

**“The Testimonies of the Spirit of God”¹:
The *Testimonies for the Church* as Interpretative
Key for Understanding Ellen G. White’s Writings**

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Significance of the *Testimonies for the Church*

The estimated 100,000 pages of Ellen G. White’s writings is nothing short of staggering.² At the time of her death there were 24 books in circulation, a figure that was expanded considerably to about 130 publications a century later.³ I contend in this paper that the nine volumes of *The Testimonies for the Church* (hereafter referred to as *Testimonies* in italics, whereas I describe her self-description as a visionary in quotation marks as “testimonies”), published between 1855 and 1909, is the *most significant* of her overall prophetic writings for five specific reasons.

First, the sheer volume of the *Testimonies* at 4,739 content pages makes it the largest single genre of her prophetic career. This effect is amplified somewhat by the simple fact that various excerpts from *Testimonies* were published both before and after as tracts and pamphlets, as well as the source for many of her later books and posthumous compilations, sometimes republished as many as eight times. While I am still in the process of tabulating this, a preliminary estimate indicates that somewhere between 15% to 25% approximates more accurately just how influential the *Testimonies* are in terms of sheer volume.

Second, the scope of the *Testimonies* encompasses virtually every major theological topic and lifestyle issue during her lifetime. In most instances, at pivotal early points, she describes her views of education, health reform, or the great controversy

conflict, just to name a few examples. The *Testimonies* demarcates significant shifts in her thinking, even though, of course, she develops each of these themes into other later and significant in their own right works. Thus these later works are informed by her writings in the *Testimonies*, and sometimes even compiled from them.

Third, Ellen G. White considered the *Testimonies* by their very nature as proof of the genuineness of her prophetic authority. She describes the fact that the Bible describes the failures of great men and women of faith, as well as God's people collectively, throughout salvation history as the greatest sign of its inspiration.⁴ By extension she applied this to her own prophetic ministry and authority. It was her messages of reproof to friend as well as foe that denoted the genuineness of her prophetic authority. When criticized by church leaders for being too forceful in her reproofs, she defended herself that if anything she had not been severe enough. It was Satan who seeks "to shake the confidence of God's people in the voice of warning and reproof through which God designs to purify the church and prosper His cause."⁵ Thus those who rebelled against such messages were in fact "rebellious against the word of the Lord."⁶ By their very nature the *Testimonies* reproved "sins" and "cherished idols" presenting people with a choice to either deny self or to reject them.⁷

Fourth, during Ellen G. White's lifetime the *Testimonies* were the most widely circulated of all of her published writings. Beginning as a small tract in 1855, the first ten pamphlets were reprinted as the last section of *Spiritual Gifts*, volume 4, in 1864. They were republished in 1871 and 1879, and then the first 30 pamphlets were bound, as voted by the 1883 General Conference session into four volumes. Additional volumes were added up through 1909. These volumes received wide circulation during her lifetime.

Even James White, at the time of his death in 1881, had just completed raising \$10,000 to provide sets of the *Testimonies* for church members who were poor, as well as church libraries. This explains at least partially why most Seventh-day Adventist Churches are likely to have a set of the *Testimonies* if they have any of her writings at all. She urged that every Seventh-day Adventist family should own a set of the *Testimonies* and have daily evening readings from them.⁸

Fifth, Ellen G. White regarded the *Testimonies* as a covenant between herself and the Sabbatarian Adventist movement (and after 1863, with the Seventh-day Adventist Church). The first *Testimony* pamphlet was a result of a significant spiritual revival in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1855. During the previous three years James White refrained from publishing her views in the *Review and Herald*, the main Sabbatarian Adventist periodical. As the question arose about how to best circulate her visions, these early believers voted to distribute her visions in tract form. Thus it was during the formative stages of what became the Seventh-day Adventist church that mutual agreement became a sort of precedent covenant between God and the church over the prophetic gift. Thus early Sabbatarian Adventists believed that her admonitions could benefit others. The theme of “modern Israel” versus “ancient Israel” (that I develop later in this paper) is particularly illuminating with this regard, particularly in the Exodus experience. While she notes that God gave her messages of reproof, these messages were dependent to some degree to their collective acceptance of her counsel. This dynamic is evident in her warnings like this one: “I was shown that God would not frequently point out the wrongs committed by His people.”⁹ This undocumented covenant was reaffirmed once again at the 1883 General Conference session, which may explain the practice as to why the

General Conference even today continues in its regular sessions to vote a reaffirmation of the prophetic gift.

In the rest of my paper I give a broad overview of the *Testimonies* that is largely excerpted from my forthcoming book *Rank and File: Ordinary People Impacted by Extraordinary Visions*. I highlight the composition of the *Testimonies*, describe what I consider to be the most significant themes, examine the literary device of the “testimony” and reflect finally on hermeneutics along with some considerations for the future of Ellen G. White Studies.

Composition of the *Testimonies for the Church*

While I recognize the limitations of categories, there do appear to be five overarching types contained within the *Testimonies*: general counsel (49%), personal testimonies (26%), collective testimony (15%), theological counsels (6%), and narrative (4%). Within these categories Ellen G. White employs a wide variety of literary devices. Personal and collective testimonies are primarily letters written primarily to either individuals or groups of people. Other testimonies are sermons or public addresses. In a few instances she quotes from other individuals, such as J. G. Matteson’s dream that she viewed as confirming her prophetic ministry. And in other instances she has the reader of the *Testimonies* in mind as she comments parenthetically.¹⁰ At other times the *Testimonies* reads like a travel diary or she references extensive passages from her earlier ministry to buttress later arguments. Overall the *Testimonies* are incredibly rich and diverse.

A “general admonition” from Ellen G. White is counsel of a broad nature that applies to the collective church. Such admonitions tend to focus on a specific topic that she believes the church needs to pay attention to such as education, health reform, dress reform, or the need to develop health or educational institutions. Although they tend to be specific, they are broad in application. An example is Ellen G. White’s “plain testimony” about ministers written in the wake of Nathan Fuller’s apostasy.¹¹ This admonition is the longest “testimony” of the entire *Testimonies* in which she describes several times that her confidence in humanity had been severely shaken. Fuller was a serial philanderer who left the denomination after an affair came to light.¹² Thus it makes sense that Ellen G. White counseled to ministers in general about moral integrity.

In contrast, letters of admonition collectively make up the second largest category (41%). Within this category I have subdivided it into personal admonitions to a specific person or family (26%) versus a testimony to a group of families or a church (15%). Examples of the first are her admonitions to D. M. Canright and Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. “I tell you plainly, God is displeased with your course,”¹³ is a classic example of “testimonies of reproof.”¹⁴ Between the two of them, within the *Testimonies* Ellen G. White addressed more specific admonitions to them than to any other specific individuals (I’m calling it a tie). An example of the second is her counsels to the church in Battle Cree, Michigan, the headquarters of the denomination. Every volume in the *Testimonies* has some form of admonition addressed to this specific congregation. From Ellen G. White’s perspective, it was an extremely troubled congregation that caused her no end of grief.

The final two categories are a significant minority: her theological counsels (6%) and narratives (4%). Ellen G. White clearly wrote about the Bible and theology throughout the *Testimonies*, but some are so direct and unique that I have provided a separate category. The largest portion of these counsels is biblical expositions, of which the majority focuses on the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. They show an early interest that she later developed into later books such as *Steps to Christ* (1892) and *The Desire of Ages* (1898) and I was personally struck by how some of what I consider to be some of her most famous statements in these latter two books appear first in the *Testimonies*.¹⁵ Last but not least, Ellen G. White provides some significant autobiographical narratives. The first ten pamphlets in volume 1 are some of the earliest renditions of her early life and prophetic calling. Thus they form the basis for her later autobiographical accounts in *Early Writings* (1882) and elsewhere.

The composition of the *Testimonies* is diverse, but also contains significant overarching themes.

Major Themes

Ellen G. White addressed specific issues that changed with time. Students in my classes on Ellen G. White and Adventist history have frequently remarked that no one person could possibly have all of the problems addressed in the *Testimonies*. It is to state the obvious that Ellen G. White grew in her understanding. Yet I would also contend that there do appear to be consistent themes that are pervasive throughout all of the *Testimonies*. I believe it is these themes that help us to better appreciate how she viewed the *Testimonies*.

The key theological idea within the *Testimonies* is God's love for human beings (the word "love" is used 2,176 times alone). Consistently from her early counsels to the end of her life, she laced even the sternest admonitions with hope made possible through God's redemptive love. "God loves your family."¹⁶ She began another rebuke simply with: "Dear Brother, God loves you."¹⁷ Frequently she begins her "testimonies" with a reminder of God's personal interest in them. Such admonitions were furthermore an evidence of God's love for them. She also extended "love" from the divine-human to the relationships between human beings. Self-sacrificing love should characterize all human relationships. Thus she more often rebuked church members for their failure to lovingly observe Adventist lifestyle requirements and prioritized relationships over requirements (although ultimately she viewed "love" and "duty" as inseparable).

Another striking feature of the *Testimonies* is their visual composition. Consistently she frames her counsels in terms of light versus darkness. People have an opportunity to be a "channel of light"¹⁸ or "channels of God's light."¹⁹ The most common way that Ellen G. White begins a personal or collective admonition is to state that the person or persons are in darkness. "They think that they are in the light when they are groping in darkness."²⁰ They thus stumbled in the "blindness of self-deception"²¹ or "blind to your own errors."²² Within these admonitions she reframes the situation from the perspective of heaven. All heaven is light. Thus the human experience is a struggle between light versus darkness. One person who struggled spiritually was receiving "pure streams of light pour into his soul."²³ People are accountable for the light they have, and if they reject it, then it becomes darkness.²⁴ This visual illustration personifies the

implications of the “Great Controversy” metanarrative as it impacted the lives of everyday believers.

The unifying theological narrative is ancient versus modern Israel, which Ellen G. White believed was the Seventh-day Adventist Church. In her first vision she described herself as playing a role similar to the biblical Caleb and Joshua who scouted out the Promised Land. She later observed: “The history of the children of Israel was written for the benefit of those who live in the last days, that they may avoid following their example of unbelief.”²⁵ She believed that the history of the twelve spies had special application to Adventists waiting for the Second Coming.²⁶ She also referred to her husband, James White, who had a role similar as Moses was to Israel (although she later cautioned that he was not actually Moses but that this was simply a comparison).²⁷ She described the importance of health reform for early Adventists within this frame of reference. Adventists, who claimed to keep the Ten Commandments, had a responsibility to observe natural laws, similar to the children of Israel.²⁸ Thus health reform served a role for modern Israel to prepare a “fit people” who are ready for the Second Advent because “Heaven is all health.”²⁹ Another classic example is the debacle of the 1888 General Conference Session that came with her strong endorsement that she viewed as bringing revival and reformation. Ellen G. White characterized this entire experience as similar to that of Kadesh Barnea for the ancient Israelites who therefore had to wander in the wilderness for an additional 40 years.

Another notable and consistent theme is that of urgency. Ellen G. White firmly believed that the Second Coming of Jesus Christ would occur within her lifetime. She lived within the “perils of the last days.”³⁰ And even if he did not come, the fate of

individuals would be eternally sealed at their death. The present was a “time of probation” during which people “prepare for eternity.”³¹ The “shortness of time” frequently coincides with her admonition to create a sense of immediate urgency to change.³² On a very basic level Ellen G. White was a pragmatic evangelical committed to conversion. The reason people needed messages of reproof was because within they were selfish and needed to be converted, or that they had allowed “worldliness” to eclipse their Christian experience and therefore needed to be re-converted. A simple “theory of truth” was not enough from her perspective; every believer must have “experimental religion,”³³ a very common phrase in the *Testimonies*.

The combined result of these themes was effectively that Ellen G. White shaped more than anyone else a general ecclesiology or doctrine of the church. While some Adventist historians have spent a great deal of time, for obvious apologetic reasons, pointing out that Ellen G. White contributed theologically in a passive way during the early formative stage of the church (i.e. the Sabbath Conferences of 1848 to 1850), it can be easy to overlook what areas she did contribute (beyond the simple narrative of institution building). In what ways did these “testimonies” impact ordinary believers in the pew? The *Testimonies* provide a window into the world of everyday Adventists in the nineteenth century, yet compared to her other writings they have received almost no serious study. The one major area where I would make revisions to my contributions in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia* now that I have done this work on the *Testimonies* is to revise my biographical articles to reflect new identifications that illuminate these relationships. I believe this is and will be one of the more fruitful areas in grasping Ellen G. White’s cultural impact during her lifetime.

Traditional Adventist historiography has focused on the interplay between Ellen G. White and the core leadership of the denomination. Yet I believe that as just stated that some of the most fruitful research, in keeping with the study of lived religion that dominates the study of American religion over the past two decades, is to focus on *ordinary* individuals. A careful study of the *Testimonies* accomplishes this by at the very least identifying who these people were. In the *Testimonies* she critiques a wide variety of persons across the social spectrum (age, gender, race, and economic status): the disobedient child, the abandoned orphan, the pastor's spouse left behind while itinerating, the mute missionary to the mutes,³⁴ and so many more examples. A study of the *Testimonies* in and of itself obviously gives Ellen G. White's perspective, but through painstaking research in the future I hope to be able to identify more of the background behind each situation, including, when possible, the response and story of the person addressed in the "testimony." A good example of this, where careful historical work has been done thanks to Bill Knott, is the interplay between Ellen G. White and Hannah More (1808-1868), a missionary to the Native Americans, and later, to Africa, who returned to the United States and converted to Adventism.³⁵ Tragically, according to Ellen G. White, she is ostracized by the Battle Creek Church, which prompts a stern series of "testimonies" to that congregation for their callous and unchristian behavior.³⁶ In fact, she and James White offer to pay her travel expenses to return to Battle Creek, Michigan, but she dies before that can take place prompting still yet further admonition.³⁷

Another important aspect, upon which little is written, is that the *Testimonies* also reveal the perceived impact of the prophetic gift upon herself. She consistently describes within the *Testimonies* that she is doing this work out of a strict sense of "duty."³⁸ The

“law of duty is supreme.”³⁹ She also felt her own inadequacy to share her prophetic messages with others. At times she notes that she only has time to “dwell on the most essential things shown to me.”⁴⁰ Some times while she spoke in public she would see people in the audience whom she had seen in vision.⁴¹ At other times she was only able to address a specific individual at a church and recognized that she could no longer remember who the other people were.⁴² At one point she rebuked a church but could not recall their individual names. They needed to apply the counsel to themselves.⁴³ In still yet other instances Ellen G. White recognized people in the audience, but refrained from admonishing them because of the presence of unbelievers. She did not want to negatively tarnish their spiritual encounter. Yet one does grasp within the *Testimonies* a sense that she felt the prophetic mantle was a heavy burden. She was particularly bothered that some had “gone so far as to burn the written words of rebuke and warning.”⁴⁴ Such opposition, like biblical prophets, should be expected. Yet it took its toll on her health: she mentions on a number of occasions her struggle with insomnia.⁴⁵ At other times it could have a positive impact on her health, particularly when she claimed divine healing.

Prophetic Authority

The *Testimonies* provides an interpretative window into the nature of prophetic authority. Within the *Testimonies* Ellen G. White describes her own perspective of what it was like to be a prophet. While the historian can grasp glimpses of Ellen G. White’s personal life from her unpublished writings, especially her diary, these were the writings that she intended for people to read. Thus she provided for the church her perspective of prophetic authority.

In order to evaluate Ellen G. White's prophetic text I rely on Walter Brueggemann's *The Prophetic Imagination* (1978). By stressing "the constitutive power of imagination" he showed how prophets described an "alternative social reality." Prophets describe and therefore create an alternative world through prose, verse, and symbolic action. Therefore, through prophetic imagination, they create a consciousness that topples power and liberates society by spreading an alternative perception of reality. "The task of prophetic imagination," according to Brueggemann, "is to cut through the despair and to penetrate the dissatisfied coping that seems to have no end or resolution."⁴⁶

For Ellen G. White the seminal event of her life was the "Great Disappointment" when Christ did not return on October 22, 1844. At the time she was one of approximately fifty seers in New England claiming to have the prophetic voice, but it was her explanation of the Great Disappointment in her first vision, in December 1844, in which she dealt with her discouragement and despair. The Millerite revival undercut traditional constructs of religious authority, and as the eschaton approached, many left or were kicked out of their churches. Ellen, as a young Millerite, was kicked out of her congregation, an event that was almost as traumatic as the disappointment. Both factored significantly in her autobiographical narratives. Millerites by their very nature offered an alternative reality, but Ellen G. White filled a lacuna created when this alternative reality failed. Thus, as Brueggemann asserts, Ellen G. White cut through the despair through prophetic imagination to create a new perception of reality.

Thus it is no surprise that the *Testimonies* begin with her earliest visions and autobiographical narrative. The very act of telling about a new reality after the Great Disappointment she asserted her prophetic authority. Ellen G. White continued to

exercise this prophetic authority as she continued over seven decades to apply another reality upon her world. Thus the *Testimonies* are replete with references to major crises, such as the American Civil War or the destruction of cities by fire. Both, she interpreted, were indicators that the present reality was approaching an end.

Ellen G. White developed a distinctive genre through which she applied the past, present, and future. Each “testimony” addressed specific situations with a chain of action and reaction beyond the constructs of time and space. I therefore offer the following as what I describe as a repeatable pattern:

(1) Spiritual Blindness. One of the noticeable patterns is that Ellen G. White uses the metaphor of “light” versus “darkness.” Most people are groping in spiritual darkness and therefore must turn to the light. The rejection of “light” only propels people into deeper spiritual darkness.

(2) Confrontation. Ellen G. White typically at the beginning of a “testimony” confronts whatever the particular issue. She frames the confrontation from the perspective of heaven. She frequently uses language that contextualizes the situation from the viewpoint of heaven or that of Jesus Christ.

(3) Appeal. After each confrontation Ellen G. White appeals to the individual or group of people to change. With each appeal she offers hope. She therefore appeals to an alternative reality that is possible if they will implement the remedy she offers to them. She typically frames the remedy within biblical language, and sometimes, she includes direct biblical references.

(4) Influence. Ellen G. White consistently reminds her audience to remember that every person has an influence—at home, work, or somewhere else. Each person needs to

accept the gospel message, which is the only mechanism through which she believed a new reality can be achieved, both in this world and in the one to come.

(5) Christocentric focus. Ellen G. White appeals to people to remember the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In light of his death, people have the opportunity to have a part in the new reality by being ready for Jesus Christ at the Second Advent and in the world to come. Furthermore, the example of Jesus Christ while on earth serves as the primary example which Christians should strive to follow.

Ellen G. White used this pattern, and some times she mixes up the order, but there is a significant discernible pattern in the *Testimonies*. As she appeals to past, present, and future, she creates an alternative reality. Each specific situation she constructed a chain of action and reaction that had eternal consequences outside of the sphere of time and space. The *Testimonies* thus connect prophecy and memory, and in doing so, they demonstrate the intersection between this world and the world to come.

The *Testimonies* therefore become a window into studying Ellen G. White's use of power, ideology, and context that constituted her prophetic authority. In one sense she exhibits a temporal authority: she described herself as a messenger and avoided the term "prophet" because she viewed her primary role as similar to that of the biblical Caleb and Joshua who simply foretold to the children of Israel the glories of the "promised land" of Canaan. Like the ancient biblical prophets she asserted her authority by projecting God's words to encourage God's people to enter the heavenly Canaan land. "In speaking," noted Abraham Haschel, "the prophet reveals God. This is the marvel of a prophet's work: in his words, *the invisible God becomes audible*."⁴⁷ Thus Ellen G. White did not

try to prove her prophetic authority, but rather, she asserted it by merely stating God's perspective for the person or upon the situation.

Ellen G. White stands in contrast to other kinds of seers during her lifetime. The historian, Richard Koselleck, describes an Enlightenment prophet as someone who forecasts humanity, instead of God, as the one who shapes the future. "Henceforth history could be regarded as a long-term process of growing fulfillment which, despite setbacks and deviations, was ultimately planned and carried out by men themselves."⁴⁸ Ellen G. White, rejected human progress through her belief in the premillennial Second Advent, and she repudiated Enlightenment philosophy by her appeal to a common sense Biblicism. She thus looked upon the world around her as under the guiding hand of Providence. She stands in contrast to other seers who did embrace this Enlightenment vision of a prophet who foretells of human progress. Perhaps fruitful research in the future will be to focus in greater depth on the nature of prophetic authority as related to memory, and to compare her to other contemporary seers from her lifetime.

From Ellen G. White's perspective, she viewed the *Testimonies* as the primary delivery vehicle to share her prophetic perspective. As she did so she recognized that for some church members there was the tendency to exalt her and her writings above Jesus Christ and/or the Bible. She repeatedly appealed to people to look to Jesus instead of to herself.⁴⁹ She also was conscious of the danger from some Adventists to elevate her writings as equal to that of the Bible. The "testimonies call your attention to Scripture" she routinely asserted.⁵⁰ Church members needed to see a beauty in Scripture.⁵¹ Thus a final dimension of Ellen G. White's prophetic authority was to differentiate her prophetic authority as subservient to Scripture, and ultimately, subject to Jesus Christ.

Perspective

The *Testimonies* are the most important genre of Ellen G. White's published writings, despite the fact that they have been somewhat neglected. They provide a window into her life as a prophetic messenger. The people she addressed provide important clues that in the future will help to identify the "rank and file" of ordinary believers. More study is needed to grasp who these people were and how they related to the prophetic voice within Adventism. Who were these people? How did they respond to the prophetic voice?

The *Testimonies* also provide a window into understanding the nature of prophetic authority. The *Testimonies* pamphlets are prefaced with an autobiographical narrative that explains her spiritual struggle that culminated in the "Great Disappointment." It was after this disappointment that she had her first vision. Through her prophetic voice or imagination she offered a new perception of reality. As she shared her first vision she offered hope to disappointed Millerites. Through the rest of her prophetic career she offered the viewpoint of another world. She rejected the Enlightenment notion of human progress because the world was about to end. Traditional forms of religious authority furthermore had rejected her and her family during the heyday of the Millerite revival. Thus she was left with no alternative. She therefore described herself as a "messenger" sent to tell of a better land.

While all of Ellen G. White's writings remain important for Seventh-day Adventists, the *Testimonies* are especially vital because they contain the broadest and most coherent framework from which to understand her prophetic authority and the alternative perception of reality that she offered.

¹Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association), vol. 4, pg. 513. Hereafter referred to as 4T 513.

²See Tim Poirier, “Archival Resources and Finding Aids,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Jerry Moon and Denis Fortin (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2013).

³This statistic is taken from the “Frequently Asked Questions” page from the Ellen G. White Estate (<http://www.whiteestate.org/issues/faq-egw.html>) accessed January 5, 2014.

⁴4T 9-15. I find this to be one of the most pivotal descriptions of Ellen G. White’s theology of revelation and inspiration.

⁵4T 211.

⁶4T 185.

⁷4T 32.

⁸4T 390-391.

⁹2T 154.

¹⁰Cf. 4T 310.

¹¹2T 439-489.

¹²*Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Nathan Fuller.”

¹³5T 126.

¹⁴4T 31.

¹⁵Just a few ready examples include: “Prayer is the opening of the heart to God as to a friend” (4T 533); “sanctification is the work of a lifetime” (4T 462); and her admonishment to spend a thoughtful hour every day on the cross of Christ (4T 374).

¹⁶4T 114.

¹⁷4T 362.

¹⁸4T 452.

¹⁹4T 80.

²⁰4T 180.

²¹4T 88.

²²2T 423.

²³4T 414.

²⁴2T 123.

²⁵4T 43.

²⁶4T 154.

²⁷3T 85.

²⁸3T 171-172.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰3T 403.

³¹4T 147.

³²Cf. 4T 612.

³³3T 535.

³⁴Kimbal in 4T 300.

³⁵William M. Knott, “Foot Soldier of the Empire: Hannah More and the Politics of Service,” Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 2006.

³⁶1T 666-679.

³⁷2T 140-144.

³⁸Cf. 2T 154 where she describes her “duty to write.”

³⁹4T 163.

⁴⁰2T 423.

⁴¹2T 67.

⁴²2T 67, 540.

⁴³4T 40.

⁴⁴4T 180.

⁴⁵4T 284.

⁴⁶Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), ix. See also Jason Phillips, “The Prophecy of Edmund Ruffin: Anticipating the Future of Civil War History,” in

Apocalypse and the Millennium in the American Civil War Era, ed. Ben Wright and Zachary W. Dresser (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 13-30, for a similar comparison.

⁴⁷Abraham Heschel, *The Prophets*, Colophon ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 1:22.

⁴⁸Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 206.

⁴⁹2T 118-119.

⁵⁰5T 234.

⁵¹4T 526.