

The cover features a woman with dark hair, wearing a red jacket, smiling. She is positioned in the lower-left foreground. The background is a dark blue sky with a large, ornate building, possibly a government or institutional structure, with a prominent dome and classical architectural details. The title 'Adventist Heritage' is written in a large, red, cursive font with a white outline, set against the dark blue background.

Adventist Heritage

A JOURNAL OF ADVENTIST HISTORY

Pushing the Frontiers

Shirley Pettis, first SDA Congresswoman

Women in the Millerite Movement

Anna Lula Joseph, forgotten preacher

Women—140 years of advice from the Review

Contributors

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Editor's Stump

Gary Chartier

A clear majority of Adventists—like a clear majority of Christians generally—are women. And women have played significant roles in Adventism's history, beginning, of course, with the church's co-founder, Ellen White. But factors inside and outside of Adventism have contributed to limiting Adventist women's opportunities to contribute to their community's development and to obscuring the contributions they have been able to make.

In this issue, we focus on the experience of Adventist women. Carole Rayburn shows us how actively involved women were in the Millerite movement and its immediate descendants. Rayburn highlights the ways in which many gifted women found themselves energized for service beyond the boundaries of hearth and home by William Miller's proclamation of the Advent near. Her survey is, I believe, unique in its comprehensiveness, reminding contemporary readers of numerous fore-sisters whose stories deserve to be remembered and retold.

In a more personal account, Inelda Ritchie Christianson tells the story of her grandmother, Anna Lula Joseph Ritchie, a remarkable woman whose experience reflects the diverse challenges faced by Adventist women—and the diverse possibilities they were able to realize. Trained to serve as a minister, Lula Joseph was not permitted to practice the calling for which study at Healdsburg College had prepared her. An effective Bible worker, a capable businessperson, and a committed mother and community member, she exhibited her gifts in the varied contexts in which she found herself. Ritchie Christianson's story is not one of failure and disappointment, but of success—and yet it can only encourage one to wonder what her grandmother might have done for Adventism had she been given the opportunity.

The broader context within which Lula Joseph and other Adventist women—earlier and later—wor-

shipped and served is the focus of Laura Vance's remarkable study of a century and a half of Adventist discussion of women's roles in the pages of the *Adventist Review* and its predecessors. Vance examines the changing understandings of women and womanhood that surface in the *Review* from its inception through the early 1990s. More than that, she offers an explanatory framework, drawn from the sociology of religion, that serves at least in part to explain the changes she identifies. She suggests, roughly, that accommodation to the values of the wider society and the desire for acceptance by that society can lead a religious movement to relax its commitment to including those who are marginalized by that society—notably women. There is more to be written, no doubt, about the history of Adventist attitudes toward women, but Vance has done an invaluable service with her extensive investigation.

Doug Hackleman's interview with Shirley Pettis, the first Adventist woman to serve in the US House of Representatives, highlights another aspect of women's part to the Adventist story. Pettis's quiet success as a national legislator represents a significant milestone in Adventist history, and we are delighted to document it by sharing with you Pettis's reflections on her experience in Washington.

History is still being made, of course. And one important way in which it is being made—and recorded—is the activity of the Women's Resource Center at La Sierra University. The Center will contribute in a variety of ways to the welfare of women in university, church, and society; and as another Adventist first for women, it deserves the mention it receives in this issue as well.

This issue also includes what we hope will once again prove to be regular features: the "Heirloom" section—resurrecting primary sources for Adventist history, in this case ones concerned with William Miller; and the "BookMarks" section, offering

reviews of relevant books. This issue's review—of two books by noted Adventist historian George Knight—is especially noteworthy because it is written by our new editor-in-chief. Replacing Ron Graybill, now working in public relations at Loma Linda University, is Arthur Patrick.

Arthur is no stranger to *Adventist Heritage* readers. From his home in Australia, he guest-edited issue 16.1, which brought together a host of materials on Adventist history "down under." Last fall, he joined the School of Religion team at La Sierra as Visiting Associate Professor of the History of Christianity and Christian Ministry. A graduate of Avondale College, Andrews University (MA, MDiv, 1972), he also studied at Christian Theological Seminary in Indiana (DMin, 1973) and earned an MLitt in history from the University of New England in Australia (1984) and a PhD in history from the University of Newcastle, also in Australia (1992). Prior to his most recent voyage stateside, he worked both at Avondale College and at Sydney Adventist Hospital. His scholarly research has focused on the interaction between church and society in Australian history, and has been concerned with both Adventist and non-Adventist themes. His wide knowledge of Adventist history, his openness to new ideas, and his international perspective will enable him, I am confident, to make a valuable contribution to the ongoing growth of *Adventist Heritage* as a journal distinctively focused on Adventism's history.

We hope that you find this issue—both the regular features and the articles especially focused on women in Adventist history—stimulating, challenging, and enjoyable. As we move forward into the future, appreciative—and sometimes critical—insight into the past continues to matter. We look forward to continuing to provide you with such insight.

The last time Joan and I were here with our family of three, we shared the joy of ministry in Illinois, the challenge of study and teaching at Andrews University, and (especially for her) the lively interaction of classrooms in Illinois and Michigan. Those six years cemented our bonds with the North American part of the Adventist family, and gave us an opportunity to explore more closely some of the primary sources of Adventist history.

Looking back, my life has included a number of satisfying experiences. First, ministry in New Zealand, the United States and Australia was a process of seeking to understand Scripture and people, and exploring ways to enhance the relationship between the two.

Second, I enjoyed almost every minute of the seven academic programs that have engaged my attention: four in Adventist settings, and three in "the world" which is the focus of our mission.

Third, I was enormously privileged to spend eight years as a keeper of Adventist memories, that is, as director of an Ellen G. White/Seventh-day Adventist Research Center. Almost every day was challenged by fresh insights from primary sources crucial to our self-understanding as Seventh-day Adventists. That effervescent experience deepened my appreciation of four things: our history, the way in which our ideas (faith, convictions, doctrines) developed, the life of Ellen White, the writings of Ellen White.

Fourth were the stimulating processes of teaching, pastoring and academic administration at Avondale College. Students contribute so much as we walk with them in the journey called education; not least their spirit of inquiry. Beyond their determination to know is a refreshing optimism about life and their sense of hope for the future.

Finally, the past five years as senior chaplain at Sydney Adventist Hospital presented me with a fast-moving panorama of the human condition. People in crisis so wonderfully share their wisdom; they seem so free to identify what is real-

ly precious to us all as human beings. Beyond the input of patients and their families, my team of chaplains was the most skilled and caring group that my imagination could envisage on this earth.

I come to La Sierra University with a deep sense of privilege. Classrooms are vibrant places; *Adventist Heritage* is a fresh invitation to seek, to find, to share.

Now the big issue motivating this communication: why *Adventist Heritage*? Do you expect that reading the journal



Arthur and Joan Patrick

will help you reflect on the experience of being Adventist, better understand where we have been, how we came to be where we are now, where we ought to go from here? Do you hunger for a mature understanding of tough issues the Advent movement has encountered? Do you think it is timely to commemorate the integrity, struggles, achievements and faith of the past? What would you like *Adventist Heritage* to offer you? Truth, including historical accuracy? Insight into the way the past illumines the present and the future?

Do you hope it will enhance your Adventist identity by a pervading sense that Adventist history embraces your personal heritage? Is commitment important to you, a conviction that

Adventist mission is worthy of your best talents and energies? Do you value a sense of awe, faith that God has led and can lead the Advent movement through Word and Spirit?

I was encouraged upon arrival here to see the way in which Gary Chartier had drawn this issue of *Adventist Heritage* together. These articles (and others which must await space in future numbers of the journal) challenge us with the energy and deeds of women in Millerite times and since. It is not easy to tell the story of women's involvement in early Adventism. Often the sources are elusive, the photographs few. I hope, over time, that others will give us more complete narratives about some of the sterling people we meet in Carole Rayburn's article.

Laura Vance alerts us to some of the ways in which our prized *Adventist Review* has reflected the culture within which its authors experienced the Advent hope. *Adventist Heritage* has not usually published articles of such length. Even so, Vance's pioneering study is an invitation to further research.

Clearly, the insights of Rayburn, Vance and Inelda Christianson impinge in a profound way upon both the present and the future of the church we love. Representative Shirley Pettis symbolizes the fact that the will of Adventist women to explore new frontiers is alive and well.

Before me as I write is a list of 48 potential themes for *Adventist Heritage* to address during the next two years. Soon we must select the best options that are available, and assign more people to research and write. We are open to your suggestions, now, for both articles and authors. Why not write to us, today! Invest in a postage stamp, or send your letter via email:

<heritage@lasierra.edu> or <apatrick@lasierra.edu>. From North America and the world, we want to share your perceptions, be moved with your enthusiasms.

SHIRLEY PETTIS: AN SDA REPRESENTATIVE REMEMBERS

INTERVIEWED BY DOUGLAS HACKLEMAN

Born in Mountain View, California, Shirley Pettis spent her growing-up years around institutions of higher education. As the daughter of Dr. Harold McCumber, she spent many of these years at Andrews University in southern Michigan.

Returning to California, she married John McNulty, and attended the University of California at Berkeley. Following the death of her husband during World War II, she married Jerry Pettis. Together they pioneered several innovative technologies, culminating in the first commercial high-speed duplication of magnetic tape (Magnetic Tape Duplicators), and Audio-Digest, a taped service for physicians, which was the first to use magnetic tape in automobiles.

In 1967, Washington, DC, claimed Shirley as the wife of the newly-elected representative from California's 33rd congressional district.

Always politically active as a columnist and campaigner, she was urged to declare and run for Jerry Pettis's vacant seat (then the 37th) in the US House of Representatives when he died suddenly in 1975.

She ran and served in the 94th and 95th congresses and retired in January 1979.

As the first Seventh-day Adventist woman to occupy a US Congressional seat, all of her activities in the House were precedent setting. Her committee assignments included Interior, Education & Labor (subcommittee: Elementary & Secondary Education), and Foreign Affairs (subcommittee: Europe & the Middle East).

During these years, the family maintained a commercially active avocado and citrus ranch in Pauma Valley, California.

Moving from politics into corporate life, she serves on all of the boards of Kemper National Insurance Companies, as well as the James S. Kemper Foundation. 1996 was the last of her many years of service as a Loma Linda University board of Trustees member, and as a corporate member of that Medical Center's governing body.

She has a daughter, Deborah Moyer, and a son, Pete Pettis who has provided her with three grandsons.

In 1988, Shirley married B.B. Roberson, an anesthesiologist.

This interview was conducted by Doug Hackleman in Rancho Mirage, California, on October 22, 1996.

AH: This is October 22, a portentous date in Adventist history. It was 152 years ago today that our pioneers were so disappointed.

Given that your late husband and Representative Jerry Pettis was the first Seventh-day Adventist elected to the House of Representatives, there was certainly no precedent for you as an Adventist woman in the United States Congress.

Pettis: None. There were very few precedents for women.

AH: In fact, how many had there been by the time you first served.

Pettis: I don't know the total, but when I arrived there were only nineteen of us. There were no women in the Senate but nineteen of us in the House. I was the nineteenth. I was the fifth woman from the state of California to serve in either House.

AH: By the time you had served two terms in the Congress, did you consider running for the Senate?

Pettis: At the end of my first term, a powerful coalition came to me and said that in California the only name with sufficient name recognition to run against Senator Alan Cranston was mine, Pettis, because, of course, Jerry was very well known and then my race had caught quite a bit of attention. So I said, "There is no way in the world I'm going to even consider a Senate run." I'd barely gotten my feet on the ground in the House. I had learned my way to the ladies' room, and I was getting what I thought was a good grasp on the issues in my committees, and I was working as hard as I could on *Jefferson's Manual* and the procedures of the House which have nothing to do with *Robert's Rules of Order*.

AH: They don't?

Pettis: Nothing. And then I said that another reason I would not at this time consider running against Cranston was that I needed his help to pass the major thrust of my legis-

lation—the California Desert Protection Bill

AH: So you wanted his help.

Pettis: I wanted Senator Cranston's help, and I was getting it.

AH: Did you ever get that "for-such-a-time-as-this" feeling while you were in the House?

Pettis: Yes. Many times.

AH: Can you give an example or two?

Pettis: Yes. I was considered a very good compromiser. I seemed to be able to effect a compromise between the House and the Senate. I had long-term friends in the Senate because of our long tenure in Washington. And a "for instance" (I guess I can use this as a for instance): getting the Federal Land Management Bill passed in 1976, in the last 15 minutes of the 94th Congress. A major part of that legislation contained my desert conservation initiative (one third of California is desert).

AH: Has it been adequate in your opinion? Have you wanted to add to it?

Pettis: Yes. It's been changed a lot. But all our petroglyphs were being stolen by vandals. The desert in California was being vandalized to such an extent that we were going to lose all our priceless treasures. Motorcyclists were not restricted to certain paths for their races. They were tearing up the very fragile surface crust of the desert which is far more fragile than people realize.

AH: It's ironic that you, a Republican in the House, were a champion of conservation.

Pettis: I definitely was. And later, when I retired, I was approached at the beginning of the Reagan administration with many calls saying "you are the only Republican whose name will get by the environmentalists, and we would like you to head the EPA."

AH: So they offered you the Environmental Protection Agency.

Pettis: Yes. But I said, "I have been in Washington too long to be foolish enough to say yes to such a thing."

AH: Who took the post?

Pettis: Well, it was that poor Ann Buford who they hung out to dry.

AH: It just seems like conservation is a natural conservative issue.

Pettis: It seemed like it to me, too. I asked to be on the Interior Committee to continue the effort Jerry had begun for the California desert—an effort I had become very involved in during his tenure in office.

AH: The interior secretary at that time, wasn't there an appointee who was made out to be a buffoon? Watt?

Pettis: James Watt. Poor Watt. But back to my role and the thought that maybe I'm here "for such a time as this." I was able to help the denomination in many, many ways. But the night that the Land Management bill was up for vote—at the last opportunity we had to pass it—there was a terrible rankle between Cliff Hansen (Senator from Wyoming) and Representative Teno Roncalio of New Mexico. They could not get together. I wore a red dress that

night, because I so wanted this bill to go through.

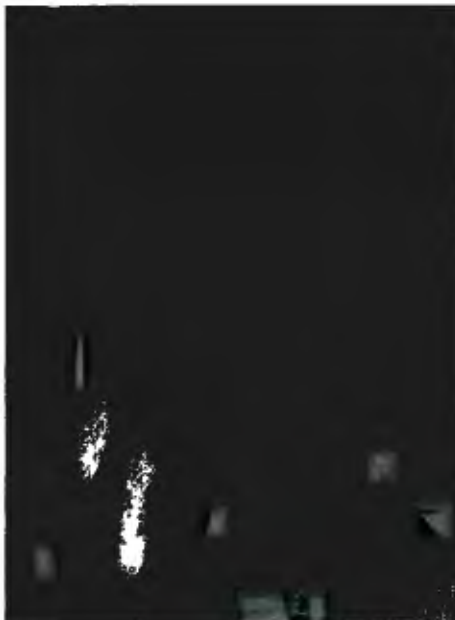
AH: How did the dress help?

Pettis: Oh, for me red is a victory sign. And so I put it on in the morning. Well, the managers of the floor bill came to me and they said, "Shirley, we understand you're a good friend of Cliff Hansen's." And I said, "I am; we are good personal friends" And they said, "Well, would you go and see if he'd 'give' at all to help solve Teno's problem; but first talk to Teno and see how far he'll give." So I went back and forth—shuttled back and forth between the House and the Senate four or five times that night.

AH: You were "Shirley Kissinger" for a while?

Pettis: We got it through in the last ten minutes. And the next morning, the *Washington Post* did a big story entitled, "The Woman in Red." But I did turn out to be a rather good compromiser.

AH: What was it that you feel made



The Honorable Shirley McCumber Pettis

the two antagonists come together?

Pettis: They really hadn't felt each other out to see how much one would give, or how much the other would give.

AH: It wasn't egos?

Pettis: Well, of course. But poor Teno. He said, "I've been here six years, Shirley, and I don't have one thing to take home to my constituents. And if I don't get this I'll go home empty handed again." And although he was a Democrat, he was on my committee, and I felt sorry for him. So I went to Cliff and I said, "Cliff, poor Teno; he hasn't been able to achieve one thing." (Cliff Hansen and I were both Republicans.) And Cliff said, "Well, that's tough." And I said, "But, . . ." You know how you bargain. So there were times like that.

AH: Can you think of an example where women's issues were concerned that you remember in particular.

Pettis: Oh, lots of them. Lots of them. Equal pay for equal job done.

AH: Were you on the Hill when Merikay Silver and Lorna. Tobler were trying to get the Pacific Press to honor Title-7, the equal pay statute.

Pettis: Right. Oh, that was a big case.

AH: Your friend Neal Wilson was against that.

Pettis: Yes. But I was for it. And pushed very hard for it. I was one of the three women in Congress who formed the Congressional Women's Caucus. There had not been a Congressional Women's Caucus before.

AH: You put it together? How many were there, initially?

Pettis: We had, let me see. There were nineteen of us altogether.

AH: House and Senate?

Pettis: House and Senate. There were four who would not join. Four women.

AH: On what ground?

Pettis: They were afraid that since the majority were Democrats (They were Republicans; no, one of them was a Democrat—a very conservative Democrat), that the caucus would be consumed totally by women's issues, and that maybe we'd be flaming feminists out there burning our bras.

AH: They were concerned about being seen as militant.

Pettis: Yes. And of course that was not what we were about. And since those early days, the beginning days, the Congressional Women's Caucus has been a powerful force for women. We have an intern program in which we have women come from the various universities to work on issues that help the women in Congress.

AH: Was Bella Abzug part of that group?

Pettis: Bella was not in Congress that year. Although I did serve with Bella.

AH: Do you know when that was?

Pettis: I'm trying to think. I believe it was in '77. And Bella, I think she'd been defeated. She was there in the 94th Congress, but she wasn't there in the 95th.

AH: She polarized people.

Pettis: She really did. I used to feel sorry for Bella. She would always wear this big hat. And she'd stand up to speak to a bill, and she'd lose about 50 votes the minute the fellas would see her stand up. And sometimes she was right. But she did polarize people.

AH: The Conscience Clause. Was that something that was at issue some of the time when you were . . .

Pettis: It is always. And the prayer in school was being debated.

AH: Why do you think that Seventh-day Adventists are more concerned about the religious right than the godless left? Our own theological history of being concerned about the apostate Protestants? We've been told they will be a problematic factor "in the last days," but we haven't been warned about communism or socialism.

Pettis: I think basically we're a very conservative church. Richard Viguerie, and his group (National Conservative Political Action Committee) were kind of getting started when I was in Congress. And I watched them. They accumulated quite a mailing list and they became, even before I left, quite a powerful far-right influence.

AH: Were they antecedents to the Ralph Reed of today.

Pettis: Yes. The beginning.

AH: As a church, we share in our conservatism—in our Christianity—a lot of the same values, at least we articulate a lot of the same values that they articulate.

Pettis: Definitely.

AH: And yet our religious liberty people seem to fear them terribly.

Pettis: Well, I do too, Doug. I really feel that a religion should stand apart to a certain degree from politics.

AH: It's a slippery slope, though, isn't it?

Pettis: It is a slippery slope. Because we do definitely need to have a moral country. But you arrive at the dilemma of whether morality can be legislated. I don't believe you can legislate morals. And I'm afraid of those who try.

AH: But it seems ironic when the same country that puts 'In God we trust' on its coins, that opens Congressional sessions with prayer, will not allow a moment of silence at the beginning of a public school day.

Pettis: It doesn't make a lot of sense to me, either. Because we do open every session of Congress with

"You arrive at the dilemma of whether morality can be legislated. I don't believe you can legislate morals"

prayer. And I've been reading—in fact I've just finished—the book *Abigail Adams*. There was such a profound religious influence with our founding fathers as they raised their families and built the country. They devoutly believed that God was guiding them. Though perhaps not always

was He guiding in the way they thought He was.

AH: I was thinking the other day in anticipation of talking with you that a U.S. Congresswoman is a much better role model for young Adventists than Mordecai's niece—Esther.

Pettis: I used to think about Esther.

AH: But when you really think about what Esther was up to . . . Wasn't she a concubine?

Pettis: Sure. But she was where she was meant to be at the time.

AH: She was courageous in her context.

Pettis: Yes. And people used to write me from within the church—Church leaders—and say "We consider you the Esther of our times." And I would think . . .

AH: Don't carry that analogy too far, right?

Pettis: I understand what you're saying. But my friendships were very helpful. Jerry had built a base of great respect. Our colleagues knew that we were both people who shared a very basic religious faith. And you know there's great respect for the various faiths represented within the Congress. Lindy Boggs came to me one day because she was trying to get a bill passed to confer sainthood on a certain person in the Catholic Church.

AH: They do that?

Pettis: Didn't you know that? And I said, "Lindy" (I was very fond of Lindy Boggs. She was a marvelous Congresswoman), I said, "Lindy, I can't do that, religiously, I can't do that." And she said, "Oh, your church would not approve of that?" And I said, "Lindy, no, it really wouldn't." She said, "I respect that. I shouldn't expect your help on that issue."

AH: Speaking of friendships in the House, can you think of one or two that particularly stood out for you?

Pettis: Lindy Boggs, for one.

AH: And what was her position?

Pettis: She was a Congresswoman from Louisiana. She's very famous. She was the wife of majority leader

Hale Boggs, who filled his congressional seat after his plane accident. She was the first person to call me and say, "Shirley, you have to run for Jerry's seat." She had been president

dom is a fragile thing that we can't take for granted." And then you related a very brief incident in which a woman approached Ben Franklin after the Constitutional Convention

AH: Taken care of.

Pettis: Taken care of from the birthing to the grave. An example is what the Clintons have proposed in their first term with medicine. They didn't get away with it. But if we want to have a republic and a democracy, we have to fight for it all the time. Because as a people, when we ask for something from government we don't realize that with it we're giving up freedom.

AH: It reminds me of a dysfunctional family. Maybe it's a dysfunctional democracy that we're sliding towards. The people and the government are becoming increasingly co-dependent

Pettis: Sometimes I wonder if it isn't a paternal dictatorship that people, without realizing it, are asking for. They want Uncle Sam, or Daddy Sam, to do it all.

AH: It reminds me of a line from the great poet, Milton, in one of his lesser known poems, *Samson Agonistes*, in which he argues that people would "rather bondage with ease than strenuous liberty."

Pettis: And to maintain a republic is a very strenuous thing, because you have to be fighting all the time, all the time convincingly, to tell people how it would really be if the government did everything.

AH: Kind of along the same line, you said in your speech that night that "government has grown so complex that it often takes the strenuous efforts of members of Congress to cut through the bureaucratic indifference and red tape to obtain the help and rights already present in the law." But they keep on writing more legislation?

Pettis: Right. And much of it is redundant and it takes lawyers within each office to figure out what is really being said. And the poor businesses. If we could simplify the law instead of complicating it. If we could free this country of so much of the red tape and bureaucracy. But I don't know how to do it.



With President Gerald Ford.

of the Congressional Wives Club when I moved to Washington, and I had organized the volunteers from the Congressional Wives Club for volunteer service in Washington. So we had worked together and we knew each other quite well.

AH: Were you very well acquainted with Howard Baker?

Pettis: Yes, I know Howard Baker. I didn't ever know his wife, Joy, very well. She was fighting alcoholism in those days. And it's really sad.

AH: That's one reason why his political involvement diminished?

Pettis: Yes. Very sad.

AH: You know back twenty years ago—I think it was twenty, yes, it was 1976, October 15—you gave an address to the Loma Linda University Church on a Friday evening about Christians in politics.

Pettis: I wish I could find that.

AH: I'll give you a copy.

Pettis: That's wonderful. I would like to have that.

AH: I'm quoting you here with ellipses. You said that "personal free-

had completed its work, saying, "Well, Dr. Franklin, what have you given us?" And Dr. Franklin turns to her and says, "You have a republic, madam, if you can keep it." Do you have any thoughts about the likelihood of us keeping it now?

*Because as a people,
when we ask for something
from government
we don't realize that
with it we're giving up
freedom.*

Pettis: Oh, I think that it is every bit as fragile as it ever was, and maybe more so. People think they want everything, economically speaking; in every avenue of life they want help. But what we don't realize is that when we reach out that hand, we are saying we have decided we want to be socialists.

AH: Tort reform is almost an oxymoron.

Pettis: I'm afraid so too.

AH: One last thing you said that night twenty years ago rather amused me. It might not have been your intention to amuse, but you said that "one of the most satisfying aspects of my work is the assistance I can give to our elderly, our sick, and our confused." And I wondered if you meant by the "confused" your friends on the other side of the aisle.

Pettis: Well, I like your interpretation. Probably what I meant by the confused are those poor souls who don't understand their social security benefits and all the rest. But I found lots of confusion on the other side of the aisle. But I got along very well with my colleagues across the aisle. And getting along helped me tremendously. I managed to have passed every bill that I really set my mind to.

AH: How did you decide to walk away from it then? Because, obviously, you were having fun.

Pettis: It was very hard. I loved what I was doing. And I was doing it quite successfully. And I was told by polls and so forth in my district that I could have stayed a long time if I had wished to. But the stress of those four years had given me a frightful stomach ulcer. At least I assume that's what gave it to me. It began in my first term. And they treated me with drugs that were then strictly in the research stage, later manufactured commercially as Tagamet.

AH: I guess it is believed now that ulcers often can be treated effectively with antibiotics.

Pettis: Yes. They're doing some interesting things now. But nobody had thought of that.

AH: Which suggests a different cause.

Pettis: Yes. But it was just a constant pain, and I was told by my doctors that I was not responding to



treatment at all; and they advised me that if I wanted my children to have one parent alive, maybe I ought to take a long sabbatical. And, of course, you don't take a long sabbatical from politics. You either leave it or you stay. But it was hard. I walked the

beach of Antigua at Mil Reef for two weeks trying to make up my mind. It was a hard decision.

AH: Switching from state to church, there's quite a group of Adventist women who have for at least twenty years had reason to think (because they were allowed—even encouraged—to go through ministerial graduate programs at Andrews) that they might one day completely fill the role of an Adventist minister. But at the last General Conference Session, in 1995, the world church turned down North America's appeal to vote them the right to ordination. You probably know that a few have been ordained unilaterally in the Southeastern California and Potomac Conferences. Do you have any thoughts about that?

Pettis: I do know about that. I'm not too surprised that the world church was not at the place where they could accept women in that role. I was a woman involved in diplomatic negotiations in the Middle East. They'd never had to deal with a woman at that high level in government. They didn't know how. They were culturally opposed. I finally bridged the gap, and I guess became a fairly effective negotiator. However, all over the world in the different cultures, other than in America, you see a very great reluctance to let women assume roles of authority. But I think perhaps it will come. I don't know how though, in South America, for instance, or Africa or the Middle East. So, it doesn't surprise me. I think it's unfortunate. But it does not surprise me.

AH: This has been a lot of fun for me.

Pettis: Well, Doug, it's fun for me to remember.

WOMEN HERALDS OF “THE ADVENT NEAR”

CAROLE RAYBURN

The options available to women in nineteenth century America were consistently limited and limiting. Educational, professional, and other opportunities were generally closed to them simply because of gender. But a movement like Millerism, unconventional in a variety of ways, gave many women novel and important occasions for service. The role of Ellen White in Seventh-day Adventism, which has been explored so thoroughly that it will not be treated here, is only the most noteworthy example.

Then as now, women were, on the average, more concerned about religious matters than men; so it is not surprising that women played important roles in the Millerite movement both in public and behind the scenes. And, of course, the spiritual lives of women who exercised no leadership responsibilities at all in the Millerite movement and its successor communities of faith nonetheless reflected the distinctive imprint of this dramatic religious reform. In what follows, I want to explore the experience of both kinds of women—the public and private—associated with the Millerite movement from 1820 through 1870. While this article is not an exhaustive study of all Millerite women who were important for the movement, it does attempt to examine the bulk of the significant extant materials regarding these women.

Perhaps the first significant Millerite woman was Lucy P. Smith, who married William Miller in 1803. She took care of many of the chores around the Miller farm, leaving her husband free to study and continue his education. Throughout their lives together, she was intensely supportive of her husband.¹

Charlotte Elizabeth Poor

Dr. Charlotte Elizabeth Poor, an English woman, was the only daughter of the Reverend Michael Browne. Born in Norwich, Great Britain, in 1792, she died in 1846. She devoted her life to Christian missions in India. Adventist historian Isaac Wellcome describes her as “a woman of high rank, deep piety, superior talent, great fortitude and perseverance.” She wrote many books and tracts dealing with religious matters, twelve volumes of which have been preserved. Through her writing and speaking she defended and celebrated the Millerite mes-

sage.² Her important role in the Millerite movement was as a missionary abroad.

Harriet Livermore

Harriet Livermore (1788-1868), described herself on the title page of her 1835 book, *The Harp of Israel*, as “a



mourning pilgrim, bound to the Promised Land.” Writing to her friend Elias Boudinott in this book, she composed hymns for the “Cherokee nations and Indians everywhere” in North America. Seeing these Native Americans as outcasts, she declares that she “left the states in 1832 to seek lost sheep in the wilderness.”

She alluded to the divine mercy that sustained her; God, she said, “saw me alone. Other females were in company with a husband, or a father, or a brother, or in charge of a Missionary, and a member of his family.” She claimed that she was the only “pilgrim” who had gone to teach the Indians who was not a member of any religious sect and who was all alone in the world except for a father and a brother. Her stated reason for writing her hymns was to give testimony to an “immortal and eternal friendship, for the afflicted red man.” She wanted, she said, to lay her

book of hymns at the foot of the cross so that “when the red men come to Calvary to weep and pray, let them take it, and sing praises and thanksgiving to the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world.”³

Livermore authored and published a fifty-nine-page tract in 1831. *Millennial Tidings* concerns a letter written by Jewish Millerite convert Joseph Wolff to Christians in England and Ireland. When, she said, she studied Wolff’s declaration that 1847 would be the year of Jesus’ second advent, she “was filled with sensible rapture, and sincerely echoed to the tidings, ‘come Lord Jesus,’ come in triumph, and reign in great power and glory.”⁴ Desiring to share her belief in the imminent advent with others, she republished Wolff’s “prophetical letter” with a brief but very well-researched abstract of the Jewish convert’s life. Because of her special burden for the spiritual welfare of Native Americans, she wanted to send the tract to them and to missionaries. She believed that the Indians were the “lost” ten tribes of Israel. Though “poor” and “sickly” at the time she published this tract, Livermore, who noted that she was not seeking profit of any kind from the sale of her work,⁵ was an ardent proponent of belief in the imminence of Jesus’ second coming.

Lucy Maria Hersey Stoddard

At the age of 18, Lucy Maria Hersey Stoddard felt herself called to proclaim the gospel publicly. She resigned from a Worcester teaching post to preach in the early 1840s. Associating herself with Sarah J. Paine, “the first female that preached in Massachusetts the Advent of Christ at hand,” she enjoyed notable success as an evangelist.

In 1842, she accompanied her father to Schenectady, New York, to visit friends. They discovered that an advent believer there was willing to open his house to her father so that he could speak about the imminent second coming. Wellcome commented, “The people were so opposed to female speaking, the brother thought it would offend if the daughter should speak.” Her father was not a preacher, and when the meeting began there were moments of silence as he found that he had nothing to say. “After long silence,” Wellcome says, “the brother remarked: ‘Brother Hersey has a daughter here who talks in some conference meetings when at home in N.E., and if there is no objection raised by any one present, we would like to hear from her.’” She waited for objections, and after none were made she spoke. Those in attendance were “melted in contrition.” To enable more people to hear her remarks, the court house was obtained for her. Reporters attending her meetings had her discourses published in the morning papers. “The houses and galleries were crowded and the meetings continued until the galleries settled by the weight of the multitudes.” Laboring in central New York for six months, she

She used even her last illness and her own death as a witness for God; her final words were, “The anchor holds.”

preached “every evening and three times on Lord’s day.” Some time after this, she married J. C. Stoddard. Their team ministry continued until her husband’s health failed. Then she continued on her own to preach in a variety of locations. Of Lucy Stoddard, Wellcome said:

She has been the humble instrument of gathering sheaves for the Kingdom of God, and is strong in the faith that Jesus will soon return to gather his scattered flock . . . Elder Jonas Wendall and many other ministers now proclaiming the gospel, state that their conversion to the truth was through her preaching. This should encourage others, whom the Lord calls, not to refrain because they are females.⁶

Sarah J. Paine Higgins

Sarah J. Paine Higgins was the first female preacher in Massachusetts. She was the last surviving member of a group in Worcester, Massachusetts, who heard William Miller preach there. On Thanksgiving Day, 1842, that group organized an Adventist church.⁷ Unfortunately, we know little else about her life and career, and it appears that the limited opportunities available to women during her lifetime made it difficult for her to continue a public role after the Disappointment.

Mary L. Priest

Born in 1823, Mary L. Priest accepted Millerite teachings in 1842. Shortly after the Disappointment, she and her husband began to observe the seventh-day Sabbath. In poor health for several years, she nonetheless led a group of Christian women in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, in distributing religious tracts and in ministering to the poor and sick. This group organized the Vigilant Missionary Society in 1869, and she became its first secretary, holding this office until her death in 1889.⁸ The Society’s members wrote letters to share their convictions in a personal way, concerning themselves especially with one-time Adventists who had “fallen away,” as well as with new converts and absent members.

During her lifetime, Priest wrote over 6,000 letters, following up the thousands of periodicals previously sent out by the Society. So deeply ingrained was her missionary zeal that just a few hours before she died she seems to have been attempting to answer letters. She used even her last illness and her own death as a witness for God; her final words were, “The anchor holds,” and she requested that the sermon for her funeral be an encouragement to faithfulness.⁹

What was life like for the “average” Millerite or Adventist woman during this period? An October 28, 1856 letter to *Review and Herald* editor Uriah Smith from

a Canton, Illinois, woman named L. M. T. Ayers gives us some clues:

Bro. Smith: It is with hesitation that I take the liberty to address you, being a stranger not only to the brethren generally, but partially to your peculiar views. About 28 or 30 years since, there was a great excitement in the vicinity where I lived in consequence of the prophecies being proclaimed that soon the Saviour would return; and that the end of all things was near. Though I was then only 10 or 12 years old, the idea of seeing my Saviour so soon thrilled my soul with emotions of pleasure. Though the prophecy apparently failed at that time, the impression remained; and often in my wanderings, my favorite lines would give vent to my pent up aspirations: "How long, dear Saviour, O how long shall that bright hour delay? . . ."

She went on to say that she had read William Miller's book with interest, adding that she doubted "the propriety or ability of man to fix a definite time." She wrote poignantly of Jesus' injunction to his disciples to watch for his return:

About the year 1836, the claims of heaven compelled me to forsake the traditions of men, and "Remember the Sabbath . . ." Being only desirous of truth, I have tried, unbiased, to bring each new theory advanced, "To the law and to the testimony," adopting such as stood the test.

Though she had never heard any Adventists preach, and knew none personally, her subscription to the *Review* made her aware of what was occurring in the fledgling Seventh-day Adventist community. Lonely, she asked: "Why cannot some of our brethren come this way? How can the people believe that of which they have heard naught save reproach and denunciation?"¹⁰

In the year prior to the Great Disappointment, women continued to proclaim the Millerite message. A letter in the August 24, 1843, *Midnight Cry* told of a "female prayer meeting" in Ottowa, Illinois:

We have a female prayer-meeting every Wednesday, where we read Miller's *Lectures* and all the good sermons we can get. We have long been praying the Lord to send some of you here. One lecture last winter by Bro. Branson, is all we had. If you can send us any help, do so. I want Brown's *Experience* very much to read in our meetings.¹¹

In the same issue, one H. H. Rodgers wrote from Oxford, New York:

We have been favored with the labors of our much esteemed Brother, K. C. Collins, Sister Rice . . . during the past winter,—the results have been glorious in the towns of Norwich, McDonough, Smithville, Oxford Green, Binghamton, Cortland, Ithaca, and Oswego. More than 1,000 converts are the fruits . . .¹²

In Oswego County, New York, a "Sister Richards" was proclaiming the imminence of the second Advent.¹³ According to one Samuel Rhodes:

Sister Richards has done much, under God, in awakening the mind of the public to the grand and glorious subject of the Second Advent . . . though she has been violently opposed by the learned D.D.'s, some of whom take the trouble to go some distance to meet her at her appointed meetings to openly and publicly oppose the truth. But while they oppose, we see in a most remarkable manner, the fulfillment of prophecy.¹⁴

Another woman was lecturing in Attica, New York:

Olive Maria Rice.—This devoted sister is still laboring in this State. She lectured recently at Batavia, and Pine Hill, Genessee Co.; and Attica, Wyolming Co., near which place she was lecturing Oct. 3d. The effect is good, wherever she goes.¹⁵

Accepting the Millerite message was often a source of stress for women. A Hannah Dunning, for instance, was "suspended from church privileges" by the Associate Reformed Church "until she repent" of her Millerite errors, including adult baptism and the use of Millerite hymnody.¹⁶ Social conflict would obviously have been especially difficult for Millerite women, given women's limited social and economic options in nineteenth century America. But women who believed in the Millerite message were willing to engage in potentially painful conflict if necessary because of their convictions. Abigail Mussey provides a clear example.



Abigail Mussey

Abigail Mussey

She was born in New London, New Hampshire, on August 31, 1811, the daughter of Zaccheus Messer, a farmer, and Hannah Hutchins. Her parents were Baptists. When in the 1830s she and her husband, Levi, a Universalist, encountered Millerite teachings, she concluded that Miller's views were correct and that, still unbaptized, she was in need of divine grace if she was to be prepared to meet Jesus at the second coming. Levi feared that a change of religious convictions on her part would alienate her from him, and while he did consent to let her read her Bible, he refused to permit her to go to Millerite meetings or associate with Millerites.

Millerite meetings would "scare" Millerite convictions into her, he believed, and she would desert him. After hiding her Bible from her, he finally relented in his opposition to her newfound faith and began reading the Bible, too. In 1838, both were baptized by a Freewill Baptist Minister.

When the members of the prayer meeting held at the Mussey home divided over the question of William Miller's message, Abby said: "I could not bear to be separated from any part of them. Yet, for the sake of God's

truth, I felt willing to take my stand in favor of what I honestly believed to be Bible truth, and suffer the consequences." Most members of the group agreed to support Millerite teaching and a brother Bowles, who was defending it. However, unless Bowles stopped preaching Millerite doctrine, the group would be excluded from the Lisbon Quarterly Meeting of the Freewill Baptist Church. Bowles said he would cease his preaching in order to preserve peace, but the Freewill Baptist Church demanded that he denounce Millerite views. His appeal that his views be tested by the Bible was ignored; the breach led ultimately to the closure of the Whitefield Church. Describing this moment in her life, Abby said, "Oh, I felt happy in being rejected for the truth's sake!"¹⁷ Her little church did not commit itself to belief in a specific time for Jesus' return. But on the day her brother learned that she believed that Jesus would come again some time in 1843, he accused her of being a Millerite, and told her that she could not stay at his home that night as she had planned. She said that she would stay, and arrived at his home anyway, despite what he had said.¹⁸

Describing the Disappointment, she said that as 1843 drew near, "We as a church, we all united in our expectations. The world rejoiced and we mourned."¹⁹ After her husband and eldest son died, she worked among the sick in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She did not think at first that she knew enough to preach, and she feared being called a "preacher woman." Nonetheless, she found that she received preaching appointments. Even a Methodist minister who had preached a sermon urging his hearers to "keep the woman out, in obedience to Paul" was very supportive of her message about the second coming and the nearness of Jesus' return. Describing the situation for women, she later wrote:

Preachers that oppose female laborers can shut up their houses, and refuse to give out their appointments; but they can't shut up the private houses, or school-houses, and they cannot hinder others from giving out appointments; so there is no danger of shut doors or the way being hedged up Doors opened, and I moved on, with sword in hand and the gospel armor on, with loving all and fearing none. I knew in whom I believed, in whom I trusted, and who had sent me out. My mission was from heaven, not from man. My faith stood not in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.²⁰

Visiting the "Huckleberry Tent" of mainly blacks at the Wilbraham Camp Meeting in Massachusetts in 1860, she accepted black people as her brothers and sisters. Preaching at black churches at Clarence and at Clements (holding 13 meetings at Clarence in four weeks) in 1861, she related that "I felt I was with a portion of my father's family." As she was preaching among the blacks in Bay Shore, J. B. Fitch arrived from Cornwallis and asked her to go into that area to preach. Her response was: "According to my promise, I must go I felt to praise God that he had called me to preach free salvation to rich and poor, bond and free, black and white, male and female, old and young, high and low, and none has any right to say, 'Stop!' or hedge up the way."²¹ "The Yankee woman preacher," as she was called, held meetings twice a day during the week. She was called to preach in Hall's Harbor, Hull's Harbor, Port Williams, Sheffield Mills, and

Alesford. She was an enthusiastic and active preacher during and after the Millerite movement was in flower.

Lauretta Elysian Armstrong Fassett

Lauretta Elysian Armstrong Fassett engaged in a team ministry with her physician husband, O. R. Fassett, after 1844. When she and her husband first heard William Miller giving a series of lectures in Lockport, New York, in the winter of 1843-4, they were both Presbyterians. Her husband was the first to accept Millerite views, and she became concerned that he was experiencing a "religious mania" and had been captivated by a delusion. Soon, however, she, too, accepted the Millerite message



A contemporary artist's view of William Miller

and was "as ready to leave all for this great work" as was her husband.²²

When he lectured in Lewiston, New York, she accompanied him and visited people in their homes. They ministered in Albany, New York, and in Springfield, Worcester, and Boston, Massachusetts.²³ In Niagara County, New York, both would separately visit families in different districts. Although raised and educated in upper-class society, Fassett could adapt herself to those from all walks of life. Her husband wrote:

The educated, intelligent, and refined in society, found in her cultured mind, with modest and chaste demeanor, such superior knowledge in revelation and divine things, and such experience, as often to confound them; and they felt they were in the presence of a superior. The lowly and humble poor, saw in her such gentleness, modesty and humility, mingled with the grace of love, as to feel they were visited by an angel of mercy.²⁴

At Seneca Falls, Fassett was asked to offer some public addresses at a camp meeting. She was opposed to the idea, having been taught that it was immodest and unbecoming for a woman to speak in public, and that women's preaching had been forbidden by Paul. However, "[p]revailed upon by entreaty, she threw aside her prejudices, stifled her feelings, overcame her training, and made the attempt to please others, and satisfy herself if the Lord's will was in it."²⁵ Although her husband reported that she was "not brilliant, nor eloquent," her first effort was marked by "her devoted piety, and her earnest zeal for the salvation of souls." Reflecting on what he believed was clearly her divine calling, he wrote:

The spirit of the Lord was with her; and there came to me, though as opposed as herself to women's taking the place as teacher or preacher in public, the scripture: "On my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit; and they shall prophecy [sic]" (Acts 2:18.) This kept me from ever hindering, or placing the least thing in the way of her duty, fearing I might grieve the Holy Spirit, by which she was divinely aided in reaching the hearts of her hearers with the words of life as they fell from her devoted lips. I soon felt I had an "help-meet" indeed, in the new gift revealed in my wife, which wiser ones in the church than ourselves discovered, and brought to light and use.²⁶

Seeking to witness to her father and other relatives, she went to see them in Oswego, New York. She was quite unprepared for their extreme hostility for what they perceived as her belief in false and heretical doctrines. They not only denounced her and her husband, but sought to prosecute him for neglect of his medical profession and to confine Laretta at home to keep her away from her husband. Before she left his home, she heard her father disown her as his daughter, cutting her off from any relationship with him as long as she held to her Adventist views. She wrote to her father, though years would pass without a reply. Finally, upon the occasion of the death of her eldest sister, when Laretta was living with her husband and son George and daughter Eliza in Providence, Rhode Island, he wrote to her and invited her to visit him. He admitted that, though he still believed that she and O. R. were in great error, he knew that they were sincere in their faith. There was a joyous and lasting reconciliation of father and daughter.²⁷

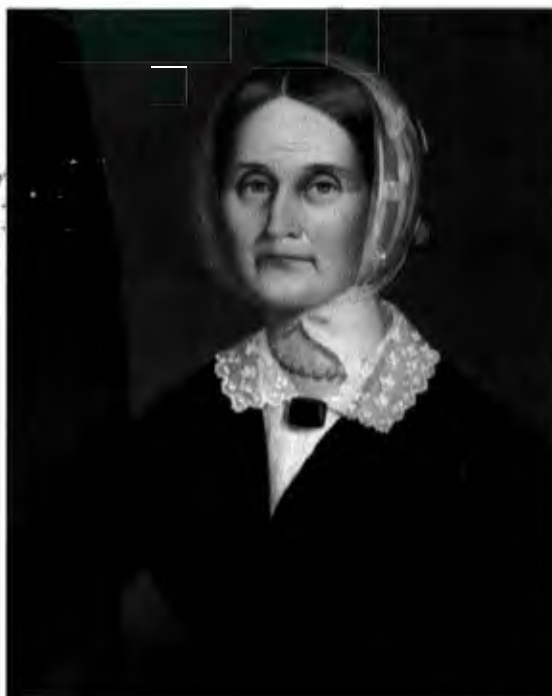
In January, 1845, in Providence, Rhode Island, Laretta and O. R. shared the pulpit. Both felt embarrassed to be recompensed for their preaching labors with money. "Most of our years," they said, "we have had no stipulated salary for our labors, trusting in the Lord to provide, and often laboring with our own hands to supply our needs."²⁸ J.V. Himes invited O. R. to take an associate pas-

torate with him at the Kneeland Street Advent Church in Boston; there is no mention of the invitation's also being extended to Laretta. She was very ill at this time. However she continued to take part in all religious meetings and to visit among the people, when the Fassetts moved to Sandy Hill, New York.

In November of 1867, Fassett joined her husband in Minneapolis, Minnesota, visiting for a while with Joshua Himes and his family who were living in Buchanan, Michigan.²⁹ At this time, she experienced a complete recovery of health, and "the duty of public labor in the ministry of the Word revived." She "endeavored to excuse herself from Christian work of this kind. But the more she refused to comply, her conscience was the more troubled, and her enjoyment fled."³⁰

While her preaching ministry was very successful, she experienced great physical distress and personal loss in Minnesota, too. She developed painful rheumatic neuralgia during a revival, causing her to end the series of meetings. Then her twenty-two-year-old son, George, died of drowning, and because of her husband's heavy ministerial commitments at the time she had to take care of most of the funeral arrangements. She also developed an eye disease, "granular lids," which became chronic and was a constant threat to her vision.³¹

The presence of Laretta Fassett in the pulpit in any place "would call a large congregation to hear her instructive and deeply spiritual discourses, in which their feelings and hearts would be touched. It was so to the end of her labors near her home."³² In addition to her preaching, she had "much domestic care and labor in connection with her public duties." The Fassett home was opened to all; and since hired help was often scarce and money to pay for it even scarcer, she not only did all of her own housework, but she also milked cows, raised fowl, and churned butter. "When she was so pressed with domestic duties, her sermons were unstudied and unprepared until she entered the cars, and there, and at the depots, she would make her preparation for two sermons commonly." She never neglected her private prayer life, though, nor Scripture reading. Somehow, she managed this double labor, "a herculean task . . . for much stronger women . . . to the astonishment of all . . . Her toils and labors, her sacrifice of ease and of the comforts of home, often, for the salvation of souls, finally told on her naturally slender constitution."³³ O. R. did not once indicate



A contemporary artist's view of Lucy Miller

that he had offered to help his partner complete household chores. She died in April 14, 1884, at her home in Independence, Minnesota, almost sixty-three years old.³⁴ Isaac Wellcome wrote that she was “considered a logical, systematical, and able expounder of the Scriptures and a faithful Christian worker . . . a faithful co-worker with her husband from the beginning, and often supplying the desk to the satisfaction of large audiences, and working arduously in social meetings and ‘pastoral visits’.”³⁵ It is no wonder, then, that her husband subtitled her biography, *A Devoted Christian; A Useful Life*.

Mrs. John Crouch

Mrs. John Crouch, a sister of Samuel S. Snow and the wife of one of the Adventist preachers, witnessed in a very dramatic way in a meeting led by Joseph Bates in the August 12-7, 1844, camp meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire.³⁶ Bates’s talk, on the second coming, began to show a lack of enthusiasm. Suddenly, Samuel Snow rode up on his horse and came into the meeting, sitting next to his sister and her husband. He began to tell her of his convictions about the cause of the apparent delay in the arrival of the second advent and to explain why he believed it would occur on the Day of Atonement in the autumn of 1844. This view would ultimately lead to the growth of the so-called “Seventh Month Movement,” which proclaimed that the second coming would occur on October 22, 1844. Suddenly rising and interrupting Bates, Mrs. Crouch said:

It is too late, Brother Bates. It is too late to spend our time about these truths, with which we are familiar . . . It is too late, brethren, to spend precious time as we have since this campmeeting commenced. Time is short. The Lord has servants here who have meat in due season for His household. Let them speak, and let the people hear them. ‘Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet Him.’

With that urgent introduction, Bates invited Snow to speak. Snow presented what became the “Midnight Cry” message.³⁷ It was noted that, although Mrs. Crouch never held a church office, she was in command.³⁸ This may have been so, but perhaps it was a reflection of the circumstances of women in mid-nineteenth century America that no one seems to know what her first name was. She is identified only by her relationship to her brother, Samuel Snow, and her husband, John Crouch. Nothing else seems to be known about her.

Rachel Oakes Preston

Rachel Oakes Preston, *nee* Harris, was born in Vernon, Vermont, in 1809. Baptized in 1826 into the Methodist Church, she became interested in the seventh-day Sabbath in 1837. She became a Seventh Day Baptist over the strong protestations of her Methodist minister. Joining the

Seventh Day Baptist Church at Verona, Oneida County, New York, she carried religious literature to Washington, New Hampshire. She tried to introduce the Sabbath to Adventists there, but they were quite intent on making preparations for the Second Advent and they did not heed her message.

In 1844, she embraced Adventism, after the Great Disappointment. Although she asked that the Verona Seventh Day Baptist congregation drop her name from their membership rolls, they refused because she had done nothing of which they disapproved; she still observed the Sabbath, they contended. Thus, she was a member of both groups.³⁹ Seeking again to share her belief in the seventh-day Sabbath with the Adventist community and others in the Washington area, she persuaded Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist and Adventist minister from Hillsboro, New Hampshire, of the truth of her Sabbath message. One Sunday morning in 1844, Wheeler had presided over a communion service in Washington, saying, “All who confess communion with Christ in such a service as this should be ready to obey God

When she saw him later in March of 1844, however, she confronted him with the biblical evidence for the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath.

and to keep His commandments in all things.” At this point, she had wanted to stand up and tell him that he had better set the communion table back and put the cloth over it until he himself began to keep the commandments of God. However, she said nothing. When she saw him later in March of 1844, however, she confronted him with the biblical evidence for the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. Before long, he became

a seventh-day Sabbath keeper.

As a result of her influence on Wheeler, many other Washington-area Adventists also began to observe the seventh-day Sabbath. While they did not accept the “Sabbath truth” as a body, five members of the Christian Society did. Directly and indirectly, Rachel Oakes Preston, who died in 1868, was responsible for the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath by the Millerites who ultimately became Seventh-day Adventists.⁴⁰

Clorinda S. Minor and Emily C. Clemons

In the wake of the Disappointment, Clorinda S. Minor, of Philadelphia, and Emily C. Clemons, a school principal from Rochester, New York, began publishing the *Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, a Millerite periodical aimed specifically at women. The May 8, 1844, *Advent Herald* said of the *Advent Message*:

This work is designed to advance the Advent cause among women of our land. Something of this kind seemed to be needed. If it should be wanted in future we may continue it . . . It will be seen that it is conducted by Sister C. S. Minor of Philadelphia, Pa., who is favorably known by her writings in the “Midnight Cry,” for the past years.⁴¹

Of Emily Clemons, the *Advent Herald* of February 14, 1844, said:

Emily C. Clemons—our estimable and pious sister of the Presbyterian Church in Rochester, N.Y., who has the charge of the Ladies High School in that place. She now attends the Adventist meeting, and is devoting what time she can get from the arduous duties of her school, to the spread of the Advent doctrine. (1/25/44).⁴²

Clemons wrote several articles for the 1844 *Advent Herald*. Of the three proposed *Advent Message* quarterlies, only two are extant: 1.1 (May 1844) and 1.2 (Sept. 1844). Minor also wrote a Millerite poem, “The New Earth,” in 1842. In the first issue of the *Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, “An Appeal to the Women of Our Beloved Country” spoke of the need for women to be ready when Jesus returns, to heed the simple, humble, and self-educated William Miller, and to keep the faith of Jesus. Arguing that God often spoke in unexpected ways and in unexpected places, Minor and Clemons urged their “beloved countrywomen” to “be wise for ourselves” rather than shunning the Millerite movement because of the widespread prejudice against it.⁴³

In 1842, Clemons wrote “The Hope of the Gospel,” in which she proclaimed a hope grounded in the good news contained in Scripture, a hope in a coming Savior. During the same year, Minor published *The New Earth, A Poem*. It is based on Isaiah 65:17, “For, behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind,” and on Isaiah 66:22, 2 Peter 3:13, and Rev. 21:1.⁴⁴

The second issue (1844) refers to women as handmaidens of the Lord, and notes that women “ministered . . . [to Jesus] through all his weary path.” They urge that, when Jesus appears again, women should be found waiting, like Mary at the sepulcher. Proclaiming the good news of the impending second advent is a ministry, they say, which “may surely be ours . . .” This task “becomes the trusting tenderness of woman, and it is worthy of her high resolve and unwearied zeal . . .”⁴⁵

Marian Stowell

In 1844, anticipating the second coming, Marian Stowell and her family sold their farm. They therefore had nothing to which to return after the Disappointment, and Edward Andrews invited the destitute Stowells to live with him and his family in Paris, Maine. In 1846, fifteen-year-old Marian read a tract defending the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath; she and her brother, Oswald, kept the next Sabbath. That Monday, she gave the tract to the seventeen-year-old son of their benefactor to read. Through her influence, John Nevins Andrews, who became Adventism’s first official foreign missionary, began to keep the seventh-day Sabbath as well.⁴⁶

Praise God that he had called me to preach free salvation to rich and poor, bond and free, black and white, male and female and none has any right to say, ‘Stop!’

Minerva Jane Loughborough Chapman

Minerva Jane Loughborough Chapman, born in 1829, devoted twenty-six years of her life to the *Review and Herald* Publishing Association; nine of these were spent as editor of the *Youth’s Instructor*. In 1866 she and her husband, Oscar, moved to Battle Creek and she joined the *Review and Herald* staff as a typesetter. A responsible employee, in 1875 she became treasurer and in 1876 secretary of the Central SDA Publishing Association (which became the *Review and Herald* Publishing Association). She served as secretary until 1883. Treasurer of the General Conference from 1877 to 1883, she also worked as corresponding secretary of the General Conference. She edited the *Youth’s Instructor* from 1875 to 1879 and from 1884 to 1889.⁴⁷ A highly organized and orderly person, she put everything in order on the day she died in 1923 at the age of 94.⁴⁸

Annie R. Smith

Annie R. Smith, poet and editorial assistant, was born in 1828; she became an Adventist in 1844. In 1850, forced to give up teaching because of problems with her vision, she continued to have an intense interest in writing. After she sent her poem, “Fear Not Little Flock,” to the *Review and Herald*, she was invited to join the staff as a proofreader and copy editor. When she went to Saratoga Springs, New York, from New Hampshire to assist with the *Review* she was twenty-three years old. She became one of the first editorial workers in the denomination. Her hymns and poems were widely circulated.⁴⁹ She contributed forty-five poems to the *Youth’s Instructor* and the *Review*. She wrote a book of poetry called *Home Here, and Home in Heaven; with Other Poems*, in 1855.⁵⁰

Among her most famous poems, which appears as a hymn in the *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*, is “The Blessed Hope,” published in August, 1852.⁵¹ She experienced severe emotional pain when she was disappointed in love—her hopes raised but her love not returned. She was in love with J. N. Andrews, but he loved someone else. It has been argued that this personal loss led her to lose interest in life;⁵² in any case, four years after she came to work at the *Review*, she was dead at twenty-seven of tuberculosis.

Mary A. Seymour

Mary A. Seymour, who died in 1884, wrote *The Excellency of the Lord’s Anointed* [sic] or *Christ the Promised Messiah* [sic] in 1855. Her sixty-five-page pamphlet concerned her initial belief in the essential equality of God ‘the Father’ and God ‘the Son.’ At the time she held this belief she was twenty-five and “licensed by

the General F.W. B. Quarterly Conference.” Interestingly, only three years later, when she wrote the pamphlet, she had reversed her stand on this question, now arguing that ‘the Father’ was greater than ‘the Son’ and that the two were not equal or identical.⁵³ She seems to have been a licensed preacher and a teacher of Christian doctrine, but we know very little about her except through this one literary endeavor.

Helen M. Johnson

Helen M. Johnson is known primarily through two works, one a collection of poems and the other a tract in which the Christian church is poetically described. She was born in 1834 and died in 1863; according to her own account, her *Poems* was written “at an early age.” Part of one poem, “The Missionary,” gives a sense of her style and sensibility:

“Farewell, O, farewell!” the fond husband sighed,
As she wept in his arms, that beautiful bride;
“Stern duty commands me, and shall I delay,
When my Saviour himself is pointing the way?”⁵⁴

In her *Bride of Christ*, published in connection with the Second Advent Conference in Canada East, she tells the story of the church in allegorical and poetic fashion. She wrote:

While gross darkness and superstition covered all the land, . . . the infant Bride of Christ gazed around upon a world abandoned in ignorance, to the most absurd idolatry, and the greatest crimes . . . She was born amid scenes of sorrow and persecution, and placed in the school of Christ. She sat at his feet, . . . he made commandments[,] and she obeyed them. She was proud and rebellious when she first came under his discipline, but he taught her humility.⁵⁵

Mary D. Wellcome

Mary D. Wellcome wrote at least three interesting works during the period of 1856 to 1868. The first of these—*A Sketch, Being a Vindication of the Writer’s Course in Regard to Her Public Labors in the Cause of God, and Final Separation from Her Family*—raised the very sensitive question of whether a woman who believed herself called to public ministry had the right to choose this calling over her responsibilities to her family. Writing to remove the “false impressions” which had circulated about her extensive travels, and her subsequent complete separation from her family, she explained that before taking up her public ministry she had waited until her husband had become convinced that God was directing her steps. She claimed that she had obtained his verbal and written consent before continuing in her work for several years.

Changing his mind, her husband later asked her to make a public confession that her course of activity was

wrong, to pledge herself to discontinue her ministry, and thus, as she saw it, to ignore her own convictions about her duty. This she would not do, and so he voluntarily released her from all obligations connected with her marriage and told her to “go and finish her mission.” As she told it: “The writer accepted the freedom proffered, choosing rather to forego the comforts of a home, the companionship of a beloved and only child, and become a wanderer, with Jesus for the bridegroom of her heart . . .” She believed, she said, that God would eventually vindicate her cause.

Since the summer of 1845, she had felt especially impressed to labor even more actively. Bearing witness and testifying about Jesus in meetings, she was impressed to visit the sick, the poor, and the neglected, and to write. At first she dismissed these impressions as satanic. But when a “devoted sister” announced that God had told her that Wellcome had been called to labor for Christ but was ignoring the call and thus was backsliding, she decided to enter enthusiastically into the work of ministry. Discouraging her greatly, her husband said that her impressions were diabolical. Fearing to be lost for eternity, she determined to continue her ministry.⁵⁶

She felt called to go to Massachusetts; instead, however, her husband decided that they would both go to Maine for a while to minister. When she had no peace, she decided to go to Boston to answer her call, and her husband no longer opposed her. Relating that her husband had been impressed before this to go and preach the gospel, she asserted that he nonetheless continued to flee, Jonah-like, from the call.

From 1849, she had many opportunities to preach and engage in other activities as part of her ministry. Her travel expenses were, she said, provided by God; thus, she did not need to use any of her husband’s meager funds. She explained that he had “escaped” from his call to ministry by going into business with his brother, but that the business had failed—leaving him with a substantial debt. In May of 1854 she asked to be released from her marriage obligations because she thought that her husband was

hindering her work for God. She quoted him as replying: “I never did, I do not now, ask you to stay at home all the time, nor to go with me; I only ask that when you go I may know it, and where, and that I have a companion, though she is not with me.”⁵⁷

When she told him that she believed that God was guiding her in her labor, he said, she recalled, “This I dare not oppose, lest I be found standing against

God.” She said that he wrote several letters to other people, relating that he thought God had called her to “labor in a more public capacity than the generality of females” and “that God uses her talent for good, I have no doubt.”

Her husband later asked her to make a public confession that her course of activity was wrong, to pledge herself to discontinue her ministry.

Of herself, she said, "I seemed to hear the voice of God saying unto me, 'I have chosen thee to be a witness of the power of saving grace, and to persuade others to seek for full salvation through Christ. I have ordained thee to do this work.'"⁵⁸

Throughout this work, she did not once refer to her husband by name. In fact, he was none other than the well known Isaac C. Wellcome of Yarmouth, Maine, author of the *History of the Second Advent Message*. Surely everyone who knew her at that time knew the identity of her husband, so there was no real need then to name him. An obituary from *The World's Crisis* links the two:

Charles H. Wellcome. Died in Yarmouth, Me., June 13th, 1864 of diphtheria, Charles H. son of I. C. and M. D. Wellcome, aged twelve years and six months.⁵⁹

An account of the boy's death, signed by Mary Wellcome, appeared in *the World's Crisis* of the preceding week. Another son who had died several years before was mentioned.

In 1868, Mary Wellcome wrote and published *The Millennium*, a historical-theological treatment of the millennium. In a third work, *Spiritualism Exposed*, she defended Christianity and critiqued the claims of spiritualism.⁶⁰

Anna Eliza Boyd Smith

Anna Eliza Boyd Smith preached at camp meetings and conventions, did missionary work among the black population of Philadelphia and in New York, and was the first leader of united missionary efforts among Advent Christian women. Born to Quaker parents in Philadelphia on July 20, 1825, she heard William Miller preach in 1842, when she was 17. She was a graduate of the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, as well as a successful business person who operated jewelry and cutlery stores. Though she managed stores for twenty years, she ultimately became convinced that Christ would return soon and that she must focus full time on communicating the Advent message to blacks in New York.⁶¹

Her mission work in New York began in 1863, and two missions were established. Visiting the sick and poor, giving Bible readings, distributing religious tracts, and holding prayer meetings in tenement houses, she opened a mission house on October 13, 1867. This was the Star of Hope Mission.⁶² On April 6, 1866, she was ordained to the ministry.⁶³

A small church in Hackensack, New York, was built with funds she received as a result of her preaching ministry. When a group of women banded together in 1860 to hold annual meetings at the Wilbraham camp meeting, they decided in 1867 to organize themselves into a formal association, the Union Female Missionary Association.

Anna Smith served as president for some years until she asked to be relieved of this responsibility because of her heavy missionary obligations. Miriam McKinstry was the secretary and treasurer of the Association for some years.⁶⁴

While Anna Smith was in New York, she started a periodical, *Woman and Her Work*, which was published by the Association. This paper was later enlarged and published in Rochester, New York. Its editor was E. S. Jennings, a woman preacher; it was also published in Concord, New Hampshire. Although it served its purpose effectively, it had to be discontinued in 1872 for lack of funds and because those responsible for its production had to travel so extensively.

Some contemporary men were very suspicious of a women's organization and what it might accomplish. Many men did not readily accept women preachers and may have done something to deter their success. These attitudes discouraged the women, and after a few years they discontinued the organization.⁶⁵

In 1867, Smith was invited to speak at Hackensack. When she arrived there, she found that some people were opposed to women preachers. Thus, she did not speak; "I took all patiently," she wrote, "and will wait for the Lord to work."⁶⁶

A physician was contributing to the work of the Mission by providing the money to pay the employees' salaries. When he wrote to her that he had heard that she taught and preached doctrines he regarded as incorrect, and threatened to cut off his financial help unless she and her workers united with some "respectable church," she said that she could not do so and would put her complete trust in God to provide for her and the others.

In April, 1872, her health began to fail and she turned over responsibility for the mission to the Zion Conference in New York.⁶⁷ She had hopes of being an independent missionary. In March, 1875, she received a letter from Thomas J. Cox. She had written to him to ask his advice on the question whether she should accept a call to pastor the Second Advent church in Rochester, New York. He strongly encouraged her to stay with the mission where she current-

ly was, and she took his advice.⁶⁸ Her stance was consistently non-sectarian, and she occasionally engaged in evangelistic work with other people. It is not certain when she died, but there was evidence that she was still alive in 1896.⁶⁹

Beulah Mathewson

Beulah Mathewson was born in September of 1819 and died on April 27, 1892. On the occasion of her death, Frank Burr, a prominent Advent Christian minister wrote:

The story of the Queen of Sheba proved that women, like men, find their greatest happiness in mental and moral improvement

She was a woman of much culture and ability, of an ardent temperament and with mental faculties much above the ordinary grade of human intellect. She bent all her energies to the great work of spreading the gospel of the coming Kingdom and her presence at camp and general meetings was always that of an enthusiastic worker in the cause of Christ. She was a great help to her excellent husband in his ministerial work and often filled the pulpit as a preacher in a very acceptable way, although she shrank from such a public position unless she was needed.⁷⁰

In 1873, her pamphlet, *Woman from a Bible Standpoint: or Do the Scriptures Forbid the Public Labor of Woman*, was published by the Advent Christian Publication Society. In that work, she said:

Woman, as God's final creation, is man's "helpmeet" or "helpmate." This term means one like or as the man, standing opposite or before him; implying that woman was to be a perfect resemblance of the man, possessing neither inferiority or superiority, but being all things like and equal and unto himself. The very term seems to indicate, at least, her position to be the opposite of what modern fancy may have painted her—a kind of sylph-like creature, partaking more of the ethereal than the material, a beautiful statue, a doll, a mere plaything, destined to no share in the sober realities of life. Nay, a helpmate is a being that can sympathize with and enter the sphere of meditation and feeling peculiar to man, and to assist him in all the vocations of life, whether physical or mental.⁷¹

Further, Mathewson cautioned, to take a narrow view of the function of a "helpmate" from mere domestic "nature" would not have authoritative support from women's Creator. "Are not the examples of holy women in scripture patterns for us to copy?" she inquired.

Though written almost a century and a quarter ago, her arguments, which remain convincing, sound familiarly modern. She noted that while Sarah was obedient to her husband when he functioned as the oracle of God, God had said to Abraham when he disagreed with his wife, "In all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice." Mathewson restored Miriam to her proper place as joint leader of the nation of Israel with her two brothers. And, calling Deborah "Israel's chief magistrate and prophetess" while referring to Barak as Israel's military commander, she describes Deborah not only as exemplifying courage, true patriotic intrepidity, valor, and ardor for the people's salvation but as having been given her leadership role by God.

Mathewson observed that a woman who, because she left a throne to travel more than 1,200 miles to seek to understand heavenly wisdom, would in the judgment condemn a whole generation because of her piety. This was, of course, the Queen of Sheba, whose story proved that women, like men, find their greatest happiness in mental and moral improvement—and that Christ could highly commend a woman occupying a throne.

In answer to the claim that man was the "head" of woman, and that woman was not therefore to teach man in a dictatorial way, she maintained that while God is said to be the head of Christ, this is not taken to mean that Christ had no public labor to perform. She discussed the two places in the Bible, 1 Cor. 14:34-5 and 1 Tim. 2:11-2, often used to justify the claim that women could not lead out in public worship, and pointed out that a variety

of customs had changed since the first century. Synagogue custom used to permit the men present at a service to refute the speaker, ask questions, and object—liberties not enjoyed by women at the time—even though custom had changed and at present this right was not typically accorded to men or women. Women had not been well educated, and were not usually taught to read or interpret the Bible or commentaries.

Believing that scripture limited women's public ministry only to preclude their dominance or dictatorship, she argued that this limitation posed no real obstacle to ordinary teaching of women or men by a woman. If women could never teach men, she pointed out, they could not teach any Sabbath/Sunday School classes and mothers could not teach their children, especially their sons. The "silence" enjoined in 1 Cor. 14:34 would prohibit women even from *singing* in church, since Paul recognized singing as speaking, teaching, and admonishing one another.

She refused to concede that the Bible degrades and enslaves women. She commented:

Woman was created as a help to man. Was she created to help in matters of the least importance? Does man need more help in temporal than in spiritual things? She can assist him much in spiritual as well as temporal things, if he will only receive her. Being formed from his side, it seems natural and easy that man should curve his arm in a direction to support her in this her proper place. But what if he make the curve so as to divide and elbow her at a greater distance from him, not accepting her assistance? He bruises his own flesh, acts against his own interest, consequently must be the loser.⁷²

Somehow, she does not seem quite to fit Frank Burr's description of a woman who "shrank" from public position.

Miriam McKinstry

Miriam McKinstry, an Advent Christian pastor with her husband Levi C. McKinstry in Beebe Plain, Quebec, in 1880, was born in 1846. When she lectured, her specialty was the four great empires of Daniel. Her husband, a history teacher, helped her make the connections between prophecy and history. A book, *The World's Great Empires*, which may have been co-authored by the two, was the result of their cooperation. In her lecturing career, she spoke in twenty-five states in North America and in four Canadian provinces. She died on February 22, 1930, in Boston, at eight-four years of age.⁷³

Accounts of the careers and contributions of Millerite women are undoubtedly and unfortunately limited. Opposition to religion in general and to women's religious efforts in particular; the women's own reticence about assuming public roles; and the self-imposed silence resulting from the shame and embarrassment caused by the Great Disappointment may all have affected the availability of material regarding these women.

Still, despite the paucity of relevant material, there is enough evidence to make clear that women were important to the Millerite movement and that the Millerite movement was important for women. Gifted evangelists and missionaries contributed significantly to Millerite

efforts to spread the gospel as they understood it. And the movement offered women community, identity, and opportunities to exercise their gifts.

The Millerite movement affected American religion in a variety of ways; among its valuable contributions was the sometimes grudging recognition and support it offered women in a period during which they were even more marginal than today. The stories of the Millerite women considered in this article remind us that openness to women's gifts and responsiveness to women's needs is a genuine, if not always remembered, part of the Millerite heritage.⁷⁴

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WILLIAM MILLER: A FOCUSED LIFE

William Miller's contemporaries had conflicting opinions about him, but they agreed on one thing: his was a focused life. Only intense energy and deep commitment could create such a groundswell between 1831 and 1844.

Few people living in the northeast of the United States were unaware of the message of Miller and his associates. Many were stirred by addresses in their churches, others read Millerite books and tracts. Adventist papers like *The Signs of the Times and Expositor of Prophecy*, *The Midnight Cry*, and *The Second Coming of Christ* were scattered like the leaves of autumn. Campmeetings often drew huge audiences; secular newspapers reported such events in detail. It is intriguing to read the report by John Greenleaf Whittier of his visit to a Millerite campmeeting.

Miller's contemporaries disagreed violently in their interpretations of his focused life. For some he seemed to be a "fanatic" or a "monomaniac," given his passion to proclaim "the Advent near." *The Signs of the Times and Expositor of Prophecy* dated March 1, 1843, quoted a non-Millerite protest against "the infidel scurrility and blasphemous witticisms with which some of our exchanges abound and from which religious periodicals are not wholly

exempt." One person who was "not prepared to subscribe to the doctrine promulgated by this gentleman" contended Miller was, even so, "a sound reasoner, and as such is entitled to

fair argument from those who differ with him." This person lamented:

Yet his opposers do not see fit to exert their reasoning powers, but contented themselves by denouncing the old gentleman as a "fanatic," a "liar", "deluded old fool," "speculator," &c. &c.

The same issue of the *Signs* carried a whimsical story, reproduced here photographically to retain its original appearance.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is deeply indebted to Vern Carner, Sakae Kubo, Curt Rice and others for preparing and publishing a "Bibliographical Essay" which made us more aware of our roots [see Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism in America: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harper 1974) 207-317]. In 1972 I had to travel to Aurora, Illinois, to read the 800 letters written and received by William Miller, whereas shortly thereafter these treasures were made much more readily available on microfilm. Then, as Ellen G. White/SDA Research Centers were opened in various parts of the world, these microfilms were even easier to access.

Amongst Miller's papers is a handwritten poem, undated. He seems to have revised it slightly over a period of years, and the hand-

Mr. Miller and The Phrenologist.
The following authentic anecdote will be interesting to those who think Mr. Miller is a fanatic. We relate it because some are deterred from examining our views of prophecy because religious papers call them "fanatical." A man who had proclaimed his belief in Christ's coming till he was called a "Millerite," once took Mr. Miller to a phrenologist in Boston, with whom he was himself acquainted, but who had no suspicion whose head he was examining. He commenced by saying the person under examination had a large, well developed brain, and well-balanced head. While examining the moral and intellectual organs, he said to Mr. Miller's friend:
"I tell you what it is, Mr. Miller could not easily make a convert of this man to his hair-brained theory. He has too much good sense." Thus he proceeded, making comparisons between the head he was examining, and the head of Mr. Miller, as he fancied it would be. "Oh, how I should like to examine Mr. Miller's head," said he; "I would give it one squeezing."
The phrenologist, knowing that the gentleman was a particular friend of Mr. Miller, spared no pains in going out of the way to make remarks upon him. Putting his hand upon the organ of fanaticism, as it is sometimes called, or the organ of marvellousness, he said, "There, I'll bet you any thing that old Miller has got a bump on his head there as big as my fist," at the same time doubling up his fist as a sample. Others laughed at the perfection of the joke, and he heartily joined them, supposing they were laughing at his dry jokes on Mr. Miller.
"He laughed; 'twas well. The tale applied soon made him laugh on 't'other side."
He got through, made out his chart, and politely asked Mr. Miller for his name. Mr. M. remarked, that it was of no consequence about putting his name upon the chart, but the phrenologist insisted. "Very well," said Mr. M., "you may call it Miller, if you choose."
"Miller, Miller," said he, "what is your first name?"
"Well, they call me William Miller."
"What, the gentleman who is lecturing in Boston?"
"Yes, sir, the same."
At this, the phrenologist, filled with astonishment and dismay, settled back into his chair, pale and trembling, and spake not a word while the company remained. The reader may judge of the poor fellow's feelings.

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ANNA LULA JOSEPH: ROMANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EARLY ADVENTISM

Inelda Ritchie Christianson

Anna Lula Joseph Ritchie's love for God and the Seventh-day Adventist church inspired her to touch scores of lives using considerable gifts as a teacher and Bible instructor. As a woman, she did not enjoy the same opportunities for service she would have been given had she been a man; and her desire to preach the gospel led her to be rejected by a once enthusiastic suitor. But her perseverance and dedication make her an early example of the capacity of Adventist women to make a difference in the life of their church.

She was born in Avalanche, Wisconsin, on December 15, 1867. She was the oldest of nine children born to Noah Smith Joseph and Susanna Busbee Joseph. Noah owned and operated a woolen factory in Avalanche. After the whole plant was swept away by a flood, he moved his family close to his brothers and sisters in Sioux City, Iowa. He became a first-class carpenter and cabinet maker, doing carving and inlay work. In 1885, Noah, Susan, and Lula were baptized by fledgling minister and evangelist A. G. Daniells at a series of meetings held during July and August in Sioux City.¹

In 1888, soon after Noah and Susanna had completed building and decorating a large, comfortable home in Mapleton, a few miles southeast of Sioux City (where they had moved in 1878), disaster struck again. Fire burned the Josephs' new home to the ground. When they heard of a town in California in the process of being built by Iowans, they decided to go there, confident that

there would be work for an expert carpenter in a new city. The Joseph family took the train west and homesteaded a ranch at the edge of the Temescal mountains in a region that became the city of Corona, California, when it was incorporated in 1896. Noah helped build some of Corona's first fine homes, planted a family orchard, and built up a delivery route for bottled water from the family's mountain springs.

Lula described her early life as uneventful and her disposition as morose and painfully sensitive. She was happiest when reading or helping some suffering person or animal. At other times, she was cheerfully reconciled to her lot. She longed for love and affection and was, in fact, expected to marry a man named Clarence L. Glenn.

She loved to read about Christ and believed that if she could really know Him, she could tell others of the light she was convinced would come into her soul with the deep assurance that comes with positive knowledge. She made up her mind to seek God and obtain a personal divine revelation. One Sabbath afternoon, she went down the canyon below the Josephs' ranch house and chose a clump of scrub oaks in which to pray. For six hours, until dark, she prayed, but received no response. She got up and

walked along the canyon, feeling perfectly certain that God did not deal personally with human beings. Should she seek out and take whatever the world had to offer?

She went some distance into the dusk when the impression "Pray!" suddenly arrested her. She dropped to



Anna Lula Joseph

her knees. As she prayed, the space around her for some ten feet was, she reported suddenly lit with a rich golden light.

The scales of unbelief dropped from my eyes and my whole soul seemed illuminated with the light and love of God. My mind was instantly transformed from the state of dark, hopeless desperation to one of transcendent joy. A glory filled my soul, the like of which I had never known. Blessed be the Eternal One Who would pour out all Heaven rather than one soul who trusted in Him should fall. I was converted.²

Now she sought “a companion whose heart’s desire would be an answer to my heart’s desire, with whom, hand in hand, I could go out to rescue a perishing world.” The men she had known “seemed like clay compared to the living gold I was seeking.” She told Clarence Glenn she had decided to dedicate her life to missionary work.

From the time she was baptized, Lula had looked for ways to share her new faith—she learned to give Bible studies in Sioux City.³ Now, she viewed the move to California as an opportunity to bring the Adventist message to a pioneer settlement. She went house to house in Riverside, gave Bible studies, and started a Sabbath School. Six months after her experience, in March of 1889 she went north to attend Pacific Bible School at the Oakland City Mission.

The women who took several months’ training in how to give Bible readings at the Oakland Mission referred to themselves as “Mission Girls”⁴ and to those taking studies from them as their “readers.” They were supervised closely by their teachers and pastors. Some were away from home for the first time. It was considered necessary to guard the reputation of any unmarried woman—especially if she represented the church.

From April to September 15, entries in Lula’s City Mission Record book show that she gave Bible readings, visited new church members, studied, worked at the Mission, and attended meetings and cooking classes. After a visit home, she transferred to the Los Angeles Mission at the Carr Street church.⁵ Susan Joseph thought N. C. McClure—then the pastor at Carr Street—was overly protective of the women at the Mission, treating them “like a priest with his nuns.” He had very nearly had a streetcar conductor fired for offering to pay Lula’s fare. Susan thought a streetcar conductor’s soul was just as precious as anyone’s; if Lula wanted to make friends with this man and interest him in Adventism, that was all right with her. Then Susanna suggested that Lula study to be a minister so she would no longer have to submit to the restraints imposed on “Mission Girls.”

In 1890, Lula went north to study at Healdsburg College. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, stu-

dents were older than today’s typical college student. They often came and went as they prepared for immediate denominational positions rather than proceeding directly to graduation. Lula was no exception, having taken time from her studies to teach school for two terms in Sioux City before coming to California with her family.

While at Healdsburg, she distinguished herself academically, perhaps—the evidence is unclear—becoming valedictorian of her class. Her essay, “Genius,” was published in the *Youth’s Instructor*,⁶ Professor Ferris F. Hafford (ancient language and literature) submitted it without telling her. Naturally, its publication was a delightful surprise for her and her parents.

It was during her work at the Carr Street church that she met her husband-to-be, William Shannon Ritchie. He had been certified to teach in Ohio at the age of sixteen, later attending Mount Union Methodist College, where he was noted as a debater on the then-popular subject of tariffs. He joined the Seventh-day Adventist church about 1885, spent some time at Battle Creek, and then started a wholesale cheese import business in Los Angeles where he met Lula. When she left for Healdsburg, he closed the business and followed, staying until his father became ill the next fall. When his father’s health improved, he continued his studies at Battle Creek College, then worked for John Harvey Kellogg at Battle Creek Sanitarium. Without encouragement from Lula, he kept in touch with her by letter for the next eight years.

Susan Joseph encouraged her daughter to study to be a minister so she could “be out from under the Mission Girl system and travel with a tent.”⁷ Lula was one of three graduates from the Biblical Course at Healdsburg in 1894. At the May 8 evening commencement exercises in the Healdsburg church, each of the graduates gave a speech. The speeches of the male graduates were termed “orations,” while the female graduates gave “essays.”⁸ Lula Joseph’s essay was entitled “Woman—Her True Estate.” While it was labeled an essay, she presented it as an oration; her notes indicate intended gestures and points deserving special verbal emphasis.⁹ Her opening statement was:

That woman’s mission is different from that of man is universally conceded. Their spheres are distinct, for God has not in all of nature made two co-existing things to fill an identical office.

Like Plato’s Beatrice, woman in her true estate stands, and with a soul keyed to loftier music points man upward to that supernal Glory falling on her face.

She contrasts the low place of women in a barbarous society to their status in a Christian culture:

A slave there [gesture] to here [gesture] the honored counterpart

He was overly protective of the women at the mission, treating them “like a priest with his nuns.”

of his soul. The difference in their positions is in the texture of the dividing line; in one case a course rough hawser, and in the other a dainty cord of purest gold.

Expressing her view of women's separate but valuable sphere, she quotes Lamartine: "God has placed the genius of women in their hearts, for the works of this genius are always works of love." Then Sabille: "Women have more strength in their looks than we have in our arguments." Her conclusion:

Woman has no power out of her sphere; in her sphere she has boundless power. Then if our power lies in our looks, in our tears and in our love, let us use that power under God to its utmost capacity.

She continued, "We can study woman best in her relations, for the true woman is seen relatively, not positively, as is man." She then spoke of woman as mother, as sister, and as wife. "As a mother," she maintained, "woman shapes the destinies of men. . . . [Thus] woman is the thermometer by which we test the moral temperature of nations. Motherhood is a sacred trust." As an older sister of four younger brothers, she declared: "The power which sisters exert over their brothers is scarcely less than that of mothers." She quoted Steffins, speaking of Jacobi's sister, Lena, who "changed the still self-communion of the lonely man into a long conversation," and Byron, writing of his sister Augusta:

When all around grew drear and dark
And the star of my fate had declined,
Thy soft heart refused to discover
The faults which so many could find.

When fortune changed and love fled far
And hatred's shafts flew thick and fast
Thou wert the solitary star which rose
And set not till the last.

About marriage, Lula wrote, "In the sphere of wifehood, many believe that woman is in her highest estate." Lula believed that perhaps half were. One half "proceed to convert the blue rotunda of the universe into a mere housewifery room." The other half influence a wider circle by

keeping in his cool shadow, studying his art, lightening his tasks, soothing his pride, stimulating his confidences, baffling his enemies, assuaging his falls, refreshing his energies for new trials, and when he has triumphed and is applauded on his eminence, silently drinking in as her reward the popular adulation bestowed on him.

Unfortunately, Lula's positive estimation of the place of women in Christianity was not shared by everyone. On January 19, 1894, Lula had written home to her parents,

I never think of marrying George [Teasdale] but I hardly begin to be reconciled to it till he does something that disgusts me with him. Robert¹⁰ never does. . . . Robert wrote me a very pretty poem

for my essay [for Class Night]. He gave me his picture a week or so ago. I was so very pleased to get it, for if it never is, his picture will be a great comfort to me. . . . I received a letter from Brother Ritchie and one from Bro. Fattebert since I wrote you. Mr. Fattebert is such a noble young man.¹¹

But by graduation, Lula had forfeited Robert Caldwell's courtship by accepting an invitation to give the Sabbath sermon in the Healdsburg church. Robert warned her that it was not a woman's place to give a sermon, and if she did so, their relationship was over.

A week after graduation, too late to do Lula any immediate good, George C. Tenney, an assistant editor of the *Review and Herald*, in a nearly full-page article in the June 5, 1894, issue, asked "What is woman's place in the church? and what would happen if she should get out of it into the man's place?" Tenney alludes to biblical passages often read as enjoining the submission of women to men and observes that critics of the Bible, critics of womankind, as well as women who are looking for an excuse for idleness, seize these passages. . . . While it has been the work of the powers of darkness to degrade woman, the

work of the Bible has been to elevate her. . . . It was the work of the gospel to remove distinctions among men in race, nationality, sex, or condition. . . . How, he asks, given Paul's ringing endorsement of equality in Gal. 3:28, "can women be excluded from the privileges of the gospel?"¹²

Tenney explained Paul's injunction against women speaking in church (1 Cor. 14:34) as applying specifically to the situation in Corinth, where "everyone spoke at once" and "unruly women added their clatter to the general confusion." An analysis of Greek words translated "to speak" led Tenney to the conclusion that "the apostle was rebuk-

ing garrulity rather than prohibiting Christians from witnessing for the cause of Christ." He underscored his point by contrasting the women at Corinth with the power and energy of the women who labored with Paul and whom Paul saluted.

Knowing that she enjoyed "the privileges of the gospel," Lula gladly accepted opportunities to use her gifts on behalf of "the cause of Christ." Still, a corner of her



heart ached for Robert, even after her marriage to William Ritchie. When she graduated from Healdsburg, she accepted a call from the California Conference to serve as a Bible worker in Riverside. She went house-to-house, visiting and giving Bible studies, until she had enough students to revive the Sabbath School. In an April 2, 1895 letter to her from Los Angeles, Roderick Owen, Bible teacher at Healdsburg,¹³ wrote that, as she had requested, he was sending a tent and evangelist Jasper Smith to Riverside to hold meetings.

In the July 30, 1895, *Review*, W. T. Knox reported:

Last Sabbath, I was with the little company in Riverside and the ordinances of the Lord's house were celebrated. There are now in the vicinity of Riverside at least a score of Sabbath keepers, and a church will no doubt soon be organized.

In August, 1895, Lula joined the work of the San Francisco Mission. She gave Bible lessons in homes and in Folsom penitentiary. She also taught in the San Francisco Japanese School, which had apparently been started about four years earlier.¹⁴ Instruction at the school was given in arithmetic, geography, history, and a number of languages. There were both day and evening classes for a constantly changing student body. Each Friday evening, the Sabbath School lesson for the next day was studied. By 1897, a regular Sabbath School, with a full corps of Japanese officers, and a club of twenty *Little Friends* and fifteen *Instructors* was organized, with about thirty members. W. C. Grainger subsequently went from the school to begin Adventist mission work in Japan, with the help of one of the students as interpreter.

In the fall of 1889, the California Conference added Utah to its territory and sent in a group of canvassers. One of Lula's school friends at Healdsburg, Elijah Graybell, accompanied a tent to Ogden, Utah, in the summer of 1892 and assisted the evangelist holding meetings. A later series was also held in Ogden, and on January 20, 1893, a church was organized. Unfortunately, by July of that year, the California Conference—citing distance and personnel—was requesting that the General Conference take charge of Utah as a mission field. The General Conference Committee accepted responsibility for the Utah field on April 15, 1894. J. M. Willoughby and C. M. Gardner, both from Iowa, were sent to Utah, as were Bible workers Annie Hemming and Anna Hammond from California.

At the November 4, 1895, General Conference Committee meeting, Annie Hemming was sent to Louisville, Kentucky, at her request, and the General Conference president and the superintendent of District 6 were given responsibility for locating a replacement Bible worker for Utah.

On December 1, McClure, now California Conference President, wrote Lula Joseph to come to Oakland as soon

as possible to see him. The result of their meeting: Lula accepted a call to be a missionary to Utah. From January 1896 to August 1897, she served as acting pastor and Bible worker at the Ogden, Utah, church. Her appointment freed C. M. Gardner to hold meetings elsewhere. When she left, she was replaced by another minister, W. A. Alway. The General Conference Committee voted that Lula Joseph of Ogden, Utah, be granted missionary license 150 on March 15, 1896. At the first camp meeting held in Utah, at Salt Lake City in July, a State Sabbath School Association was organized, which she served as secretary and treasurer.¹⁵

While in Ogden, Lula took the Walla Walla College Correspondence School lessons in history and grammar. This description of her

work appears on the back of one of her returned lessons:

P.S. My delay is unavoidable. I have much work to do here. I have from two to three church services to conduct each week, all my Bible work, and a very large amount of visiting, besides my own house work. So you see I am busy. The hurried manner in which my lesson is written is not owing to willful neglect but because of lack of time.

Susanna Joseph had congratulated Lula on her promotion. Mission Girls were now paid \$2.50 per week. If Lula had been paid regularly, her pay would have doubled. She was to receive the lowest rate on the General Conference pay scale, \$5.00 for a seven-day week. But times were hard. On June 20, 1897, the president read the General Conference Committee a communication from Willoughby bemoaning the Utah mission's limited means and the irregularity with which funds arrived. Willoughby inquired if some personnel should be set to work canvassing. Some, he noted, had been contemplating taking up trades or engaging in manual labor to support their families. The committee agreed that "something must be done soon."

Lula's pay was cut off for months at a time. "You can live with families," she was told. "We need the money for the men." Since she could not contribute to the household expenses of the families that took her in, she felt that she had to add to her many responsibilities by helping with household chores. By the summer of 1897 she was rapidly approaching burn-out.

While financially and emotionally stressful, Lula's situation was also educational: as she lived with families in the community, she came to know Mormon beliefs and practices. She later told her daughter about women whose afterlives were threatened by husbands who cut off pieces of the arms or legs of their wives' spiritually crucial "sacred garments" if they disobeyed them. Lula was frustrated by the fact that, though she was the only college-educated person in her family, she was essentially begging

*Robert warned her
that it was not a
woman's place to give
a sermon, and if she
did so, their relation-
ship was over.*

her bed and board from strangers. Her parents and younger brothers had worked long hours and sacrificed essentials to pay her college tuition. She felt she should be helping them now.

Why was she in this situation, she wondered. Was she in a special place for a special purpose? She allowed herself to think so. She responded favorably to a proposal of marriage from a handsome, well-educated Mormon. But just before the wedding, one of the Mormon women who had taken her in told her secretly that she would be his second wife. She made her way back to her parents' Joseph Canyon ranch, broken and deeply depressed. Two years later, on August 19, 1899, she wrote to William Ritchie:¹⁶

Dear Bro. Ritchie,

It has been so long since I have received any word from you—over two years, I believe. I don't know why I have not written and inquired before. I only know that I have not. You know that sometimes our minds are so preoccupied that we forget that time is passing. My life has been so crowded with every kind of care—so much mental pain that for a time I have been oblivious to much that now I wonder how I could forget.

I have just been reading over a package of your old letters to me. They are so full of noble thoughts and kind and loving words that it all seems to come back to me, and I realize that you were once my lover. I wonder if you care for me still. I presume you do not. You were faithful to me for years and that is what many men are not. Maybe you are married. Write and tell me if you are. I can hardly believe you would get married without telling me about it, for even though we could never come to an agreement in regard to marriage, I am sure we were always very dear to each other. Whether you are married or not I want to hear from you. Write me a good long letter telling me all about yourself.

This is the evening after the Sabbath. My little sister and I are here on the ranch alone. . . . I am living in San Bernardino now, but just at this present time I am visiting at home. I am engaged in Business in San Bernardino, I am selling house-furnishing goods. [She was selling lace curtains, rugs and silver table ware door-to-door.] I would not have you understand from that that I am not working for the Lord anymore but am a self supporting missionary and much better contented than when I was supported. I am deacon of the church there and generally conduct the Sabbath services besides being the Supt. of the S.S. I give Bible readings to those who desire them, so I find something to do for the Lord.

I am trying to make a practical application in my life of the words of Christ:—Learn of me for I am meek and lowly. It is hard for us sometimes to learn meekness and lowliness. Yet we must learn it for the "Meek shall inherit the earth."

I shall expect an answer soon and look for it.

Ever your true friend,
Lula Joseph

Anna Lula Joseph and William Shannon Ritchie were married on February 23, 1900, in San Bernardino, California, by F. M. Burg. Her sister Della, her brother Tom, and Tom's wife Eliza were on hand.¹⁷ Will was forty-two, Lula thirty-one. They bought the north half of her Aunt Laurinda Jane Depee's property on Vicentia Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets in Corona. They found an abandoned church in Wildomar, near Elsinore, that they could buy for \$150.00. Will and Lula's brothers took the church apart, and with the redwood ship-lap siding, the doors, and the windows, built a home-

church, a barn, a stable, and separate three-hole privies behind the barn.

When Lula found herself not pregnant six months after her wedding to Will, she wrote to the Home of the Friendless, established by Oakland-area Adventists "to look up suitable Christian homes for orphans and deserted children."¹⁸ Her first letter is lost; in her second, she asked for a series of pictures of an orphaned girl named Annie—specifically, pictures of Annie's head. In 1900, phrenology was still considered a science, and Lula wanted a child with potential. Carrie R. King, corresponding secretary, replied at length:¹⁹

OAKLAND, CAL
Aug. 13, 1900

Mrs. W. S. Ritchie,
Corona, Calif.

Dear Sister,—Your letter was gladly received yesterday. Yes, I remember your husband, if he is the Bro. Ritchie whom I used to see in Ohio. Although I was never much acquainted with him, I should not be afraid to trust a child to him, unless his disposition is very different from what his face would indicate.

Sr. Swift is the Matron of the Home now, and she says she remembers you well, having been with you in the Bible work. She is very much pleased at the prospect of giving Annie to you, for neither she nor I have any doubt about your wanting her, she is so sweet. I went to-day to have her picture taken to send to you. I told Sr. Swift that I did not want to see her much more, for I shall Love her so much that I shall not want to let any one have her. Her intellect is bright and sharp as steel. It is very interesting to hear her talk, she shows so much thought. I have not seen so attractive a child for a long time.

I can not get the pictures to send to you till next Sunday. I inclose [sic] a lock of her hair. Now for your questions. I will tell you all I know, which is very little.

Her parents were French and German, but there is not more known about them. I think the parents are dead.

I think she has a very good head, but I am no phrenologist. I had the different positions taken as you requested, and you can see for yourself.

She is very quiet, only that she loves dearly to sing, which I think a very desirable trait. I do not know how long she has been in the Home, but I think it is only a few months. She was in a very sad condition physically, when she came, being almost literally skin and bones. But now she looks well and happy. She had rickets [sic] then, but has recovered entirely except for a slight difference in her walk, which she is fast outgrowing.

I will send the pictures as soon as I can get them, but hope to hear favorably from you before that time,

Yours for the little ones,
Mrs. Carrie R. King

Carrie King's next letter acknowledges receipt of a letter instructing her to send Annie. The Home would send her down to the Long Beach camp-meeting with a Sister Moore.²⁰ Sister Moore brought Annie down by coastal steamer to the camp-meeting, where she was welcomed by her new parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunt. Grandma Joseph is said to have taken only one look before saying "That child looks hungry" and fixing her a plate of food. It took a long time for little Inelda Ruth—Annie's new name—to eat her fill. The wagon and buggy

caravan back to Corona followed nearly the same route one would follow now if one were traveling from the 405 to the 55 to the 91 freeway. Traffic then was no problem, but the ride was long, hot, and dusty. The new member of the family was, however, content. This family was so much bigger and better than the last one. She had been acquired briefly as a companion for a retarded child, who had broken her arm. She was in no such danger now.

Soon after Will and Lula adopted Inelda Ruth, Lula discovered that she was pregnant. Her labor was difficult and long, and the Corona doctor did not know what to do except wait and worry with Will and the family. At the end of a stressful week their son arrived—stillborn. Will wished the family had been near Battle Creek, where Lula could have received expert care. This experience influenced Will to stand, and turn the tide in favor of a West Coast Adventist hospital, by pledging a large donation at a meeting at which John Burden was seeking support for his planned purchase of the Loma Linda Health Resort.

The front rooms of the Ritchies' Corona home were divided by folding panels that opened to allow the formation of a single large room for Sabbath services. On Friday afternoons, the family set up and dusted the folding chairs loaned them by the local conference. Lula's nephew, Alan A. Fisher, recalls attending the Seventh Street church as a young boy. He remembers one room as "the Dorcas room." He also recalls a Frenchwoman, M. Quelle, who attended church there. Anyone who came was invited to dinner. William Ritchie made arrangements with a local baker to ensure that everyone would be fed even if an especially large group was on hand: he picked up as many loaves of bread as were needed and came back after sundown to pay for them.

The Seventh Street home-church was sold in about 1917 when Will and Lula moved to Arlington. Sometime during or just after World War II, when building materials were scarce, it was torn down. (The materials from the Wildomar church were recycled once more into five homes on the southwest corner of Vicentia and Seventh Streets—still with ship-lap siding.)

A series of evangelistic meetings held in Riverside in 1903 recruited members and raised funds for a new church to be built near Twelfth and Orange Streets. The new church was dedicated three months later on March 5, 1904.²¹ The event was an all-day Sabbath School convention for all the churches in the area. There was no service at the Corona Seventh Street church that day; the Ritchies and the Josephs were on hand to celebrate the success of a ministry to Riverside that had begun when, just off the train from the college, Lula had begun bringing her faith to a city younger than she was.

Will and Lula supported themselves by canning olives, vegetable oil and honey in tins. They advertised in the *Pacific Union Recorder* for the first time in December 1904 and subsequently in the *Review and Herald*,²² ultimately shipping their products around the world. About 1912, they went into real estate. Their largest development was at the town of Hinckley in the high desert. They donated

land there for the public school,²³ and Will was appointed to serve on the Federal Land Commission.

A young Swedish immigrant, Iner Sheld, who worked as a cowhand on the Fuller Rancho, stopped at the Ritchies' Corona home to buy honey to feed his bees. The Ritchies took an interest in him and invited him to church and dinner. He attended tent meetings in Chino and later in Modesto,²⁴ where Fuller Rancho sent him to work on another ranch owned by the Pioneer Company. Sent back to Chino before the series was complete, Iner was baptized by Elmer Adams in Ontario²⁵ after meetings



in the late spring of 1905. Thereafter, he attended the church at the Ritchies', wearing a black silk neckerchief on Sabbath, rather than his everyday red bandanna.

After his mother's death in 1893, Iner, his brothers, and his younger sister had been placed in the Yale and Alpine Street orphanage in Los Angeles. He received a third-grade education at the Castelar Street school, and subsequently worked on ranches, mostly around Chino, Prado, and Corona where Will and Lula Ritchie encouraged him to continue his education. Corona teachers allowed him to read books and take tests. Thus, he was able to attend Fernando Academy for a term and the Pacific College of Osteopathy in Los Angeles for a half year. Then, he enrolled in medical missionary classes in Loma Linda in the spring of 1908. That fall, he started in the first medical school class at the College of Medical Evangelists. By 1909, he was so much a son to the Ritchies that they allowed him to add their name to his own. They sent out formal announcements that his name was now Iner Sheld-Ritchie. By November of 1912, Iner's letters home to his little sister had become letters to his "Little Love Drop." Because he had typhoid one year, he had to drop back to the class of 1915. They were married in the fall of his senior year.

Will and Lula moved to Loma Linda when Iner started teaching at the College of Medical Evangelists in 1920. From then on, their lives were devoted to their children

and grandchildren. Will's focus was on The Cause; Lula concerned herself more with individual people. Three generations of her extended family sought her counsel and blessing.

Lula died on September 26, 1948. Soon afterward, Will donated his estate to the Seventh-day Adventist church, intending the proceeds to go to foreign missions. The Southeastern California Conference Association subdivided the orange grove and sold off lots on several new streets: Ritchie Circle, Richmond Drive, and LaMar street. As the lots sold, Otis Hudson brought Will descriptions of mission projects, allowing him to choose those his gift would help to finance.

Unfortunately, the beautiful old barn was torn down. Grandson Iner William Sheld Ritchie bought the house and restored it. It stands today, a reminder of the early days of Loma Linda, remembered fondly by the many medical students who lived in the upstairs apartments through the years, watched over by Lula and Will Ritchie, and in recent years by Iner William and Marian Ritchie.²⁶

Lula had started churches in Riverside and San Bernardino and pastored the Ogden church in Utah. She performed her final service as a minister when, in 1900, she formed the first organized company²⁷ in what is now the Southeastern California Conference with her father, Noah Joseph, as elder, and conducted services in the Ritchie home while she and Will lived in Corona.

If she had been paid regularly, would she have stayed on in Utah? Would she have been satisfied to work as a pastor/Bible worker while receiving the salary of a Bible worker? Would she have remained single? Obviously, there is no way of knowing what the nature of her contribution to the life of the church would have been. She gave generously in every setting in which she found herself, and many people in southern California obviously benefited from her presence. But it is hard not to regret the loss of her contribution to the organized work of the church—a loss that exemplifies the other losses, not always visible, incurred by the church when it has been unable or unwilling to take full advantage of the gifts of its women.

References and Notes

¹*Adventist Review* June 30, 1885: 412; Aug. 18, 1885: 524.
²School notebook, "A Heart Opened to Mother and Father" (archives, Del E. Webb Memorial Library, Loma Linda University).

³*Adventist Review* Feb. 16, 1897: 109.

⁴Women who were Bible workers sometimes referred to each other as "mission girls," especially if they trained together. One wrote to Lula in Utah: "the Mission Girls are getting \$2.50 a week now"—implying that they must have received less before that. (This might also have reflected a decrease in pay, since a deep depression had set in.)

⁵See the *SDA Encyclopedia* (Washington, DC: Review 1976) 219; this church was the first SDA church south of the Tehachapi Pass in California.

⁶*Youth's Instructor* Nov. 16, 1893: 360.

⁷Letter, August 3, 1892.

⁸The program for this commencement service is held in, among other places, the archives of the Webb Library.

⁹School notebook with notes for "my essay" and "my first sermon" (archives, Webb Library).

¹⁰Robert Caldwell, president of the Students Volunteer Mission Board and poet of the senior class.

¹¹Letter to "My Dear Parents," Jan. 19, 1894 (archives, Webb Library).

¹²*Adventist Review* June 5, 1894: 360.

¹³Roderick S. Owen was the first chaplain of the Loma Linda Sanitarium.

A. L. and W. S. Ritchie sold him a lot from their grove on Prospect Street. He also served as President of Healdsburg College from 1897-9.

¹⁴On this school, see the *Adventist Review* Feb. 16, 1897: 107.

¹⁵*Adventist Review* July 28, 1896: 476.

¹⁶Letter to William Shannon Ritchie, Aug. 19, 1899 (archives, Webb Library).

¹⁷The marriage certificate and license, copied, can be found in the archives of the Webb Library.

¹⁸*Adventist Review* Nov. 26, 1895: 763.

¹⁹Letter from Carrie R. King to Lula Joseph Ritchie, Aug. 13, 1900 (archives, La Sierra University Library).

²⁰Letter from Carrie R. King to Anna Lula Joseph Ritchie, Aug. 17, 1900 (archives, Webb Library).

²¹*Pacific Union Recorder* Mar. 10, 1904: 10-1.

²²*Adventist Review* Oct. 5, 1905: 23; Nov. 16, 1905: 23.

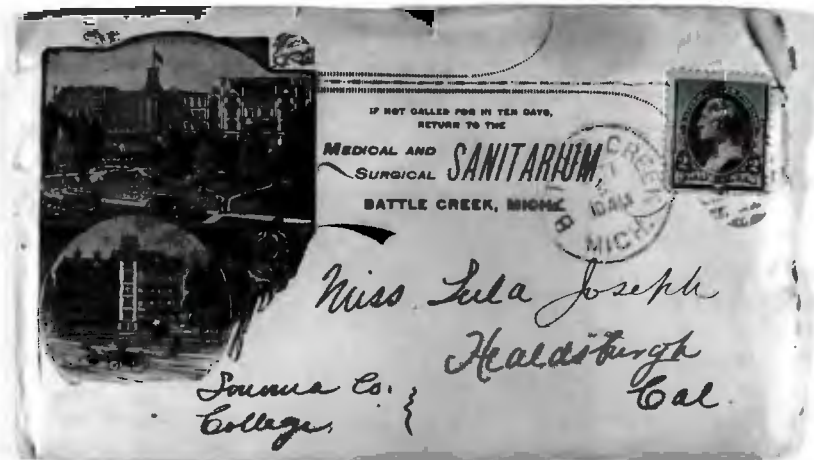
²³San Bernardino County Records 467: 366.

²⁴See the *Pacific Union Recorder* Jul. 28, 1904: 51; Aug. 4, 1904: 5; Sep. 1, 1904: 5; Oct. 5, 1904: 5.

²⁵*Pacific Union Recorder* Jul. 13, 1905: 3.

²⁶In September 1995, the one-hundred-year-old Ritchie home, "Snug Harbor"—built by Will's uncle, Colonel J. T. Ritchie for sea captain Lewis Smith Davis—was sold to Loma Linda University to be restored and used as the centerpiece of a proposed cancer patient housing facility. The historic home will provide common areas for support groups. The support groups are essential for patients who come from around the world for treatments lasting about two months. The warmth of the historic home will bring comfort and promote friendships that reach worldwide.

²⁷See the *SDA Encyclopedia* 1387.



LA SIERRA UNIVERSITY PRESERVES ADVENTIST ROOTS

The Heritage Room in the La Sierra University Library is devoted to storing, and making available, data about or by Seventh-day Adventists. This includes books, periodicals, microforms, manuscripts, photographs, and memorabilia.

The Fernando and Ana Stahl Center for World Service is a "working museum," housing a variety of missionary artifact collections. Church, school, and community groups regularly visits the Stahl Center displays, and an annual "Stahl Center Sabbath" makes a profound impact on the La Sierra University and its community.

The John Hancock Center for Youth Ministry is named after an outstanding leader in the spiritual nurture of young people. It functions as an information resource for pastors in North America and beyond; it sponsors lectures, symposia, research, workshops, and other educational programs.

The Women's Resource Center, a 1996 La Sierra University initiative, will focus on "Equipping This Generation to Experience and Express the Healing Gospel." As the newest heritage-oriented facility on the La Sierra campus, it will:

- Familiarize students with Adventist heritage and the role women have played in the realization of Christian mission.
- Nurture personal maturity through appropriate self-regard, healthy patterns of relationship and community responsibility.
- Prepare students to participate proudly in the defining and shaping of the church community and the public sphere.
- Articulate the relationship between the well-being of women and the well-being of the community as a whole.
- Promote awareness of the educational, social, familial, and economic realities experienced by women.
- Foster an appreciation of the variety of perspectives of women from diverse cultural backgrounds.
- Facilitate dialogue among women and between women and men with regards to mission and interpersonal relationships.

The pioneers of the Women's Resource Center view the Seventh-day Adventist Church as a world church with the mission of bringing the healing gospel to all people. They note that over one-half of the world's population and approximately 60 percent of all church members are women. They see it as "essential that individuals preparing

for leadership positions in the Church and the community be equipped to labor effectively with and for both genders in a complex and constantly changing environment."

The four direction-setting ideals of the Women's Center are enrichment, nurture, understanding, and education. It will seek to enhance the quality and equality of the lives of women and men by providing a variety of services to the university, church and community:

- A special collection library of books, videos, audio tapes and journals pertinent to women and gender issues.
- Worship resource files, including samples of worship services and liturgies constructed for and by women, and information concerning women in ministry.



Women's Resource Center Director Kit Watts

and liturgies constructed for and by women, and information concerning women in ministry.

- Classroom enrichment resources to assist educators in making their classes gender inclusive.

- Community education through an annual lecture series and other special events will emphasize current scholarship and invite dialogue.

- A speakers' registry will list consultants and speakers who address issues pertaining to women in the workplace, church and society.

- Student life enhancement will be fostered as the Center participates in such university sponsored projects as chapel programs, assemblies and cultural events.

- A drop-in center will provide an accepting and supportive environment in which to explore gender related topics.

The Women's Resource Director, Kit Watts, comes to La Sierra University with experience as a writer, editor, pastor, teacher, and librarian, as well as 25 years of advocacy for Adventist women. Most recently she was an assistant editor of the *Adventist Review* where she coordinated the production of five special issues of the general church paper that focused on issues of concern to Adventist women. She also was appointed as a member of four General Conference commissions on the Role of Women in the Church and has served as historian for the Association of Adventist Women.

The Women's Resource Center is a first in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. While its' first objective will be to serve the students, staff, and faculty of La Sierra University, it has the potential to collect and share information about women's issues with the larger church.

FROM SECT TO CHURCH, FROM MEETING-HOUSE TO KITCHEN: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVENTISM AND THE CHANGING ROLES OF SDA WOMEN

Laura L. Vance

The position of women in contemporary Seventh-day Adventism has been the subject of intense debate within the Adventist community at least since the Mohaven conference in the early 1970s. Although this controversy has most often centered on the issue of women's ordination, the parameters of the debate encompass gender and education, employment, leadership, family, and sexuality. Participants on all sides of these controversies have turned to Adventist history to justify (often opposing) perspectives on the rights and roles of women.¹ But historical data are often used to support a particular ideological position without attention to Adventism's changing response to the world or how this response shapes notions of gender within the church. An understanding of changing Adventist attitudes toward women's rights and roles should be based on what we know about the ways previously marginal religious groups—such as Adventism—come to adapt to and participate in the mainstream. What follows is an overview of historical and contemporary discussions of gender-related issues in the *Review and Herald*.

How Do "Sects" Change Over Time?

Sociologists use the word "sect" to describe a religious movement that is in obvious tension with secular society.² In order to maintain a sense of unique destiny, and a unique purpose and mission, and to sustain a feeling of distinctness—groups that lie outside the mainstream, particularly newly emerging religious movements, cultivate a certain hostility to secular society. In part, sects develop and maintain their sense of distinction through the development of group history, beliefs, dress and dietary practices, jargon and institutions.

At the same time, what gives the group the confidence it needs to be distinct is often the belief that it has been entrusted with uniquely valuable truth. A group that is convinced it poses special insights may feel compelled to share them with others—with the world. But engagement with the world requires contact with the world. It requires an attempt to understand the world. It requires care and concern for people in the world. And, consequently, it can threaten to blur the boundaries between a sect and the wider society.³ A movement that believes it has to engage the world is thus likely to accommodate itself more and more to the world over time.

Because members of religious groups that lie outside the mainstream do not identify with the wider society, and may root their identities precisely in rejecting its values, they may find it easier to give members of groups oppressed or marginalized by the mainstream—like women and ethnic minorities—opportunities for leadership, service, affirmation, and support than does secular society.⁴

Max Weber argues that as sectarian movements become more like mainstream society, and become more accommodated to it, they tend to make fewer and fewer positions of authority and leadership available to women. According to Weber, it is "very rare" for women and other members of oppressed or marginalized groups to be granted increased visibility and authority by a sect as it accommodates to secular society.⁵ Not until the sect has accommodated itself into the mainstream as a mature religious body are women and other non-privileged peoples once again allowed access to positions of power and authority in the movement. Weber's analysis accurately captures Adventism's definition and promulgation of roles and responsibilities for women as it has responded to sec-

ular society across its 150 year history. Since the Great Disappointment, Adventism has struggled to find an appropriate relationship with the

world—to define its identity. To explore how the church’s developing understanding of itself and of its relationship with the wider society has affected Adventist attitudes toward women’s rights and roles, it is instructive to consider the way these topics have been addressed in the *Adventist Review* between 1850 and 1993.⁶

Adventism’s portrayal of, and proposed response to, the world has changed dramatically in the *Review*’s almost 150 year history.

Initial Hostility, 1850-1900

Early copies of the *Review* identified the world as the seat of corruption and encouraged separation from secular society:⁷ “[Adventism] . . . lays its first foundation in the renunciation of the world, as a state of false Gods and false enjoyments, which feed the vanity and corruption of our nature, fill our hearts with foolish wicked passions, and keep us separate from God.”⁸ Prior to Adventist organization, the movement’s definition of the world was not strictly constructed with reference to group membership, but to shared belief and practice; the world was identified as evil, nonetheless, and Adventists were to remain separate from it.

Through the 1870s, the Adventist response to the world remained adamant, but began to distinguish the world as more specifically non-Adventist. One anonymous 1873 article noted that “the religion of the day is entirely unlike the religion of the Bible”:

In Bible times religion separated people from the world, . . . The heart cannot be fired up with the love of God and the love of the world at the same time . . . We need earnestly to inquire for the old paths of experimental religion, and to walk therein. We want radical Christianity.⁹

This emphasis continued through the 1880s and 1890s. In 1884 Ellen White insisted that Adventists must reject the world or reject God: “The Lord himself has established a separating wall between the things of the world and the things which he has chosen out of the world and sanctified for himself.” Though Adventists might attempt to destroy this distinction, she wrote, “God has made this separation, and he will have it exist.”¹⁰ The following year, Ellen White asked Adventists to consider whether they were “separating in spirit and practice from the world.” While she observed “how hard it is to come out and be separate from worldly habits and customs,” she declared that such separation was essential as “eternal interests are involved.”¹¹ Other Adventists agreed with White’s assessment: “Few things more accurately determine our moral standing in the sight of God than the manner in which we relate ourselves to the world . . . If from choice we seek

THE ADVENT REVIEW, AND SABBATH HERALD.

“Here is the Palace of the Saints; Here are they that keep the Commandments of God and the Path of Jesus.”

Vol. IV.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., FIFTH-DAY, MAY 26, 1853.

No. 1.

the society of the world, it indicates that the love of God is leaking out of our hearts.”¹²

Another *Review* author called separation from the

world “imperative” in 1887, and portrayed association with the world as posing danger to Adventists: “We must remember that we are in an enemy’s land, and that he who is a friend to the world is an enemy of God.”¹³

Ellen White, the *Review*’s most vocal proponent of separation from the world insisted in the 1890s that there should be “no union between the church and the world”.¹⁴ “By union with the world, the character of God’s people becomes tarnished”;¹⁵ “Through union with the world the church would become corrupt”; “The world is the chief enemy of religion.”¹⁶ White maintained that “those who are not wholly on the side of Christ are to a large degree controlled by the maxims and customs of the world” and then forbade “fellowship with the world.”¹⁷ Even in Adventist evangelical endeavors White argued that SDA missionaries “cannot conform to the world” because “the world is not God’s way.”¹⁸

Growing Tolerance, 1900-1940

A significant decline in insistence upon separation from the world is evident in the *Review* following the turn of the century. Writing in 1910, Ellen White reiterated that a “great gulf [was] fixed” between Adventists and the world, but warned that SDAs should “beware of indulging in a spirit of bigotry [and] intolerance” toward the world; such an attitude of animosity, she cautioned, might deter Adventist evangelistic labors.¹⁹ Adventists were to continue to avoid worldly associations and activities, but Adventist missionary efforts necessitated increased interaction with, and at least a more overtly tolerant response toward, the world. By 1930 the *Review* insisted that it was the “direction” of a person’s life at the time of the advent, rather than her “place” (religious affiliation) that determined salvation, and that not only Adventists would be saved.²⁰

Increasing Openness, 1940-1970

This decreased emphasis on separation from the world continued through the 1940s, and accelerated rapidly during the 1950s. While *Review* articles of the 1940s continued to emphasize Adventism’s unique beliefs, authors concluded that, “we can agree on many points with those in other churches, in so far as they have derived their teaching from the unadulterated word of God.”²¹

The 1950s, which saw an explosion of Adventist evangelism (including televangelism efforts), initiated a period of Adventist accommodation to the world.²² One 1955 author, identifying Adventists with non-Adventist Christians, asked, “are Christians to have no intercourse with people of the world? Are they to cut loose from all their

friends who aren't Christians? . . . Are they never to mingle with people of the world?" The author then responded that though Adventists were not to marry "unbelievers," they should interact, as Christians, with non-Adventists as such interaction would provide opportunities to "witness" to unbelievers.²³

Though the world was still identified as "the enemy," accommodation to the world was viewed as being acceptable to the extent that conversion efforts necessitated such accommodation and worldly interaction.²⁴

In the 1960s, Adventists basked in the success of their burgeoning worldwide evangelical campaign. Recognizing Adventism's accession of cultural norms in its efforts to not only further missionary labors, but to demonstrate maturity as a Protestant religious organization (with the publication of *Questions on Doctrine* in 1957), *Review* authors defended Adventism:

Magazines, newspapers, books, as well as radio and TV feature the work of Adventists and usually commend it . . . A few [Adventists] express the fear that this more respected position of Adventists is an indication that the church has drifted toward the world . . . that we are no longer the distinct, peculiar people we once were. [Adventists must not be] misled to believe that every change and adjustment in our work is worldliness.²⁵

Another author, asking, "How liberal are we?" concluded that although Adventists should refrain from joining the ecumenical movement, "it does not follow that we should ever permit ourselves to conclude that other religious groups are in some way really outside the fold of God, that they are insincere in their religious worship."²⁶

Retrenchment, 1970-1985

In response to Adventism's tendency toward accommodation throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and more especially in response to perceived threats to the movement's distinct doctrine and, therefore, identity in the 1970s, *Review* authors drew back from their previously more accommodating position and attempted to draw attention to the "dangers" of secularization. *Review* editor Kenneth Wood specifically distinguished between the characteristics of a church and those of a sect. Wood identified Adventism as a sect (a religious body which endeavors to "stand apart" from the world") and called Adventism's then recent progression from sect-like status to church-like status "tragic." He pointed to Adventists' failure to accept and live according to the "commands and standards of the Bible" as one indication of creeping Adventist "liberalism," and called for a renewed emphasis in Adventist teaching on "standards" (and thereby a return to distinctively Adventist sectarian behaviors) "to sharpen the line between [Adventism] and the world."²⁷

In 1975, Willis Hackett warned that Adventism was in danger of becoming secular: "Have we [SDAs] slid

from the primitive gospel that characterized the religion of our fathers? Is there a religious tide of worldliness creeping into our ranks? . . . Are we mixing too thoroughly religion and secularism?"²⁸ Another author wondered, "why . . . so many Christians—even some Adventists—become so much like the world?" and called for increased Adventist separation from secular society.²⁹



Renewed Accommodation, 1985-Present

Despite the *Review's* backlash against "creeping secularism" in the 1970s, by the mid-1980s and early 1990s, the periodical began once again to forge a path toward increased accommodation. Adventists, one author explained in the early 1980s, did have "the truth," but Adventist doctrine alone was not truth. Instead, he asserted that "truth" was a broad category that encompassed the Bible. Therefore, "Adventist doctrine is what the Bible teaches and in that sense is truth," but Adventists are not alone in their possession of truth.³⁰ Another author advocated Adventist "distinction" while concurrently recognizing that Adventism could not remain entirely separate from the world if members were to witness effectively.³¹ Paul Gordon took this argument to its logical conclusion in 1993, noting that, "the message we [Adventists] bear is not ours, it is God's, and we must find an acceptable way to warn people without creating unwarranted conflict."³²

Adventism, Women, and Cultural Change

Adventism has emphasized its distinctive beliefs in times of strong sectarian response to the world and de-emphasized its distinct identity in times of accommodation. At the same time, Adventism has used gender norms, ideals and expectations to preserve its distinct identity when separation from the world was valued and sought, and has advocated gender norms, behaviors and expectations not out of keeping with those of the wider society when some accommodation to the world was concomitantly emphasized.

Early Adventist Women: Self-Reliant Heralds of the Gospel

While nineteenth century North American women were expected to be exclusively responsible for the care of children, the nurture of their husbands, and the maintenance of their homes, Adventist women were, in addition to being presented with this ideal, deemed to have an important participatory role in Adventism.³³ B. F. Robbins pointed in 1860 to the active participation of women in Adventism as one peculiarity that served to distinguish Adventism from other religious movements:

I know that most of us have been gathered into the message of the third angel from [other] churches where we received our religious training . . . and . . . in some of [those churches] the prejudice against women's efforts and labors in the church have crushed her usefulness. This kind of training has in many of you caused timidity, and discouragement, and the neglect of the use of gifts designed to edify the church and glorify God.³⁴

S. C. Welcome encouraged Adventist women to engage actively in religious work:

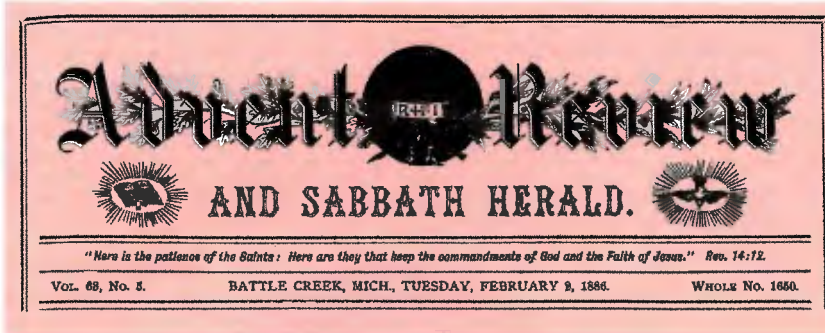
Biblical passages have been construed as an objection to women's speaking in public; and thousands of females that have submitted their hearts to God . . . have been deprived of the privilege of speaking out their feelings in the public congregation, to the almost entire loss of enjoyment, by false construction put upon these paragraphs, notwithstanding the great amount of evidence that can be brought to prove that all who are made partakers of such love have a right to speak forth his praises.³⁵

Interpreting Pauline injunctions against women speaking in meetings as simply an appropriate response to an overwhelming number of questions posed to early Christian teachers which would have been "better answered at home," Welcome concluded that, "the prohibition of the apostle" had nothing to do with women's participation in "preaching, prophesying, exhorting or praying in public," each of which Welcome encouraged women to do.³⁶

The mind of the female . . . has equal access to the fountain of light and life. And experience has proved that many females have possessed the natural qualifications for speaking in public, the range of thought, the faculty of communicating their ideas in appropriate language, the sympathy with suffering humanity, a deep and lively sense of gratitude to God, and of the beauty of holiness, a zeal for the honor of God, and the happiness of his rational creatures—all these are found among the female part of the human family, as frequently and as eminently as among men.³⁷

"Where is the authority for saying that females should not receive a gift of the Holy Spirit in the last days?" asked Welcome: "Verily God hath promised it"; "We are informed on the authority of divine revelation that male and female are one in Christ Jesus; that in the relation in which they both stand to him, the distinction is completely broken down as between Jew and Gentile, bound and free." "Then let no stumbling block be thrown in their way, but let them fill the place that God wants them to fill."³⁸

Other *Review* authors agreed that scriptural exhortations forbidding women's full religious participation were culturally and historically specific and therefore not applicable within Adventism: "When women are forbidden to speak, the spirit of the gospel is violated."³⁹



One obvious explanation for the *Review* debate concerning the role of women in Adventism in the mid to late 1800s was to determine, and to convince Adventists of, Ellen White's place in the movement.⁴⁰ In part,

discussions regarding gender-specific expectations for women, particularly in regard to their proper role in worship services and movement leadership, were undertaken to defend, establish and extend Ellen White's authority.⁴¹ Contending that "God has given to women an important part in connection with this work throughout its entire history," George Tenney noted, for example, that in Biblical times women "wrought righteousness, exercised omnipotent power of faith, braved dangers, and witnessed for the truth as effectively as those of the other sex." Citing "the work of the gospel" as removing "distinctions among men in race, nationality, sex or condition," Tenney concluded that "women who labor acceptably in the gospel are included among those of whom the savior says, 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my father who is in heaven'."⁴²

James White, his wife's most ardent and consistent defender, agreed in his *Review* articles that Paul's mandate pertaining to women "certainly . . . does not mean that women should take no part in those religious services where [Paul] would have both men and women take part in prayer and prophesying, or teaching the word of God to the people." James White also told *Review* readers that: "The Christian age was ushered in with glory. Both men and women enjoyed the inspiration of the hallowed hour and were teachers of the people . . . And the dispensation which was ushered in with glory, honored with the labors of holy women, will close with the same honors."⁴³

The Victorian Homemaker as Evangelist, 1880-1900

While the *Review* did not hesitate to defend and encourage women's active participation in worship services and in evangelical efforts, the periodical portrayed such endeavors, after 1880, as occurring within the context of a woman's position as wife and mother and entailing, rather than replacing, the responsibilities of those positions.⁴⁴ Instead of overtly challenging Victorian prescriptions for women, early Adventism, as depicted in the *Review*, added a dimension of religious responsibility and authority to Victorian expectations. Adventist women, like non-Adventist women in nineteenth century North America, were presented with a delimited "sphere": "[Woman] has a sphere, and she cannot with propriety go out of it. She cannot go out of the circle which nature and

propriety have drawn about her. Neither can man go out of his and invade hers.”⁴⁵

Women’s place, as outlined in *Review* Articles, consisted of “homemaking” (cleaning, making the family “comfortable,” and completing other housework) and, more significantly, of caring for, and teaching religious principles to, children. Adventists were told in 1895 that mothers had the primary responsibility for raising their children to become dedicated Adventists: “Every word spoken by maternal lips, every act in mother’s life . . . every expression on her face will influence for good or evil [the child]”; “There is no other work that can equal this [mothering]. The impressions now made upon their developing minds will remain with them all through life.” Adventists were informed further that there was a “great responsibility resting upon parents, but more especially upon mothers, who are or should be the constant companions of the little ones.”⁴⁶

Notwithstanding these admonitions, Adventists, recognizing the imminence of the advent, called upon all members to participate in the work necessary to hasten Christ’s coming: “Sisters . . . everywhere, you can help prepare the way for blessing. You can be messengers for the Lord . . . Awake! arise! and let your brightness shine . . . Hasten the coming of him for whom the ages have waited.”⁴⁷ As a sectarian movement defining itself in opposition to the world, Adventism was able at once to acknowledge and even perpetuate gender restrictions placed upon women by its socio-historical context, and to allow women participation, position, influence and authority unavailable to them in the wider society. Declaring that, “only in Jesus Christ is there neither male nor female,”⁴⁸ *Review* authors continued their attack on Pauline prohibitions against women’s public participation in religious service (Pauline sanctions, “by no means intimated that when a woman received any particular influence from God to enable her to teach, she was not to obey that influence; on the contrary, she was to obey it”)⁴⁹ and called upon women to “pray, testify, and exhort and expound the word” publicly.⁵⁰ Authors were quick to note historical religious contributions of women:

In the work of God women have ever acted an important part . . . In these days when the great plan of salvation is well-nigh accomplished, and the years of time are almost ended, we find a similar spirit, and noble, brave, God-fearing women everywhere are taking hold of the work of warning the world.⁵¹

In addition to being cautioned regarding the importance of their homemaking/mothering responsibilities, Adventist women were reminded that “mind, voice, and every jot of ability are only loaned as talents, given by God to be used in his work”:⁵² “The work which the Lord has given us to do must go on. Each woman must carry on

her part of it, regardless of any other, or lose the greatest opportunity that has been accorded women in any generation.”⁵³

New Roles for Men

Adventist men were also challenged by *Review* authors to assume a masculine identity which, while not contradicting the ideals of the wider society, included dimensions not widely encouraged in then popular definitions of men’s roles. In 1875, an anonymous *Review* writer lamented that “hundreds of men . . . have no time to get acquainted with their children” and claimed that men would benefit from increased interaction with their offspring.⁵⁴ The *Review* portrayed the “Christian family” as comprised of a mother and father⁵⁵ who each had a “solemn responsibility” to contribute to the welfare and growth of other family members.⁵⁶ Fathers were expected, according to the ideal presented in the *Review*, to be loving, committed, empathetic, and forgiving: “A wise father will make himself one with his children.” Fathers were encouraged to “leave worldly cares” outside of the domestic sphere and to concentrate instead on “committing children to God.”⁵⁷

In addition, *Review* writers encouraged men to develop and maintain an “equal partnership” with their spouses. One author, writing in 1895, observed that women, even if not employed for wages, worked as hard as wage-earners, and that it was therefore “fair to regard [marriage] as an equal partnership in which both partners have an equal right to share the profits.”⁵⁸

Adventists were told that men and women should become a “perfect blending of two imperfect parts into one perfect whole” upon marriage, and that “this union is not complete while one [partner] holds the purse strings.”⁵⁹ They were cautioned further that women and men (in marriage) should participate together in decision-making,⁶⁰ and that failure to share authority and leadership in the home would invoke eternal consequences: “A serious account at the bar of infinite justice awaits that man who solemnly promises to love and cherish as

his own flesh a trusting wife; then subjects her to bondage—to life-long servitude without other reward than the bare necessities of living.”⁶¹ Moreover, men were expected to complete housekeeping responsibilities: “If our homes are to prove a ‘success,’ each child, as well as father and mother, must be taught to hold himself or herself responsible for the smooth running of the domestic machinery.”⁶² The male reader was to see himself as “the man of the house”:

In his home the threshold is not the boundary line of [the man’s] care. He invites his wife to participate in the management of his work. He, on his part, is always ready to do all in his power to

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God*

divide burdens evenly. He builds the fires and brings the water. He will prepare vegetables, lay a table, sweep a floor or cook a meal.⁶³

Early Models for Young People

Though younger SDAs were not given particular attention in the pages of the *Review*, sporadic articles addressing gender norms for young people were consistent with the ideals outlined above for Adventist women and men. One author remarked in the mid-1890s that, “it is a mistake to teach boys the false idea that ‘woman’s work’ is something beneath them. . . . Rather let them learn to wash clothes and dishes. Teach them plain cookery and housekeeping.”⁶⁴ “The sensible young woman,” on the other hand, was “self-reliant”:

She is not merely a doll to be petted. . . . Though she may be blessed with a father able and willing to care for her every want, she cultivates her capabilities, she seeks to prepare herself for possibilities, and, though she may not need to, she qualifies herself to feed and clothe herself, so that if left alone, she can stand upon her own two feet, dependent upon no human being.⁶⁵

Contributors to the *Review* did not hesitate to encourage young Adventist women to learn skills that would allow them future independence. One author argued in 1879 that girls should be taught to sharpen knives, complete home maintenance, harness horses, whittle, nail nails, etc., so that they would never be forced to rely upon men:

Learn to help yourselves [girls], even if sometimes you trench upon ‘boys’ work.’⁶⁶ This sentiment was asserted even more adamantly in 1893: “The curse of our modern society is that our young women are taught . . . to get somebody to take care of them. Instead . . . the first lesson should be how, under God, they may take care of themselves The simple fact is that the majority of them [girls and women] have to take care of themselves It is inhumane and cruel for any father or mother to pass their daughters [to] womanhood, having given them no faculty for earning a livelihood.”⁶⁷

“True Womanhood,” “Domesticity,” and the Adventist Woman, 1890-1940

Beginning in the 1890s, and more especially following 1900, the *Review* began to promote ideals of the “Cult of True Womanhood” and the “Cult of Domesticity.” The Cult of True Womanhood, which had been embraced by mainline Protestantism in the 1830s and 1840s, maintained that there were strict distinctions between men (who were considered rational, intellectual, and physically strong) and women (who were thought to be irrational,



physically weak, innately maternal, gentle, kind, loving, and moral), and to inculcate “appropriate” gender-specific behaviors based upon these perceived gender differences.

The Cult of Domesticity, in turn, defined a woman’s domain (“sphere”) as the home, fulfilling domestic responsibilities, while the

man’s realm was in commerce, business, or some form of wage labor.⁶⁸ Subsequently, the world outside the home (the man’s world) was conceived as a harsh, competitive, and hostile environment, participation in which led to the moral degradation of men’s characters, which, consequently, needed to be nourished, replenished, and morally improved in the home (woman’s sphere) which was, in contrast, portrayed as a “haven.”

The shift in Adventism toward acceptance and promotion of the Cult of Domesticity became more overtly apparent after the turn of the century.⁶⁹ As early as 1891, G. E. Judd called “the ideal home” “a little heaven on earth in which to prepare for the heaven above,”⁷⁰ and by the mid-1890s authors more readily portrayed “the home” as an idyllic setting in which correct moral behavior was rooted.⁷¹ Before the early 1900s, however, *Review* authors, unlike their Protestant and secular contemporaries, did not specifically associate the “home as haven” with restrictive, gender-specific behavior norms and expectations for Adventist women. In 1894, A. R. Wilcox promoted the home as “a place of refuge for the adult man or woman” (italics added): “They flee to home [for] protection, and gain from intercourse with congenial friends the strength and courage to go forth with renewed determination to conquer in the battle of life.”⁷²

By 1900 the *Review* began occasionally to define strictly separated masculine and feminine spheres. One 1900 article, for example, portrayed “homemaking” not only as something that women should do, but as women’s sole “vocation.” Adopting the language of the Cult of Domesticity, the author depicted, “man, with his strength of body and soul to battle the world, . . . and woman with her no less God-given power to put inspiration into his work, and to make a place of rest and refreshing for him when the day’s conflict is over.”⁷³

This revised understanding of gender expectations applied not only to mature Adventists, but also to young SDAs, most specifically to Adventist girls. By 1910, young Adventist women were advised in the *Review* to be “self-less” and to assist and encourage others. Gone were admonitions of self-reliance and independence. Instead, SDA girls were warned against “ambition”:

Little by little, some intellectual ambition will draw us away from our true place in life if we are not careful, and will make cold, unloved and unhelpful women of us, instead of the joyous, unselfish ones we might have been. Ambition is all right, but let us give it its just proportion; let us use our talents, but keep them forever subordinate to simple human duties of life.⁷⁴

This trend continued in the 1920s and 1930s as the Cult of Domesticity was increasingly perpetuated in the pages of the *Review*.⁷⁵ Although *Review* authors acknowledged that some SDA women lamented that “other women are doing things and getting paid for it,” the *Review* countered that “when these home duties become sacred privileges, there will come a feeling of peace and satisfaction that cannot be exchanged for dollars and cents.” Furthermore, the *Review* asserted that a homemaker’s/mother’s “power is the great force that moves the world” and that women, by properly completing their responsibilities in the domestic sphere, “might cure half our national evils of divorce, extravagance, . . . marital unhappiness, [and] inefficient parenthood. They will never do it in the office, but it might be done in the kitchen.”⁷⁶

Women’s domestic labor was represented as being responsible for the success or failure of men (“With such a wife at the hearthstone, it is easy to understand why husband and sons live clean, noble lives”) and was delimited in such a way as to be portrayed in opposition to intellectual, financial, or educational endeavors. Women’s domestic work was “a far finer thing than the writing of any novel, or the painting of any picture,” etc. Thus, while between 1850 and 1900 gender expectations for Adventist women did not preclude extra-domestic activities, later the Adventist ideal for women was defined strictly within the bounds of homemaking and motherhood, and these responsibilities were more directly associated with the success or failure of men in particular, and of society generally. (“The home that is not in harmony with the laws of purity, justice, high ideals, and obedience is sending out a poisoning stream that will leave its blight everywhere.”⁷⁷)

Increased Opportunities and Responsibilities for Women, 1940-1945

The *Review*’s newly embraced emphasis on separate, gendered spheres of responsibility (home, women; world, men) was briefly amended between 1940 and late 1945 to include women’s participation in wage labor and, concurrently, to reemphasize the importance of women’s participation in public religious work. As women in secular society were invited, during World War II, to contribute to the paid labor force in occupations and positions normally reserved for men, Adventist women portrayed in the *Review* also left the domestic domain long enough to be employed “regular hours” in addition to “keeping house.”⁷⁸

Although the ideal Adventist woman was still a wife and mother who was a “true helpmeet” to her husband, was “selfless” and who completed the families’ cooking, cleaning and “mending,” she was not overly involved in nor

dependent upon her children’s lives.⁷⁹ One *Review* article, for example, depicted a woman pursuing interests independent of her homemaking responsibilities: “For the first time since I’ve been their mother, I’m studying something for myself! I have just discovered that my children’s interests have been absorbing so much of my attention that I have almost no interest apart from them.”⁸⁰ Other articles sought to justify women’s participation in public religious endeavors:

We are sure that Paul never intended that his words, which were directed to a specific situation, should be used to prevent any woman, simply because she was a woman, from taking any active part in public church services . . . We believe that it is altogether reasonable for us to hold that there are other women, besides those strictly called prophets [Ellen White] who have been called of God to do a public work, and who have received a special training for that public work in schools set apart by God.⁸¹

Retreat to Inequality, 1945-70

The *Review*’s penchant, between 1940 and late 1945, for defining women’s responsibilities as including, but not being limited to, housekeeping and mothering, was reversed immediately and completely following the close of the war. As secular employers laid off female employees to make room for male workers returning from military service, and as the secular media encouraged, and attempted to legitimize, women’s forced retreat from “male” (higher wage) occupations, *Review* writers resumed a definition of appropriate gender behavior that precluded

(even more strictly and overtly than it had prior to 1940) women’s participation in the paid labor force, and delimited women’s responsibilities as involving solely mothering and homemaking.

Furthermore, *Review* writers did not hesitate to blame employed wives, especially mothers, for perceived social ills. Immediately following the close of the war, one author noted a rise in juvenile delinquency and attributed the problem to employed women:

With too many mothers working, the atmosphere of security and stability that a child needs so much has departed from many homes . . . The lure of easy money has taken many mothers away from their homes, and their children are left to shift for themselves.⁸²

Claiming that women were employed for wages because “there has been so much emphasis on earning more money, on a higher standard of living,” *Review* writers criticized women who “farmed out” their children (placed them in child care) and accused them in so doing, of contributing to the “breakup of the home.”⁸³ Lamenting that “there was a time when women felt that the highest possible vocation that they could fulfill was in the home and in motherhood,”⁸⁴ the *Review* presented a bleak picture of children left alone, “crying” for “good mothers—mothers who make home and loved ones their first duty.”⁸⁵

The Christian age was ushered in with glory. Both men and women . . . were teachers of the people

By the 1950s, women were told repeatedly that wage labor participation would interfere with, perhaps even circumvent, the well-being of their offspring: "What a fearful

thing it is for a mother to yield to the temptation to earn a high salary while others look after her children. 'Others' can never give the child the motherly interest and care the child deserves and requires."⁸⁶ Women (wives/mothers) were portrayed by *Review* authors of the 1950s and 1960s as being responsible for their own children's success, and therefore, on a more general level, for the moral success or failure of society:

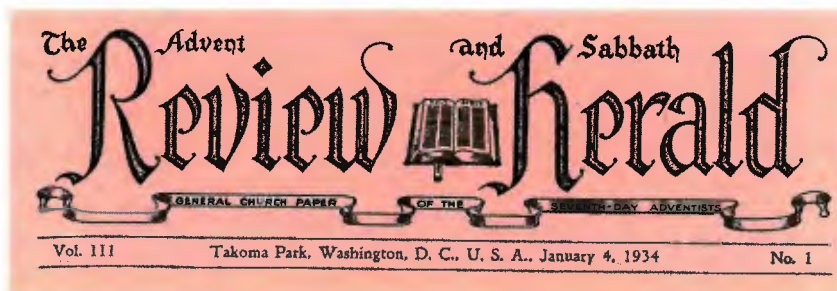
The power of woman in shaping the destinies of men and of nations has always been greater than that of man. We have always expected women to live purer and better lives than men. As long as women are what they should be, even if men go wrong, there is hope for the future; but when women go wrong there is nothing to hope for. The world will then go from bad to worse, until, as in Noah's day, conditions will become hopeless.⁸⁷

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the *Review* presented Adventist women with ideals of womanhood which failed to extend beyond the borders of domesticity. One fictitious female character in a 1950 *Review*, when asked what she had accomplished during the day, replied that,

I had the sweetest consciousness of helping those about me as best I could, and keeping the home running smoothly. This is the privilege and duty of the mother in the home. Had I failed in any phase of my part of the program, it would have brought disappointment and inconvenience and perhaps discouragement to those dear ones depending on me.⁸⁸

No longer did the *Review* present possibilities for women's foreign evangelical work or attempt to endorse public religious endeavors by women. Instead, Adventist women were informed (in an article on child-rearing) how to "prepare" "homemakers and breadwinners,"⁸⁹ and told that while worldly failures might be rectified, failure in the home (the woman's/wife's/mother's domain) was of "eternal significance."⁹⁰

Women were, the *Review* of the 1950s repeated consistently, "important to God's work": "God created woman to be a helpmeet."⁹¹ "Many a man enjoys a fame that is really due to his self-sacrificing mother. People applaud the president, the governor, [etc.], but the real secret of their success is in that unknown, unappreciated, unheralded mother."⁹² Thus, women's value was made dependent upon personal sacrifice and the achievement of others: "The greatest heroes in the world are the mothers. No one else makes such sacrifices or endures anything like the suffering that she uncomplainingly endures for her children."⁹³ *Review* authors of the 1950s propounded a feminine gender ideal that precluded personal aspiration,



ambition or purpose outside of the domestic context.

The redefinition, and ultimate limitation, of woman's sphere was accompanied, in the *Review* of the 1950s, by a reformulation of gender-appropriate behavioral expectations for

men. Increasingly held responsible for providing financially for their nuclear families, Adventist men were told that, "a desire to protect and a zeal to provide are a father's true nature . . . In the sweat of his brow he works untiringly, that he may provide well for those in his care."⁹⁴

Instead of being encouraged to participate in parenting or house-keeping, the Adventist husband/father of the 1950s was told that when he saw "the burdens and cares that fall upon his companion's shoulders as wife and mother and homemaker" he could help to relieve those burdens by "understanding" and refraining from complaining when "things have not gone smoothly at home."⁹⁵

Men, portrayed as strong, intelligent leaders,⁹⁶ were to protect the family from external threats and to provide financially for family members: "Father is the 'houseband,' keeping things firm and strong on all sides. He takes the blows of life's hardships. Mother is the hub—the center of the home. She works faithfully from within to keep it firm and strong."⁹⁷ Although the "[Mother's] beautiful place in life is as important as father's strength and leadership," her fundamental responsibility was to provide for his comfort and well being, thus allowing him the emotional resources necessary to confront the harsh and hostile world: "In the darkest hours, when burdens like mountains weigh him down, when adversities have left him almost exhausted in the midst of fierce struggles that try every fiber of his manhood, she speaks courage" and "comforts him"; "Good mothers are the healers and soothers of human woes."⁹⁸

Thus limited to the domestic sphere, Adventist women were informed that wage labor "robbed" their families of "time and energy that rightfully belonged to them."⁹⁹ *Review* readers were presented with a bleak picture of the hypothetical home of an employed mother, in which:

A lonely child arrives home from school. Regardless of how lovely the furniture, if the mother is not there, if she is away working, he stands on the threshold in dismay. His whole being longs for the loving welcome that should await him. The emptiness of the house chills his very soul, and he shrinks from entering.¹⁰⁰

This predicament, according to *Review* authors, presented hazards for children (primarily "juvenile delinquency") and families:

The late entrance of a weary, nervous, and often irritable mother does not restore much. It may even chill [the child] more. The father's arrival to greet a tired companion and an unhappy youngster, in a disorderly home, does nothing to remedy the situation. Tense nerves are like clouds in a thunder storm.¹⁰¹

At the same time, women who participated in wage labor were accused of sacrificing “the child’s good character or [the] child’s eternal life” for material possessions:

Mothers give various excuses for their away-from-home job, but if each of these is studied and analyzed it will be seen that in most cases the real reason is selfishness, thoughtlessness on the person’s part, or placing too high a value on earthly possessions.¹⁰²

Responding to the Feminist Challenge, 1970-80

Although the *Review* had not hesitated, in the 1950s and 1960s, to embrace and even embellish the popular secular understanding of gender appropriate behaviors and spheres of influence, when, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the feminist movement began to assert that these models were limiting and unfair, the *Review* hesitated to explore or endorse the criticisms. Instead, as SDA mothers of young children increasingly began to leave the domestic realm in order to participate in wage labor,¹⁰³ the *Review* variously resorted to reiterating previous claims regarding men’s and women’s roles, and later, hesitantly began to explore those claims more critically.

In one 1970 attempt to reassert the periodical’s 1950s/1960s position regarding women’s appropriate role, an author asserted that Eve’s “downfall” “was her desire to rise to a ‘higher sphere’ than her present status afforded her.” The author concluded that the same was “true of women today! How true!” In his critique of “modern Eves” the author singled out employed mothers for criticism:

Many mothers today are spending their energies striving to reach that “higher sphere” all the while neglecting the important task at hand, that of rearing their families. We do not have to look far to see mothers who, while trying to satisfy their own personal ambition and hunger for unnecessary praise, are leaving their families to suffer for the want of a real mother.¹⁰⁴

Another writer used the *Review* to insist that the archetypal Adventist woman was a proficient homemaker and wife who had few desires beyond meeting her husband’s needs: “A man should look for a wife who has no desire for a college education and/or career. She should be a good, old-fashioned girl from ‘down on the farm’ who realizes her responsibilities to her children and husband.”¹⁰⁵

Other Adventist authors used the *Review* as a format through which to initiate (diffidently, at first) discussion and criticism of blatant gender stereotypes. Betty Holbrook asserted that women might seek employment “out of necessity, . . . out of boredom when the children are grown, . . . [or] for the challenge it brings.” Though she failed to assail the assumption that housework was primarily women’s responsibility, Holbrook did aver that when women were employed “the family can be put to work too”: “It’s good for them, teaches them how to work, how to be thoughtful to others, and gives the fam-

ily a chance to work together at projects . . . [Family members] may grumble in the process, but someday they will be more than grateful to you.”¹⁰⁶ In addition, Holbrook contested the notion that self-sacrifice by women was inherently beneficial; women, she wrote, “must provide for quiet hours [for themselves]. . . [and] for sufficient sleep and health.”¹⁰⁷

In another example, in a series of *Review* articles “especially for men,” Roland Hegstad introduced Adventists to a number of contemporary feminist critiques. Condemning objectification of women and the inherent limitations of gender-role stereotyping, Hegstad encouraged Adventist men to accept women as unique individuals and to communicate openly with their wives.¹⁰⁸ In a later article, Hegstad maintained that Adventists had blamed “youth’s rebelliousness” on “false causes” like “working mothers” rather than accepting individual and social responsibility for children’s behavior, and harshly reprimanded (hiring and wage) gender discrimination in SDA employment practices. He concluded that, “women’s lib is on the march. The ‘good old days’ of male dominance are giving way to the delightful days of the emancipated female.”¹⁰⁹

Although *Review* authors of the 1970s and 1980s at times addressed such topics as the use of sexist language in Adventist publications and worship services,¹¹⁰ and Adventist-sponsored child care for employed parents,¹¹¹ most authors agreed that any challenge to gender norms as they had been defined in the *Review* during the two previous decades, was inherently a secular threat to Adventism’s distinct identity. Although the gender standards advocated in the *Review* throughout the 1950s and 1960s were compatible with popular secular expectations of those decades, when those expectations were challenged, the challenge was identified as secular and as threatening norms considered necessary to the perpetuation of distinct Adventist belief and practice. *Review* editors explicitly identified feminism as a secular threat to Adventism’s distinct identity: “It is important for us to avoid unnecessary offense to any group. But let us not become so relevant that we become irrelevant. In our efforts to do justice to the feminist movement or any other contemporary movement, let us not do injustice to the word of God.”¹¹²

Reiterating the gender paradigm defended in the *Review* of the 1950s and 1960s, *Review* authors insisted that “both the Bible and the spirit of prophecy state that a woman’s greatest work is that of homemaker.”¹¹³ Calling any deviation from a mother’s commitment to keeping house and caring for family members “unfortunate,” *Review* authors charged women with the responsibility of “lift[ing] men to new heights of morality and spiritual achievement.”¹¹⁴ Employed mothers were deemed, in the *Review*, unable to fulfill these “God-given duties”¹¹⁵ and further, of harming their children irrepara-

The Review added a dimension of religious responsibility and authority to Victorian expectations

bly¹¹⁶ presently and eternally.¹¹⁷

In contrast to the “selfless” mother who chose to stay at home with her children, the employed mother was “selfish,” compelled to pursue wage employment in order to satisfy personal desires. Employed women were portrayed as participating in wage labor in order to purchase superfluous material items (“We should consider . . . carefully before taking a job as a telephone operator so that our sons can drive Hondas and our living rooms sport a color TV”)¹¹⁸, to “feel fulfilled,” or in order to “broaden their horizons.”¹¹⁹ Employed women were depicted as uncaring and materialistic: “Too often the chief reason why women feel it necessary to work outside the home, leaving the family without a warm center and letting the children fend for themselves, is that the family is materialistic.”¹²⁰ At the same time, women who were employed in order to “‘find themselves,’ or . . . search [for] an identity”, “put their own interests and goals above those of everyone else in the family.”¹²¹ These sentiments led one author to conclude that employed women needed liberating, “not from the menial tasks of housekeeping, but from selfishness”,¹²² and another to surmise that “it seems that some of us have gone a little too far in our liberation.”¹²³

Reconsidering Separate Spheres, 1980-Present

Despite vehement opposition by a majority of *Review* writers in the 1970s to any rethinking of gender norms and expectations as they had been outlined in the *Review* of the 1950s and 1960s, the *Review* began, by the 1980s (especially in the mid to late 1980s and early 1990s) to reconsider its previous strict definition and separation of gender appropriate behaviors and spheres. While women in the *Review* continued to be couched exclusively as homemakers, husbands began to be encouraged to concern themselves with their spouses’ well-being, and to express love for their wives in “daily acts of kindness”; specifically, husbands were to encourage their wives’ spiritual growth¹²⁴ and to participate more actively in parenting.¹²⁵ Although one author admonished men to “just keep on bringing home the dollars”,¹²⁶ another urged fathers to “show affection! Kiss your children! Boys need love just as much as girls!”¹²⁷

While (subtly) rethinking masculinity in the *Review*, Adventist authors took the opportunity to discuss the husband/wife relationship, and to portray it with a renewed emphasis on equality and mutuality. Women, the *Review* asserted, should submit to their husbands, but the “wife’s submission [was] not one of bondage, but one of mutual effort toward a beautiful goal.”¹²⁸ A woman was not to “lose her identity or dignity to her husband.” Rather, “she [was to] contribute her individuality [to the relationship] as he [did] his to make a new creation.”¹²⁹ This ideal of partnership (benevolent patriarchy), which



implicitly incorporated submission and dominance, but did so in the context of attempting to recognize a standard of equality and mutuality being advocated

by the feminist movement, left men in a position of leadership in the nuclear family, but redefined that position as one of “tireless effort, selfless ministry, and sacrificial love”;¹³⁰ the husband was to “be willing to share” with his spouse “the duty of ministry” in the family and the “burdens of marriage.”¹³¹ Within this renewed relational context, husbands were to “never stop working” for their partner’s “growth, uplifting and welfare.”¹³²

Review authors also commenced exploration of alternative role expectations for women. One 1985 article, for example, explored possible positive implications of women’s participation in wage labor. The author asserted that “the problems a family faces when mother goes to work can either destroy or reinforce the qualities that make a house a home” and added that all family members should contribute to completing “household chores” in order to ensure the latter outcome.¹³³ Offering practical tips for provision of child care, division of household labor, and financial and career planning, the author concluded that “[for women] working has its rewards and problems. But you, your family, and your relationship to God can survive and even thrive while you work.”¹³⁴

The shift in the *Review* toward more inclusive definitions of gender appropriate activities and roles did not go uncontested; initially some of the periodical’s authors resisted any reformulation of gender ideals, particularly as applied to women. One week following Sharen Todd’s above assertion Arnold Wallenkampf used the *Review* to insist that:

Cooking, cleaning, washing and mending are not ends in themselves, but a means to the end of rearing a healthy family to be pure, honest, and courageous men and women who will one day walk the gold-paved streets of New Jerusalem because their mothers built into them characters fit for heavenly society.¹³⁵

A woman’s role as mother was presented as the most appropriate life choice for women:

Some women may have been teachers, nurses, office workers, or musicians before they married and became mothers. Now they feel they are not using those skills; but rearing a family provides ample scope for all their skills and talents. The mother becomes the child’s most effective teacher, sharing with her children the secrets of successful living, imparting knowledge that will open to them the pearly gates . . . Her work is more important than that of any profession.¹³⁶

Nonetheless, *Review* authors were working, by the mid-1980s, to promote an understanding of gender norms and behavior more consistent with that presented in the *Review* of 1850-1880 than 1950-1980. One 1985 article noted that, “homemaking is more than physical, material work; it is an emotional, spiritual responsibility” and encouraged all family members—men, women and chil-

dren—to participate in “sharing values, listening well, communicating intimately, accepting another’s feelings, [and] offering respect.”¹³⁷ Women were no longer held solely responsible for the child’s present well-being or eternal destiny. Adventists were told that, “if the wife decides to stay home while the husband earns the income, the couple needs to examine the emotional needs unique to their roles and needs to plan for them.”¹³⁸ Adventist husbands were admonished “to recognize openly [their spouses’] job[s] as equally important”¹³⁹ and SDA women were told that they had “every right to expect [their spouse] to aid in [their] individual development.”¹⁴⁰ Adventists were told to be supportive of those women who participated in wage labor (“we need not create unjustified guilt”)¹⁴¹ and were increasingly cautioned to work toward gender parity in primary and secondary relationships. This reemphasis on gender norms in a manner allowing for less strictly divided gender appropriate spheres and behaviors was presented as being not inconsistent with early Adventist gender expectations: “Adventist history is replete with women who made major contributions, some in quiet ways behind the scenes, but many in positions of leadership. Thus each modern family has to decide for itself [concerning appropriate gender roles and activities] considering its needs, goals, responsibilities and convictions of God’s leading.”¹⁴² By the early 1990s, *Review* writers embraced a revised and less rigid understanding of gender behaviors, responsibilities and spheres. “If the traditional concept of the husband as sole breadwinner is disappearing,” the *Review* argued by 1990, “then it is time that the traditional concept of the woman as exclusive caretaker of the home disappear with it. And we’ll all be better for it.”¹⁴³

As *Review* authors of the 1980s and 1990s challenged gender ideals as they had been promulgated in the periodical in prior decades, the *Review* simultaneously began to grapple with the issue of women’s public participation in Adventist leadership and worship, an issue with which *Review* editors had struggled over a century previously. Roger Dudley (like James White) asserted that Pauline prohibitions against women’s active participation in religious worship were culturally and historically specific and not relevant to contemporary Adventism. Other authors noted that among Adventists “a consensus is developing that we have no prohibition in scripture or in Ellen White’s writings against the ordination of women to the gospel ministry.”¹⁴⁴ and that, “if Adventists take the Bible seriously, if we take Ellen White seriously, only one course lies ahead: equality, equity and justice for women. Our attitudes, behaviors, policies, and practice must come into line.”¹⁴⁵

The sociological theory of sectarian development, although it has not heretofore considered questions of gender, can provide insight in attempting to understand

and explain the relationship, within Adventism, between the movement’s advocacy of specific gender ideals and the movement’s evolving response to the world. Weber asserted that sectarian movements originally ‘allot equality’ to women and other non-privileged groups because, in identifying themselves through hostility to the world (secular society), sectarians maintain identity by contrast. This being the case, sectarians may institute norms of behavior and ideals not only dissimilar from those of secular society, but distinctly in contrast to those of the world. The sociological theory of sectarian development also notes, however, that as sectarian movements become bureaucratized and seek accommodation to secular society, positions of leadership and authority available to women diminish.

The evolution of Adventist women’s ‘place’ (and more broadly of gender norms and ideals generally) may be understood within this theoretical construct of sectarian development. Seventh-day Adventism originally arose as a small, scattered band of believers came together in an attempt to institute minimal legal organization so they could collectively own property. As former Millerites, early Adventists knew that Christ would soon come to the earth, making extensive worldly involvement, in either proselytizing or property ownership, unnecessary. The group was characteristic of a sect—Adventists despised secular involvement and found a collective identity in repudiating the world. Even after formal organization (1860) and eventual (limited) participation in evangelical activity and institution building, Adventists believed themselves the sole possessors of truth and defined “‘true Protestantism’ in terms that could only include Seventh-day Adventists.”¹⁴⁶

In this context of a carefully delimited sectarian identity—the most important aspect of which was the urgency surrounding Christ’s imminent return—all Adventists

were counted necessary to the work; men and women, old and young, black and white, were encouraged and expected to further efforts deemed necessary to hasten Christ’s coming. Soon, institution building was identified as being not only important, but essential to furthering the goals Adventist leadership identified. Institutionalization became synonymous with evangelism and “as various departments [within Adventism] grew, and

more responsibilities were heaped upon the individuals in charge of these departments, women generally disappeared from all leadership spots.”¹⁴⁷ Adventist growth toward institutionalization and denominationalization began in earnest following World War II, and burgeoned through the 1950s and 1960s, with greatly increased evangelical efforts, the expanded use of mass media, and an overall de-emphasis of the unique sectarian characteristics of Seventh-day Adventism. For women, these developments signaled more limited opportunities: “The growing

“It is a mistake to teach boys the false idea that ‘women’s work’ is something beneath them.”

professionalism of the whole structure . . . served effectively to exclude women from positions of responsibility."¹⁴⁸

During the 1970s, in the face of internal challenges to some of Adventism's most basic unique beliefs, growing numbers of Adventists, particularly prominent SDA writers, thinkers and leaders, began to associate Adventism's move away from its distinct sectarian heritage with an unwanted capitulation to worldliness, and to call for a return to sectarian distinction. Traditionalists of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, however, while seeking to re-institute what they perceived to be Adventism's original (and therefore correct) theology, also advocated a return to socio-religious norms most prevalent in Adventism during the 1950s and 1960s (norms which during those decades actually reflected popular secular trends) because those norms were seen as being



were forced from those positions completely by 1950) occupied proportionately fewer positions of leadership, by 1973, than SDA women had had during the 1930s and 1940s (and certainly fewer positions than they had had prior to those decades), but were, furthermore, confronted with ideals of womanhood that severely restricted their options, and informed that those ideals were not secular, but divine.

Adventism experienced, then, "a direct correlation between the growth of hierarchical church structure and the decline of female participation and lay involvement in the decision making processes of the church."¹⁴⁹

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²See, e.g., Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," *American Sociological Review* 28 (1963): 539-549; Bryan Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and new Social Movements in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); and Rodney Stark, and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1985).

³Cp. Charles Teel Jr., "Withdrawing Sect, Accommodating Church, Prophesying Remnant: Dilemmas in the Institutionalization of Adventism," (unpublished paper presented at the 1980 theological consultation for Seventh-day Adventist Administrators and Religion Scholars. Loma Linda University, Heritage Room).

⁴Thus, sociologist Max Weber, for instance, maintains that sectarian religion "is characterized by a tendency to allot equality to women.

Charles H. Barfoot, and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic Vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches," *Review of Religious Research* 22. 1 (1980): 2-17.

⁵Barfoot and Sheppard 4.

⁶I examined all *Review* articles to assess (1) attitudes regarding accommodation or hostility to secular society and (2) the gender ideals and expectations promoted.

⁷Sabbatarian adventists continued, through the 1850s, as a "scattered flock of believers." Though the "little remnant" had, by 1850, generally agreed on shared tenets of belief and practice (including the seventh-day sabbath, conditional mortality, the spirit of prophecy, the imminent, personal advent of Christ, baptism by immersion, and foot washing), sabbath-keepers were often geographically isolated, and alone in their religious study and worship. United principally by the regular publication of the *Review*, sabbatarian adventists considered themselves God's remnant people—outside of an organized religious institution and therefore outside of Babylon.

⁸Uriah Smith, "Christianity Requireth a Renunciation of the World, and All Worldly Tempers," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 8.10 (1858): 73-75.

⁹"A Good Mother," *Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 42.20 (1873): 155.

¹⁰Ellen G. White, "Separation from the World," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 61.2 (1884): 17.

¹¹Ellen G. White, "The True Standard of Righteousness," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 62.34 (1885): 65.

¹²Albert Stone, "Separation From the World," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 63.15 (1886): 227.

¹³H. Peebles, "Separation From the World," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 64.18 (1887): 274.

¹⁴Ellen G. White, "No Union Between the Church and the World," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.9 (1895): 129.

¹⁵Ellen G. White, "Friendship with the World is Enmity with Christ," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 69.34 (1892): 529.

¹⁶Ellen G. White, "No Union Between the Church and the World," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.9 (1895): 129.

¹⁷Ellen G. White, "Fellowship with the World Forbidden," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.48 (1894B): 753.

¹⁸Ellen G. White, "Be Separate," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.46 (1894A): 721.

¹⁹Ellen G. White, "Separation From the World," *Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 87.34 (1910): 3.

²⁰F. D. N., "Will Adventists Alone Be Saved? Part I," *Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald* 112.1 (1935): 6-7.

In 1935 the official Seventh-day Adventist statement of belief was changed to reflect this new belief that all people (not only Adventists) could attain salvation. Fundamental belief number nine was changed from reading, "immortality and eternal life come only through the gospel," to asserting, that "immortality is bestowed upon the righteous at the second coming of Christ" (see *SDA Yearbook*, 1931 and 1935 editions).

²¹F. L., "What makes a Seventh-day Adventist?" *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 117.1 (1940): 6-7.

²²One 1950 *Review*, typical of the *Reviews* of the decade, contained a high proportion of articles discussing evangelical labors, including: "Religious Liberty and the Earth's Closing Work," "Christ and His Service are Forever

Mine," "A New Day in Southern Asia," "The Time Has Come to Give God Your Best," "Advances on a 3,000 Mile Front," "Progress of the Message in the Dominican Republic," "The Radio Reaches Hearts," "Ringing Doorbells for God," and "Pictures of Progress." *The Review and Herald*, Vol. 127, Number 7.

²³H. L. Rudy, "Beware the Alien Yoke," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.5 (1955): 4-5, 26.

²⁴R. H. Wentland, "Come Unto Me," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 127.10 (1950): 9.

²⁵R. R. Figuhr, "The President's Page," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 137.1 (1960): 3.

²⁶Francis D. Nichols, "How Literal Are We?" *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 142.49 (1965): 12-13.

²⁷K. H. W., "Capitulation to Culture," *Adventist Review* 147.1 (1970): 13-14.

²⁸W. J. Hackett, "The Church's Terrible Ordeal," *Review* 152.1 (1975): 4-5.

²⁹Sidney Dakar, "Outward Splendor Without Internal Purity," *Adventist Review* (February 27) (1975): 6-7.

³⁰Kraid I. Ashbaugh, "The Truth," *Adventist Review*. 157.12 (1980): 14.

³¹Gordon Bietz, "Dream or Die!" *Adventist Review* 162.36 (1985): 7.

³²Paul A. Gordon, "How Shall We Warn the World?" *Adventist Review* 170.26 (1993): 13-15.

³³Even nineteenth century feminists who worked for more equitable treatment of women in society perceived their goals "in terms of women's traditional role." Therefore, Adventist women who were actively engaged in movement work, but perceived that work in the context of a traditional understanding of their role in society were as "radical" as many early feminists in the sense that they defined women as having important work outside of their traditional sphere as well as within it.

³⁴B. F. Robbins, "To the Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 15.3 (1860): 21-22.

³⁵S. C. Welcome, "Shall Women Keep Silent in the Churches?" *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 15.14 (1860): 109-110.

³⁶Welcome 110.

³⁷Welcome 110.

³⁸Welcome 110.

³⁹"Shall Women Speak in the Church?" *Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 37.13 (1871): 99.

⁴⁰Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (New York: Harper 1989) argue that women's role in Adventism was not specifically differentiated until the 1880s, because the dominant issue in Adventism regarding women was whether Ellen White should prophesy in front of men.

⁴¹J. N. Andrews, for example, agreed with Welcome that Pauline exhortations were historically specific and not meant to have general application, and presented numerous examples of Biblical women who served in public positions of church leadership as illustrations of the positions that women should assume in Adventism. George Tenney concurred that Paul's injunction was no longer

applicable and accused those who cited it in order to prevent women from fully participating in the movement of "look[ing] no further than these texts and giv[ing] them sweeping application." J. N. Andrews, "May Women Speak in Meeting?" *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 45.3 (1879): 54.

⁴²George C. Tenney, "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ," *Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath*. 69(May 24) (1892): 26.

⁴³James White, "Women in the Church," *Review and Herald*, 45.4 (1897): 74.

⁴⁴Prior to 1880, Adventist women's roles as wives and homemakers were not emphasized in the movement (cp. Bull and Lockhart 1989) although mainline Protestantism had embraced the cult of domesticity (see below) by the 1830s-1840s.

⁴⁵N. J. Bowers, "May Women Publicly Labor in the Cause of Christ?" *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 57.24 (1881): 373.

⁴⁶Edgar Caro, "The Mother," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 73.1(1895): 7.

⁴⁷Eliza H. Morton, "To the Sisters Everywhere," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 62.31 (1885): 4.

⁴⁸Armory, "Only My Mother," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 67.33 (1890): 517.

⁴⁹Bowers 373.

⁵⁰Bowers 372.

⁵¹Eliza H. Morton, "To the Sisters Everywhere," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 62.31 (1885): 4.

⁵²S. M. I. Henry, "The Woman's Work (Compiled writings of E.G. White)," *The Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 76.23 (1899): 357.

⁵³S. M. I. H., (No title) *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 76.2 (1899): 21.

⁵⁴The Rights of Home," *Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 46.3 (1875): 19.

⁵⁵Paul E. Gros, "Christian Family Relations," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 68.7 (1891): 101.

⁵⁶C Bull, and Lockhart 184.

⁵⁷Edgar Caro, "The Father," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 73.52 (1895B): 822.

⁵⁸"Are Wives Mendicants?" *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.43 (1895): 678.

⁵⁹T., "The Man of the House," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.17 (1895): 261; "The Wife and the Pocketbook," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 72.28 (1895): 437.

⁶⁰Sel. "Consult Your Wife," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 107.44 (1890): 213.

⁶¹"Are Wives Mendicants?" 678.

⁶²Rebecca Reed, "Cooperative House-keeping," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 65.5 (1888): 64.

⁶³T., "The Man of the House," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.17 (1895A): 261.

⁶⁴T., "The Man of the House," 261.

⁶⁵"The Sensible Girl," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 66.32 (1889): 501.

⁶⁶"A Lesson For Girls," *Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 53.12 (1879): 91.

⁶⁷"Our Daughters," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 70.9 (1893): 133. Review writers also lamented the deplorable conditions and low wages that women working in urban areas were forced to endure and called on politicians to change those conditions (see Joseph Clarke, "City Working Women,"

Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath 37 7:83).

⁶⁸Banks, *Faces* 85.

⁶⁹Cp. Steve Daily, "The Irony of Adventism: The Role of Ellen G. White and Other Adventist Women in Nineteenth Century America," (DMin project, School of Theology at Claremont 1985).

⁷⁰G. E. Judd, "An Ideal Home," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 68.23 (1891): 357.

⁷¹G. C. T., "The Home," *Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald*. 71.33 (1894): 517.

⁷²A. R. Wilcox, "Home," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.40 (1894): 628.

⁷³Caroline Abbott Stanley, "Home-Making: A Vocation," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 77.25 (1900): 390-391.

⁷⁴H. A. Morrison, "Young Womanhood," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 87.1 (1910): 11-12.

⁷⁵These changed gender expectations did not go unnoticed or unopposed. In 1910, for instance, Luella Priddy protested the narrowing scope of women's responsibilities, adamantly and specifically calling for women's participation in Adventist labors: "There are many kinds of work in which women can successfully engage, and the spirit of prophecy tells us that their work is needed." Luella B. Priddy, "Women and the Message," *Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald* 87.2 (1910):11. See also Ruth Tyrell, "Work Women Can Do and Are Doing," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 107.3 (1930): 6.

⁷⁶Rebecca Bailey Stoner, "A Twisted Point of View," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 102.12 (1925A): 10. The text from which this passage was taken portrays a dissatisfied Adventist homemaker lamenting her lost career: "Mrs. Carr goes down everyday to her office work. I would so enjoy that sort of work. I want to earn money and have it all my own—have a bank account, like Mrs. Carr, and be independent. I am so tired of washing dishes and pots that they may be made dirty again, cooking all to be eaten . . . making garments to be worn out. I gave up my teaching when I married—for what? Why should a woman of brains spend her life doing what a woman with little or no brains can do, especially if she pays the woman who does her manual duties?"

⁷⁷Maud Harter, "The Home," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 102.49 (1925): 15-16.

⁷⁸Lucia Mallory, "Echoes," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 117.8 (1940): 15.

⁷⁹E. E. Andross, "And She is a Minister's Wife?" *Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald* 117.46 (1940): 12-14.

⁸⁰Lucia Mallory, "After College," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 122.15 (1945): 15.

⁸¹Francis D. Nichols, "Should Women Speak in the Church?" *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 117.41 (1940): 9, 15.

⁸²Ernest Lloyd, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Church," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 122.51 (1945): 11.

⁸³A. L. Bietz, "Why Homes Crumble," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.8 (1955): 12.

⁸⁴A. L. Bietz, "Why Homes Crumble" 12.

⁸⁵Helen K. Oswald, "Mother's Beautiful Place," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 132.9 (1955): 12.

⁸⁶Ernest Lloyd, "I Want My Mother," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 127.12 (1950): 14.

⁸⁷D. H. Kress, "The Influence of a Godly Mother," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 127.19 (1950): 15.

⁸⁸Martha Montgomery Odom, "Encouragement for Mothers," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 127.52 (1950): 14.

⁸⁹Raymond S. Moore, "Preparing Homemakers and Breadwinners," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 127.48 (1950): 13.

⁹⁰Helen K. Oswald, "Happier Homes in 1955," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.1 (1955): 12.

⁹¹Ida M. Johnson, "The Far-Reaching Influence of Christian Women," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.4 (1955): 12.

⁹²Ida M. Johnson 12.

⁹³Ida M. Johnson 12.

⁹⁴Helen K. Oswald, "Happier Homes in 1955," 12.

⁹⁵M. E. Olsen, "Father's Part in Homemaking," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.6 (1955B): 12.

⁹⁶Helen K. Oswald, "Happier Homes in 1955," 12.

⁹⁷Helen K. Oswald, "Mother's Beautiful Place," 12.

⁹⁸Helen K. Oswald, "Father's Part in Homecoming," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.6 (1955): 12.

⁹⁹Nancy Richard West, "A United Front," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.14 (1955): 12.

¹⁰⁰Mae Carberry Bradley, "The Seventh-day Adventist Home," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 132.32 (1955): 12.

¹⁰¹Mae Carberry Bradley, "The Seventh-day Adventist Home," 12. Although women's (mother's) participation in wage labor, according to the *Review*, destroyed the family, "there are circumstances that make it necessary for mothers to work, and there are widows who must support their families. In such cases we ask the Lord to help us counteract the resulting evils" (Bradley 1955:12).

¹⁰²Bernice Lunday 12. The *Review* of the 1950s and 1960s seemed to assume that only a biological mother was capable of providing her child necessary affection: Lunday wrote, "No thinking mother would consent to leave her child without love and guidance for a paycheck."

¹⁰³Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-day Adventism and Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: University Press, 1990).

¹⁰⁴Rose Otis, "Take Time to be a Mother," *Review and Herald* 147.8 (1970): 9.

¹⁰⁵"Homemaker's Exchange," *Adventist Review* 147.21 (1970): 12.

¹⁰⁶Betty Holbrook, "Especially for Women," *Review and Herald* 147.14 (1970): 9.

¹⁰⁷Betty Holbrook, "Especially for Women," *Review and Herald* 147.14 (1970): 9. Interestingly, like those who had defined a more narrow ideal for women and insisted upon self-sacrifice by women, Holbrook quoted Ellen White to substantiate her conclusions.

¹⁰⁸Roland R. Hegstad, "Especially for Men," *Adventist Review* 147.2 (1970): 10.

¹⁰⁹Roland R. Hegstad, "Especially for Men," *Adventist Review* 147.50 (1970B): 12.

¹¹⁰K. H. W., "Avoid Linguistic Sexisms," *Adventist Review* 152(January 30) (1975): 2.

¹¹¹Kay J. Kuzma, "The Loma Linda Children's Center," *Review* 152 (May 8) (1975): 10-12.

¹¹²K. H. W. 2.

¹¹³R. R. Bietz, "Preserving the SDA Home," *Adventist Review* 152 (February 6) (1975): 12.

¹¹⁴R. R. Bietz, "Preserving the SDA Home" 13.

¹¹⁵June Strong 16.

¹¹⁶Ivy R. Doherty, "Heart Cry: A Surrogate Mother Reacts to the Heart-Cry of Children Left in her Care by Working Mothers," *Review and Herald* 152 (September 4) (1975): 14-15.

¹¹⁷Phyllis Newman, "The Liberated Woman," *Adventist Review* 152(November 20) (1975): 8-9.

¹¹⁸June Strong 16.

¹¹⁹Ivy R. Doherty 14.

¹²⁰K. H. W., "The Home is in Big Trouble," *Adventist Review* 157.2 (1980): 3.

¹²¹K. H. W. 3.

¹²²June Strong 16.

¹²³Ivy R. Doherty 14.

¹²⁴Arla Stutzman, "Do You Really Love Your Wife?" *Adventist Review* 157.12 (1980): 11-12.

¹²⁵Alice Lowe, "What the Child Needs From You . . . Is You," *Adventist Review* 157.32 (1980): 11-12.

¹²⁶Jean Bakker, "Queen for a Day," *Adventist Review* 157.27 (1980): 14.

¹²⁷Marjorie Brannaka, "Love Can Be Learned," *Adventist Review* 157.53 (1980): 10-11.

¹²⁸Julia Vernon, "Husbands in the Imitation of Christ," *Adventist Review* 162.45 (1985): 12-13.

¹²⁹Julia Vernon 13.

¹³⁰Julia Vernon 13.

¹³¹Julia Vernon 13.

¹³²Julia Vernon 13.

¹³³Sharen R. Todd, "When Mother Goes to Work," *Adventist Review* 162.8 (1985): 11.

¹³⁴Sharen R. Todd 12.

¹³⁵Arnold V. Wallenkampf, "Mothers: The Keepers of the Springs," *Adventist Review* 162.19 (1985).

¹³⁶Arnold V. Wallenkampf 7.

¹³⁷Madeline S. Johnston, "Making Home, Making Church," *Adventist Review* 162.22 (1985): 11.

¹³⁸Madeline S. Johnston 12.

¹³⁹Madeline S. Johnston 12.

¹⁴⁰Julia Vernon 13.

¹⁴¹Julia Vernon 13.

¹⁴²Madeline S. Johnston 12.

¹⁴³Marvin Moore, "Happy Homes Require Equal Effort," *Adventist Review*, 167.26 (1990): 18.

¹⁴⁴Roy Adams, "The Annual Counsel's Vote on Women-II," *Adventist Review* 167.8 (1990): 4.

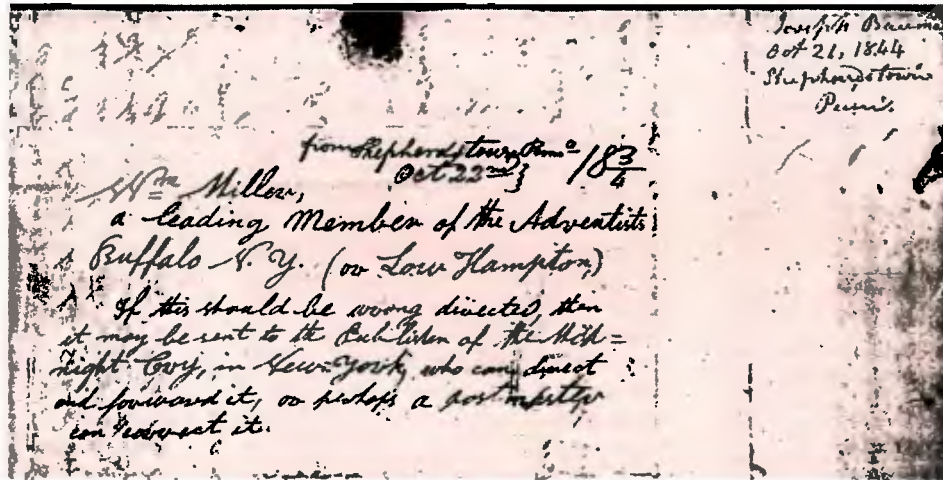
¹⁴⁵William G. Johnsson, "The Just Community—3," *Adventist Review* 167.9 (1990): 4.

¹⁴⁶Land 169.

¹⁴⁷Daily 240.

¹⁴⁸Pearson 153.

¹⁴⁹Daily 234. This correlation is not unique to Adventism, though it has not been explored in other instances, with the exception of Barfoot's brief examination of Pentecostalism. Barfoot found that originally, the Pentecostals' conviction they were "living 'in the last days' and actively involved in fulfilling biblical prophecy" led them to encourage women to participate fully in evangelism, teaching and other activities. Women were integral to the growth of Pentecostalism, forming denominations and serving in various religious roles—as missionaries, pastors, associate pastors and teachers. Pentecostals were criticized by mainline denominations for the expanded role women assumed. As Pentecostalism developed into a more organized, denominational movement, however, the number of women actively participating in the movement decreased by 25% and women were increasingly discouraged from assuming positions of leadership. (Charles H. Barfoot, and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic Vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches," *Review of Religious Research* 22. 1 (1980): 2-17.



Concluded . . .

written changes he made can be compared with the changing style of his handwriting in other documents. We still sing the hymn, “My Jesus, I Love Thee,” and attribute the words to William Rolf Featherstone (1846-1873). Yet I am quite certain that Miller’s poem was written a number of years before Featherstone was born. Did Miller borrow sentiments from someone else, or did Featherstone reflect Miller’s poem in his opening lines? Miller’s poem reads:

O, Jesus my Savior, I know Thou art mine;
For Thee all the pleasures of sin I resign;
Of objects most pleasing, I love Thee the best;
Without Thee I’m wretched, but with Thee I’m blest.

Thy Spirit first taught me to know I was blind;
Then taught me the way of salvation to find,
And when I was sinking in gloom dark and drear,
Thy mercy relieved me, and bid me not fear.

In vain I attempt to describe all my joy,
Though the language of men and of saints I employ
My Jesus is precious, my soul’s in a flame.
I’m raised to a rapture while praising His name.

I find Him in singing, I find Him in prayer;
In blest meditation, He always is there.
My constant companion, O, may we ne’er part.
All glory to Jesus! He dwells in my heart.

My Savior, I love Thee; I love Thee my Lord;
I love Thy dear people, Thy ways, and Thy word;
With tender emotions I love sinners too,
Since Jesus has died, to relieve them from woe.

I’m happy in Jesus, and cannot forbear,
Though sinners despise me, His love to declare.
His love overwhelms me; had I wings I would fly,
And praise Him in mansions prepared on high.

Then millions of ages, my soul would employ
In praising my Jesus, my God, and my Joy
Without interruption, where all the glad throng,
With pleasure unceasing, unite in the song.

Such a deep love for Jesus Christ is not the mark of a “fanatic”; it is an indication of genuine Christianity. That fact needs to be kept in clear focus as we assess the significance of William Miller and his movement.



GEORGE KNIGHT: HISTORY FOR A NEW GENERATION?

Knight, George R. *Anticipating the Advent: A Brief History of Seventy-day Adventists*. Boise, ID: Pacific 1993. Pp. 128. *Meeting Ellen White: A Fresh Look at Her Life, Writings, and Major Themes*. Hagerstown, MD: Review 1996. Pp. 127.

Reviewed by Arthur N. Patrick

During the past few months I have enjoyed several books on Adventist history, including these two slim paperbacks. Knight claims that *Anticipating the Advent* is “the story of how Adventists came to view themselves as a prophetic people, of their growing awareness of a responsibility to take their unique message to all the world, and of their organizational and institutional development as they sought to fulfill their prophetic mission” (5). Written for those who seek “a quick overview,” the book is intended for recent converts, church study groups, classes—anyone interested in the history of Adventism.

The six chapters of *Meeting Ellen White* are divided into three parts: her life and ministry, her writings, and her “integrative themes.”

An author in another discipline has been applauded for “making righteousness readable.” Books on Adventist history must be reader-friendly, expressed in language adapted to their intended audience. My students who have used these volumes confirm my impression that Knight passes this test with flying colors.

Books of this nature run the risk of distorting history because of their brevity. An author with Knight’s penchant for scholarship usually includes footnotes, but these could not be fitted within the space limits imposed by the publishers. At the end of each chapter there are useful lists of sources “For Those Who Would Like to Read More.” These average six items per chapter in *Anticipating the Advent*, and five per chapter in *Meeting Ellen White*. The latter volume also includes useful in-text references.

Some readers will note with dismay that the sources Knight lists are all

respected Seventh-day Adventist authors. His summary histories do not engage with the controversial literature of the past quarter-century which has deeply influenced the interpretation of Adventist history in general, and more particularly that of the life and writings of Ellen White. Those who wish to understand the consequent ferment will need to seek information elsewhere. For instance, one perceptive reader expressed dissatisfaction to me over Knight’s summaries of Ellen White’s role in the “Shut Door” phase of early Adventist history (see pages 51-52 in both books). If Ellen

torical sources) of the movement of which he is a believing member. Third, he is well aware how deeply the Seventh-day Adventist Church has been impacted by recent events.

During 1973, the General Conference started to implement a far-reaching decision: it began seriously to develop its headquarters archive and Ellen G. White/Seventh-day Adventist Research Centers in strategic locations around the world. Therefore, the primary sources which detail Adventist history and the development of Adventist thought are now widely available. Once technology gave church members ready access to the

ham radio and the photocopier, historians had to be even more careful about their facts and interpretations. The church of the 1990s has so many informed members and well-trained historians that any unsustainable claims are even more likely to be corrected. More than that, with a plethora of options for computer-assisted research and communication, every Adventist author can be certain of honesty-ensuring scrutiny.

All of this makes the present an exciting time to be “doing” Seventh-day Adventist history. George Knight seems to relish

this fact. I am grateful that I can tell my students in a course outline: “Currently, one of the most voluminous and insightful historians of Adventism is George R. Knight.” Thanks, Professor Knight, for producing, as well as your weightier tomes, *Anticipating the Advent* and *Meeting Ellen White*. Go on making summaries that help us reach toward viable options for understanding the way in which the past illumines the present and the future.

An essential characteristic of being an Adventist is to be a searcher for truth as for hidden treasure. That there is an ongoing dialogue and dialectic within Adventism about its heritage bodes well for its future.

Stop press! Knight’s next volume is now available: *Reading Ellen White*, Review, 1997.



White did not understand from her visions that “no more sinners would be converted,” why did she declare of those who fell off the “straight and narrow path”: “It was just as impossible for them to get on the path again and go to the City, as all the wicked world which God had rejected”? (Knight addresses this issue at greater length in a longer volume, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, another 1993 Pacific publication.)

However, Knight’s readers can be aware of three important considerations. His mind has been well-honed by his training, his experience in teaching and research, and his supervision of dissertations at Andrews University, giving him solid credentials. Second, he has an enviable level of access to the memories (his-

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