorial), *Message* 23 (June 1957): 7.
166. Louis B. Reynolds, “Emblem of Brotherhood” (editorial), *Message* 19 (Feb. 1953): 4–5; cf. Sara Sprott Morrow, “He Does Something About His Convictions,” a feature article on Horton in *ibid.*, 13–15, 23. On the Highlander Folk School’s importance in the civil rights movement and government investigations of it as subversive, see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).
167. Dykes, “Ye Have Need of Patience,” 7.
168. Louis B. Reynolds, “The Meaning of Brotherhood,” *Message* 17 (Oct. 1951): 4–5, emphasis added.
169. Charles D. Brooks, “The Church and the Black Dilemma,” *Insight* 1 (27 Oct. 1970): 7–11.
170. Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984), 262.
171. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 569.
172. E. E. Cleveland, *The Middle Wall* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969), 49–52.
173. *Ibid.*, 53–56.
174. *Ibid.*, 68–70.
175. Benjamin F. Reaves, “Between the Times,” *Message* 42 (Sept. 1976): 20–23.
176. Strong expressions of dissatisfaction from young people appear in the “Impact” section on page 2 of the 2 and 9 Apr. 1968 issues.

177. These generalizations are based on examination of the 1960, 1963, and 1968 volumes.
178. Don Yost, "Entering a New Era," *Insight* 1 (5 May 1970): 33–34.
179. Sydney Allen, "The Christian Middle-Class," *Insight* 2 (23 Feb. 1971): 8–11.
180. Chuck Scriven, "Getting the Spirit," *Insight* 3 (21 Nov. 1972): 6–9.
181. Jonathan Butler, "Baptism, Ralph Nader, and the Church—Part II," *Insight* 3 (22 Feb. 1972): 10.
182. Jonathan Butler, "Dreams, Visions, and the Establishment," *Insight* 4 (16 Jan. 1973): 12–15, and (23 Jan. 1973): 8–10.
183. Richard C. Osborn, "The First Decade: The Establishment of The Adventist Forum," *Spectrum* 10 (Mar. 1980): 45–49.
184. This assessment of Branson's influence was expressed in conversation with the author by one of Branson's seminary students, Charles Scriven. Other Branson students who took a prominent role in speaking out on social issues include Jonathan Butler, Gerald Winslow, James Walters, David Larson, and Ronald Graybill.
185. D. H. Baasch, "Actions of the Biennial Autumn Council," *Review* 145 (12 Dec. 1968): 23.
186. W. W. Fordham, "Inner-City Program Reaches Disadvantaged in United States Cities," *Review* 148 (25 Mar. 1971): 20–21. Cf. Jack Selway, "Working as Christ Worked," *Review* 147 (9 Sept. 1976): 4; Roy Branson, "Hot Streets of Harlem," *Insight* 1 (12 May 1970): 3–7; H. M. Wright, "Project Uplift," *Insight* 2 (13 Apr. 1971): 3–6; "Georgetown Gate Operates Street Clinic," *Insight* 3 (11 July 1972): 20–21; Roy Manuel, "Brotherly Love in Philadelphia," *Insight* 3 (28 Nov. 1972): 3–6; and LaVonne Neff, "The New Evangelism," *Insight* 4 (6 Feb. 1973): 20–25.
187. Roy Branson, "Christian Ministry for the Disadvantaged," *Review* 136 (17 Apr. 1969): 5–7 and (24 Apr. 1969): 6–7.
188. Jan Doward letter in "Reverberations," *Insight* 2 (3 Aug. 1971): 2.
189. Roland R. Hegstad, "Is Protest Patriotic?" *Insight* 2 (2 Feb. 1971): 3–9. *Liberty* also tended to be critical of demonstrators who went outside the bounds of the law, particularly when they, like Father James Croppi, the Milwaukee civil rights activist, claimed to be doing so in the name of Christ. See Jesse Merrell, "Rights Protest Flares into Riot," *Liberty* 64 (Mar.–Apr. 1969): 16–18.
190. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 15–28; Butler, "Chicago Mission," 41–51; Richard Rice, "Adventists and Welfare Work," *ibid.*, 52–63; Butler, "City of the Big Shoulders," *Insight* 1 (18 Aug. 1970), 12–13; Branson, "Christian Ministry for the Disadvantaged."
191. Arthur L. White, "Adventist Responsibility to the Inner City," *Review* 147 (5 Nov. 1970): 1–5, "A Shift in Emphasis" (12 Nov. 1970), 7–10, "A Strategy of Diversion" (19 Nov. 1970), 8–11, and "A Work Others Will Not Do" (26 Nov. 1970): 4–6.
192. Herbert E. Douglass, "The Humanitarian Impulse or the Soteriological Principle?" *Review* 153 (29 Jan. 1976), 11–12, and "The Means for Perfecting a People," *Review* 153 (5 Feb. 1976): 14–15.
193. Eric W. Hon, "Metro Ministry Takes on the Challenge of New York," *Review* 154 (21 July 1977): 17–18. Monte Sahlin observed in 1979 that enthusiasm for inner-city social programs appeared to be waning; see "What You Can Do in the City," *Insight* 10 (30 Oct. 1979): 3–7; cf. Ted Wilson, Tom Dybdahl, and James Fly, "Working the Cities: Three Points of View," *Insight* 12 (15 Dec. 1981): 3–11.
194. "A New Declaration of Principles," *Insight* 5 (3 Sept. 1974): 5.

6. A Pluralistic Remnant, 1976–2000

1. Jon Paulien, *What the Bible Says About the End-Time* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1994), 121.
2. For a precursor to the rethinking expressed in the 1970s, see George McCready Price, *The Time of the End* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), 81–93.
3. B. B. Beach, “The American Dream: Is It Turning into a Nightmare?” *Liberty* 71 (Nov.–Dec. 1976): 8–11. A milder version of the article ran in the *Review* 153 (1 July 1976): 3–6.
4. Richard W. Coffen, “John’s Apocalypse: Some Second Thoughts on Interpretation,” *Spectrum* 8 (Sept. 1976): 27–31.
5. Jonathan Butler, “When Prophecy Fails: The Validity of Apocalypticism,” *Spectrum* 8 (Sept. 1976): 7–14.
6. Jonathan Butler, “The World of E. G. White and the End of the World,” *Spectrum* 10 (Aug. 1979): 2–13.
7. For accounts of revolutionary research on Ellen White in the 1970s, see Land, *Adventism in America*, 219–25, and Donald R. McAdams, “Shifting Views of Inspiration: Ellen G. White Studies in the 1970s,” *Spectrum* 10 (Mar. 1980): 27–41.
8. For an account of the Adventist debate over righteousness by faith in the 1970s by a non-Adventist favorable to the position of Ford and fellow Australian Robert Brinsmead, see Geoffrey J. Paxton, *The Shaking of Adventism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1978). A series of reviews of Paxton’s work appear in *Spectrum* 9 (July 1978): 28–60.
9. Land, *Adventism in America*, 223–25; *Spectrum* 11 (Nov. 1980), entire issue devoted to the Glacier View conference.
10. “Termination of Discussions,” *Good News Unlimited* 3 (Feb. 1983): 10.
11. “Must the Crisis Continue?” *Spectrum* 11 (Feb. 1981): 44, 52.
12. These developments are treated briefly in Doug Morgan, “Dissent to Departure: The Evangelical Adventist Movement,” *College People* 2 (Nov. 1982): 8–10, 34–35.
13. Kenneth R. Samples, “The Recent Truth About Seventh-day Adventism,” *Christianity Today* 34 (5 Feb. 1990): 18–21; Michelle Rader, David VanDenburgh, and Larry Christoffel, “Evangelical Adventism: Clinging to the Old Rugged Cross,” *Adventist Today* 2 (Jan.–Feb. 1994): 6–8.
14. William G. Johnsson, “When the Family Splits,” *Review* 174 (Nov. 1997): 16–18; Colleen Moore Tinker, “Potomac Conference Gives Ultimatum to Local Church Pastors,” *Adventist Today* 5 (Sept.–Oct. 1997): 22, 24; Richard Fredericks, “The Remnant,” e-mail document, 8 Oct. 1997; Herbert Broeckel open letter to Damascus Road Community Church members, 21 Jan. 1998.
15. J. David Newman, “Remnant and the Seventh-day Adventist Church,” unpublished manuscript mailed by the Potomac Conference of Seventh-day Adventists to Damascus Road Community Church members, 21 Jan. 1998.
16. Fredericks soon repudiated Adventist identity entirely, rejecting belief in the importance of seventh-day Sabbath observance. He summarized his views in “The Sabbath in Christ,” Mar. 1999, posted on the congregation’s web site, <http://www.damascus.com>.
17. See Alita Byrd, “The Year of SDA Congregationalism,” *Spectrum* 26 (Jan. 1998): 3–10.

18. Jack J. Blanco, "The Historicist Interpretation of Prophecy: Its Present Relevance in the Light of the Holy Spirit," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 2, no. 2 (1991): 67–70; see also C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Ten Ways to Pick Real Seventh-day Adventists Out of a Bushel of Christians," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 1, no. 1 (1990): 105–6, 110–11.
19. Clifford Goldstein, *Day of the Dragon* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993), 5–7.
20. Paulien, *What the Bible Says*, 121.
21. Roy Branson, "Social Reform as Sacrament of the Second Advent," *Spectrum* 21 (May 1991): 49–59.
22. Charles W. Teel Jr., "Remnant," in *Remnant and Republic: Adventist Themes for Personal and Social Ethics*, ed. Charles W. Teel (Loma Linda, Calif.: Loma Linda Univ. Center for Christian Bioethics, 1995), 14–35. See also Jack W. Provonsha, "The Church as a Prophetic Minority," *Spectrum* 14 (Winter 1981): 18–23.
23. Charles Scriven, "The Real Truth about the Remnant," *Spectrum* 17 (Oct. 1986): 6–13.
24. For an overview of "historic Adventism," see Ralph Larson, "Historic Adventism: Remembering to Trust and Obey," *Adventist Today* 2 (Jan.–Feb. 1994): 12–14; see also the lengthy document distributed by the church's North American Division leadership in 1992, *Issues: The Seventh-day Adventist Church and Certain Private Ministries*, North American Division, n.d., Silver Spring, Md., 12–13.
25. *Issues*, 11, 465.
26. The Perth Declaration is reproduced in *Issues*, 86.
27. *Ibid.*, 15–19.
28. Carol Elrod, "Dissident Adventists Defend Anti-Catholic Tract," *Indianapolis Star*, 14 July 1990, sec. B, pp. 1, 6; cf. Marvin Moore's explanation of the incident in *Crisis of the End-Time*, 191–92.
29. James Coffin, "'I Will Not Be Quiet': Profile of David Mould," *Adventist Today* 1 (July–Aug. 1993): 8, 18. See mailings from Mould dated Dec. 1989, 16 Apr., and 18 June 1990, Laymen for Religions Liberty (LRL) File, AHC.
30. The following account of the Orlando incident is drawn primarily from James Coffin, "Media Campaign Heats Up Orlando," *Adventist Today* 1 (July–Aug. 1993): 4–6, and Frank Knittel, "The Great Billboard Controversy," *Spectrum* 23 (May 1993): 53–56.
31. Coffin, "Media Campaign Heats Up Orlando," 4.
32. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 6:396–97.
33. "Anti-Catholic Billboards in Oregon—Denver Next?" *Adventist Today* 1 (July–Aug. 1993): 24.
34. Ed Gallagher and Colleen Anderson, "Denver and the Pope: Adventists on Alert," *Adventist Today* 1 (Sept.–Oct. 1993): 20–21.
35. See mailings dated 15, 20, and 30 July and 17 Sept. 1993, LRL File. See dissident Adventist Vance Ferrell's account of controversy surrounding John Osborne, director of the Florida-based Prophecy Countdown, entitled "A Developing Tragedy" in his privately published tract *Waymarks*, No. 521 and 522, n.d., received 18 Apr. 1994, AHC.
36. According to Vance Ferrell, a right-wing dissident critical of Mould, LRL spent \$450,000 in the Orlando campaign and sold only seventy-seven copies of *The Great Controversy*. See *Waymarks*, Nos. 507–13, Jan. 1994. Mould acknowledged that

- few book sales resulted from the Orlando billboards; see mailing dated 22 July 1993 in LRL File.
37. Knittel, "Great Billboard Controversy," 56; James Walters, "The Great Controversy: Ambivalence Won't Wash Today," *Adventist Today* 1 (July-Aug. 1993): 13.
 38. "Leadership Listens to Options: Interview with Robert Dale," *Adventist Today* 1 (July-Aug. 1993): 9.
 39. "GC Confirms for U.S. Media: SDA Book Calls Pope the Devil's Ally," *Spectrum* 25 (Sept. 1996): 56-57; "Adventist Anti-Catholic Book Denounced," *Adventist Today* 4 (Sept.-Oct. 1996): 12. Donohue also denounced the writings of non-Adventist premillennialists who associated the papacy with the end-time Antichrist; see "Catholic Newspaper Blasts Ralph Reed for Endorsing Book on End-Times Prophecy," *Church and State* 50 (Feb. 1997): 18.
 40. "NET '96 Explodes," *Review* 173 (Sept. 1996): 12-15.
 41. Ann Calkins, "God's Impeccable Timing," *Review* 174 (Feb. 1997): 26.
 42. Finley's sermons are printed in a series of pamphlets entitled "Discoveries in Prophecy" distributed by Hart Research Center (Fallbrook, Calif.).
 43. "How Seventh-day Adventists View Roman Catholicism," *Review* 174 (22 May 1997): 21-22.
 44. Don F. Neufeld, "The Messages' Current Application," *Review* 151 (9 May 1974): 12.
 45. G. Edward Reid, *Even at the Door* (Hagerstown, Md.: Printed by Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1994), 10-11, 53-74, 105-6, 153-59.
 46. Robert E. Kyte, "Welcome to the New Editor," and Marvin Moore, "Oranges and the Apocalypse," *SOT* 122 (Jan. 1995): 2, 5.
 47. *Review* 170 (21 Jan. 1993).
 48. Moore, *Crisis of the End-Time*, 11, 92-93.
 49. Joe Engelkemier, "If My People . . .," *Review* 173 (8 Feb. 1996): 12.
 50. Goldstein, *Day of the Dragon*, 10.
 51. Clifford Goldstein, *The "Saving" of America* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1988), 96.
 52. Goldstein, *Day of the Dragon*, 15-16, 23-24.
 53. Goldstein, *Day of the Dragon*, 113-19; Moore, *Crisis of the End-Time*, 32-33.
 54. Goldstein, *Day of the Dragon*, 29-41; Moore, *The Antichrist and the New World Order* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993), 62-65. For a critical analysis of Adventist use of *The Keys of This Blood*, see Eric Anderson, "More Catholic than the Pope?" *Review* 170 (21 Oct. 1993): 23-25.
 55. White, *Great Controversy*, 565-66.
 56. *Ibid.*, 445.
 57. Moore, *Antichrist and the New World Order*, 74-82.
 58. Robert S. Folkenberg, *Hands Across the Gulf and Other Sermons* (1995), pamphlet distributed by Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department of the North American Division, 3-9.
 59. Clifford Goldstein, "Evangelicals and Catholics Together: A Winning Alliance?" *Liberty Alert* 4 (Mar.-Apr. 1995): 1.
 60. Clifford Goldstein, "Hands Across the Gulf," *Liberty Alert* 3 (Jan.-Feb. 1994): 2.
 61. Paulien, *What the Bible Says*, 110-11; William G. Johnsson, "The Saints' Victory in the End-Time," *Review* 171 (Nov. 1994): supplement, 7-11.
 62. Paulien, *What the Bible Says*, 151-52.

63. Johnsson, "Saints' Victory," 10.
64. *Ibid.*, 11; see also Paulien, *What the Bible Says*, 121–29.
65. Jack W. Provonsha, *Remnant in Crisis* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1993).
66. William G. Johnsson, "A Distinctive World View," *Review* 159 (24 June 1982): 13.
67. William G. Johnsson, "In Defense of the Remnant," *Review* 175 (14 May 1998): 5.
68. Lawrence Maxwell, "Not Even in America," *SOT* 103 (July 1976): 34.
69. See, for example, George Vandeman, *Amazing Prophecies* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1986), 189–97, and Goldstein, "Saving" of America.
70. Weber, *Living in the Shadow*, 15–23; Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 208–17.
71. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 247–53.
72. Robert D. Lindner and Richard V. Pierard discuss this evangelical interpretation of American history in *Twilight of the Saints: Biblical Christianity and Civil Religion in America* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1978), see esp. 148–58.
73. Robert G. Clouse, "The New Christian Right, America, and the Kingdom of God," *Christian Scholar's Review* 12 (1983): 3–16.
74. LaHaye cited in *ibid.*, 15; Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 251–52, 301; Weber, *Living in the Shadow*, 218–22, 236–38.
75. Yaakov Ariel, *On Behalf of Israel* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1991), 92–93, 121–22.
76. Clouse, "New Christian Right," 14–15.
77. Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Moralism: The New Christian Right in American Life* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981); James A. Speer, "The New Christian Right and Its Parent Company: A Study in Political Contrasts," in *New Christian Politics*, ed. David G. Bromley and Anson Shupe (Macon, Ga.: Macon Univ. Press, 1984), 36–37; Robert Zwier, "The New Christian Right and the 1980 Elections," in *ibid.*, 175–76.
78. Roland R. Hegstad, "Washington for Jesus—Really?" *Liberty* 75 (Sept.–Oct. 1980): 6, 27. Cf. Hegstad, "Down the Road to a Christian Republic," *Liberty* 75 (May–June 1980): 4–6.
79. In line with the view that the Supreme Court's ruling in 1962 did not prevent individual students from praying on school grounds, *Liberty* endorsed in 1983 a legislative alternative to a prayer amendment—the "Equal Access" bill introduced by Senator Mark Hatfield. This legislation prohibited federally funded public secondary schools from barring student-initiated and led religious meetings if other student meetings are normally allowed during noninstructional hours. See Mitchell A. Tyner, "The Hatfield 'Equal Access' Bill: Is It a Desirable Alternative to the Prayer Amendment," *Liberty* 78 (Sept.–Oct. 1983): 26; Noonan, *Believer and the Powers that Are*, 426–28. John V. Stevens Sr., director of the Religious Liberty Department of the Pacific Union Conference, expressed dissent from *Liberty's* position in "Equal Access Legislation—Excessive Entanglement," *Liberty* 79 (Sept.–Oct. 1984): 27–28.
80. Roland R. Hegstad, "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep," *Liberty* 77 (Sept.–Oct. 1982): 4.
81. Steve Benen, "Back Room Deal," *Church and State* 51 (May 1998): 7–8.
82. Weber, *Living in the Shadow*, 128–58, 204–10.
83. Roy Franklin Cottrell, "Modern Zionism," *SOT* 74 (8 June 1947): 5.
84. F. M. Wilcox, "The Gathering of Israel," *Review* 116 (7 Sept. 1939): 2, 9, and (14 Sept. 1939): 2, 12.

85. F. D. Nichol, "A Question Answered on Palestine and the Jews," *Review* 126 (26 May 1949): 5–6.
86. Weber, *Living in the Shadow*, 210–26.
87. For example, H. E. Douglass, "No Prophetic Destiny for Modern Israel," *Review* 150 (22 Nov. 1973): 9; and Don F. Neufeld, "The 'Times of the Gentiles,'" *Review* 153 (25 Nov. 1976): 7–10. Hans K. LaRondelle's *The Israel of God in Prophecy* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews Univ. Press, 1983) represents the culmination of several years of study and numerous articles published in denominational papers on this subject.
88. Don F. Neufeld, "Evangelicals and Israel," *Review* 155 (12 Jan. 1978): 18–19.
89. "Actions of General Interest from the Annual Council—2," *Review* 160 (1 Dec. 1983): 17.
90. Bert B. Beach, "Establishment of United States Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican," *Liberty* 79 (Jan.–Feb. 1984): 26–27.
91. Roland R. Hegstad, "Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See," *Liberty* 79 (May–June 1984): 19–22, 27–28.
92. Memo from C. E. Bradford and Gordon Engen to Church Pastors or First Elders, 6 Feb. 1984, No. 5434, RG 52, GCA.
93. Moore, *Crisis of the End-Time*, 36
94. "Religion in Politics: 1984's Top Story," *Christian Century* 102 (19–26 Dec. 1984): 1187–88.
95. Dean Peerman, "The Vatican Connection," *Christian Century* 102 (25 Jan. 1984): 67–68.
96. "The Billy Graham Episode," *Liberty Confidential Newsletter* 6 (Jan.–Feb. 1984): 2–3.
97. "Appointment of an Ambassador to the Vatican Meets Mild Opposition," *Christianity Today* 28 (28 Feb. 1984): 40–41.
98. Adventist opposition to obscenity was tempered by caution that restrictive laws could endanger civil liberties. See, for example, Roland R. Hegstad, "Obscenity and Free Expression," *Liberty* 68 (July–Aug. 1973): 28; and the following cluster of articles in *Liberty* 72 (July–Aug. 1977): William Stanmeyer, "A Parent's Case Against Porn," 7–9; William O. Douglas, "A Justice's Case for Free Speech," 14–15; Miriam Bunce, "'Your Honor, This Woman Gave Birth to a Naked Child,'" 7–9; and Melvin Anchell, "Pornography Is Not the Harmless Recreation It Is Said to Be," 10–13. Adventist publications said little on the issue of civil rights for homosexuals.
99. Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 106–33.
100. See the several articles on the topic in the March–April 1976 of *Liberty* issue and Roland R. Hegstad's editorial introduction to Linden Ambrose, "The McRae Case: A Record of the Hyde Amendment's Impact on Religious Freedom and Health Care," *Liberty* 73 (Sept.–Oct. 1978): 10.
101. "Seventh-day Adventist Guidelines on Abortion," *Liberty* 88 (Jan.–Feb. 1993): 12–13.
102. "Jimmy Carter on Church and State—2," *Liberty* 75 (Nov.–Dec. 1980): 3.
103. Roland H. Hegstad, "Verbal Toxic Waste," *Liberty* 87 (Nov.–Dec. 1992): 2.
104. Richard Utt, "Move Over Evolution," *Liberty* 71 (July–Aug. 1976): 24–25; and Richard Utt, "A Tale of Two Theories," *Liberty* 75 (Jan.–Feb. 1980): 13–15.

105. Wills, *Under God*, 121–24.
106. Edward Lugenbeal, “The Conservative Restoration at Geoscience,” *Spectrum* 15 (Aug. 1984): 23–31; James L. Hayward, “The Many Faces of Adventist Creationism: ’80–’95,” *Spectrum* 25 (Mar. 1996): 17–18.
107. Hayward, “Many Faces of Adventist Creationism,” 18.
108. Lewis R. Walton, *Advent! World Events at the End of Time* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1986), 44.
109. Folkenberg, *Hands Across the Gulf*, 4.
110. “About This Issue,” *Spectrum* 16 (Feb. 1986): 1.
111. Nov. 1995 issue of *Religion & Tobacco Control*, the newsletter of the Interreligious Coalition on Smoking OR Health; News release from the Interreligious Coalition, 11 Jan. 1995.
112. Roy Adams, “Raw Courage,” *Review* 172 (26 Jan. 1995): 4.
113. B. B. Beach, “Christians and the Ethics of Prevention,” *Review* 172 (13 Apr. 1995): 14–16.
114. “A Statement of Conviction: Why Tobacco Legislation Deserves Your Support,” *Review* 175 (June 1998): 21.
115. William Saletan, “Sin of Omission,” *Mother Jones* (May–June 1996): 58–62.
116. The statistic on black Adventists is taken from George R. Knight, *Anticipating the Advent: A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Boise: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993), 114. On Latinos, see Edwin I. Hernandez, “The Browning of American Adventism,” *Spectrum* 25 (Dec. 1995): 29.
117. Calvin B. Rock, “Voting Patterns,” *Review* 170 (8 July 1993): 13.
118. Calvin B. Rock, “The Pace of Events” (editorial), *Message* 47 (Oct. 1981): 6, 20.
119. J. Paul Monk, Editorial, *Message* 49 (May 1983): 6–8. The cover art work for this issue depicted the president in a chef’s hat holding out a plate with a slice of cake on it.
120. J. Paul Monk, Editorial, *Message* 48 (Jan.–Feb. 1982): 6–7.
121. J. Paul Monk, Editorial, *Message* 49 (July–Aug. 1983): 6; J. Paul Monk, “By the Way, Thanks, Jesse,” *Message* 51 (Mar.–Apr. 1985): 2. Black members of Congress criticized the Moral Majority on matters of social justice as well as separation of church and state in an interview conducted by Kyna D. Hinson and Earl W. Moore, “Congressional Black Caucus Members Speak Out,” *Message* 48 (Mar.–Apr. 1982): 22–28.
122. *Christian Coalition Congressional Scorecard*, New 1995 “Contract with America” edition (Chesapeake, Va.).
123. Hernandez, “Browning of American Adventism,” 38–39.
124. Wood, “The Church Should ‘Stick to Religion,’” 12–13.
125. B. B. Beach, “The Church and Sociopolitical Responsibility,” *Review* 158 (3 Sept. 1981): 4–6.
126. Bert B. Beach, “Adventists and Disarmament,” *Review* 160 (21 Apr. 1983): 4–5.
127. “GC President Issues Statements on Racism, Peace, Home and Family, and Drugs,” *Review* 162 (30 June 1985): 2–3.
128. Reported in “The 1990 General Conference,” *Spectrum* 20 (Aug. 1990): 1.
129. For an analysis of the positions being advocated by American religious activists during this time, see Wuthnow, *Restructuring of American Religion*, 204–40, 250–57.
130. Roger L. Dudley and Edwin I. Hernandez, “Do Adventist Voters Lean Left or Right?” *Spectrum* 23 (Oct. 1993): 5–13.

131. Roland R. Hegstad, "Refugees, Immigrants, and Ancestors," *Liberty* 80 (May–June 1985): 31; cf. other articles in this issue devoted to this theme. It is particularly striking that *Liberty* did not seem concerned about government infiltration of church groups involved in the "sanctuary" movement as a violation of religious liberty.

Conclusion

1. Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 194–200.
2. White, *Desire of Ages*, 70, 403.
3. Correspondence quoted in Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy*, 82.
4. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 6:396–97.

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