Chapter 2

Doctrine and Deed: Adventism's Encounter With Its Society in Nineteenth-century Australia

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Since Jesus Christ first confronted Jewish society, "a many-sided debate about the relations of Christianity and civilization" has been an "enduring problem."[1] H. Richard Niebuhr delineates "typical Christian answers to the problem of Christ and culture" and thus contributes "to the mutual understanding of variant and often conflicting Christian groups." Informed by Niebuhr's categories, this paper examines a small slice of the age-long experience of Christianity in its "double wrestle. . . with its Lord and with the cultural society with which it lives in symbiosis."[2] In particular, it seeks to understand the encounter between Seventh-day Adventists and Australian society from 1885-1900, the formative years during which the movement was introduced to this country.

This task must be informed by an adequate understanding of Adventism from its rise to its planting within Australian Christianity. Adventists locate their beginning as a separate religious body[3] within the religious ferment occurring in the United States during the 1840s.[4] Thus they affirm certain aspects of the millenarian awakening led by William Miller and his associates in New England and adjacent states between 1831 and 1844.[5] Beyond that, Adventists assert both an essential continuity with the historic beliefs of Christianity, and the addition of a distinctive *raison d'être* developed in the post-1844 years.[6] Crucial to any interpretation of their sense of mission is the cluster of landmark doctrines which Adventists defined in the formative period from 1844-1863.[7]

It is impossible to consider the Australian arm of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in isolation from its North American head. Within the States occurred the initial development and expression of those key ideas which formed and remained the rationale for the movement's existence and mission. The United States supplied the missionaries who brought Adventism to the Antipodes and administered its formative years. The States nurtured Australia with the books, which were scattered widely, and the flagship periodicals— *The Review, The Signs, The Sentinel*— which stimulated its members either directly or through *The Bible Echo, The Gleaner* and the *Union Conference Record*.[8] Further, the United States general conferences and the Australian sessions, the flow of personnel from one part of Australia to another, plus the movement's voluminous publishing, kept a strong sense of unity within Adventism's thought and action in the

Melbourne rivalry, but largely as a feature of society, not of the Adventist church.

For these reasons, the encounter between Adventists and their society in any part of Australia has interpretative value for their experience in all other parts. And the record is clear that despite the powerful control of their eschatology Adventists could not withdraw from society, as did some earlier millenarians, to await the coming of the Messiah. They believed whole-heartedly in God, yet battled vigorously the earnest desire of other Christians to recognize Him in the Australian constitution.[9] They held fervently to the fourth commandment, yet they feared and fought Australian sabbatarianism.[10] They believed intensely in the cause of temperance, yet faltered in their support of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[11] They campaigned and sacrificed to help the poor, yet declined to support the labour movement's struggle in hard times.[12] They sought seclusion from the threat of the world's evil in the village of Cooranbong, yet staged camp meetings in capital cities.[13] Other papers in this volume will look more closely at such issues as religious liberty, education, temperance, camp meetings and health reform. It is our purpose here to support these later efforts by identifying some of the theological motivations and constraints which controlled the Adventists in their encounter with society. The task in hand is not so much a descriptive one as the asking and answering of a question, Why?

From its outset in the years 1831-1844, Adventism focused its eyes on the apocalyptic literature of the Old and New Testaments.[14] Thus it was inevitable that prime concerns within these writings would deeply inform the Second Advent Movement in all its phases. Apocalyptic "has the prophetic tradition as its father and faith in the ultimate triumph of God in times of peril and persecution as its mother."[15] Its categories often include a pessimistic view of human history, dualism, the division of time into periods, the concept of two ages, and the imminence of a cataclysmic triumph of the kingdom of God. Nineteenth century Adventism was born from Miller's discovery of the Book of Daniel. It was nurtured by Daniel's thought as extended in the apocalyptic writings of the New Testament: Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21, 2 Peter 3, and the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Other nineteenth century Christians affirmed the doctrine of creation, but the Adventist's rejection of Darwinian thought was intensified by creationism seen in relation to a cosmic conflict between Christ and Satan. The Seventh Day Baptists opted for Saturday as their day of rest and worship, but not with the Adventist vigour derived from Daniel 7 and Revelation 13. Mainstream Christians taught the doctrine of judgment, but not with the sense of imminence which the Adventists derived from Daniel 8 and Revelation 14. In similar fashion the Adventist expressions of the judgment, the manner of the second advent, the resurrection, heaven, and the new earth, were couched in the graphic language of biblical apocalyptic. And the principal Adventist authors, such as Ellen White and Uriah Smith, invested their lives in an attempt to "let Daniel speak, let the Revelation speak, and tell what is truth."[16]

Much informed Christian opinion at present, quite outside the Adventist movement, sees biblical apocalyptic as vital for an understanding of "what the Christian faith has given men in the way of historical consciousness, futurist direction of mind," and ethics.[17] Contemporary Adventists have honed their hermeneutics enormously since the mid-1950s in particular, and thus have adjusted certain earlier uses of apocalyptic.[18] But, during the 1890s their literature, so full of such matters as "The Eastern Question," saw little need to address directly various social concerns important to some other Christians.[19] In such a climate eschatology found it easy to eclipse sociological matters.

It is important to emphasize that these apocalyptic categories of thought were generally pessimistic about both church and state. A religious group believing the history of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome was symbolized by the wild animals of Daniel 7, that part of the history of Christianity is portrayed by the "beast" symbol in Revelation 13:1-10, that the future destiny of the United States is delineated in Revelation 13:11-18, was likely to be suspicious of all secular governments.[20] It was these concerns which motivated Adventists to engage in vigorous campaigning to ensure Australia's constitution conformed to their ideal that governments should make no laws respecting any establishment of religion nor hindering the practice of faith. So prolonged, vigorous and effective was this campaign that there are grounds for the claim that although they were a tiny minority, the Adventists had some direct influence upon the final shape of this country's constitution.[21]

Another major influence on Adventists' thinking was their concept of the pilgrim nature of the church as a remnant or new Israel in a hostile world. The last generation, the era in which they believed they were living, was deemed to be beyond corporate redemption in whole and largely in part, for even the most democratic nations were doomed to descend into totalitarianism. The believer's lot was to live in a wicked and adulterous end-time, charged with a special mission: to give a saving message couched in tones of urgent warning. Hence, almost every act of God and of man—accidents, celestial phenomena, droughts, fires, floods, inventions, pestilences, wars, religious laxity and religious intolerance—reinforced the Adventists' conviction that the end of all things was at hand, and thus stimulated their sense of mission.[22] Against such a cataclysmic backdrop social concerns seemed worth little contention. And in any case, no ultimate good would be achieved even by just laws, Adventists believed, since depravity in all its forms could be cured only by spiritual regeneration.

It is well to couple a third with these two observations: Christianity in general, and more particularly its sect-like components, has not usually been radical in its support of broadly-based social issues.[23] Often the question for Christians has not been whether certain activities were good, but whether others were so much better that they crowded out those with less significance for the kingdom of God. Taking as they have ever done a high view of Scripture as the Christian's "only rule of faith and practice," Adventists have affirmed literally and specifically what they deem the Bible says.[24] Therefore their doctrine restrains them from participation in certain worthy activities simply because they see these as less crucial for their God-given mission. Of course the distinction between the good and the better, made usually on a theological basis, differs for various denominations. While an alphabet of issues could be marshalled in order to clarify the theological motivations and constraints which governed the encounter between Adventism and its society, for reasons of space a mere seven will be chosen here: benevolence, ecumenism, lifestyle, temperance, unionism, voting, and women.

The Adventist attitude toward charity throws useful light on their relationship to society. The strikes, depressions, floods, fires, and deaths of the 1890s called them to exercise "disinterested benevolence" on a personal level. They lovingly nurtured their members who lost employment through keeping the seventh-day Sabbath. They paralleled the Salvation Army by establishing a Helping Hand Mission in various cities. But here again there were clear restraints on Adventist humanitarian services. For one thing, their theology tended to eject them from the needier areas of Sydney. For another, their good deeds needed always to be held in restraint by a greater commission. Whereas they

believed, for instance, that the other Christians could do some types of rescue work very effectively, no other religious body had responded to Scripture by heralding the three angels' messages of Revelation 14. So the Adventists limited their good deeds lest they should fail to achieve the greater good of going into all the world preaching the gospel that the end might come.[25]

In the context of these considerations, it is important to ask how the Adventists related to the other Christians in their society. They were grateful for assistance given them, as when the Baptists loaned a church with facilities for conducting the rite of baptism by immersion, and their periodicals constantly reprinted what they regarded as the pithiest statements and best devotional articles of other Christian authors. While their attitudes had come a long way from the Shut Door period of 1844-1851, the Adventists clearly and often defined the limits of ecumenism. They sharply stated that Dudley M. Canright, a former Adventist and now a Baptist, was an apostate, and, furthermore, that C. F. Hawkins entered the light as he left Methodism and went into darkness when he surrendered the landmark truths of Adventism. The pain of Hawkins' experience was, for the Adventists, intensified in the case of the more prominent evangelist Stephen McCullagh. The 1890s were a time when Adventist soteriology experienced dynamic clarification, but these years also witnessed the wide dissemination and popular appeal of Ellen White's warnings in the 1888 edition of *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan During the Christian Dispensation.* With such an explicit assessment of both Protestantism and Catholicism ringing in their ears, the Adventists interpreted moves toward union among Christians as signs of last-day apostasy, and so were prepared to withstand, militantly, various manifestations of doctrinal accommodation in the early twentieth century.[26]

A deep commitment to exacting personal standards tended to protect the Adventists from the contamination of the world. Their day of worship was perhaps the most visible symbol of this commitment, but their separateness was reinforced by the careful selection of their food, drink, dress, recreation and reading. Hence Seventh-day Adventist belief fostered, even required a distinctive lifestyle. A lacto-ovo vegetarian who was also a non-smoker, a total abstainer from all alcoholic beverages plus tea and coffee, who avoided cards, chess, cricket, tennis, football, horse-racing, gambling, jewellery, Shakespeare, "infidel authors," the theatre—such a person does not fit "The Legend of the Nineties" in Australia. However the Adventist lifestyle did not usually create a wistful longing for the transient pleasures of sin, for their lives were strongly oriented toward a better, heavenly country. But these personal standards distanced the Adventist from the unbelieving world and reinforced individual identity within "a peculiar people zealous of good works."[27]

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) functioned much in the public sphere, even though the preservation of the home was one of its primary concerns. Due to its anti-liquor stance the WCTU was a natural fellow-traveller for Adventists. Evidently during the Maitland Camp Meeting late in 1899 the president of the Maitland WCTU branch invited Ellen White to speak to her group one evening, which Ellen White did "with freedom. . . for one hour." A sequence of statements she made from 1907 to 1914 indicates Ellen White had an open attitude toward cooperation with the WCTU. While these references cannot be used as direct witness for the 1890s, three strands of evidence suggest that Ellen White's thinking did not alter significantly on this point during the last several decades of her life: her earlier speechmaking to temperance groups;

her letters to, and mention of, Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, an early leader and finally national evangelist of the WCTU in the United States, who converted to Adventism in 1896; and her silence about the *Bible Echo's* comment on the WCTU during the 1890s. In short, we can say that during the 1890s Ellen White probably encouraged Australian women to give qualified support to the activism of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

But the WCTU was not without problems from the Adventist's point of view. While the *Bible Echo* applauded the marshalling of "influential and consecrated women who are devoted to a much-needed moral reform," and could accept that temperance work was multi-dimensional, it both feared and attacked certain basic WCTU objectives:

> Four things connected with this petition are worthy of note: (1) Professed believers in the gospel confessing they have no power to cope with iniquity; (2) A professed Christian organisation appealing to civil power for assistance in prosecuting its work; (3) A conviction expressed that "pure hearts," may be made, and "the moral tone of society" raised by civil law; and (4) A petition that the law itself should be raised to the standard of Christian morals."

Clearly the *Bible Echo's* greatest concerns with the WCTU surrounded such religious matters as "fraternising and hob-nobing [sic] with the Catholic Church," seeking to "unite church and state, or to enforce religious observances [Sunday] by law." So once again, on the basis of its soteriology and its eschatology, Adventism was restrained from fully supporting an otherwise attractive option for social reform.[28]

Late nineteenth century Adventists had more to say about the evils of trade unionism than the perils of capitalism, perhaps partly because of the impact that unions had on individual attitudes and relationships, and mostly because of Adventist eschatology sharpened by the Epistle of St. James, chapter 5. "Civil war" was but "thinly disguised" and was "continually becoming thinner" in such strikes as those during 1894 in Queensland and New South Wales, the *Bible Echo* declared. Noting this "war element" was becoming "more pronounced," *Bible Echo* readers were invited to see what the Bible says of these disturbances. However, "the right side of the question is, that they are not to continue long," the *Bible Echo* said, making a clear allusion to an imminent Second Advent. In 1899 the *Bible Echo* stated that "the Scriptures recognize there will be oppression of the poor by the rich in the last days." Yet the cure of this condition is in the Lord's judgment of the poor and their cause:

> The Lord hates oppression, but when the labourers organize that they may oppress their oppressors, they take their case out of the Lord's hand. He cannot approve or support their course.

With these concerns reinforced by events in the United States it is understandable that by 1902 loyal Adventists were ready for Ellen White's most vigorous denunciation of organized labour, confirming their withdrawal from this aspect of their society:[29]

> These unions are one of the signs of the last days. Men are binding up in bundles ready to be burned. They may be church members, but while they belong to these unions, they cannot possibly keep the commandments of God; for to belong to these unions means to disregard the entire Decalogue.

The Australian Woman, a popular periodical of the 1890s, was affirmative of chaste moral behaviour, marriage, and good family relationships. Furthermore, it felt free to support female suffrage in order to confront and cure a complex set of problems:

> It will wipe out the "drink curse."
>
> It will close the doors of our brothels.
>
> It will purify our slums.

It will punish the seducer.
It will reform our marriage and divorce laws.
It will be a full stop, colon, semi-colon, and comma, combined on the brutal husband.
It will be a note of interrogation to the adulterer.[30]

All these objectives might be expected to elicit a hearty Adventist amen. But *The Signs of the Times* criticized the idea of voting rights for women and the *Bible Echo* named this concern one of the "fads and foibles" to be "deplored" for "making women strangers in their home, and uprooting much of their delicacy and refinement." Moreover, the real answer to the evident human problems was not in better legislation but in regeneration. "It may be all right for women to have the right to vote if they so desire," the *Bible Echo* suggested, but "it is a mistake to suppose when this right is obtained that all wrongs will be set right." And clearly there were greater goods demanding attention: "The soul that desires to do good can find a whole lifework without the franchise." Adventists had been told by Ellen White in 1881 that "advocates of temperance fail to do their whole duty unless they exert their influence by precept and example—by voice and pen and vote—in favour of prohibition and total abstinence." Even so, during her Australian sojourn, Ellen White emphasized that Christians will not "dabble in politics," engage in "political speeches, either in or out of the pulpit," or make "apparent their prejudices for or against political men or measures." Key sentences from her 1899 "Special Testimony Relating to Politics" evidence the tenor of the whole:

The Lord would have his people bury political questions. . . . We cannot with safety vote for political parties; for we know not whom we are voting for.
Let political questions alone.
It is a mistake for you to link your interests with any political party, to cast your vote with or for them.
God calls upon the teachers in our schools not to become interested in the study of political questions.

Ever since, Adventists in Australia and the world have viewed these statements as so far-reaching that some are still casual about voting, or avoid it for reasons of conscience. In summary, the one whose real citizenship is in heaven has a far more excellent way to forward God's work than supporting female suffrage, or party politics. Whereas "the state restrains crime only by the rigid application of its laws, which can in no way change men's hearts," the atoning sacrifice of Christ established the gospel by which all who so choose might be eternally benefited.[31]

Elsewhere the Adventist response to women's issues has been explored at some length, so this matter must be contained within a short space here. The Adventist consciousness was stirred by Ellen White as a female role model, indicating the reception of diverse spiritual gifts by a woman was a fact beyond dispute. They seemed to be supportive of the Sydney Church of England move to ordain women for Christian service as deaconesses. Indeed, in line with Ellen White's 1895 counsel, they ordained deaconesses in Sydney. But the low-key Adventist stance on female status and role is perhaps best illustrated by comparing and contrasting the writings and local influence of two conservative Christian women from the United States, both active in Australia during the 1890s: Jessie Ackermann and Ellen White. Both were literate, articulate, Bible-loving, temperance promoting, Evangelical Christians. Ellen White was highly supportive of the ministry of females, though she did not reveal a clear stance on women's

ordination. She was outspoken on the principle of equal pay for equal work and various other dimensions of male-female egalitarianism, but the contrast with Jessie Ackermann is instructive.

Here were two American women interacting with the Australian women of the 1890s. Neither was conformist. Although both were reformist in their approach, one was more orientated to social action, the other to spiritual regeneration. Jessie Ackermann worked from a Christian base more akin to that of biblical prophetism, while Ellen White functioned more from a background of biblical apocalypticism. Miss Ackermann was concerned about Sydney and society, whereas Mrs. White's people focused on the saving of souls from the last generation upon which "perilous times" had come. Yet, even so, Ellen White spilled on to Australian women the fragrance of her idealism, blessing their role in marriage, family, and society in numerous ways. Despite their profound conviction of an imminent end for all things, Ellen White and her religious compatriots fostered institutions that put foundations under the castles of their dreams. So Seventh-day Adventists of the 1890s opted for what they believed to be the best on this earth, while keeping a close eye out for the new earth. Thus it was rather incidental that Australian women's status was somewhat bettered by them in their church and society.[32]

These seven issues are instructive in assessing the Adventist encounter with society, but by no means exhaustive of the subject in hand. This study could fruitfully continue by considering a cluster of other issues: the role of education in both setting distinct boundaries and effecting interchange with society;[33] the formative influence of Ellen White in fostering a precise Adventist identity yet developing an understanding of the thought-patterns of other Christians through her use of their writings;[34] the function of definite membership standards with baptism by immersion as the way of entry and disfellowshipment as the means of control;[35] the effect of strict standards which forbade marriage with unbelievers and Christians of other faiths;[36] and so on, including a number of the issues other papers will treat in this symposium.

But enough has been said to support the notion that the Adventist encounter with society interprets the title of this paper. They could not withdraw from their society, for their theology demanded they must reach out to it fervently, and continually.[37] But their doctrine also dictated their deeds, and prevented them from joining with certain activities energetically and sincerely promoted by other Christian groups in late nineteenth century Australia.[38]

Where, then, did Seventh-day Adventists of the 1890s fit within Niebuhr's categories? As convinced believers in every word of the Bible, as trinitarians with an Evangelical soteriology, precise definitions of sin and a "remnant" emphasis in their ecclesiology, they were drawn toward the stance of the radical Christian. But the commanding influence of their eschatology sometimes pressed them toward dualism. Their determination to excel in all things tugged them toward the "Christ Above Culture" stance. Their motivation toward a "better-living" lifestyle impelled them toward the transformationist position. All these features have become more evident within the movement as the twentieth century has progressed.[39] Seventh-day Adventism in the late nineteenth century, and more so now, is too complex to fit neatly into one category, even though its strongest currents in the 1890s were within the historical stream Niebuhr describes as "Christ Against Culture."

ENDNOTES

The primary sources relating to Seventh-day Adventists which have informed this study are located in the Ellen G. White/SDA Research Centre, Avondale College, Cooranbong, New South Wales.

[1] H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1951), pp. 1-44.

[2] Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, pp. 2, xi. See also more recent formulations such as those by Peter Berger, Bryan Wilson and Michael Hill.

[3] Francis D.Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1944), p. 478.

[4] Everett N. Dick, "The Adventist Crisis of 1843-44" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1930).See *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 13, 493-97; Edwin S. Gaustad(ed.), *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); David T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845" (M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1961); idem, "'Come Out of Babylon': A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970). For the University Microfilm editions of the three works by Dick and Arthur, see Jean Hoornstra (ed.), *The Millerites and Early Adventists: An Index to the Microfilm Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts* (Ann Arbor, Mi.: University Microfilms International, 1978).

[5] For a textbook account, with extensive bibliographic referencing, see R. W.Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, Ca.: Pacific Press, 1979), pp. 13-71. Note also *SDA Enc*, rev. ed., s.v. "Miller, William."

[6] See *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Explanation of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1957), pp. 21-25; L. E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, Vol. I, 1950; Vol. II, 1948; Vol. III, 1946; Vol. IV, 1954); L. E. Froom, *Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers: The Conflict of the Ages Over the Nature and Destiny of Man* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, Vol. I, 1966; Vol. II, 1965); B. W. Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge: James Clarke and Co., 1981); P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1977); Gottfried Oosterwal, *Mission Possible: The Challenge of Mission Today* (Nashville, Ten.: Southern Publishing Association, 1972); Borge Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), especially the extensive bibliography, pp. 913-941.

[7] See *SDA Enc*, rev. ed., s.v. "Doctrinal Statements, SDA," and articles as follows: "Sabbath," pp. 1237-55; "Sanctuary," pp. 1279-81; "Death," pp. 381-84; "Spirit of Prophecy," p. 1412-13. For extended treatments of these key doctrines, with bibliographical listings, see J. N. Andrews, *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week* (Battle Creek, Mi.: SDA Publishing Association, 1873); K. A. Strand, ed., *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1982); Froom, *Conditionalist Faith;* Roy E. Graham, "Ellen G. White: An Examination of Her Position and Role in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1977).

[8] *The Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald,* the SDA weekly commenced in 1850, was the principal unifying force amongst Adventists, with a strong doctrinal, devotional and news content. The main SDA evangelistic journal, *The Signs of the Times,* commenced in1874; *The American Sentinel and Herald of Liberty* commenced in 1886. In Australia *The Bible Echo* took the role of the US *Signs of the Times; The Gleaner* and then *The Record* adopted the role of *The Review.* Numerous other periodicals, some ephemeral, were devised to foster such Adventist interests as health, religious liberty, youth, Sabbath School, and missionary outreach.

[9] See Richard Ely, *Unto God and Caesar: Religious Issues in the Emerging Commonwealth 1891-1906* (Melbourne University Press, 1976) for the most extended account available, with comprehensive bibliography.

[10] "Sunday observance" was "one of the liveliest religious issues in Sydney in the 1880s," according to Walter Phillips, "The Churches and the Sunday Question in Sydney in the 1880s," *JRH* 6(1970-1):41-61. This article forms a context for the Shannon and Firth prosecutions and the Adventist response.

[11] For a review placing the temperance issue in historical context, see Ian Tyrrell, "International Aspects of the Woman's Temperance Movement in Australia: The Influence of the American WCTU, 1882-1914,"*JRH* 12(1982-3):284-304.

[12] For a background article see Carlos A. Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists; The Formative Years, 1877-1903," *AH* 4(1977):11-19.

[13] Ellen G. White's 1897-8 letters present a first-person perspective on the Stanmore camp meeting and its role in re-locating the Sydney SDA Church.

[14] See William Miller, *Evidences from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year A.D. 1843 and of His Personal Reign of 1000 Years* (Brandon: Vermont Telegraph, 1833). Cf.

editions of 1836, 1838 and 1840. Note N. Southard, "Second Advent Believers," *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States Containing Authentic Accounts of Their Rise, Progress, Statistics and Doctrines. Written Expressly for the Work by Eminent Theological Professors, Ministers, and Lay Members of the Respective Denominations*, ed. I. Daniel Rupp, (Harrisburg, 1844), pp. 668-91. Cf. Arthur N. Patrick, "The Christology of William Miller" (unpublished paper, Andrews University, 1972). For a comprehensive bibliography see Vern Carner, Sakae Kubo, Curt Rice, "Bibliographical Essay," *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 207-317. For interpretive comment see Jonathan Butler, "The Seventh-day Adventist American Dream," *AH* 3(1976):3-10.

[15] D. S.Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 B.C.-A.D.100* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1964), p. 104.

[16] Ellen G. White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (Mountain View, Ca.: Pacific Press, 1923), p. 118. Cf. Ellen White's earliest writings, and especially her emphasis on "The Great Controversy Between Christ and His Angels and Satan and His Angels" from 1858 to 1915 as conveyed in *Spiritual Gifts, The Spirit of Prophecy,* and *The Conflict of the Ages* volumes. For interpretive comment see Joseph Battistone, *The Great Controversy Theme in E. G. White Writings* (Berrien Springs, Mi.: Andrews University Press, 1978).

[17] For an example, see Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1972), p. 130. Cf. Timothy L. Smith, "Social Reform: Some Reflections on Causation and Consequence," *The Rise of Adventism,* p. 21; Ernest R. Sandeen,"Millenialism," *The Rise of Adventism,* pp. 104-118.

[18] Note Howard B.Weekes, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1969). For a fuller bibliography see Gordon M. Hyde, ed., *A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1974); W. G. C. Murdoch, "Principles of Interpretation of the Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature of the Bible," *North American Bible Conference 1974* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1974).

[19] See, for instance, *BE,* 6 November 1899, p. 367. Note the three titles advertised on this page: *The Coming King, The Alarm of War,* and *The Eastern Question.*

[20] See especially the writings of Uriah Smith listed in *The Millerites and Early Adventists: An Index to the Microfilm Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts,* p. 25. For one example of the way Revelation 13 was presented, see Ben Asher, "He Spake as a Dragon," *BE,* 6 February 1899, pp. 51-52. See, for the longer history of this type of interpretation,Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers,* vol. 4, focussing especially on Millerite and early Adventist approaches to apocalyptic. To understand continuity and change in Seventh-day Adventist hermeneutics, see Jonathan M. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," *The Rise of Adventism,* pp. 173-206.

[21] Adventist concern about the relationship of church and state was in focus more than forty times in the *Bible Echo* for 1894 alone. They felt they and others had won a long battle on 2 March 1898 when the Federal Convention voted: "The Commonwealth shall not make any law prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, or for the establishment of any religion, or imposing any religious observance, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust under the Commonwealth." See *BE,* 14 March 1898, p. 88. But,the *Bible Echo* continued, although this was "straight so far as the Commonwealth is concerned," and set "forth the correct principle upon which civil governments should stand respecting the matter of religion," it had "one defect, one weak point": "Like the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, it leaves the states free to make religious laws and enforce religious observances."

[22] One example only will be cited. Note the perspectives of W. A. C. [Colcord], "The Meteoric Shower," *BE,* 2 December 1895, pp. 369-370, and "The Outlook" feature article entitled "The Falling Stars," *BE,* 19 February 1900, pp. 130-31. This last concludes with the reason for "the falling of the stars" which "philosophy has not yet given," and will never be able to give: "Inspiration gives the reason in the fact that God is speaking of the greatest prophetic event, and the generation [their own] to whom these things are proclaimed as signs of that great event will be the people who will behold the Lord's coming." Cf. "This Generation Shall Not Pass," *BE,* 15 December 1892, p. 379. Contrast the interpretation of Harold L. Wright, "Falling Stars, Rising Hopes," *RH,* 24 November 1983, pp. 4-6.

[23] For this use of the term 'sect' see Bryan Wilson, "Sect or Denomination: Can Adventism Maintain Its Identity?," *Spectrum,* 7(1975):34-43. Note Ronald Lawson, "Beyond the Seventh-day Adventist Fringe," *Spectrum,* 14(1983):47-49. Cf. the vigorous "cult" versus "Christian" debate surrounding the volume *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine,* as recounted by T. E. Unruh, "The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences of 1955-1956, *AH* 4(1977):35-46. That this debate is in no way settled is clear from the "Currents Interview: Walter Martin," *Adventist Currents,* July 1983, pp. 15-24, 28.

[24] Cf. "A Word to the 'Little Flock'," one of the earliest Adventist pamphlets, published by James White (Brunswick, Maine, 1847), p. 13. "The bible is a perfect, and complete revelation. It is our only rule of faith and practice." Note *SDA Enc*, rev. ed., s.v. "Doctrinal Statements, SDA." for a review of historical statements of faith, and see particularly the first of the twenty-seven Fundamental Beliefs in the *SDA Yearbook* (Hagerstown, Md: Review and Herald, 1985), pp. 5-8.

[25] For a graphic portrayal of caring love in action, see the letters of Ellen Gould White written in Cooranbong between Christmas 1895 and August 1900, filed in the EGW/SDA Research Centre, Avondale College. Note the data on religious distribution in Richard Broome, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society, 1900-1914*, (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1980), pp. xii, 166-168,and compare this with the location of SDA congregations. The Adventists tended to move out of the Roman Catholic and the working class areas described in *A Camp-fire Yarn: Henry Lawson Complete Works,1885-1900* (Sydney: Lansdowne, 1984), pp. 105-107. See Arthur L. White, "Adventist Responsibility to the Inner City," *RH, 5 November 1970, pp. 1-5; 12 November 1970, pp. 7-10; 19 November 1970, pp. 8-11; 26 November 1970, pp. 4-6. Cf. Richard W. Schwarz, John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (Nashville, Ten.: Southern Publishing Association, 1970). For a sensitive portrayal of how another denomination addressed the needs of late-nineteenth century Sydney see Don Wright, *Mantle of Christ: A History of the Sydney Central Methodist Mission* (St. Lucia, Queensland: Queensland University Press, 1984).

[26] See Damsteegt, Oosterwal and Schantz, note 6 above, and the six-part series by A. G. Daniells, "The Evangelical Alliance," *BE*, 23 July 1894 to 10 September 1894.

[27] New Testament texts such as "love not the world," "what communion hath light with darkness," "come out from among them, and be ye separate" have always been important in Adventist thought. See 1 John 2:15-17; 2 Corinthians 6:14-18. The literature on the points enumerated in this paragraph is vast. See George W. Reid, *A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1982). For another example of a pervasive principle in Adventist thought see Delmer I. Davis, "'Hotbed of Immorality': Seventh-day Adventists and the Battle Creek Theater in the 1880s," *AH* 7(1982):20-33. Cf. Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1954). Titus 2:11-14 is another Bible verse often quoted in Adventist literature and sermons.

[28] See Horace J. Shaw, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Speaking of Mrs Ellen G. White: A Pioneer Leader and Spokeswoman of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1959), especially pp. 199-200; W. A. C. [Colcord], "That World's WCTU Petition," *BE*, 7 May 1894, pp. 138-39.

[29] See *BE*, 1 November 1892, p. 325; *BE*, 19 June 1899, p. 204; Ellen White, Letter 26, 1903. In order to place Adventist concerns within an Australian context, consult both the text and bibliography of the following: Patrick Ford, *Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P.: A Study in the Encounter Between Moran and Socialism,1890-1907* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966), and the review by John Ryan, *JRH* 4(1966-7):249-54; P. J. O'Farrell, "The History of the New South Wales Labour Movement, 1880-1910: A Religious Interpretation," *JRH* 2(1962-3):133-51; Peter Kaldor, *A Gulf Too Deep? The Protestant Churches and the Urban Working Class in Australia* (Chatswood: The Uniting Church in New South Wales, 1983).

[30] "Maggie," "What Female Suffrage Will Do," *The Australian Woman*, 4 April 1894, p. 8.

[31] E. W. Whitney, "Evolution of Women's Suffrage," *ST*, 10 September 1894, pp. 692-3; *Temperance as Set Forth in the Writings of Ellen G.White* (Mountain View, Ca.: Pacific Press, 1949), pp. 253-4; Ellen G.White, *Fundamentals of Christian Education: Instruction for the Home, the School, and the Church* (Nashville, Ten.: Southern Publishing Association, 1923), pp. 475-486; J. O. C. [Corliss], "Religion and State," *BE*, 1 July 1890, pp. 201-202, one of a long series of articles on this subject by Corliss in 1890. The Adventist stance in the 1890s could be conveniently packaged between the Corliss series and Ellen G. White's viewpoint expressed in *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View, Ca.: Pacific Press, 1898), p. 509. For a contemporary perspective on voting in Adventism, see Paul A. Gordon, "The Right to Vote—Shall I Exercise It?," *Adventist Review*, 18 September 1980, p.4-7, and 25 September 1980, pp. 11-13.

[32] Arthur N. Patrick, "Ellen Gould White and the Australian Woman, 1891-1900" (M.Litt. thesis, University of New England, 1984), see pp. 130-142 for a bibliography on this matter. Cf. Jessie Ackermann, *Australia From a Woman's Point of View* (London: Cassell and Company, [1913], 1981).

[33] See, on Adventist education in the 1890s, the following: Milton R. Hook, "The Avondale School and Adventist Educational Goals, 1894-1900" (Ed. D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1978); Allan G. Lindsay, "The Influence of Ellen White Upon the Development of the Seventh-day Adventist School System in Australia, 1891-1900," (M. Ed. thesis, The University of Newcastle, 1978).

[34] See Roger W. Coon, "Anthology of Recently Published Articles on Selected Issues in Prophetic

Guidance (1981-1985)," (Berrien Springs, Mi.: Andrews University, 1986).

[35] The "Church Record" of the Ashfield Church illustrates this.

[36] Note Ellen White's statements on this issue in the *Comprehensive Index to the Writings of E. G.White* (Mountain View, Ca.: Pacific Press, 1962, 1963), pp. 1632-38.

[37] Probably the most crucial biblical texts in the Adventist consciousness are Matthew 24:14; 28:18-20; Revelation 14:6-12. Most Adventists know by heart Revelation 14:6-7, which enjoins preaching "the everlasting gospel. . . to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." Thus the present five million baptized members of the church are scattered through most geographical divisions of the world.

[38] Cf. J. D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972). Observe especially the bibliography Bollen makes available, pp. 187-193.

[39] For two of several studies suggesting the tensions this process creates, see John W. Knight, "B.A.s, M.A.s, and M.U.G.s.: The World Not Turned Upside Down—A Case Study in Sociocultural Change" (Ph. D. dissertation, The University of Queensland, 1977); Robert Wolfgramm, "Charismatic Delegitimation in a Sect: Ellen White and Her Critics" (M.A. thesis, Chisholm Institute of Technology, 1983). Compare the two volumes by Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (Chicago, Il.: The University of Chicago Press, Midway Reprint [1911], 1976). See the introduction by H. Richard Niebuhr, and pp. 725 and 993. For popular histories of Australian Adventism see S. Ross Goldstone, *The Angel Said Australia* (Warburton: Signs Publishing Company, 1980; N. P. Clapham (ed.), *Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific 1885-1985* (Warburton: Signs Publishing Company, 1985).