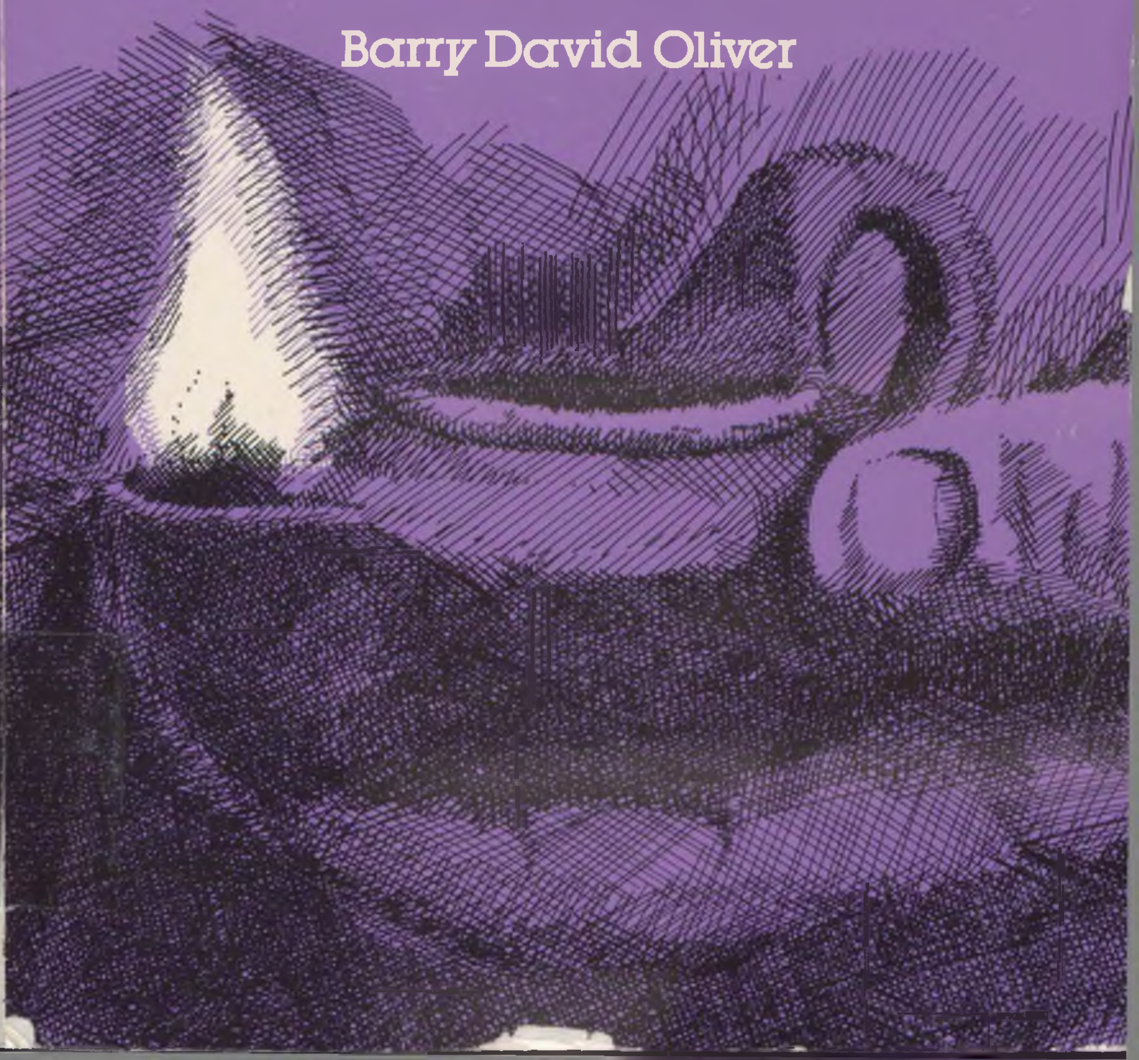
ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION SERIES

SDA Organizational Structure

Past, Present, and Future

Barry David Oliver



ASTR Research Center Library

General Conference of Seventh-day Adventi

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION SERIES
VOLUME XV

SDA ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:

Past, Present and Future

by

Barry David Oliver

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN

Copyright © 1989

Published September 1989 by
Andrews University Press
Berrien Springs, MI 49104

ISBN 0-943872-97-9

To Julie

with love

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS viii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS x

INTRODUCTION. 1

- Background for the Study. 1
- Statement of Purpose. 5
- Delimitations and Scope 6
- Methodology and Sources 7
- Need for the Study and Related Literature 8

Chapter

I. THE NEED FOR REORGANIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EXPANDING MISSIONARY ENTERPRIZE OF THE CHURCH 14

- Introduction 14
- Global Context: Colonialism and Mission. 16
- National Context: Nationalism and Mission. 17
- Religious Context: The Gospel and Mission. 19
  - Missionary Consciousness and Expansion. 19
    - The Activist Style of American Mission 21
    - A Penchant for Numerics. 23
    - Mission Theory 25
    - Motivation for Mission 27
    - Laypersons and Mission 29
    - The Student Volunteer Movement and Mission . . . 29
    - The Watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement. 32
  - Denominational Structures 34
    - Episcopal Forms of Church Government 35
    - Presbyterian Forms of Church Government. 37
    - Congregational Forms of Church Government. . . . 39
  - Seventh-day Adventist Denominational Context. . . . 40
    - The Missionary Enthusiasm and Rapid Growth of the Young Church 42
    - The Shape of Organization: 1863-1888 46
      - Reasons for organization in the 1860s 46
      - The form of organization adopted in the 1860s 48
      - The role of Ellen G. White in organization in the 1860s 55
    - The Problem of Administrative Centralization . . 57

Administrative centralization 57
The nature of leadership. 62
Authority 63
Conclusion 65

II. TOWARDS REORGANIZATION: 1888-1897 67

Introduction 67
Reorganization and the General Conference Session of 1888 69
1888-1893 71
Districts One to Six. 71
An Experiment in South Africa 73
The Auxiliary Organizations of the General Conference 82
The Role of the Auxiliary Organizations. 82
The Control of the Auxiliary Organizations . . . 87
Ellen G. White and the Authority of the General Conference 91
The 1893 General Conference Session 100
1894-1897 104
The Australasian Union. 104
Reluctant Concessions 106
Institutional Growth and Its Consequences 110
The Role of Institutions 112
The Control of Institutions. 112
Ellen G. White: Consolidation and Centralization . . . 115
Consolidation of Institutional Control. 115
Centralization of Decision Making Authority 119
The Auxiliary Organizations and Centralization. . . 126
Conclusion 129

III. TOWARDS REORGANIZATION: 1897-1903 132

Introduction 132
The 1897 General Conference Session. 134
1898-1900 143
The European Union. 143
The Financial Predicament 144
Missionary Activity 155
Stalemate 158
The 1901 General Conference Session. 162
The Call for Reorganization 162
Session Actions 170
Missionary Expansion 176
1902: Confrontation. 179
The 1903 General Conference Session. 182
The Integration of the Medical Work into the Conference Structure 183
At Issue over the Presidency. 184
The Response of Ellen G. White to Reorganization and the Structure of the Denomination 201

From Satisfaction to Despair 201
Ellen G. White and the Possibility of Subsequent Structural Change 205
Conclusion 216

IV. THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF REORGANIZATION 218

Introduction 218
The Theological Foundations for Reorganization as Perceived by A. T. Jones and His Associates: The Christocentric Model 221
A Biblical Foundation 221
Soteriology 222
Eschatology 226
Ecclesiology 227
The Theological Foundations for Reorganization as Perceived by A. G. Daniells and His Allies: The Eschatological-Missiological Model 240
Eschatology and Mission 244
Mission: Eschatology's Requirement 244
"This Generation" 248
Ecclesiology 253
Ecclesiological Vacuum 254
Ecclesiastical Considerations 259
The Ecclesiology of Ellen White 266
The Consequences of a Dipolar Ecclesiology . . . 270
Soteriology 270
Conclusion 271

V. THE PRINCIPLES OF REORGANIZATION 274

Introduction 274
Principles of Reorganization: the Christocentric Model 280
Organizational Starting Point 281
Principles of Reorganization 283
Principles of Reorganization: the Eschatological-Missiological Model 291
Organizational Starting Point 291
1901 and 1903: A Subtle Shift of Emphasis 295
Principles of Reorganization 296
Unity and Diversity 296
The place of decentralization as a principle of reorganization in 1901 . . . 298
Concern for unity 300
Participation or Representation 303
Local conference participation 303
Union conference representation 307
International representation 308
Consensus decision making 311
Authority as a Principle of Reorganization . . . 314

        Simplicity and Adaptability as Principles of Reorganization. 318
    Conclusion 320

VI. IMPLICATIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CHURCH. 323

    Introduction 323
    Flexibility of Structural Form 326
      A Functional Ecclesiology 327
      Ellen G. White and Flexibility. 330
      The Priority of Principle over Form 331
    Theological Awareness. 333
      The Need for a Systematic Ecclesiology. 333
      The Need for a Hermeneutic for the Writings of Ellen G. White. 336
    The Seventh-day Adventist Commitment to Mission. . . . 338
      Unity in Diversity. 338
      The Effect of the Primacy of Mission on Denominational Structures 346
        An Eschatological Foundation for the Mission of the Church 347
        Mission and Contemporary Structure 352
    Conclusion 356

VII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH . . . 358

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 367

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EGWB-AU	Ellen G. White Estate branch office, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan
EGWO-DC	Ellen G. White Estate office, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.
FMB Pro	Proceedings of Meetings of the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board. After 13 February 1899, Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists
GCAr	General Conference Archives, Washington, D.C.
GC Bulletin	_General Conference Bulletin_ (Daily)
GCA Pro	General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Proceedings of Meetings of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference Association
GCC Min	General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Minutes of Meetings of the General Conference Committee
IMMBA	International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association
IMMBA Min	Minutes of the meetings of the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association
LB	Letter Book
Review and Herald	_Advent Review and Sabbath Herald_. _Advent Review_. _Second Advent Review_. _Review_
RG	Record Group
_RH_	_Advent Review and Sabbath Herald_. _Advent Review_. _Second Advent Review_. _Review_. _Adventist Review_

SDAHC-AU	Seventh-day Adventist Heritage Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.
SDAMMBA	Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association
SDAMMBA Min	Minutes of the meetings of the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association.
Sten 1901	Original Reports and Stenographically Reported Discussions Thereof Had at the Thirty-Fourth Biennial Session of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference. Held at Battle Creek, Mich., April 2-23, 1901
Sten 1903	Stenographic Record of the Thirty-Fifth Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Held at the S.D.A. Church, Oakland, Calif., 27 March-12 April, 1903

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of this dissertation has been a protracted process. Although its formal writing has taken place during 1988, its concepts have been formed in the crucible of pastoral, evangelistic, teaching, and administrative experience over many years. That experience has been gained not only in a unicultural setting but from cross-cultural missionary service in Papua New Guinea. Therefore, the study is not merely an academic exercise. Its basic agenda is practice, not only in the Seventh-day Adventist Church whose administrative structures are the focus of attention, but in the wider Christian context.

When it comes to acknowledgment of those who deserve my thanks, I am almost overwhelmed as I bring to mind scores of individuals who have made significant contributions to my thinking on this subject, and others who have enabled me to pursue the research for this study. Particularly would I like to pay tribute to friends and associates in Papua New Guinea, who unassumingly changed my whole perspective and outlook on life and who put flesh and bones on the missionary mandate that Christ has given to his church. With their unselfish devotion to Christ and the presence of the Holy Spirit they have become agents of church growth and revitalization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in that country. Adequate structures are urgently needed which will accommodate and further facilitate the mission of the church in Papua New Guinea and in other similar situations around the world.

To the South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists and to Avondale College in Australia I owe a special debt of gratitude for the financial and moral support which has enabled my family and me to come to the United States to pursue this study. Thanks is due particularly to Arthur Ferch and David Currie at the Division Office for their many years of careful instruction, encouragement, and friendship; and to Walter Scragg, division president, whose foresight and vision have enabled him to recognize the priority of a thoroughly trained, committed ministry in the South Pacific Division. At Avondale College special thanks is due to Alwyn Salom, chairman of the theology department, for his encouragement, friendship, support while this study has been in progress, and many years of careful instruction on my behalf. In more recent years a great deal of support has been given by Bryan Ball, Tim Gorle, and other administrative and teaching personnel at that institution.

At Andrews University and the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary I would firstly pay tribute to the late Prof. Garth Thompson, my adviser and department chairman, until his untimely death in April 1988. He was largely responsible for the inauguration of the Ph.D. in Christian Ministry at this Seminary. I am the first graduate from that program. For the many hours of discussion over details of the course and for his wise counsel and friendship, I will always remain in his debt.

Special thanks is also due to Russell Staples who assumed the chairmanship of my dissertation committee on Prof. Thompson's death. His counsel was both stimulating and well considered. His encouragement, promptness (despite an extraordinarily full agenda), and friendship have been highly valued. Thanks is also due to the other members of the committee--George Knight and Ben Schoun--for their guidance and friendship, and to the many professors who stimulated me with their lectures and discussions.

There are numerous others who have been of invaluable assistance in the process of preparing this document. To give each the acclamation they deserve is impossible, given the limitations of this short statement. Therefore, I can only list them and express my gratitude in this collective manner: Louise Dederen and her staff in the Seventh-day Adventist Heritage Center at Andrews University; Bill Fagal and his staff in the Ellen G. White Estate branch office at Andrews University; Robert Olsen and his staff (particularly Tim Poirier) at the Ellen G. White Estate offices in Washington, D.C.; Don Yost and his staff (particularly Bert Haloviak) at the General Conference Archives in Washington, D.C.; and Joyce Jones, dissertation secretary at Andrews University, for countless hours of meticulous proof reading and editorial work.

Finally, for the support of friends, the guidance of Christian parents who taught me the love of God, and the love and patience of my wife Julie, and boys, Clayton, Randall, and Brendon, I give thanks to God who has bountifully given of himself through these dear ones.

INTRODUCTION

Background for the Study

Between 1888 and 1903 the Seventh-day Adventist Church reorganized its administrative structures. That process refined a form of church government which has been designated as "representative."[1] The reorganized form of representative church government was conceived in response to the changing needs of the church, particularly those needs which emerged from its numerical, geographical, and institutional expansion. The form of organization adopted was predicated on a model which had been first introduced by A. T. Robinson in South Africa in 1892. Administrative structures were further refined and proven successful on a larger scale in Australia under the leadership of W. C. White and A. G. Daniells, and under the guidance of Ellen White. Those major initiatives which paved the way for reorganization arose specifically with reference to the facilitation of the mission of the church in missionary situations.

---

[1] Seventh-day Adventist administrative structures have been termed "representative" in order to distinguish them from episcopal, papal, presbyterian, or congregational forms of church government. Although to some extent Seventh-day Adventist organizational structures were derived from other forms of governance, they were considered unique by those who, in the early 1860s, defined their form and thus termed them, in distinction from other forms, "representative." According to the Church's own definition, "representative" church government is "the form of church government which recognizes that authority in the church rests in the church membership, with executive responsibility delegated to representative bodies and officers for the governing of the church" (Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual. rev ed. [Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986], 38). The designations "structural form," "administrative structures," "church structures," "organizational structures," and "church government" are used synonymously in this study to refer to that system of organization specific to the particular denomination under discussion in the context.

Since 1903, the essential features of that reorganized "representative" form of church government have remained unchanged. Particularly since the late 1960s, however, the church constituency has become increasingly vocal in its support of a perceived need to re-evaluate the effectiveness of the administrative structures of the denomination. That contention that change is necessary has emerged, at least in part, from the success of the missionary enterprize of the church and the consequent internationalization of the constituency itself.

The response to the call for reassessment has been varied, however. On the one hand, it appears that some assume that the administrative structure of the church is sacrosanct. They maintain that its form is determined by non-negotiable theological presuppositions and principles that are to be found in the Scriptures and the writings of Ellen G. White. For them, any attempt to change the structure may threaten their understanding of the authoritative nature of Scripture and the writings of Ellen White.

On the other hand, there are those who regard the structure of the church as a pragmatic response to a specific set of issues confronted by the church in the late nineteenth century. According to the proponents of that viewpoint, the administrative structure of the church is antiquated and thus inadequate to cope with the demands placed upon it by the multi-lateral needs of the church in the late twentieth century. The polarity of these two positions and the interaction of the spectrum of opinion which lies between them has led, on occasion, to volatile discussion within some sectors of the church.

The need for re-evaluation has come not only from the church constituency, however. It is apparent that the need to examine the reasons for the existence of the denominational structures in their present form, and any attempt to describe the principles which were foundational to the acceptance of that form, has emerged in the light of the church's self-identity and commitment to mission. Emphasis on the universal dimension of its task has resulted in the establishment of the denomination in widely diverse sociological and cultural settings. Although such success was enthusiastically anticipated in the 1890s, and early twentieth century, the reality of coping with the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic community that the church's commitment to mission has created could not have been adequately considered at that time.

Numerous administrative actions have attempted to respond to the pressures brought to bear on the denomination's administrative structures. One such action has been a revision of the definition of levels of organization as stated in the Church Manual. The current definition of the levels of denominational structure is documented in the 1986 edition.[1] Another response has been the consolidation of the former "Lay Activities," "Sabbath School," and "Youth" departments into a single "Church Ministries" department. Church leaders have been prepared to make some administrative adjustments. However, crises in financial matters, institutional expansion, and retardation of missionary expansion call for continuous examination--from a pragmatic standpoint--of the way the church is structured to do its work. Careful investigation may suggest the need for more than just cosmetic change.[1]

---

[1] All published editions of the Church Manual since 1932 had designated "five steps" in the organization: the local church, the local conference, the union conference, the division, and the General

The possibility of reexamination of administrative structures arises not only from pragmatic considerations, however. If appropriate modification is to be made, the relationship between an understanding of the nature of the church, eschatological urgency, the missionary task of the church, and ecclesiastical structure needs to be examined. Has the structural form of the Seventh-day Adventist Church emerged from an ontological understanding of the nature of the church as, for instance, in papal and episcopal churches? Or did its task and mission take precedence over theological considerations in

---

Conference. However, in the 1986 edition only four levels of organization were recognized. The "division" is described as an integral part of the General Conference. Some justify this modification as being a more accurate representation of the intention of the 1901-1903 reorganization. Others see it as an indication of movement toward administrative centralization at the very time when it is claimed that decentralization is necessary. See Church Manual. 1932, 8; and ibid., 1986, 38.

[1] Writing in 1985, Walter and Bert Beach apparently failed to perceive the magnitude of the problem by stating that "we believe this Seventh-day Adventist Church organization meets today's needs. Without crisis, in normal operation all problems can be handled and solved." Walter R. Beach and Bert B. Beach, Pattern for Progress: The Role and Function of Church Organization (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1985), 35.

order that functional church structures which were best suited to the accomplishment of mission might be established? To what extent were such pragmatic concerns undergirded by an eschatological vision and missionary consciousness? In order to find answers to these and other questions and apply the implications to the contemporary situation, this study investigates the historical processes and principles which led to the reorganization of what has been termed "representative" administrative structure in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

This study does not assume that all the crises and challenges in the denomination are to be solved by administrative restructuring, nor even by a shift of emphasis in administration and organization. Any given specific situation is a complex of intersecting and interacting components. Organizational form may be just one of those components, but it is a vital component.

Statement of Purpose

Examination of relevant primary and secondary historical sources indicates that when reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church took place, the restructuring of the church was not significantly guided by a theologically defined ecclesiology. Rather, it appears that reorganization came about as the practical constraints of church government were considered in relation to such issues as the eschatological vision of the church and its developing missionary consciousness. Therefore, insofar as structure was not determined by, nor closely bound to, a formally defined ecclesiology, and insofar as form was redefined in order to accommodate the growth and facilitate the missionary endeavor of the church, the possibility of modifying the structure of the church remains, especially in order to meet the needs that may arise in the discharge of its mission and on account of the internationalization of the church.

It is a purpose of this dissertation to investigate the reorganization of the administrative structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church by: (1) examining the historical precursors of reorganization in the years 1888-1903; (2) analyzing the historical data in order to inductively find those reasons and principles which culminated in reorganization in 1901-1903; and (3) ascertaining how those reasons and principles were related to significant factors such as soteriology, ecclesiology, eschatological vision, and the missionary consciousness in the church.

A second purpose of this study is to make application of the findings of the historical research to the continuously changing situation of the contemporary church. Particular reference is made to the escalating internationalization of the church and its constituency.

Delimitations and Scope

This dissertation does not address itself to the need for an organizational system. That problem was resolved by the church in anticipation of its initial organization in 1863.[1] Presuppositional to the discussion are the scriptural and sociological imperatives for some form of organizational structure in the church.

---

[1] Recently, Andrew Mustard has dealt at length with the dynamics which contributed initially to the move for organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in "James White and the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Organization, 1844-1881" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1987.)

Further, no attempt is made to give a comprehensive historical account of the events in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the 1890s which culminated in reorganization. While generally dealing chronologically with the historical data, the methodological process emphasizes the significant operative dynamics and principles during that period which are relevant to the stated purpose of the dissertation.

Examination of the historical data largely confines itself to the period between 1888 and 1903, although it is recognized that references are made outside the limits of that time frame. The date 1888 has been chosen because sources indicate that discussion regarding reorganization began to gain momentum at that time. The year 1903 has been chosen because, apart from the introduction of the divisional sections of the General Conference and some other minor changes, the revised structural form voted at the General Conference session of that year has been the form of organization used by the church ever since. It should be observed that the reorganization of the administrative structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was a process, not merely an event. It is not possible to make an absolute determination of historical boundaries without reference to those aspects of the process which lie outside those boundaries.

Methodology and Sources

The research methodology of this study relates to the purposes and design of the study. Three chapters of the historical component of the research, document historical data relevant to the purposes of the study. The themes in chapters 4 and 5 are inductively derived from the historical data. Those two chapters are arranged thematically rather than chronologically. Special attention is given in those chapters to the theological basis for reorganization and the principles from which the reorganized structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were drawn.

Having explained in chapters 4 and 5 the theological basis and the principles of organization which were determinative of the form adopted by the denomination in its process of reorganization, chapter 6 applies the findings of the research to the functional and structural needs of the contemporary Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The research for this study has been limited largely to investigation of primary resource documents: personal and denominational correspondence, journal and magazine articles, diary entries, minutes and proceedings of committee and board meetings, stenographic records of General Conference sessions, pamphlets, and books. Secondary sources are generally quoted only for reference purposes or where discussion of specific interpretations of historical events is needed.

Need for the Study and Related Literature

Within the North American Division there has been much discussion regarding the need for re-evaluation of administrative structures and practices. At least two union conferences have taken specific action to alter their constitutions contrary to the advice of officers of the General Conference.[1] Outside the North American Division increased pressure is being brought to bear on the General Conference for modification of administrative structures. It appears that many church members from other divisions desire an administration which is more authentically representative of the world-wide constituency of the church. This strong desire was evidenced at the General Conference session at New Orleans in 1985 when some of the delegates, particularly from Africa, spoke to the problem with considerable conviction.[2]

Their concern may have arisen for many reasons. For instance, they may have perceived that the missionary function of the church was being retarded by institutionalization and centralization. If such is still the case, the church should act to ensure that its structures protect and enhance the initiative and selfhood of the younger churches within the context of a global, interdependent, responsible Seventh-day Adventist Church.[3] Alternatively, the African delegates may have observed that the structures of the Seventh-day Adventist

---

[1] The two Unions involved were the North Pacific Union and the Pacific Union.

[2] See "African Delegates Make Themselves Heard at General Conference Session," _Visitor_. 1 August 1985, 6.

[3] The term "younger churches" is used to refer to those churches which are located in areas which were formerly designated "mission fields" in distinction from churches in the "homelands." This designation is used in order to avoid any implication that there should continue to be "homelands" and "mission fields" in the contemporary Seventh-day Adventist perspective on world mission. Rather, mission should be understood in terms which reflect the interchange of ideas and persons between all Christians from all cultures and societies in the world. The motto "from everywhere to everywhere" is appropriate for just such an enterprize.

Church do not easily facilitate the incarnation of the church and its message in many cultural and sociological environments. Rather, they more often contribute to the isolation of the church and its members from their specific heritage and community, and thus inhibit missionary expansion. Such a situation is perilous for a church which accepts the gospel commission seriously and, unless adjusted, will continue to work contrary to the evangelistic purposes of the church and its ministry.

A comprehensive investigation of the dynamics and principles which contributed to reorganization in 1901-1903 has not yet been undertaken. There is an increasing body of literature, both on the subject of the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and on the historical milieu of the 1890s. But primary documentary research into the reasons for reorganization in 1901-1903 and discussion of the principles controlling the form of the outcome has not been done. In his recently completed dissertation on Adventist organization from 1844 through 1881, Andrew Mustard stated that "a definitive history of the development of church organization during the 1880s and 1890s and of the pivotal 1901 General Conference has yet to be written."[1]

Apart from Mustard's work, other recent studies relevant to this dissertation are P. Gerard Damsteegt's Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission, which is largely confined to a discussion of the development of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine and missionary outreach to the period up to 1874;[1] Richard Schwarz's Light Bearers to the Remnant. a college-level text book on Seventh-day Adventist denominational history;[2] Schwarz's chapter "The Perils of Growth," in which he briefly treats the reorganization of the church in 1901-1903;[3] George Knight's From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones. in which the author examines the reshaping of denominational organization in one chapter in the context of a biographical account of Jones;[4] and a recent unpublished paper prepared for the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary by Erich Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure: 1901 Reorganization in the Light of the Expanding Missionary Enterprize of the Seventh-day Adventist Church."[5]

---

[1] Mustard, "James White and Organization," 273.

Earlier studies were Gilbert Jorgensen's M.A. thesis for the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary in 1949,[6] and Carl D. Anderson's Ph.D.

---

[1] P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977).

[2] Richard Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant (Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press, 1979).

[3] Idem, "The Perils of Growth," in Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 95-138.

[4] George R. Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1987).

[5] Erich Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure: 1901 Reorganization in the Light of the Expanding Missionary Enterprize of the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (term paper prepared for Andrews University, June 1987).

[6] Gilbert Jorgensen, "An Investigation of the Administrative Reorganization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists as Planned and Carried out in the General Conferences of 1901 and 1903" (M. A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1949.)

dissertation in 1960.[1] While these studies have contributed significantly to our understanding of the process of reorganization, both studies were restricted by the limited availability of primary sources. Organized archives are now housed at the General Conference headquarters in Washington, D.C.; the Ellen G. White Estate Offices also in Washington, D.C., and on the campus of Andrews University; and in the Adventist Heritage Center in the James White Library, Andrews University.

In addition, many other articles and books have been written on the subject of church government in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. All are limited, however, by their concise treatment of the process and nature of reorganization, by their commitment to other agendas, or by their failure to utilize adequately the primary resources that are now available.[2]

Since the late 1960s concern for church organizational structure has been indicated by numerous articles in the Adventist Review, Ministry, Spectrum, and in the many departmental and union conference journals and magazines published by the church. Further, conferences and seminars--such as the Theological Consultation at

---

[1] Carl D. Anderson, "The History and Evolution of Seventh-day Adventist Church Organization" (Ph.D. diss., American University, 1960.)

[2] For example, see Arthur W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1961-1962), 2:263-371, 3:1-115; A. V. Olson, Through Crisis to Victory (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1966); Arthur L. White, Ellen G. White: The Australian Years, 1891-1900 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1983); and idem, Ellen G. White: The Early Elmshaven Years, 1901-1905 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1981).

Glacier View, Colorado, in 1980, and reports and minutes of constituency sessions--have provided insight into the organizational perspectives of administrators, theologians, and church members.

CHAPTER I

THE NEED FOR REORGANIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EXPANDING MISSIONARY ENTERPRIZE OF THE CHURCH

Introduction

The principles which have determined the structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church demand scrutiny and evaluation. To that end, subsequent chapters of this study document data relevant to the process of reorganization, investigate the reasons for the reorganization of the administrative structures of the denomination during the years 1901-1903, and identify some of the principles by which that process and its outcome were ordered. This chapter briefly alludes to some non-denominational contextual factors, and to significant developments within the denomination which relate to the investigation.

Specifically, the focus of attention in this chapter is on the widespread missionary enthusiasm and expansion which characterized American Protestantism, including the Seventh-day Adventist Church, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In that setting, the chapter describes the administrative structures which were used by the Seventh-day Adventist Church until 1901. Those structures were not designed to cope with the success of the missionary enterprize of the church. By 1901 new structures which could accommodate and facilitate the growth of the church were needed. That need for reorganization and the new administrative structures which grew out of it are best understood in the setting of the missionary expansion of the church, both in its larger context outside the denomination, and in its more narrow context within the denomination.

In contrast to the research methodology that is employed in the rest of the study, few primary resources are used in the earlier portions of this chapter. Here, the documentation is largely indebted to the work of other historians who have investigated events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Two additional delimitations are necessary for this chapter. First, only those contextual factors which are considered to have specific relationship to significant developments in the process of reorganization of the administrative structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church have been included. Second, because the Seventh-day Adventist Church was founded in the United States, the discussion of the national and denominational context is confined largely to that country. Sociological, political, organizational, cultural, and to a large extent, theological factors which informed the process of reorganization were born in a North American context.

Serious discussion of historical events and processes considers both the event itself and its context. No given historical occurrence can be understood if it is divorced from its context. Likewise, no principle has continuing normative value and contemporary application unless it has been evaluated in its historical context and reinterpreted in the light of its value and applicability for the present.

Global Context: Colonialism and Mission

The end of the nineteenth century had seen four centuries of European-based expansionism, imperialism, and colonialism. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it had been the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French who had been the more active colonialists. Hand in hand with the realization of their political expansionism had gone a rapid escalation of missionary activity by the Roman Catholic Church.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, Protestant European powers were gaining the ascendancy. By that time the English, the Dutch, and the Germans had established colonial outposts world-wide. Again, political expansionism facilitated the development of the missionary cause, but it was the Protestant missionary movement which was then riding the crest of the colonial wave.

In the eighteenth century the colonial status of British North America effectively precluded any significant expansionist ambition on its part. With the passage of time in the nineteenth century, however, it became apparent that the global influence of the United States was on the rise. Whereas the pattern of European colonization was one of political and military domination, followed or accompanied by Christianizing pressures, American authority was established more on ideological and economic grounds. Outside North America, American influence was established not so much by a territorially confined colonialism as it was by an ideological and economic imperialism which impacted upon diverse political, economic, and social structures.[1]

National Context: Nationalism and Mission

The post-bellum years were years of phenomenal change in the United States. With reconstruction came rapid industrialization, urbanization, and social stratification. Increasingly, the American city was becoming the home of immigrants whose social and cultural patterns were very different from those of rural, Protestant, Anglo-saxon Americans. Earlier, most immigrants to the United States had come from northern and western Europe. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the majority of immigrants were arriving from southern and eastern Europe. Whereas previously the typical immigrant was Protestant, now more immigrants were Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, or Jewish. People were becoming more aware of social, cultural, and religious diversity, but more often than not, that awareness did not result in accommodation but in confrontation as diverse social and cultural classes sought to establish their identity.

Other major factors which exacerbated instability in the last decade of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century were:

1. The fluctuation of economic fortunes. In 1893 recession hit the country, and much of the world. In poverty, thousands left their farms to seek employment and opportunity in the cities.

---

[1] It should be pointed out that the United States did exercise control over the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and some other islands after the Spanish-American War.

2. The rise of a broad-based prohibition sentiment.
3. The more pragmatic education which was being advocated in contrast to the scholastic education offered by European educational institutions.
4. The wide-spread populist movement as a political force.
5. Continuing tensions between whites and blacks.

These and other changes in American society were accompanied by a strong nationalistic fervor. Throughout the nineteenth century a sense of manifest destiny had permeated American religion and society. But by the end of the century that sense of destiny had become strongly ethnocentric in orientation. Despite local cultural and religious diversification, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant social and cultural values were regarded as the norm for everyone. Even the pattern of government which had been established in the United States was considered by many to be the ideal pattern for all peoples in all places. Americans had few doubts about their political mission to the world.[1]

---

[1] Josiah Strong was perhaps the most notable example of those who advocated a transference of an Anglo-Saxon value system and lifestyle as the best way to Christianize other cultures. Henry Bowden has observed that Strong "had no difficulty in identifying Christianity with American (occasionally British) customs and then championing that amalgam as the one viable culture for anyone wishing to live effectively in the modern world" (Henry W. Bowden, "An Overview of Cultural Factors in the American Protestant Missionary Enterprise," in American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective, ed. R. Pierce Beaver [Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1977], 51). Andrew Happer expressed the hope that all the world would one day be as pleasant and attractive as a New England village, a Scottish hamlet, or the German countryside. See Andrew P. Happer, The Missionary Enterprise: Its Success in Other Lands and the Assurance of Its Success in China (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1880), 2. William Hutchison has traced the rise and fall of American imperialism. He claimed that in the nineteenth century,

Religious Context: The Gospel and Mission

Missionary Consciousness and Expansion

The gospel of Christian civilization had become a powerful force in America and its mission at the turn of the century. But there was much more to the missionary enterprize of American Protestantism than a civilizing ideology or veiled political expansionism. While momentous theological and ideological developments were taking place in the United States itself, there was a sense of urgency and expectation about the world-wide mission of the church that to a large extent transcended theological and ideological controversy and polarization.[1]

When the first World Missionary Conference was held in Edinburgh in 1910, more than 1,200 participants reflected with a great

---

nationalistic fervor corresponded to the pattern of religious revivalism and missionary enthusiasm in the country. He contended that the pinnacle of American imperialism coincided with the great missionary thrust at the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. While Hutchison has admirably drawn attention to an often-neglected aspect of the American missionary enterprize, it should be pointed out that there was much more to missionary motivation at the turn of the century and the early years of the twentieth century than political and civilizing ambition. Hutchison failed to give adequate attention to factors other than those on his own agenda. William Hutchison, Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). See also Gerald H. Anderson, "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886-1986," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (July 1988): 98-118.

[1] Developments occurring at the time included: (1) the growing influence of liberalism and a polarization of liberals and conservatives which was to become acrimonious in the liberalism-fundamentalism debates in the 1920s and 1930s; (2) the rise of the social gospel movement within liberalism; (3) the demise of the Holiness movement and the rise of the Pentecostal movement within conservatism; and (4) the increasing preference for pre-millennialist eschatology over post-millennialism within both conservatism and liberalism, but particularly within conservatism.

deal of satisfaction on events which had transpired in the century that had passed. Comparison between the global presence of Christianity in 1810 and 1910 seemed to justify the optimistic expectation that world evangelization was attainable in the very near future.[1]

In retrospect, the first quarter of the nineteenth century did not seem to have held the promise of the dramatic developments that were to follow. While it is true that the Second Great Awakening was in full swing in the United States at the time, it is also true that the revival was primarily introverted, and the sense of mission that was aroused was applied first to the needs of the indigenous peoples of North America. Nevertheless, some missionaries were sent to non-European lands. Their dispatch may not have been motivated by a particularly strong commitment to the destiny of God's American people as agents of world evangelization, but it was a beginning.

In 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign

---

[1] Stephen Neill lists twelve achievements of the nineteenth century considered significant by the participants at Edinburgh: (1) Missionaries had been able to find a footing in every part of the known world, (2) much pioneer Bible translation work had been completed, (3) tropical medicine had made longer missionary tenure viable, (4) every religion in the world had yielded some converts to Christianity as a result of missionary preaching, (5) no race was deemed to be incapable of understanding the gospel, (6) indigenous Christians were working alongside the missionary, (7) leaders were emerging from the younger churches, (8) support for missions was greater than ever, (9) financial support had kept pace with the rapid expansion of the missionary enterprise, (10) educational institutions were producing men and women of the highest caliber for missionary work, (11) Christian influence had spread far beyond the ranks of those who had actually accepted the gospel, (12) intransigent opposition to the gospel seemed to have finally given way to more ready acceptance in many areas of the world. Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (New York: Penguin Books, 1964), 394-95. See also Anderson, "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission," 102.

Missions was founded. It was the first and, for half a century, the largest North American agency to send workers abroad. Although it operated independently of denominational structures, it was dominated by Massachusetts Congregationalists. It was best represented by its most distinguished secretary--Rufus Anderson. Soon other "boards" with denominational titles and backing were brought into existence, but the American Board was to remain the dominant force in the American missionary enterprise until the 1860s, when the denominational mission bodies began to exert a greater influence. By that time the global missionary campaign had gained the momentum which was a powerful force in North American religious life, and which, as it developed, was to be regarded with such satisfaction at Edinburgh.[1]

The Activist Style of American Mission

From the beginning an activist style had been characteristic of American mission. Activism in missionary endeavor bore a direct relationship with the pattern of revivalism and conservativism that had swept the American religious scene earlier in the nineteenth century. As the proportion of American missionaries increased in comparison to continental missionaries, the continental responses to the powerful Anglo-American presence were undergirded by deeply ingrained perceptions of the activistic nature of American religion.[1] Phillip Schaff, a Swiss theologian and historian who had emigrated to the United States, analyzed for a German audience the advantages and disadvantages of the activist style. He described the religious style of the Americans as being "uncommonly practical, energetic, and enterprising," while, in contrast, the entire continent of Europe was suffering from a dearth of enthusiasm. In the various synods and conventions of the churches in the United States, he noted an unusual amount of oratorical power which was combined with a talent for organization and government. Schaff acknowledged, however, that the activist style had both "corresponding faults and infirmities." He wrote that American Christianity

---

[1] Some twenty-four American agencies for mission-evangelism and Bible distribution were founded between 1810 and 1870. Approximately 2,000 Americans served overseas during that period as missionaries, lay assistants, miscellaneous workers (who, according to Anderson, did not qualify as missionaries in his strict definition of the term), and wives (who also were not yet listed as missionaries). The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission together with the Northern Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist Boards accounted for some 80 percent of the missionary activity of North American churches. Among these, the American Board remained the most significant in terms of workers and financial assets right through the end of the 1860s. For additional statistical data relative to the destinations of the missionaries who were being dispatched by the boards, see Hutchison, Errand to the World. 45.

> . . . is more Petrine than Johannean; more like busy Martha than like the pensive Mary, sitting at the feet of Jesus. It expands more in breadth than in depth. It is often carried on like a secular business, and in a mechanical or utilitarian spirit. It lacks the beautiful enamel of deep fervor and heartiness, the true mysticism, an appreciation of history and the church; it wants a substratum of profound and spiritual theology; and under the mask of orthodoxy it not infrequently conceals, without intending or knowing it, the tendency to abstract intellectualism and

---

[1] The increasing proportion of American missionaries during the last half of the nineteenth century can be ascertained with reference to Rufus Anderson, Foreign Missions, Their Relations and Claims (New York: Scribner, 1869), 342-45; James S. Dennis, ed., Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902), 9-48; James S. Dennis, Harlan P. Beach, and Charles H. Fahs, eds., World Atlas of Christian Missions (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1911), 81-102. By 1900 Americans outnumbered continental missionaries by a margin of two to one, and by 1910 they had overtaken the British both in financing and in the number of missionaries in the field.

> superficial rationalism. This is especially evident in the doctrine of the church and the sacraments, and in the meagerness of the worship . . . [where] nothing is left but preaching, free prayer, and singing.[1]

In concert with characteristic American religious activism, Seventh-day Adventists were more interested in a practical religion than in theological or theoretical reflection. The optimistic expectancy of fulfilling the world-wide missionary challenge demanded action rather than contemplation, research, or writing.[2]

A Penchant for Numerics

The activistic style in mission was accompanied by a penchant for numerics. The success of the missionary enterprise was quantified, and, although it is not true to say that there was no qualitative concern, American mission boards strongly tended to evaluate their enterprise in terms of statistics. For instance, in 1900 Robert Speer estimated that there were 1.5 million converts in the areas to which missionaries had been sent. Approximately 800,000 more had been added by 1910. For promotional purposes these figures were made to sound impressive.[3] But, in fact, they were exceedingly meager when set against total populations. K. S. Latourette, an eminent historian of Christian mission, observed in 1936:

---

[1] Phillip Schaff, America (New York: Scribner, 1855; reprint, ed. Perry Miller [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961]), 94-95.

[2] See Emmet K. Vande Vere, "Years of Expansion, 1865-1885," in Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 72.

[3] Robert E. Speer, Missionary Principles and Practice: A Discussion of Christian Missions and Some Criticisms upon Them (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902), 501; Dennis, Centennial Survey. 263; Dennis et al, Atlas of Missions. 83; John R. Mott, The Evangelization of the World in This Generation (New York: Student Volunteer Movement of Foreign Missions, 1905), 102.

> In none of the major areas to which missionaries have gone do the younger churches include more than one percent of the population. In some limited areas the proportion is much larger. In most lands it is smaller.[1]

In order to explain such an undesirable situation, the leading spokespersons for the missionary enterprize explained that "evangelization," according to the New Testament, had never implied huge numbers of accessions to the faith.[2] With the very next breath, however, some apologists for mission were just as likely to "'refer the questioner to the Sandwich Islands'--to change the subject and talk about successes."[3] In 1902 Speer wanted it to be well understood that he disliked "enumerations." He thought, however, that he should offer a few statistics in order to "be rid of them once and for all." So he proceeded to recount a total of 558 missionary societies (American and European), 7,319 mission stations, 14,364 churches, 94 colleges and universities, 20,458 schools, 379 hospitals, 782 dispensaries, 152 publishing houses, 452 translations of the Bible, and "sixty-four ships belonging exclusively to Christ!"[4] An impressive list from one supposedly not too interested in adding up statistics.

---

[1] K. S. Latourette, Missions Tomorrow (New York: Harper and Bros, 1936), 94-95.

[2] Mott, Evangelization of the World. 7-10. Nevertheless Mott indicated (chapter 5) that leaders cared a great deal about conversion statistics; both past and prospective.

[3] Ibid., in Hutchison, Errand to the World. 100. I am indebted to Hutchison for drawing my attention to much of the data in this section of the dissertation.

[4] Speer, Missionary Principles. 501-2.

Mission Theory

The available statistics did, however, reflect the emergence of amazing growth and vitality in the whole missionary enterprise. Charles Forman has suggested that while there had been a gradual development of missionary consciousness and endeavor throughout the nineteenth century, it was the rapid development during the 1890s and early twentieth century that was most striking. According to Forman, "about 1890 the climate of opinion changed markedly and from then to 1918, in what may be called the heyday of American missions, there was a burst of new ideas and an enormously increased quantity of literature expressing those ideas."[1] The time period that Forman has delineated for the upsurge in the Protestant missionary enterprize as a whole corresponds almost identically with the great missionary movement in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Structural reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church took place in 1901-1903. That date was approximately the mid-point of the period.

Forman pointed out that despite the new ideas and attention to theoretical and theological issues, America's mission theory was not able to attract as much attention as America's mission work. Nevertheless, between 1890 and 1918 more than forty works on the theory of missions were published in the United States in contrast to the six that had been written in the preceding eighty years of the missionary movement. Most of these newer works originated from male, mainline Protestant sources, and consisted primarily of lecture series prepared for scholarly and academic audiences.[1]

---

[1] Charles W. Forman, "A History of Foreign Mission Theory in America," in American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective. ed. R. Pierce Beaver (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1977), 70.

Consideration of American mission theory should include reference to two innovators in American mission policy who were to be found among the practitioners of the time rather than among the scholars. Bishop William Taylor, a Methodist, advocated the rapid and wide expansion of the missionary enterprise. He expected the missionary to be largely self-supporting. Forman observed that "this method paid little attention to the steady, concentrated building up of the local church but it fitted in well with the Methodist disposition during the latter part of the nineteenth century for rapidly expanding, minimally supported work."[2] Seventh-day Adventists, like Methodists were attempting to expand rapidly while offering their missionaries minimal support.

Forman also observed that Bishop Taylor's views did not survive as long as he did.[3] However, he may have failed to anticipate the recent re-emergence of Taylor's view in the form of the increasingly popular "tent-making ministry" concept.[4]

On the other hand, John Nevius, a Presbyterian in Korea, defended the need for strengthening the local, indigenous church and its leadership. He believed that there should be no serving institutions in a given community other than those which the local church could adequately maintain. The work of mission was to train local leaders and prepare the church for autonomy. Some, other than Nevius himself, adopted the position that the mission should pay the indigenous worker until the local church was able to fully support its indigenous people. Forman observed that this modified version of Nevius's view together with a very "un-Nevius-like" proliferation of foreign-serving institutions proved to have great survival power in American missions.

---

[1] Ibid., 80-81; Hutchison, Errand to the World. 127.

[2] Forman, "History of Mission Theory," 90.

[3] Ibid., 89-90.

[4] See Ruth Siemens, "Secular Options for Missionary Work," in Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader. eds., Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1981), 770-74; Tetsunao Yamamori, God's New Envoys (Portland, Ore.: Multnomah Press, 1987).

Seventh-day Adventist missions were not particularly adept at promoting autonomy. Even in the early years of the twentieth century their missionary methodology was based on the institutional or "mission station" approach. Insufficient attention was given to the selfhood of the younger churches and the development of indigenous leadership.[1]

Motivation for Mission

Along with the increase in scholarly attention to mission theory went a development in motivational emphasis. At the time when the North American missionary enterprise had been establishing itself, its Puritan and Calvinist roots revealed a concern for the glory of God as a missionary motivation. As time proceeded, however, the command of Christ and love for Christ became the primary motivators.

---

[1] For a brief discussion of Seventh-day Adventist mission methodology at the beginning of the twentieth century see Borge Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), 326-32.

Forman explained that "sometimes these were expressed with a heavier emphasis on the element of love and sometimes with a heavier emphasis on the command." He contended that "on occasion, particularly in the later period between 1890 and 1918, the treatment of Christ's command was explicitly in terms of unquestioning duty or military obedience." "The Victorian glorification of duty," he added, "evidently had its effect on missionary motivation." [1]

At the end of the nineteenth century conservatives were being influenced by liberals who were emphasizing the motive of compassion for the world. Unlike liberals, however, the conservatives made reference to each motive--love for Christ, obedience to Christ, and compassion for the world--in their missionary literature. Unless the three were held in balance, "obedience without love would be desiccated, love without obedience would be sentimental and either of them without a compassion for people would divert attention from the persons served to the act of serving."[2]

The serving motivation was reflected in the flourishing of a great number of auxiliary institutions. It has been argued that such were the direct result of the civilizing ambitions of the missionary movement. More correctly it should be confessed that it is exceedingly difficult to separate a serving motivation from civilizing ambitions. Be that as it may, approximately 100 colleges or universities and 1,200 medical institutions had arisen out of nowhere in a matter of only thirty years. Robert Speer, although overdrawing the picture slightly, recalled in 1928 that as recently as the 1870s there had been "no great conspicuous institutions such as hospitals and colleges."[1]

---

[1] Forman, "History of Mission Theory," 74-75. See also Anderson, "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission," 98.

[2] Forman, "History of Mission Theory," 74-75.

Laypersons and Mission

Concurrent with the appearance of an institutional methodology in mission at the turn of the century was an upsurge in lay participation, particularly the involvement of women. Between 1868 and 1910 the proportion of laypersons in the missionary force (American and European) rose from 52 percent to 70 percent. Since women were the dominant lay workers at both dates, the proportional change reflected an increased female presence. In 1910, in fact, a statistically typical group of 100 missionaries comprised "thirty ordained men, twelve laymen engaged in nonmedical work, five physicians (including one woman and one of the ordained men), and fifty five" female workers (women who were spouses of men in other categories were not counted as missionaries).[2]

The Student Volunteer Movement and Mission

One cannot properly discuss American mission at the turn of the century, nor the composition and dedication of the missionary band itself, without reference to the Student Volunteer Movement For Foreign Missions, its influential leaders, and the watchword which expressed the aim of a whole generation of American missionaries. The Student Volunteer Movement was founded in a year which has come to have great significance for Seventh-day Adventists--1888. Numerous references to the movement, its leaders, conventions, and watchword are found scattered through Seventh-day Adventist denominational literature and committee minutes between 1889 and 1903. In 1893, for example, it was voted that the General Conference Secretary should attend the second convention of the movement.[1] In 1891 Uriah Smith's son Leon, who, although not listed among the official delegates, was obviously at the first Student Volunteer convention at Cleveland, Ohio, in that year enthusiastically recommended:

---

[1] Robert E. Speer, "A Few Comparisons of Then and Now," Missionary Review of the World 51 (January 1928): 7. Seventh-day Adventists had founded a medical institution at Battle Creek (Battle Creek Sanitarium) in 1866 and a major educational institution (Battle Creek College) in 1874.

[2] Hutchison, Errand to the World. 100. See also Anderson, "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission, 102-3.

---

[1] FMB Pro, 17 December 1893, RG 48, GCAr. Other references to the Student Volunteer Movement in Seventh-day Adventist literature and board actions between 1889 and 1903 were (in chronological order): M. L. Huntley, "The Student Missionary Uprising," RH, 17 December 1889, 790-91; [J. O. Corliss], "International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement," RH, 17 February 1891, 102; Percy T. Magan, "Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement," RH, 10 March 1891, 150; Leon A. Smith, "The World's Convention of Student Volunteers for Foreign Missions," RH, 17 March 1891, 168-69; FMB Pro, 29 April 1891, RG 48, GCAr; O. A. Olsen, "Report of the General Conference Committee Meetings from March 11-21, 1892," RH, 26 April 1892, 266; F. M. Wilcox, "Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement," RH, 20 February 1894, 128; FMB Pro, 5 December 1897, RG 48, GCAr; IMMBA Min, 5 February 1898, RG 77, GCAr; W. E. Cornell, "The Volunteer Convention," RH, 15 March 1898, 174-75; Estella Houser, "The Student Volunteer Convention in Toronto," RH, 11 March 1902, 155. For record of the Seventh-day Adventist delegates attending the conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement see, for example, Student Mission Power: Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1891; reprint, Pasadena Calif.: William Carey Library, 1979), 198; World-Wide Evangelization the Urgent Business of the Church: Addresses Delivered before the Fourth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions Toronto, Canada, February 26-March 2, 1902 (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1902), 647. The delegates are listed under the institutions they represent, state by state.

> It is hardly necessary to add that the Student Volunteer Movement is one which merits the full sympathy and co-operation of Seventh-day Adventists. Unselfish, unsectarian (so far as concerns Protestant sects), animated by a pure zeal and devotion to the cause of Christ, and seeking only to bring the sound of his gospel to the millions whose ears it has never reached, it is a part of the great gospel work which God is doing for the world in this last generation of its history, and in which it has pleased him to assign us so wonderful a part.[1]

Again in 1898, Seventh-day Adventists were admonished not to hold themselves "aloof from" the student movement.[2]

The two most influential leaders to emerge from the Student Volunteer Movement were John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer. Both were able administrators, and both wrote extensively--Speer being the more prolific of the two. Mott's particular strength was his ability to see mission in its world-wide perspective and promote the formation of strategies which would optimize the potential that was being created by the Holy Spirit. As such he was one of the first to place emphasis on strategic planning for the world as a whole. His idea was to develop a comity arrangement whereby each mission agency would be responsible for specific unreached regions and classes of people.

Speer was a systematic thinker whose strength lay in mediation and clarification of all sides of a particular issue or task to be performed. He gave a good deal of attention to the needs of the young national church, its right to organize in its own way, its responsibility for evangelization in its own sphere, and its ability to express its faith according to its own cultural setting without domination or intimidation from the West. He wanted the younger churches to be self-administering and in control of their own financial resources.[1]

---

[1] Leon Smith, "The World's Convention of Student Volunteers," 169.

[2] Cornell, "The Volunteer Convention," 175.

The Watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement

Both Mott and Speer were staunch defenders of the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement: "The evangelization of the world in this generation." Mott asserted in 1902 that the watchword had "in the case of a large and increasing number of Christians . . . enlarged vision, strengthened purpose, augmented faith, inspired hopefulness, intensified zeal, driven to God in prayer, and developed the spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice."[2] Nevertheless, the watchword was not so well appreciated by all, and it received continuous and sometimes vitriolic criticism.

Some maintained that the watchword was too closely tied to premillennial views and was therefore inappropriate for the missionary enterprise as a whole.[3] Others charged that it did not do justice to

---

[1] Robert E. Speer, Missionary Principles and Practice. 59, 63-64; idem, Christianity and the Nations (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 73-76, 113-76; idem, The Gospel and the New World (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919), 203-24.

[2] John R. Mott, Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott. 6 vols. (New York: Association Press, 1946-1947), 1:82; quoted in C. Howard Hopkins, John R. Mott. 1865-1955: A Biography (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 232.

[3] Edward A. Lawrence, Modern Missions in the East: Their Methods, Successes and Limitations (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895), 35-36.

ASTR Research Center Library
General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

Jesus's commission to make disciples. Making disciples involved baptizing, organizing, instructing, edifying, and a whole host of other tasks which better fitted a mission policy directed towards organizing churches, developing a competent indigenous ministry, and encouraging responsibility and self-propagation.[1]

While such objections were not sufficient to discredit the popularity of the slogan, they did serve to call attention to what Hutchison has called "ambiguities" in the watchword's key term, "evangelization." In response, Robert Speer insisted before a Student Volunteer Assembly in 1898 that "we do not predict that the world is to be evangelized in this generation," but in the same speech he reported statistics which would easily lead the listener to "begin to feel that perhaps the evangelization of the world in this generation may not, after all, be such a dream."[2]

Others tried to explain away the apparent demand of the slogan by claiming that "evangelizing," in fact, meant "contacting" potential Christians and exposing them to the gospel. But when results were being reported, no-one seemed satisfied merely with statistics of contact. Both practitioners and supporters of mission were not at all indifferent to results expressed in terms of conversions.[3]

---

[1] Chalmers Martin, Apostolic and Modern Missions (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), 52-63.

[2] Robert E. Speer, "The Watchword of the Movement: The Evangelization of the World in This Generation," in The Student Missionary Appeal: Addresses at the Third International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, February 23-27, 1898 (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1898), 210.

[3] See Hutchison, Errand to the World, 19.

ASTR Research Center Library
General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

The watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement was of vital interest to Seventh-day Adventists--so much so that when a department which was designed to cater to the needs of youth was formed by the General Conference in 1907, they adopted it and adapted it to their particular perspective. The "aim" of the "Missionary Volunteer society"--the formal name given to youth-oriented societies within local congregations--was "The Advent message to all the world in this generation."[1]

Denominational Structures

Not only was the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century a time of rapid growth for the missionary enterprize, but it was also a time of structural change for many denominations in the United States. New denominations were being spawned and old denominations were being realigned. William Swatos has pointed out that many denominations were caught up in an attempt to implement the principles of the "progressive, scientific world view" that was beginning to dominate the culture. Referring to the principles themselves, he said:

> Efficiency was one such principle, and the organizational manifestation of this was bureaucracy. Thus the denominations developed national staffs, headquarters, programs, and so forth, far beyond the reach of local constituents. With the shift from a rural home-farm, productive-consumptive society to an urban

---

[1] The watchword was not the only thing that Seventh-day Adventists "borrowed" from the Student Volunteer Movement. In 1908 the "Morning Watch" was introduced to the "Young People's" societies. That had also originated with the Student Volunteer Movement. See Cornell, "The Volunteer Convention," 175. Also, the name given to the youth organization--"the Missionary Volunteer society"--was most likely derived from the name "Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions."

> bureau-technical one, the traditional denominations, as religious organizations in conformity with their socio-cultural environments, developed into large trans-local, non-profit corporations.[1]

Despite some innovation and experimentation, most structural forms were variants of one of the three basic categories of church government or polity: episcopal, presbyterian, and congregational. Some denominations selected specific elements from each of the categories and incorporated them within the structural form which met their specific needs. All denominations attempted, to a greater or lesser degree, to find a structural form which was theologically-based and pragmatically feasible. Therefore, the chosen form was usually a function of theological rationale, liturgical processes, the need for office and authority in the church, the decision-making processes, and in many cases, an attempt to facilitate missionary expansion.[2]

Episcopal Forms of Church Government

Episcopal church order was an early form of church government that has been practiced in many Christian denominations. In Episcopal churches the chief ministers were bishops. Subordinate ministers were presbyters (or priests) and deacons. A threefold ministry was the identifying mark of the episcopacy. When the Orthodox Church in the east separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the west, both maintained their commitment to apostolic succession and episcopacy. The Orthodox Churches adopted a form of episcopacy which featured a federation of self-governing churches, each with its own presiding patriarch. The episcopacy of the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, became more centralized, its bishops being appointed by one head bishop. Its centralized episcopal govenance enabled the western church to more easliy maintain its catholicity in doctrine and form.

---

[1] William H. Swatos, Jr., "Beyond Denominationalism: Community and Culture in American Religion," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 20 (1981): 223. Swatos continued: "To a considerable extent, this approach remains intact at the present time and reflects one important characteristic of modern society--complex organization. But it fails to recognize the importance of localism in maintaining voluntary organizations. . . . While the state continues to enlarge despite all pretensions to the contrary, denominational religiosity is in a tailspin" (ibid., 224).

[2] For consideration of four denominational systems; Presbyterian, Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist, and their possible influence on Seventh-day Adventist structural design in 1863, see Mustard, "James White and Organization," 233-63.

With the Reformation came other variations of episcopal form. The Anglican Church, for instance, rejected the primacy of the Pope and the Roman hierarchy but maintained historic succession. Some of the Lutheran churches adopted a Protestant episcopal system but did not retain historic succession.

A special case of episcopal governance was that followed by Methodist denominations in the United States. The Methodists did retain the episcopacy. But their bishops were elected by representatives of the church--ministry and laity--and not by a first bishop or other bishops. At the same time, the church was organized into conferences which were to deal with matters of administration. Like the bishops, the conferences derived their authority from a constituency and not from the bishopric itself as was the case in most episcopal forms of governance.[1]

---

[1] Methodists in the United States and its mission retained a general superintendent. John Wesley never accepted the idea that these general superintendents should be called bishops. See Nolan B.

Presbyterian Forms of Church Government

Based largely on the model established by John Calvin of Geneva, Presbyterianism emphasized the importance of elders or presbyters. Although not holding that their form of polity was the only one allowed by the New Testament, it was understood by Presbyterians that the essentials of their structure were scriptural. The basic presupposition of Presbyterianism was the headship of the

---

Harmon, The Organization of the Methodist Church (Nashville, Tenn.: Methodist Publishing House, 1962); idem, "Structural and Administrative Changes," in The History of American Methodism. 3 vols., ed. E. S. Bucke (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), 3:1-58; Frederick A. Norwood, The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1974); William W. Sweet, Methodism in American History (New York: Abingdon Press, 1933); Jack M. Tuell, The Organization of the United Methodist Church. rev. ed. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1973). Speaking of the contemporary organization in the United Methodist Church, Tuell has said: "President Harry Truman used to have a motto on his desk which read, 'The buck stops here.' There is really no single desk in United Methodism which can appropriately display that motto. If it can be placed anywhere in the church, it would have to be on the eight hundred or so desks of the delegates to the General Conference during their approximately ten-day session every four years. They have the authority to eliminate every structure, board and agency within the entire church except those with constitutional status, such as the episcopacy, the district superintendency, the conferences, and the Judicial Council" (ibid., 126). Andrew Mustard has concluded that the administrative structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as it was originally designed in 1863 is indebted more to Methodism than to any other organizational system. He bases his assertion on three criteria: (1) both Methodists and Seventh-day Adventists were governed by a General Conference; (2) the sectional divisions of the denominations were conferences (in 1901 the sectional divisions of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination became the union conferences); and (3) both were characterized by a pragmatic approach to administration and cited effectiveness as evidence of the superiority of the system. Mustard, "James White and Organization," 258. For further discussion of parallels between Seventh-day Adventist organization, as it was established in 1863, and Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist polity, see ibid., 233-63.

risen Christ. As sovereign Lord he ruled his people by his Word and Spirit, directing believers as a whole. There was no concept of an elite group which had received extraordinary powers or authority through direct revelation or by laying on of hands. Those who governed the church were chosen by all the church members, who recognized that God had given those officers gifts and abilities to teach and to direct the church in its life upon earth. Presbyterian churches were independent of one another, but they had a common commitment to creedal statements embodied in the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Westminster Confession.

The local congregation was governed by a board which comprised the elders and local minister. All who governed were chosen by the church members themselves. Each congregation appointed two representatives--an elder and a pastor--to the presbytry, which comprised local congregations within a given geographical area. Each presbytry then appointed two individuals--likewise, an elder and a pastor--to the next level of government, the synod. The synod in turn appointed an elder and a pastor to the General Assembly.

In contrast to the episcopal system, the minister in the Presbyterian system was not "a delegate of a bishop" but carried out his ministerial responsibilities "as representing the congregation." On the other hand, he was not an employee of the congregation, as were pastors in congregational churches.[1] There was no hierarchy or threefold order in the Presbyterian ministry. In contrast to the sacramentally based ordination of the episcopacy, all Presbyterian pastors shared in an ordination which was communally based.[1]

---

[1] G. D. Henderson, Presbyterianism (Aberdeen: University Press, 1954), 162.

Congregational Forms of Church Government

Local church autonomy was the hallmary of congregational governance. Its scriptural foundations were the headship of Christ and the priesthood of all believers. Each congregation acted democratically, choosing its own officers and minister. Corporate action, especially with regard to education and mission enterprises, was made possible only on the basis of delegated authority derived from local congregations. District or general organizations tended more often to be advisory in nature and dependent on the local congregations for executive and decision-making mandate.[2]

There were numerous small, independent congregational churches in the United States. There were also larger denominational churches which had adopted a modified congregational order. The largest of these were the Baptist churches. Baptist congregations were strongly principled and believed that their form of governance was that which adhered most closely to that of the New Testament Church.[3]

---

[1] See W. S. Read, "Presbyterianism," The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (1974), 801; James A. Gittings, "The Presbyterians: Structure and Mission," Christianity and Crisis 46 (1986): 181-86.

[2] For a description of contemporary congregational governance, see Gilbert W. Kirby, "Congregationalism," The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church. ed. J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 251-53.

[3] See Dale Moody, "The Shaping of Southern Baptist Polity," Baptist History and Heritage 14 (July 1979): 2-11.

The late 1890s saw a rising interest in charismata in the established denominations. Originating in the holiness movement, Pentecostalism did not originally have any separatist ambitions. Rather, its goal was to call Christians everywhere back to the apostolic (Pentecostal) faith. "Everywhere the work was to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which in practice meant the control of visiting evangelists."[1] Although Pentecostal teachings received increasing opposition, particularly by holiness groups who saw Pentecostalism as an undesirable aberration of their holiness doctrine, most were not forced to form their own denominational organizations until after the turn of the century.[2]

Seventh-day Adventist Denominational Context

When the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference was organized at Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1863, it had a membership of approximately 3,500.[3] All members were North Americans. No missionaries sponsored by the denomination had ventured from the shores of North America. However, the apparent "delay" of Christ's expected return had necessitated a modification in the Adventist understanding of mission. During the 1860s and 1870s there was a growing consciousness of global mission. By the 1880s, that world-wide vision of the church was becoming a practical reality. It was the impact of the growth of the church and its missionary endeavor that would necessitate structural reorganization in 1901.[1]

---

[1] Robert E. Clouse, "Pentecostal Churches," The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (1974), 764.

[2] The Assemblies of God Church was founded in 1914; The Church of the Foursquare Gospel was organized in 1927; the leader of the Church of God in Christ (currently the largest Black Pentecostal denomination), Elder C. P. Jones, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit while visiting Los Angeles in 1906; the Church of God (Tomlinson) started as a Holiness Church in 1886 but did not turn Pentecostal until after the turn of the century.

[3] In this study the term "General Conference" will refer to the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists unless otherwise designated.

---

[1] See Mustard, "James White and Organization," 91-112; Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 212-221; Damsteegt, Foundations of Seventh-dav Adventist Mission. 149-163. Damsteegt has said that it was not until the 1870s that the term, "world-wide" was used with reference to the concept of mission in church literature (ibid., 285). However, the expression was actually used in the 1860s. That a consciousness of world mission was beginning to be awakened among Seventh-day Adventists at the time of organization in 1863 is indicated by what was probably the first use of the words "world-wide" in the context of the mission of the church. It occurred in the same year that the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists was organized and it was James White himself who said it. He wrote: "Ours is a world-wide message. Its very nature, and its destined growing influence, will bring us into notice, to fill important and critical positions before the world" (James White, "The Light of the World," RH, 21 April 1863, 165.) Even so, the church did not really perceive its mission in global terms at that stage. The Western frontier and the influx of migrants into the United States were considered adequate challenges for mission in the early 1860s. In reply to a question by A. H. Lewis, "Is the Third Angel's Message being given, or to be given except in the United States?" Uriah Smith had answered in 1859: "We have no information that the Third Message is at present being proclaimed in any country besides our own. Analogy would lead us to expect that the proclamation of this message would be co-extensive with the first: though this might not perhaps be necessary to fulfill Rev. x, 11, since our own land is composed of people from almost every nation" ([Uriah Smith], "Note," RH, 3 February 1859, 87). The situation changed rapidly during the 1860s, however. By 1869 a Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Society had been established. James White was appealing: "means are wanted! Other lands are reaching out their hands to us for help. Means must and will come necessary to the accomplishment of this missionary work. Let all respond promptly, and let the good work move on" (James White, "Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Society," RH, 15 June 1869, 197). In an editorial note in Life Sketches. it is asserted that a "marked change of sentiment" occurred in 1873 which suddenly stirred the imagination and enthusiasm of the denomination sufficiently to send J. N. Andrews as a missionary to Europe in 1874. The establishment of the missionary society four years earlier indicates, however, that the supposed "change" was neither as sudden nor as "marked" as was claimed by that editorial

The Missionary Enthusiasm and Rapid Growth of the Young Church[1]

By mid-1888 the church had sent missionaries to thirteen countries outside North America, and the membership had grown to 26,112--an average annual growth rate of 12.95 percent or a total growth of 646 percent over the period.[2] Already approximately 8.5

---

note. See Ellen G. White, Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1914), 203.

[1] Seventh-day Adventist mission was, in the first place, perceived in terms of "telling the message." Given the commitment of the church to education and medical missionary work, however, it is not correct to assume that the church neglected the social dimension of the missionary endeavor.

[2] The missionary society that had been organized by the General Conference in 1869 was established too late for M. B. Czechowski, a former priest from Poland who had requested that the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference send him to Europe as a missionary. The church did not grant his request and so he had turned to the First Day Adventists, was sent to Europe under their sponsorship in 1864, and had proceeded to establish Seventh-day Adventist congregations in Europe. See Alfred Vaucher, "M. B. Czechowski--His Relationship with the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and the First Day Adventists," in Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876, eds. Rajmund L. Dabrowski and Bert B. Beach (Warsaw, Poland: Znaki Czarsu Publishing House, 1979), 132-59; and Gottfried Oosterwal, "M. B. Czechowski's Significance for the Growth and Development of Seventh-day Adventist Mission," in Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876, eds. Rajmund L. Dabrowski and Bert B. Beach (Warsaw, Poland: Znaki Czarsu Publishing House, 1979), 160-205. John Nevins Andrews, the first official "overseas" missionary of the church was sent to Switzerland on 15 September 1874. The invitation for a missionary to be sent to Europe had been given by Albert Vuilleumier of Switzerland who had been converted to Seventh-day Adventism under the preaching of Czechowski about 1867. SDA Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Vuilleumier, Albert Frederic." For a chronological list of significant events in Seventh-day Adventist missions, see Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 774-81. For treatment of the history of the development of Seventh-day Adventist Missions, see Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of Seventh-day Adventists (Basel: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886); An Outline of Mission Fields; A Help to the Study of the Work of Seventh-day Adventists in Lands Outside North America (Washington, D.C.: Mission Board of Seventh-Day Adventists, 1920); William A. Spicer, Our Story of Missions (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1921); idem, The Gospel in All the World

percent of the growing church membership was non-North American, although it is doubtful that any of the members were indigenous to non-Western cultures.[1] The main objective of the missionary endeavor of the church had been the establishment of missionary outposts in societies whose cultural background was similar to that of the

---

(Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1926); idem, Miracles of Modern Missions (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1926); An Outline of Mission Fields: A Help to the Study of the Work of Seventh-day Adventists in Lands Outside North America. 5th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, 1927); Schwarz, Light Bearers. 134-50, 198-249, 354-72; Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 199-445; Harry Leonard, ed., J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985); and Vande Vere, "Years of Expansion," 66-94. It is of interest that even though the Mission Board had ceased to be a legal entity in 1919, and even though to all intents and purposes its function had been integrated with that of the General Conference executive committee in 1901, it was still regarded as the publisher of this volume in 1925. For a proposal as to the viability and, in fact, the desirability of a contemporary semi-autonomous board of mission in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, see Bruce Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures and How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Has Related to Them" (D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1982). By way of comparison with growth rates in the nineteenth century, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has grown 411 percent in the twenty-five year period between 1962 and the end of 1987.

[1] Emmett Vande Vere has estimated that in 1877 "about a tenth of the Adventist church . . . was composed of foreign-language members." Most likely, however, he was speaking only of the constituency of the North American church. Adventists were having success among ethnic immigrants to the United States. Vande Vere cites figures which estimate that there had been eight hundred Scandinavian converts up until 1877 and some seven hundred German converts. Vande Vere, "Years of Expansion," 86-87. Statistics indicate that in 1888 there were 396 members in Australia and New Zealand, 152 in Britain, 143 in Canada, 1482 in Europe, 27 in South Africa, and 25 "others." While it is conceivable that these "others" were from non-Western cultures, such is unlikely, since the later baptism of the "first Indian," the "first Japanese," and the "first African" were considered to be significant events. See Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook of Statistics, 1889 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1889); Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 777-78.

missionaries who left the shores of North America.[1]

There was a sense of great expectation and vibrant enthusiasm about the mission of the church--the kind of enthusiasm that was characteristic of many young denominations. Unlike many others, however, Seventh-day Adventists did not limit their field of missionary operations to the immediate environs of particular congregations, to the state where their church headquarters were located, or even to North America. Rather, they had developed a global perspective on mission which compelled them to attempt world evangelization on a most ambitious scale.[2]

---

[1] By 1888 it was reported that "the work of Seventh-day Adventists" had begun in "a number of centers in different parts of the world." Oakland, California; Melbourne, Australia; London, England; Basel, Switzerland; and Christiana, Norway, were cited as centers which could be considered as geographic focal points. By that time the "full catalogue" of published works designed for use in the mission setting included "fifty four different works in Danish, fifty one in Swedish, fifty in French, sixty three in German and twenty six in Holland, besides the eight periodicals issued in the Danish, Swedish, German, French and Holland languages." What was not mentioned was that, even at that time, many of the publications were still primarily serving migrant populations in the United States itself. No mention was made at all of any efforts to reach non-European races and cultures. However, with a certain sense of satisfaction and accomplishment, it was reported that "a good beginning is thus made in the occupation of the field assigned to this message, which is to go to 'many peoples, nations, tongues and kings'" (A Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Seventh-day Adventists [Battle Creek, Mich: Review and Herald, 1888], 18-19).

[2] The commitment to mission was well illustrated by an incident recorded by W. A. Spicer. Spicer related that while the General Conference was in session in 1886, a message arrived from South Africa requesting that the church send missionaries to that part of the world. "Many will remember," he recounted, "the reading of Africa's call in the Tabernacle at Battle Creek that day. Brethren wept for joy as that word came from Brethren G. J. Van Druten and Peter Wessels, of the African diamond fields region, that there were Sabbath keepers in Africa longing to have workers sent out to preach the message of truth, more precious than diamonds and rubies. Then Elders

In the twelve years between 1888 and 1900, the membership of the church grew by a further 290.2 percent to 75,767, and an additional thirty-eight countries were entered by official Seventh-day Adventist missionaries. Already 17.3 percent of church members were living outside North America. Still, only a very small percentage of them--4.3 percent--were actually from non-Western cultural backgrounds.[1] Because of its rapid growth the time had come for the church to seriously reconsider the ability of the organizational system that it had instituted in 1863 to accommodate the growth that

---

D. A. Robinson and C. L. Boyd were appointed to South Africa, with several associate workers" (Spicer, Our Story of Missions. 207-8, emphasis supplied.) All emphasis in quotations is that of the original author, except where otherwise noted.

[1] By the end of 1903, 22.07 percent of church members were from outside North America. Erich Baumgartner has pointed out that from the beginning of the church's foreign missionary endeavor, overseas decadal growth rates averaged more than double those of North America. See Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure," 22. Despite the rapid proportional growth of this segment of the church's constituency, only 5.1 percent of the members were from non-Western cultural backgrounds. At the end of 1986, however, 86.7 percent of the 5,038,671 Seventh-day Adventist Church members were living outside the United States and 80.5 percent of all church members had their cultural roots in non-Western cultures. See "Statistical Report," RH. 18 August 1904, 8-16; 124th Annual Statistical Report. 1986 (Washington, D.C.: General Gonference of Seventh-day Adventists: Office of Archives and Statistics, 1987). The statistics given above are based on the reported data in the official statistical records of the church. Care should be taken, however, not to lay too much stress on precise statistical data around the turn of the century. In the process of reorganization, fluctuations appeared in church membership which were not the result of immediate baptisms or apostasies but were the result of adjustments to church membership records which were indicative of a new awareness of organization at every level of church government. For instance, the report in 1903 indicated a drop in the number of Sabbath keepers in "miscellaneous fields" from 4,152 in 1902 to 2,469 in 1903. Such an immediate drastic loss is highly unlikely. Further, the total membership in 1902 is listed as 73,522. But in 1900 it had been listed as 75,767--a drop of 2,245 from 1900 to 1902.

had occurred, and to facilitate a continuing commitment to the church's international mission.

The Shape of Organization: 1863-1888

It is not the purpose of this study to rehearse all the factors which had led to the choice of a denominational name in 1860 and had culminated in the organization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in 1863 at Battle Creek, Michigan. Such has been done elsewhere.[1] However, in order to understand the denominational organizational context from which the need for reorganization developed, three considerations are briefly addressed here: the reasons for organization in the 1860s, the form that the structure assumed at that time, and the role of Ellen G. White in the process of organization.

Reasons for organization in the 1860s

It has been proposed by Richard Schwarz and the author of the article on organization in the SDA Encyclopedia that it was "the question of legal ownership of property--church buildings and the publishing office" which "eventually propelled the Sabbath keepers into formal organization."[1] They are probably correct in their claim. The immediate, pragmatic need for some form of organization certainly was the impetus needed to force the recognized leaders of the church to involve the church in an organizational process.[2]

---

[1] See, for example, J. B. Frisbie, Order in the Church of God (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1859); John N. Loughborough, The Church: Its Organization, Order, and Discipline (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1907), 85-156; M. Ellsworth Olsen, A History of the Origins and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1925), 245-54; C. C. Crisler, Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1938), 77-103; Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 1:291-311; Carl D. Anderson, "History and Evolution of SDA Church Organization"; Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1975 ed., s.v. "Organization, Development of, in the Seventh-day Adventist Church"; Schwarz, Light Bearers, 86-103; Godfrey T. Anderson, "Sectarianism and Organization, 1846-1864," in Adventism in America, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 36-65; Mustard, "James White and Organization," 116-92.

Schwarz added, however, that there were undergirding theological considerations which informed that pragmatism. He quoted James White, who stated in 1860 that "if God in his everlasting word calls on us to act the part of faithful stewards of his goods, we had better attend to those matters in a legal manner--the only way we can handle real estate in this world" (emphasis supplied).[1] For James White, organization was called forth by some theological considerations. But those considerations were not explicitly based on a particular ecclesiological dimension or by the burgeoning missionary enterprise of the church. Apparently organization was called forth by the constraints of Christian stewardship.[2] Stewardship, rather than ecclesiological, eschatological, or missiological concerns seems to have been the theological basis for the initial organizational attempts by the church.

---

[1] Schwarz, Light Bearers, 93; SDA Encyclopedia, "Organization."

[2] The SDA Encyclopedia lists only pragmatic reasons for the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the 1860s. The given reasons are: the rapid increase in adherents during the 1850s; the legal problems of holding church property; the growing need for selecting, directing, and supporting a ministry; and the necessity of controlling personal ambition, fanaticism, and off-shoot movements. "What caused concern in the 1850s was the problem of self-appointed preachers who went out with more zeal than ability and consecration, and without being responsible to any church body" (ibid.) In 1907, A. G. Daniells listed only pragmatic reasons for organization in 1863. His list included: (1) failure to keep proper church membership records, (2) paucity of church officers, (3) no way of determining who were accredited representatives of the people, (4) no regular support for the ministry, and (5) no legal provision for holding property. A. G. Daniells, "Organization: A Brief Account of Its History in the Development of the Cause of the Third Angel's Message," RH, 14 February 1907, 5. Even Ellen White's list was pragmatically oriented, although she did leave room for more latitude. Her reasons were: (1) to provide for the support of the ministry, (2) for carrying the work in new fields, (3) for protecting both the churches and the ministry from unworthy members, (4) for the holding of church property, (5) for the publication of truth through the press, and (6) for many other objectives. Ellen G. White to the Brethren at the General Conference, 19 December 1892, Letter 127, 1892, EGWB-AU.

With that theological understanding in mind, discussion at a specially called conference on 29 September 1860 led to the consensus that organization of the believers into a legal association to hold property and conduct business could be defended, but organization into a denomination could not be defended. Nevertheless, on 1 October 1860, the delegates adopted the name "Seventh-day Adventists," opening the way for the formal acceptance of church organization. One year later the first conference of Seventh-day Adventists was formed, and in May 1863 representatives from six states met together at Battle Creek to adopt a constitution and elect officers to the General Conference. The Seventh-day Adventist Church organization was born.

The form of organization adopted in the 1860s

The conference structure. The form of structure that was adopted in 1863 was based on a carefully prepared report that had been published on 11 June 1861. It had been signed by nine leading ministers.[1] The writers proposed: (1) "more perfect order" in the local churches, (2) state or district conferences to preserve the "efficiency of our ministry" and deal with matters that did not need to be considered by the General Conference, and (3) the holding of "general conferences" that would be "fully entitled to the name" and represent the "will of the body of the churches and believers." They also recommended that local churches keep written records of business transactions and membership lists, and issue "letters of fellowship" when members wished to transfer from one company to another.[2] The SDA Encyclopedia has said that their statement "set forth the basic principles that have guided the denomination ever since, and at that time influenced considerably the sentiment for organization within the church."[3]

---

[1] James White, "Making Us a Name," RH, 29 March 1860, 152.

[2] See Mustard, "James White and Organization," 195-232.

The form was simple. It had three levels: local churches, state conferences comprising the local churches in a designated area, and a General Conference comprising all state conferences. There was to be a General Conference president, secretary, and treasurer, and an executive committee of three. General Conference sessions were to be held annually. The constituency (3500 members in 125 local churches and 6 local conferences) was scattered between New York in the east and southern Iowa in the west.

---

[1] Joseph H. Waggoner, James S. White, John N. Loughborough, E. W. Shortridge, Joseph Bates, J. B. Frisbie, M. E. Cornell, Moses Hull, and John Byington, "Conference Address: Organization," RH, 11 June 1861, 21-22.

[2] Ibid., 21. For a statement of the constitution as adopted in 1863, see SDA Encyclopedia, "Organization." For a description of the form of organization that was adopted in 1863 and subsequent developments until 1888, see Mustard, "James White and Organization," 116-92; Richard Schwarz, Light Bearers, 86-103; SDA Encyclopedia, "Organization."

[3] Ibid.

The form was also unique. It incorporated, but adapted, elements from episcopal, congregational, and presbyterian forms of governance. For example, its president was given administrative powers akin to those of a bishop. Further, the president was elected by the constituency as were bishops in the Methodist episcopacy. The Methodist conference system was also adapted to the needs of the denomination. From congregational governance it adapted the broad-based authority of the constituency. From presbyterian governance it adapted the committee system and the concept of representation. There is little evidence that the early Seventh-day Adventists intentionally set out to construct an organization which drew together such diverse elements. That such occurred was more by accident than by design. Even so, awareness of the denominational backgrounds of those involved in organization would indicate that such an accident may have been somewhat inevitable.

Departmental and institutional expansion. Despite the simplicity and uniqueness of the organizational form in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, its growth soon forced the church to realize that in addition to its conference system it had to accommodate other structures and institutions. Thus, by the beginning of 1888 the institutionalization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was well under way. Seventh-day Adventists still understood themselves to be simply "a body of believers associating together, taking the name of

Seventh-day Adventists, and attaching their names to a covenant simply to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus," with the Bible as "their only creed and discipline." But there were already thirty organized conferences containing 889 organized churches.[1] There were 227 ordained and 182 licenced ministers.[2] The constituency was supporting six publishing houses, three senior educational institutions, and two medical establishments.[3]

Concurrent with the establishment of conference organization, there arose in the denomination a number of auxiliary organizations which functioned to promote, coordinate, and administer related but distinct functions. These societies were not integral to the conference administrative structure of the church, but stood as independent entities apart from it. Some of them were associated directly with institutions established by the church in specific locations.[4] Others were wider in scope. Although they had a separate infrastructure, most shared personnel with the administrative structure of the denomination. Most were located in Battle Creek.[1]

---

[1] Brief Sketch, 9.

[2] Ibid., 11-12. It was further emphasized: "None of the churches have pastors stationed with them. They maintain their worship without the aid of a preacher, only as one may occasionally visit them, leaving the ministers free to devote almost their whole time to carrying these views to those who have never heard upon them. During the summer months they carry forward their work by means of large tents. About a hundred of these were in use during the summer of 1887" (ibid., 12).

[3] The two publishing houses in the United States--The Review and Herald and the Pacific Press--were the objects of affectionate description in Brief Sketch. It appears that the denomination looked with a great deal of satisfaction on the institutions that had been recently established. Perhaps institutional growth was beginning to be perceived as a sign of the church's legitimacy.

[4] For instance, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association was established in 1861 as the incorporated body operating the Review and Herald Publishing plant in Battle Creek; the Health

The major auxiliary organizations that were in existence at the beginning of 1888 were the General Tract and Missionary Society, established in 1874;[2] the General Sabbath School Association,

---

Reform Institute, established in 1866, was the forerunner of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, managed by John Harvey Kellogg; the Educational Society of 1874 concerned itself with the establishment and operation of Battle Creek College; and the Pacific Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, established in 1875, confined its activities to the institution that came to be known as the Pacific Press. See [Uriah Smith], "Origin and History of the Third Angel's Message, Number 8," RH, 27 January 1891, 56-57; and SDA Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v. "Pacific Press."

[1] For a summary overview of the Seventh-day Adventist Church at the beginning of 1888, see Brief Sketch. 9-40.

[2] The SDA Encyclopedia gives the date for the establishment of the General Tract and Missionary Society as 1874. See SDA Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v. "Tract and Missionary Societies." An article written in the RH in 1891 gave the date of its establishment as 1876. See Smith, "Origin of the Third Angel's Message," 57. The support cited by the SDA Encyclopedia for the 1874 date seems to corroborate with the evidence for the establishment of the Tract Society in 1874, however. The organization of the General Tract and Missionary Society was a result of the organization of state missionary societies, the first being in New England in 1870 (again there is some conjecture as to the date, Smith claiming that it was 1871). Since the initiative for this organization did not come from the General Conference but from the state conferences, no consideration was given at the time of organization as to the possibility of integrating it into the framework of the denomination's administrative structure. A similar situation applied to the organization of the Sabbath School Association and its relationship to the denomination. In 1882 the name of the society was changed to the International Tract and Missionary Society. The concept of the Tract and Missionary Society was not original with Seventh-day Adventists. Other denominations, notably the Methodists, had been operating Tract and Missionary Societies for much of the nineteenth century. See Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 167.

established in 1878;[1] the Health and Temperance Association, established in 1879;[2] and the General Conference Association, established in 1887.[3] The National Religious Liberty Association was later established in 1889,[4] an autonomous Foreign Mission Board in the same year,[1] and the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association in 1893.[2]

---

[1] A Sabbath School Association had been established first in California in 1877. Other associations followed in quick succession so that there were already 12 state Sabbath School Associations at the time of the incorporation of the general association in 1878. See Smith, "Origin of the Third Angel's Message," 57.

[2] The Health and Temperance Association became the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association in 1893. In 1896 its name was changed to the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. The reason for the change was Kellogg's insistence that the medical work be non-denominational in character. He claimed that the way to attract patronage was to advertize a non-sectarian institution. In 1896 the objectives of the association were "to erect and manage homes for orphan children and for friendless aged persons, also hospitals and sanitariums for the treatment of the sick poor and others, the same to be either self-supporting or supported in whole or in part by funds secured for the purpose; to establish dispensaries in cities, medical missions at home and abroad, visiting nurses' work, Christian help work; to educate missionary physicians and nurses; to provide for the needy poor; to promulgate the principles of health and temperance and to do good in a variety of ways" (Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, 1896 [n.p., 1897], 58-59).

[3] When established, the purpose of the General Conference Association was to be a legal body. It was incorporated to hold real estate and property and to enter into contractual arrangements with other parties. The proposal to have such a body was made and discussed in 1884. A motion to incorporate was accepted on 18 November 1885 and articles of association were drawn up and adopted on 14 January 1886. See GCA Pro, 18 November 1885, RG 3, GCAr; and GCA Pro, 14 January 1886, RG 3, GCAr. Perusal of the minutes of the meetings of the General Conference Association reveals that instead of remaining simply as a legal entity, the association became involved in administration of the church, and often found itself in conflict with the General Conference executive committee and the other auxiliary organizations.

[4] The National Religious Liberty Association was established as a formal body to coordinate the denomination's approach to the problems with numerous Sunday laws that were being proposed, legislated, and enforced in many states, and contemplated by the United States Congress. In 1893 the name of the association was

These organizations were legally incorporated, independent bodies that had their own officers and executive boards or committees.

---

changed to the International Religious Liberty Association. See SDA Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v. "Religious Liberty Association."

[1] In 1898, L. A. Hoopes wrote a brief history of the Foreign Mission Board for the RH. He noted that "from the time that Elder M. B. Czechowski, a Polish Catholic, received the third angel's message in 1864 [note that he began the story of Seventh-day Adventist Mission with Czechowski and not with J. N. Andrews], till 1887, the work of foreign missions was carried on through the General Conference officers" (L. A. Hoopes, "The Foreign Mission Board," RH, 1 November 1898, 701). In 1887 an additional secretary was chosen by the General Conference to give his entire attention to the increasingly complex needs of the missionary work. The first person chosen for the position was W. C. White. In 1889 a distinct Foreign Mission Board was appointed. GC Bulletin 1889, 43-46; Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure," 35-38. Throughout its life the Foreign Mission Board stood with the other auxiliary organizations, each an appendage to the conference structure of the denomination. It appears that the effect of that structural arrangement was that mission was not understood as integral to the church and its nature, but as one task of many. The editor of the RH stated in 1896 that "there are four lines of effort pursued by Seventh-day Adventists in the proclamation of the gospel. These are the publishing work, educational work, health and temperance work, and missionary operations; all these, of course, being designed to be supplementary to the regular work of the ministry" (Uriah Smith, "A Bird's-eye View of the Progress of Our Work," RH, 18 August 1896, 523).

[2] The SDAMMBA was a legal corporation which was intended both to hold the properties of the denomination's medical and charitable enterprises and to promote the medical activities of the church. The SDA Encyclopedia states that "although the association was intended to be a holding corporation for the several SDA sanitariums and other enterprises, in practice it became a consultative body with a constituency composed of the General Conference Committee, presidents of local conferences, several men appointed for two-year terms by the General Conference in session, all donors of $1,000 or more to its treasury, and delegates from the various sanitariums and subsidiary organizations" (SDA Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v. "International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association." Dr J. H. Kellogg was the prime mover and president of the association. In 1896 the name of the association was changed to the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association.

Although they were all part of the Seventh-day Adventist Church--officers being appointed by and reporting to the General Conference session--they were not administered directly by the General Conference. Because of their independent status, co-ordination and integration were perennial problems during the 1890s. Not until the 1901 General Conference session and its reorganization of the administrative structures of the church were the auxiliary organizations incorporated into the conference structure as departments of the General Conference.

The role of Ellen G. White in organization in the 1860s

Despite considerable opposition to any notion of organization which emerged from both ministers and laypersons during the latter 1850s and early 1860s, Ellen White had stood consistently with those who advocated church order. "Order" and "organization" were themes which received her attention and approval, although at no time did she attempt to delineate the structural form that such order was to take.[1] Among the reasons why Ellen White stood for the establishment of church organization were:

1. She and her husband, James, had consistently carried the largest share of the responsibility for the burgeoning endeavors of the fledgling denomination and they both felt the need of sharing that responsibility.

---

[1] Andrew Mustard has stated that "apart from warnings against sending inexperienced men into the field and condemnation of other 'self sent' teachers, at no time did Ellen White express herself before 1863 on the precise form of organization to be adopted" (Mustard, "James White and Organization," 129).

2. She was concerned for the failing health of her husband who would suffer a severe stroke in 1865.
3. She was convinced that there was a divine mandate for strict order, discipline, and organization in the church.[1]

Of the two, however, it was James White who, throughout the controversies surrounding the proposed organization in the late 1850s and early 1860s, appeared as the more vocal proponent of the need for organization.[2] Although James White, as editor of the Review and Herald and the unofficial leader of the sabbatarian Adventists was continually writing and speaking in support of organization, his wife was not even included among the nine persons who were appointed to draw up the proposal for church organization in 1861. It appears that the church understood her role to be more advisory than definitive.[1]

---

[1] It appears that Ellen White first referred to the need for order in the church when writing of a vision that she saw at Paris, Maine, in December 1850. Among other things that she saw in that vision, she described the order of heaven as an object lesson for the church and gave counsel in regard to a specific case of church discipline (Ellen G. White, "Vision at Paris, Maine," MS 11, 1850, EGWB-AU).

[2] Godfrey Anderson has stated that "it was James White, with the support of Ellen's testimonies and in conjunction with the other leading ministers who had provided the moving force in both the development of doctrinal unity and church organization. . . . In part because organization had thus developed from the top down, so to speak, Seventh-day Adventists chose a system more episcopal than congregational, one operated largely by ministers rather than laypeople" (Anderson, "Sectarianism and Organization," 64-65). In contrast to Anderson's observation that the form of organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church facilitated control of the church by the clergy, A. G. Daniells said of the early organization and the formation of the Michigan Conference in 1861: "This was the first conference ever organized by Seventh-day Adventists. . . . The resolution which locates the source of the responsibility, authority, and power of the conference places it in the church, or, more properly, the people. This is directly the opposite of the organization of the papacy, which places these prerogatives in the officials" (Daniells, "Organization: A Brief Account," RH, 11 April, 1907, 6).

The Problem of Administrative Centralization

Administrative centralization

Centralized control. As the emerging global missionary consciousness of the church was translated into practice during the 1870s and 1880s, it was accompanied by increased centralization of administrative control in the denomination. In 1885, George Butler, president of the General Conference from 1871-74 and again from 1880-88, spoke of the principles upon which the organization of the church was established. He pointed out that if those principles were "neglected," the "real object of the organization" could not be "accomplished." Although ostensibly he was referring to the need for communication between the state conferences and the General Conference, his concern was that the state conferences should not usurp the authority and control of the General Conference.[1] He complained that they had been "embarrassed somewhat at the Review office by communications coming in from State officers" when "no consultation had been taken with the general officers."[2] Two years later, at the time of the organization of the General Conference Association, he asserted that General Conference

---

[1] In August 1861 Ellen White counseled "that some have been fearing they should become Babylon if they organize. . . . Unless the churches are so organized that they can carry out and enforce order, they have nothing to hope for in the future. They must scatter into fragments. . . . The agitation on the subject of organization has revealed a great lack of moral courage on the part of ministers proclaiming present truth. Some who were convinced that organization was right failed to stand up boldly and advocate it. . . . Was this all God required of them? No: he was displeased with their cowardly silence and lack of action. They feared blame and opposition. They watched the brethren generally to see how their pulse beat before standing manfully for what they believed to be right. . . . They were afraid of losing their influence. . . . Those who shun responsibility will meet with loss in the end. The time for ministers to stand together is when the battle goes hard" (Ellen G. White, "Communication from Mrs White," RH, 27 August 1861, 101-2).

> supervision embraces all its interests in every part of the world. There is not an institution among us, not a periodical issued, not a Conference or society, not a mission field connected with our work, that it has not a right to advise and counsel and investigate. It is the highest authority of an earthly character among Seventh-day Adventists.[3]

Along with the contention that centralized control of the actions of state conferences was necessary, there was also a disposition in Butler's administration to place institutions under a similar centralized form of control. In a letter to O. A. Olsen in 1896, Ellen White indicated that she had been fighting against centralized control of institutions and that as early as 1881 "the minds of some were agitated in regard to placing these [publishing] institutions under one presiding power."[4] She continued to oppose the centralizing tendencies of Butler's administration until he completed his term of office at the General Conference session in 1888.[1]

---

[1] G. I. Butler, "Propriety in Connection with Our Organization," RH, 10 March 1885, 153.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Seventh-day Adventist Year Book: 1888 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1889), 50. See also Ellen G. White to W. C. White and Mary White, 23 August 1883, Letter 24, 1883, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler and S. N. Haskell, 28 October 1885, Letter 12, 1885, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to R. A. Underwood, 10 January 1888, Letter 3, 1888, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler, 14 October 1888, Letter 21, 1888, EGWB-AU.

[4] Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 31 May 1896, Letter 81, 1896, EGWB-AU. In this letter, Ellen White indicated that some twenty years earlier she had become aware that institutions were not to be placed

The centralization of authority was most evident in the tendency to deprive the constituent bodies of the organization of their decision making authority. In the early 1880s, Ellen White began to castigate General Conference administrators for taking too much of the responsibility for decision making on themselves and failing to give others opportunity to exercise their prerogatives. In a letter to W. C. and Mary White in 1883, Ellen White pointed out that "every one of our leading men" considered that "he was the very one who must bear all the responsibilities" and "failed to educate others to think" and "to act." In fact, she charged, the leading men gave the others "no chance."[2]

Implicit in her condemnation of those who followed that practice was reproof for those who permitted them to do it without

---

under centralized control. Her insistence on the decentralization of institutional control did not subside at all during the 1890s and it continued after reorganization in 1901-1903. See "Confederation and Consolidation: Seventh-day Adventist History and the Counsels of the Spirit of Prophecy," (unpublished paper prepared by the Ellen G. White Estate, 1977), EGWO-DC.

[1] Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler, 1 November 1885, Letter 5, 1885, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler and S. N. Haskell, 28 October 1885, Letter 12, 1885, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler, 14 October 1888, Letter 21, 1888, EGWO-DC. Although Butler formally resigned in 1888, W. W. Prescott later reminded O. A. Olsen, then president of the General Conference, that "it seemed almost necessary to have Eld. Butler removed from his position at the head of the work on account of his unwillingness to associate others with him who could share the burdens. His course was delaying and cramping the work" (W. W. Prescott to O. A. Olsen, 15 July 1894, RG 9, O. A. Olsen Folder 3, GCAr).

[2] Ellen G. White to W. C. White and Mary White, 23 August 1883, Letter 24, 1883, EGWB-AU.

seeking to correct the situation. Conference leaders, for instance, were told that they were to make their own decisions. The president of the General Conference could not possibly "understand the situation as well as you who are on the ground."[1]

As a corrective to the tendency to leave the prerogative for decision making in the hands of one or two, Ellen White advocated proper use of the committee system that had been established when the General Conference had been organized in 1863. She made it clear that even in the operation of institutions one man's mind was not to control the decision making process. She emphasized that "God would not have many minds the shadow of one man's mind," but that "in a multitude of counsellors there is safety."[2]

There had been efforts to increase the size of the General Conference executive committee. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1882, the 1883 General Conference session increased the size of the committee from three to five.[3] Discussion of the possibility of increasing the committee to seven proved fruitless until 1886 when the proposed increase was adopted.[4] Despite the very best intentions, however, decision making authority remained as the prerogative of far too few.

---

[1] These words were spoken to the delegates assembled at the General Conference session in 1883. Ellen G. White, Gospel Workers (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1893), 235."

[2] Ellen G. White to John Harvey Kellogg, 26 April 1886, Letter 7, 1886, EGWB-AU.

[3] "General Conference Proceedings," RH, 20 November 1883, 733.

[4] "General Conference Proceedings," RH, 7 December 1886, 763.

Centralized location. Another aspect of administrative centralization was the centralization of church organizations and institutions in Battle Creek. Seventh-day Adventist church members also congregated in Battle Creek.[1] The latter was a direct result of the former. In 1884, therefore, the General Conference session took action calling on all who were "doing no work in the cause here" to move out of Battle Creek to "destitute fields" so that they could be of more effective "service to the master." To ensure the successful application of this resolution, a committee of three was appointed to "canvass the Sabbath keepers and report to the Conference or to the church, the names of those who it may appear have a duty to the cause in this respect." Further, "Elder [J. H.] Waggoner was requested to preach a sermon to the Battle Creek church on the subject of this resolution at some time during this session of the Conference."[2]

The action taken by the General Conference in 1884 indicated that pressure to decentralize was already being felt by the administration. No action was taken to relocate any institutions, however. In fact, no attempt to relocate would be made until 1903, after the sanitarium and the printing house had been destroyed by fire. Ellen White blamed those fires partly on the administration's failure to relocate at an earlier time.[1]

---

[1] As early as 1868 Ellen White had begun to call Seventh-day Adventists to move out of Battle Creek. See Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church: No. 16 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 2-6. See also, idem, Testimonies for the Church. 9 vols. (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1949), 2:113-16.

[2] "General Conference Proceedings," RH, 11 November 1884, 728. On 18 November 1884, it was further resolved to modify the former resolution so that it read: "Resolved that we request and urgently call upon those who are doing no work here as well as those who are doing little compared with what they might do in other fields to move to destitute fields where they may be of service to the Master." On November 19 "the committee on moving from Battle Creek" reported "progress" and hoped that soon they would be able to report "action." "General Conference Proceedings," RH, 25 November 1884, 744-45. The response must have been less than expected. Ellen White was to continue to call for decentralization away from Battle Creek until the General Conference headquarters were moved to Washington, D.C., in 1903.

The nature of leadership

Butler's concept of administration grew out of his concept of leadership. After the General Conference of 1888, Ellen White wrote of Butler:

> A sick man's mind has had a controlling power over the General Conference committee and the ministers have been the shadow and echo of Elder Butler about as long as it is healthy and for the good of the cause. Envy, evil surmisings, jealousies have been working like leaven until the whole lump seemed to be leavened. . . . He thinks his position gives him such power that his voice is infallible.[2]

Butler had been elected to the presidency of the General Conference in 1871. In response to some tensions that existed between James White and other church leaders, Butler wrote an essay in 1873 in which he encapsulated his attitude toward leadership. His position was clear from the opening sentence: "There never was any great movement in this world without a leader; and in the nature of things it is impossible that there should be."[3]

Butler described a leader as a benevolent monarch. He supported his assertion by references to numerous biblical examples of authoritarian leaders. While he was willing to concede that Christ was indeed head of the church, he insisted that some men were "placed higher in authority in the church than others." He explained that there seemed "to have been a special precedence . . . even among the disciples themselves." Although the responsibility resting upon those so called was nothing short of "fearful," it was necessary to recognize that "when God calls a person to this position . . . it is no small thing to hinder him [God] in his work." Butler concluded with a rhetorical question: "When we reach the closing message of probation, the greatest of all movements, has he placed everybody upon a level so far as responsibility or authority is concerned, and that right against his uniform course for six thousand years?"[1]

---

[1] See GC Bulletin. 1903, 11, 30, 85.

[2] Ellen G. White to Mary White, 4 November 1888, Letter 82, 1888, EGWB-AU.

[3] George I. Butler, "Leadership," RH, 18 November 1873, 180.

Although James White made it clear that he did not agree with Butler's position, and despite Ellen White's continuous appeals, Butler did not modify his leadership style very much until well after he was voted out of the presidency at the 1888 General Conference session.[2]

Authority

Along with the question of leadership style went discussion of the nature of authority. Gerard Damsteegt has pointed out that

---

[1] Ibid., 180-81.

[2] For a discussion of the conflict between James White and George Butler over the concept of leadership, see Mustard, "James White and Organization," 175-78; and Bert Haloviak, "SDAs and Organization, 1844-1907," (paper presented at the Central California Campmeeting, August 1987), 39-41.

Butler's essay was an attempt to develop the idea that "the highest authority of the church should be invested in one individual."[1] Butler was referring to James White. Contrary to that position, James White himself maintained that "the highest authority" was not to reside in any individual but was to be found in the context of the corporate people of God.[2] His position was supported by his wife.

Subsequently, the 1875 General Conference session passed a resolution which called for a revision of Butler's essay.[3] The 1877 session rescinded all parts of the essay which referred to the leadership of the church as residing in one man. This was supported by a resolution which stated that "the highest authority under God among Seventh-day Adventists is found in the will of the body of that people, as expressed in the decisions of the General Conference when acting within its proper jurisdiction; and that such decisions should be submitted to by all without exception, unless they can be shown to conflict with the word of God and the rights of individual conscience."[1]

---

[1] Damsteegt, Foundations of Seventh-day Adventist Mission, 258.

[2] While conceding that it was possible for the General Conference to "err in some things," James White insisted that "the only sane course for our ministers and our people is to respect the decisions of our General Conference." He continued: "It shall be my pleasure, while I claim the sympathy and cooperation of Seventh-day Adventists, to respect our organization, and accept the decisions of the General Conference" (James White, "Leadership," in Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church No. 25 [Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875], 192). James White's position was supported by his wife who, in the same year, wrote to Butler (who had just completed his first term as president of the General Conference in August 1874, and was to be reelected in 1880) that "no man's judgment should be surrendered to the judgment of any one man. But when the judgment of the General Conference, which is the highest authority that God has upon the earth, is exercised, private independence and private judgment must not be maintained but be surrendered" (Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church No. 25 [Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875], 42-43). Ellen White continued by reproving Butler for persistently maintaining his own private judgment of duty against "the voice of the highest authority the Lord has upon the earth" (ibid., 43). What Ellen White affirmed concerning the authority of the General Conference should be understood in the context of the authoritarian attitude towards authority that Butler and some others held. Both James and Ellen White were describing the authority of the General Conference over against a centralized authority in one man or a few men. Many years later, Ellen White explained that the authority of the General Conference was derived when "the judgment of the brethren assembled from all parts of the field is exercised." Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 9:260.

[3] "General Conference Report," RH, 26 August 1875, 59.

Significantly, while James and Ellen White recognized the authority of the General Conference, they did so on this occasion not in order to set that authority over against the authority of the corporate church as the people of God, but over against the idea that authority was to reside in one man, even if that one man were a James White or a General Conference president.

Conclusion

The awakening Seventh-day Adventist missionary consciousness during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was characteristic of a powerful missionary movement that arose in the United States in the last half of that century and in the early twentieth century. Although it would not be correct to assume that Seventh-day Adventist missionary enthusiasm was only a result of environmental factors, it would be just as inaccurate to divorce that enthusiasm and vision from those contextual constraints.

---

[1] "General Conference Report," RH, 4 October 1877, 106.

When in the 1860s the debate over organization had been settled by the church, and its structure had been determined, attention began to be focused on the larger vision of a world-wide task. Although at the time when the church was organized, mission had not been the driving motivation that it was to become later, the structuring of the denomination had established a basis for permanence and set the stage for the spectacular growth, both numerically and geographically, which was to occur in the years until 1888 and beyond.

It was that growth and vitality permeating the church during the 1880s and on into the 1890s which precipitated the administrative crises that began to be felt during that time, especially during the 1890s. Thus the need arose to modify the very structures which had been entirely adequate in 1863. Change was necessary in order to accommodate the growing church--to prevent over-centralization and to promote the delegation of responsibility and decision making prerogative--and in order to facilitate greater growth. More than anything else, the reorganization of denominational structures in 1901-1903 was to be necessary because the church was encountering great success in its missionary endeavors.[1]

---

[1] See Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure." With regard to the pressing necessity of mission and its impact on organizational design in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Erich Baumgartner has observed: "As the work grew and the Adventist denomination entered rapidly into more and more new territories, the question of adequate leadership and decision structures on the one hand, and of control of resources, financial and man power, on the other hand, became most pressing issues in the church. Beyond that, the basic question of the purpose and mission of the Adventist church became, in our view, the battle field which would finally decide the outcome of the attempt at reorganization of the Adventist church structure" (p. 22).

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS REORGANIZATION: 1888-1897

Introduction

When the Seventh-day Adventist Church was organized in the early 1860s, it was thought that the plan of organization adopted at that time would be adequate to accommodate and facilitate the growth of the church indefinitely, or at least until the fulfillment of the church's greatest expectation--the return of Jesus Christ. Those who were involved in the process considered that their (unstated) theological presuppositions, past experience, and projections of the needs of the church were pertinent and adequate for the task of building a denominational structure that would not need revision. In fact, they did not even consider the possibility that subsequent revision of the administrative structure would be needed. Within twenty-five years, however, there were indications that revision of their plan was indeed necessary.

In 1863 it had not been possible to forecast just how the church was going to expand, numerically, geographically, organizationally, and institutionally in the next thirty-eight years. There may have been an embryonic sense of missionary urgency, but the pioneers of the cause did not understand the implications of success in their missionary enterprize. In designing their administrative structures they did not take into consideration the management and integration of the institutions that were to become the basic units of Seventh-day Adventist mission methodology later in the century and beyond into the twentieth century. They did not fully appreciate the implications of managing a church whose members were scattered from one side of the country to the other, let alone around the world. There was no thought given to the establishment of specialized auxiliary organizations.

Therefore, as circumstances changed while organizational form remained static during the 1880s and 1890s, it became apparent that either the structure of the denomination needed to be changed in order to meet the changing circumstances, or the denomination faced the possibility of inhibiting what had become its very raison d'etre--its sense of mission. The church was confronted with the alternative of adapting its administrative structures to its own missionary success on the one hand, or, on the other hand, maintaining the status quo and quashing projected success in the future. Since desire for growth rather than rigid ecclesiological self-image was the lifeblood of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the choice between the alternatives should have been obvious and enthusiastically advocated by all. Apparently that choice was neither obvious nor enthusiastically welcomed in the years between 1888 and 1901. Change did not come easily.

The time-frame for this chapter is the incumbency of O. A. Olsen as General Conference president: 1888-1897. The chapter examines some historical dynamics which were relevant to the movement towards reorganization in 1901-1903. Particular attention is given to the continuing growth of the church (numerically, geographically, institutionally, and organizationally); to the administrative complexity which was caused by that growth; and to administrative innovations which were indicators and precursors of the direction that reorganization was to take in 1901-1903.

Reorganization and the General Conference Session of 1888

At the 1888 session of the General Conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota, G. I. Butler resigned from office as president of the General Conference and was replaced by O. A. Olsen, who at the time was supervising the fledgling church in Scandinavia. Because Olsen could not return to take up his appointed position immediately, W. C. White was chosen to act as interim president.[1] That action proved to be significant for the reorganization of the administrative structures of the church. Immediately, an attempt was made under the leadership of W. C. White to decentralize the jurisdiction of the General Conference. That attempt was the first indication that the General Conference executive committee recognized the need to reorganize administrative structures in the church.

Acting on a proposal that had been brought to the floor of the session just a few days earlier, the newly elected General Conference executive committee voted on 18 November 1888, to divide the territory of the United States and Canada into four large districts--they were designated South, East, West, and Midwest.[1] Writing to Olsen afterwards, W. C. White informed him that he had himself proposed "that there should be a division of responsibility among the members of the committee," and that, consequently, "various members of the committee" had been appointed to have the oversight of "different sections of the country as counselors."[2]

---

[1] White explained to Olsen that he had been appointed as interim president one morning when "mother detained me for half an hour to counsel with her about the publication of Testimony No. 33." During his absence "the committee voted" him into office. W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 27 November 1888, LB D, EGWO-DC.

In replying, Olsen expressed considerable satisfaction at the new arrangements. Not only did they "fully" meet the criteria that he had in mind, but he indicated that he had the very same plan in mind even before he had seen the report of the action that had been taken. He did not hesitate to inform W. C. White that he "thought that we were come to a time when something ought to be done . . . in the shape of districting the General Conference field, and this is just about what you have done." He cautioned, however, that "as the work develops, things may take on a different shape and form."[1]

---

[1] GCC Min, 18 November 1888, RG 1, GCAr. The division of North America into districts was not for administrative purposes as such at that stage. No provision was made in 1888 for any constituent committee or coordinated action. No structure for the collection and dispersal of funds was suggested. The arrangement appears to have been only for the purpose of giving some of the members of the General Conference executive committee a delimited area in which to concentrate their counsel.

[2] W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 27 November 1888, LB D, EGWO-DC. White added: "Mother has told me that it has been shown to her that it would be more pleasing to God and for the advancement of the cause, if men should be chosen to take charge of the work in various divisions of the country, each one acting freely in his field, not referring all questions to one man, because the field is too large for one man to carry all the burdens. . . . It really seems that we must adopt some such plans as this for our work is certainly too broad for any one or two men to understand and manage in all its detail" (ibid.) Those appointed to care for the districts were R. M. Kilgore in the South, R. A. Underwood in the East, E. W. Farnsworth in the Central States, and W. C. White in Colorado and the Pacific.

1888-1893

Districts One to Six

One year later, in 1889, the area of each of the four districts of North America was redistributed so that there were six districts instead of four.[2] They were designated numerically as districts one to six. Those members of the General Conference executive committee who were appointed as leaders were called general superintendents.[3] Their function was not executive in the districts which had been assigned to them. Rather, theirs was a pastoral, advisory, and representative role. That is, they were to represent the General Conference executive committee in the district to which they were assigned and report any weaknesses or aberrations to the committee for appropriate executive action.[1] The districts did not have constituencies. The district divisions were merely convenient units which could facilitate communication of General Conference decisions to the state conferences and monitor needs and problems which arose from time to time.

---

[1] O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 20 December 1888, RG 11, LB 1/2, GCA. In this same letter, Olsen bemoaned his own appointment as General Conference president. He said: "It is indeed unfortunate that the General Conference has come to this that such a poor stick as I am must be chosen as its President. It fills me both with grief and disgust if I may so express it." Throughout his tenure Olsen seems to have been continually overwhelmed by the immensity of the task to which he had been appointed. His overworked condition and self-doubt concerning his executive ability were rehearsed in many of his letters, particularly to the Whites. See O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 1 January 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 1 February 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to Ellen G. White, 10 March 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 23 March 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to Ellen G. White, 23 May 1892, EGWB-AU. While it may be assumed that Olsen's condition was due in part to his own inadequacy and failure to delegate responsibility, that was not the only cause of the problem. A system of organization which lent itself to the centralization of control and focused decision making prerogative largely on the General Conference president was more to blame. No wonder Ellen White insisted that "the work must be divided and part be laid upon other shoulders to share the burden" (Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 19 June 1892, Letter 19b, 1892, EGWB-AU.) Two months later she advised Olsen: "Do not gather burdens, and become crushed under them. The Lord does not mean to press weights on any one to crush out his life and forever stop his bearing any burdens." She added: "Worry is blind and cannot discern the future" (Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, August 1892, Letter 41, 1892, EGWB-AU.)

[2] GC Bulletin. 1889, 152-53. In the table given on these pages, "Foreign Conferences and Missions" are listed as District 7.

[3] Ibid., 155.

The arrangement of the territory of the General Conference into districts appears to have been well received. At the 1891 General Conference session, O. A. Olsen reported to the delegates that the arrangement of the field into districts "is very satisfactory to the State conferences, and should be continued."[1] He failed to mention the reaction of the church members themselves to the arrangement. The reason may have been that they were very little involved with what was being done.

---

[1] On 2 January 1890, the duties of the heads of General Conference districts were listed as follows. "(1) The member of the General Conference Committee having charge of the General Conference district, shall be called General Superintendent. (2) It is the duty of each General Conference Superintendent to attend the annual state conferences held in his district. (3) The General Superintendent shall have the oversight of all ministerial institutes, and annual conventions held in his district. He shall attend these as far as possible, and provide for the attendance of competent teachers, leaders, and councillors, for all these meetings. (4) It is the duty of the General Superintendent to become acquainted with the officers of the state conferences, Tract Societies, Sabbath-School Associations, and Health and Temperance Societies, in his District, and with their efficiency and methods of labor, and council, caution, and instruct them, as the state of their work may demand. It is also his duty to report to the corresponding secretary of the General Conference, any irregularity, or inefficiency, that endangers the prosperity of the societies which they represent. (5) It is the duty of the General Superintendents, to have a special care for weak conferences, and mission fields, and for such parts of conference territories as are being neglected, and to bring to the attention of the General Conference Committee, the condition and wants of such fields" (GCC Min, 2 January 1890, RG 1, GCAr).

An Experiment in South Africa

The most far-reaching developments which would later culminate in reorganization of the structure of the denomination did not take place in North America. They took place in response to the needs of the church as it ventured into new situations in the mission fields. For example, towards the end of 1892 a most significant development occurred in South Africa. It came about as a result of demands being placed on the organizational structure of the church by the escalating internationalization of the church.[2]

When A. T. Robinson arrived in South Africa in 1891, he quickly realized that an organization which comprised a number of autonomous, self-governing auxiliary organizations was impractical in the missionary situation in which he now found himself. To involve the available personnel in the administration of auxiliary societies and associations would mean that too few would be available for direct ministerial contact with the people to whom they were commissioned to minister. He proposed, therefore, that the auxiliary societies and associations be concentrated under the executive control of the South African Conference which he hoped would be organized in the near future.

---

[1] GC Bulletin, 1891, 4. The session in 1891 was the first since the new plan of six districts had been implemented. It had been decided in 1889 to conduct General Conference sessions biennially rather than annually.

[2] Some of the events relative to this discussion were recorded in Jorgensen, "Investigation of the Administrative Reorganization," 17-19, 23-24; and more fully in Gilbert M. Valentine, "A. G. Daniells, Administrator, and the Development of Conference Organization in Australia," in Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific: 1885-1918, ed. Arthur J. Ferch (Wahroonga, New South Wales: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986), 86-88.

Robinson was not taking the initiative in an entirely new course of action when he wrote to Olsen requesting approval to implement his plan. He remembered that the idea of concentrating the various societies and associations affiliated with the church under the individual state conference had actually been proposed by a committee chaired by W. W. Prescott at the 1889 General Conference session. According to Robinson, however, there had been so much opposition to the suggestion that the committee had withdrawn its recommendation and the record of discussion on the issue was deleted from the minutes.[1]

Although there appears to be no record of any such committee in 1889, there is record of a recommendation by the Foreign Mission Board on 8 January 1890, which appears to give credence to Robinson's claim. That recommendation was particularly significant as far as Robinson's location was concerned. It was made with specific reference to the Colonial Tract Society in South Africa.[1]

---

[1] A. T. Robinson, "An Autobiographical Sketch," in Jorgensen, 127-28. This "sketch" records Robinson's recollections when he was ninety-six years old. The GC Bulletin. 1889, makes no reference to a committee chaired by Prescott or to any discussion of the issue as reported by Robinson. It does refer to a committee appointed to consider the matter of consolidation of institutions. Prescott was not on that committee, however. See GC Bulletin. 1889, 96, 98, 158-9; GC Bulletin. 1891, 123. Also see, pages 116-17 below.

The day after Olsen received Robinson's letter he wrote to W. C. White in Australia. He enclosed with the letter Robinson's proposed constitution and informed White that while he was very anxious that no mistakes be made, he was "personally . . .not opposed to their organizing on this plan." "It strikes me," he continued, "that under their circumstances, at least, it would be as feasible a way as to organize a conference." He summarized his thinking: "I think it is just as well that the different lines of work should come under one leading organization."[2]

In his reply to Olsen, White made reference to the plan that had been devised at the executive committee meetings that had been held at Camp Goguac in August 1890.[3] Although he specifically addressed Robinson's proposal later in the letter, he affirmed at the beginning of the letter that he "felt at the time [at Camp Goguac] that for Africa, England, Germany, Russia, and other fields which we might enter that it would by [sic] much better to have one committee directing all lines of work with secretaries for each branch than to have several committees." He made this statement with reference to the efforts of Henry Holser in Switzerland. It appears that Holser had proposed a plan of organization similar to that which Robinson was proposing. Although he brashly expressed surprise that Holser had "been converted to the new and popular doctrine of disorganization," he conceded that "in Switzerland where the work is growing rapidly, where persons are so very few who can take up the tract society and Sabbath-school work and do it successfully, and where there is scarcely any one outside of those employed in the mission work who can afford to devote time to this work without pay, that these and the additional difficulties arising from the diversity of language . . . favor consolidation."[1]

---

[1] The text of the Recommendation by the Foreign Mission Board reads as follows: "As the question has been raised as to the relation of the Colonial Tract Society with the mission Board, we recommend that a plan of organization be outlined for both home and foreign missions, that will obviate the premature organization of conferences, tract societies, and Sabbath school associations, and which will provide for the centralizing of the management of the various branches of the work under one committee appointed by the Foreign Mission Board" (FMB Pro, 8 January 1890, RG 48, GCAr.) It appears that Robinson planned to do everything that the recommendation outlined. He did, however, plan that his coordinating committee would be the executive committee of the conference, elected by the constituency of the conference, rather than be appointed by the Foreign Mission Board.

[2] O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 1 September 1892, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

[3] There is no reference to any plan for consolidation of the missionary interests of the church in the General Conference Committee minutes for July and August 1890. There was, however, much discussion in the committee minutes relative to the consolidation of the publishing interests of the church. It is doubtful, however, that White was referring to that.

Towards the end of the letter White began to discuss Robinson's plan, but he admitted that he had not really studied it as yet but would "try to do so soon." The tone and content of the letter indicates that White was not at all opposed to the idea of consolidation of auxiliary organizations in the situation in which Robinson was working. Referring specifically to South Africa and Great Britain, White said that it seemed to him that "it would be much better in such fields to organize upon a plan of consolidation and then watch the results, than to begin hastily to re-model things in the United States." White had obviously been giving the whole matter some consideration, although he was not as yet ready to recommend such a plan for the United States.

---

[1] W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 14 October 1892, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 4, GCA.

Before White concluded his letter to Olsen it appears that he took the opportunity to look over the constitution proposed by Robinson. Having done so, he reaffirmed that "as regards his plan of consolidation, I have been much in favor of it for such a field." It appears, however, that he had become concerned over some problems related to the manner in which Robinson was framing his constitution. He was most anxious that if consolidation were to be attempted that "it should be done thoroughly." He was worried that the proposal was only " a sort of a half-way measure" and that it would "bring them into perplexity." He summarized: "The principal criticisms I have are that the constitution is too long and too specific; it enters too much into the details and is built with reference to the principal men now in the field."[1]

---

[1] Ibid. White had written a previous letter to Olsen on 28 September 1892, some three weeks earlier, before he had received from Olsen the copy of Robinson's proposal. Gilbert Valentine has assumed that White's reaction to Robinson's proposal was contained in that letter. See Valentine, "A. G. Daniells," 87. Careful review of the data cannot bear that out, however. In that letter to Olsen, White argued against any rash moves to "dispense with all auxiliary organizations." He asked Olsen: "Would it not be a much wiser plan for us to simplify these organizations and to cease to increase their number, and then wait to see the results of this before we proceed to tear them down?" He continued: "Mother thinks it would be a great misfortune if our brethren should hastily tear down what has been built up with so much labor" (W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 28 September 1892, LB 1, EGWO-DC). But the context of that letter indicates that White was objecting to a proposition to hastily change existing structures in established conferences. He was not referring to the organization of new conferences in mission situations, and certainly

The whole tone of the letter indicates that White was not at all opposed to the concept of departmental organization in the missionary setting. His problem was apparently not with what Robinson planned to do but with the technicalities of the manner in which he proposed to institute his reforms. The significance of White's approval of what was happening was that he recognized that as the church expanded internationally across geographical boundaries, organizational adaptability was necessary. In point of fact, the events of 1892 ushered in a new era for the Seventh-day Adventist Church. They represented the first time that an organizational initiative was taken on the basis of the need of the internationalization of the church.

On 31 October, having studied the proposal more carefully, White wrote to Robinson that "in the main" he approved of what Robinson was trying to do. He could see "no serious objection to a plan of organization which will permit one set of delegates from the churches to transact all the business that is to be done at an annual

---

not to Robinson's proposition, which he did not know of when he wrote the letter. In the letter of 14 October 1892, however, White writes a brief reply to Olsen regarding Robinson's plan. He had only received Olsen's letter on 11 October, three days earlier. See W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 14 October 1892, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 4, GCA. Further, even though White expressed in his letter of 28 September 1892 that his mother and he were not in favor of making changes in existing conferences, the opinion of both of them was to radically change before reorganization of the General Conference in 1901. At that time, consolidation of the auxiliary organizations of the General Conference was no longer regarded by Ellen White as tearing down what had "been built up with so much labor," but as "God's arrangement." See W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 28 September 1892, LB 1, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White, "Unheeded Warnings II: The Signing of Agreements," MS 156b, 1901, EGWB-AU. It was apparent that organizational form was to be adaptable; specific to the constraints of time and place.

meeting." He added, however, that it would take "considerable study on our part" to make the contemplated consolidation of the auxiliary organizations "fit together nicely as a harmonious and satisfactory whole." White then proceeded to make some specific, pointed criticisms of Robinson's proposed constitution. It was his opinion that a separate committee should operate the book work, and the whole constitution was "too long and specific." But, he concluded, "I am heartily glad that you are going forward with the organization of a Conference."[1]

Robinson's proposal, meanwhile, was being considered by the members of the Foreign Mission Board in North America. By 25 October, Olsen had received "quite a number" of "criticisms" of the proposal and was prepared to reply to Robinson, although he made it clear that he was only able to express some "general opinions." Those general opinions, however, were fundamentally different from those that he had expressed in his letter to W. C. White on 1 September.[2]

The objections which were now expressed by Olsen were not at all like those that had been expressed by W. C. White. While White was happy with the concept but unhappy with some of the details of the proposed constitution, Olsen and the members of the Foreign Mission Board did not even address problems with the constitution. Their problem was with the concept. They considered that consolidation of all auxiliary organizations into one administrative unit was centralizing at its worst. They were concerned that such an arrangement would be subject to the abuse of power and susceptible to the unreliability of human nature. The burden of responsibility was to be shared, not concentrated.

---

[1] W. C. White to A. T. Robinson, 31 October 1892, RG 9, LB 3, GCAr.

[2] O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, 25 October 1892, RG 11, LB 8, GCAr.

Olsen told Robinson bluntly that "if our denomination should take up the plan of organization that you suggest, you see at once that the idea of centralization would be most prominent, and that it would bring but comparatively few into responsible positions in the work." In any case, he assured Robinson that the difficulties that he might be encountering with the existing arrangement did not seem to him to be "so insurmountable after all." He concluded: "Nothing would be more disastrous to the work now than if we should allow ourselves to be led into a controversy and a long discussion on the form of organization, and leave the much more important matters of the work to go as they could."[1]

Olsen subsequently wrote to White assuring him that in regard to Robinson's proposal, his thinking was on the same line as White's.[2]

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 1 November 1892, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC. In this letter Olsen went so far as to call the proposal to consolidate the missionary interests of the church under an executive committee "this evil." It appears that Olsen was reacting in this letter to White's letter of 28 September 1892--the letter that was written before he had received a copy of Robinson's proposed constitution. As has been pointed out, the context of White's remarks in that letter of 28 September was somewhat different to that of his letter to Olsen on 14 October. Olsen, however, applied White's criticisms of the earlier letter of 28 September to the Robinson situation. Since those criticisms appeared to him to concur with the criticisms made by the members of the Foreign Mission Board, he considered that White's opinions relative to the Robinson proposal were the same as those that he now espoused, having been influenced by the members of the Foreign Mission Board. In a later letter, written

Careful study of the correspondence indicates that such was not the case. White nowhere objected to the applicability to the missionary situation of the scheme of organization proposed by Robinson, provided the details could be worked out. On the other hand, Olsen and his colleagues in North America objected to the plan on the basis that they considered it as a move toward centralization. Most of those who found the plan unacceptable were totally inexperienced in cross-cultural missionary situations.

Thus, despite White's approval of the idea, the organizational initiative taken by Robinson did not meet the general approval of General Conference administrators. Robinson was informed too late that such was the case, however, and had gone ahead and organized the South African Conference along the lines that he had proposed in the beginning.[1] Subsequently, he observed that in spite of the disapproval of the Foreign Mission Board, "the work of the South African Conference went along quite smoothly, under the new plan of organization."[2]

---

after he had most probably received White's letter of 14 October, he did not refer to centralization as the problem with Robinson's proposal, but to the failure of the proposed constitution to address future needs. O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 29 December 1892, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

[1] Olsen sent Robinson copies of the criticisms made by the members of the Foreign Mission Board on 13 November 1892 (most probably before he had received White's letter of 14 October). O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, 13 November 1892, RG 11, LB 8, GCAr. The South African conference was organized on 4 December 1892 while the criticisms were still in the mail. SDA Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v. "South Africa."

[2] Robinson, "Autobiographical Sketch."

The Auxiliary Organizations of the General Conference

Robinson's initiatives in South Africa had to do with the role and control of auxiliary organizations in relation to the conference structure of the denomination. Concerns regarding the role and control of the auxiliaries were often voiced and debated during Olsen's term of office. The failure to arrive at a satisfactory working relationship between the auxiliary organizations and the General Conference hindered the development of an acceptable agenda for reorganization.

The Role of Auxiliary Organizations

At the beginning of the 1890s it had been hoped that there would be a spirit of cooperation between the auxiliary organizations themselves and with the general administration of the church, at least in the missionary setting.[1] Only a short time passed, however, before there was so much confusion over the role of each organization (particularly but not limited to the relationship between the Foreign Mission Board and other bodies), that missionary projects were threatened and it seemed that bureaucratic bungling in Battle Creek would devastate the church's evangelistic and missionary zeal. The construction of a ship to sail on missionary voyages to the South Pacific was a case in point. Members of the Foreign Mission Board complained that there was a lack of clarity over who was supposed to be making the decisions relative to the construction and outfitting of the ship. Both the Foreign Mission Board and the General Conference executive committee were taking actions on the matter.[1]

---

[1] See FMB Pro, 8 January 1890, RG 48, GCAr.

Recurring conflicts also arose between the Foreign Mission Board and the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Repeatedly both committees appointed sub-committees to try to co-ordinate their activities.[2] The problem was that both had an interest in overseas work and workers. The Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association wanted to maintain control of medical institutions and workers throughout the world. The Foreign Mission Board, on the other hand, insisted that the area of its jurisdiction was that geographical territory outside North America and, therefore, that it had a stake in the decisions that were to be made. From time to time the territory of the Foreign Mission Board was readjusted as new organizational developments were implemented, but at no time up until reorganization in 1901 was there to be a satisfactory reconciliation between the two organizations.

---

[1] See FMB Pro, 10 July 1890, RG 48, GCAr.

[2] On 20 September 1893, the Foreign Mission Board voted a committee of three to "confer with a committee of the Benevolent Association" in order to arrange a plan of cooperation between the two. FMB Pro, 20 September 1893, RG 48, GCAr. On October 26, the Benevolent Association appointed its committee for the same purpose. SDAMMBA Min, 26 October 1893, RG 77, GCAr. But there was no resolution. The SDAMMBA was still discussing the problem early the next year. See SDAMMBA Min, 31 January 1894, RG 77, GCAr. The situation deteriorated even further, however. In 1897 the General Conference committee tried to smooth the troubled waters. G. A. Irwin was reported as stating that "in his judgement, the only way was for the Mission Board to cooperate with the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Board. He suggested that there was great danger of holding narrow views and of permitting jealousy to come in between the boards" (GCC Min, 29 Mar 1897, RG 1, GCAr). Irwin had only just assumed his role as General Conference president at the recent General Conference session and was not particularly successful as a mediator at that stage nor for that matter, at any later stage. That no resolution had been reached two years later is demonstrated by an amusing incident that concerned the chairman of the Foreign Mission Board. A series of joint meetings of the Foreign Mission Board and the IMMBA was held in March 1899. Apparently, relationships between the committees were so poor that no-one from the IMMBA told the president of the Foreign Mission Board the venue for the meeting of 18 March. Recorded in the minutes for 19 March was the following entry: "Elder Evans stated that Eld. Moon had not been willingly absent from the meeting the previous night, but that he had been through the building twice and could not find the Board assembled." He continued: "Eld. Moon also mentioned that he had made an effort to attend the meeting although he was not favorable to attending evening sessions after having worked all day" (IMMBA Min, 19 March 1899, RG 77, GCAr). At that time Moon was the president of the Foreign Mission Board.

To complicate matters even more, the General Conference Association, which was supposed to have been established as a legal entity for the holding of property and the making of contractual relationships, also became involved in decision making in the area of jurisdiction of the Foreign Mission Board. Relationships between the General Conference Association and the Foreign Mission Board were often seriously strained.[1]

There were two reasons why the Foreign Mission Board was so often in role conflict with the other auxiliary organizations and with the general organization of the church. First, the church was growing. Its missionary enterprize was successful. The vibrancy and enthusiasm that was being generated both by the vision and the success of the enterprize generated conflicts. Too often the Foreign Mission Board was considered to be encroaching on the domain of other auxiliary organizations. Second, by its very nature the Foreign Mission Board was not just another auxiliary function of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Mission was integral to the very nature of the church and regardless of the domain of a particular auxiliary board or committee, the function of each auxiliary was evaluated in the context of its impact on the accomplishment of the mission of the church. Mission was the raison d'etre for each church organization.

---

[1] The appointment of persons to fill vacancies overseas caused continual friction between the two organizations. In 1894, Olsen spoke to the Foreign Mission Board with reference to appointments and reminded the members of the board of "the desirability of having unity of action, so that there might be no conflict in serving the interests of both the home and foreign work" (FMB Pro, 2 April 1894, RG 48, GCAr). Appeals to common sense were not sufficient, however. At a meeting of the General Conference Association in 1896, the chairman had to admit "that it was sometimes difficult to tell exactly when the Foreign Mission Board and when the General Conference Association should be consulted, so closely did they merge together at times" (GCA Min, 1 March 1896, RG 3, GCAr).

There were some other conflicts that did not directly involve the Foreign Mission Board. The General Conference Association, for example, was often exercised over the control of the publishing concerns of the church. There were also continuous discussions about the relationship between the publishing houses and general administration of the church.

The relationship between the International Tract Society and the General Conference Association was also a source of constant concern.[1] That problem was further complicated by insistence on the part of the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association that the denomination's health publications be sold only by canvassing "agents" employed and administered by the Good Health Publishing Company and not by the denominational agencies. Canvassing agents employed by the Review and Herald publishing house or Pacific

---

[1] Ibid.

Press were supposed to confine their sales to non-medical books.[1] This arrangement meant that there were two independent groups of canvassing agents selling the publications produced by the denomination and its auxiliary organizations.

In 1894, even the International Religious Liberty Association was appointing workers to go to various locations throughout the country without consulting the General Conference committee nor its committee on the distribution of labor. The Foreign Mission Board, the Benevolent Association, The General Conference Association, the International Religious Liberty Association, and the General Conference executive committee could all claim to be responsible for the appointment of persons to positions of their making, and to financial and administrative supervision. Little need for consultation was felt except when conflict arose, and then each organization was reluctant to surrender its prerogatives. The absence of a coordinated structure made any attempt to remedy the situation impossible.

---

[1] About the time that the SDAMMBA was formed, the problem of defining the relationship between organizations that had canvassing agents was addressed by F. L. Mead, the General Canvassing Agent of the General Conference. He informed the members of the General Conference Association that "men that have been trained at the expense of the Conferences are induced to give up denominational work and take up the sale of Medical books." He continued: "I cannot see the necessity of two separate organizations of the canvassing work . . . so, if you will, kindly define my relation to this company" (GCA Pro, 13 March 1893, RG 3, GCAr). Mead was speaking with reference to the Good Health Publishing Company, a company not affiliated with the other publishing houses of the denomination or with the General Conference Association, but with the Battle Creek Sanitarium. No satisfactory arrangement was made, however, and the publishing work stumbled along in a state of continuous non-clarity. See, for example, GCA Pro, 4 March 1896, 5 March 1896, RG 3, GCAr.

Not only was there confusion between the various organizations at Battle Creek, but the situation was compounded even further by the existence of auxiliary organizations in the state conferences. In each conference there was little definition of role with respect to the other organizations in the conference. Additionally, there was no clear definition of role with respect to the parent organizations in Battle Creek. As a result the state organizations were in a state of confusion, largely powerless, and without prerogative to act unless they consulted with the central organization. But the central organizations themselves were also in a state of confusion, without any clear definition of their responsibilities with respect to each other.

Such a situation only expedited the concentration of power and the centralization of administrative and decision making authority in the hands of a few individuals at Battle Creek. Church growth may have continued during the early 1890s, but it occurred in spite of the denominational structures and their administration, not because of them. While the administrators of the church endeavored to address the problems as best they could, introspection and concentrated centralization were not satisfactory solutions.

The Control Of Auxiliary Organizations

Arising out of the numerous disputes over the role of the auxiliary organizations was the question of control of those organizations. General Conference administrators did not feel comfortable with the situation as it was. There was no line of authority between the General Conference and the auxiliary organizations. The General Conference committee had no executive oversight of the auxiliary organizations and was not in a position to do anything to alleviate the problem unless it was prepared to change the design of the organization itself. But such a radical change was unlikely since the presidents of each of the major organizations were members of the General Conference committee. They had a stake in the perpetuation of the auxiliary organizations in which their primary interest lay.

The minutes of the executive committee in 1891 indicate that Olsen apparently made an attempt to bring some order into the situation. The record indicates that he "made some remarks upon the necessity of having all institutions and enterprises connected with the work under the direction and control of the denomination." Prescott was of the same opinion, particularly with reference to "medical missionaries, physicians, and health institutions." A committee was formed to consider the matter. It's report sidestepped the issue, however, and did not even address the most pressing concern.[1]

---

[1] GCC Min, 8 Aug 1891, RG 1, GCAr. The committee, which was formed in order to consider the relationship between the "health work" and the "general work," submitted a report to the next executive committee meeting which did not even discuss the amalgamation of the auxiliary organizations under centralized control. Rather, it insisted on the necessity of the "officers and ministers of the General Conference and State Conferences" recognizing the health work as "a part of the third angel's message," and calling upon them to "unite their interests with those who are giving that message [i.e., the health workers]" (GCC Min, 20 August 1891, RG 1, GCAr). While it was true that there was a general disregard of health principles among ministers at the time and that many of them were breaking down (see, for example, O. A. Olsen, "The General Conference Council," RH, 5

Although it was recognized that perpetuation of numerous auxiliary bodies, each with administrative independence, was chaotic and possessed potential for schism, efforts to coordinate those organizations under the administration of any central committee (as, for instance, had been done in South Africa) were perceived and condemned as centralizing.[1] Ellen White's condemnation of centralization was interpreted to mean that there could be no compromise when it came to perpetuating the auxiliary organizations--they must remain.[2]

August 1890, 489), the wording of the resolution indicates that the majority of those who were on the committee were more concerned with the advancement of the "health work" than they were with integration and satisfactory coordination of all aspects of the denominational enterprise.

[1] Potential became reality when the denomination lost the Battle Creek Sanitarium to John Harvey Kellogg. The events leading to schism in 1904 have best been told in Richard W. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1964). See also, idem, John Harvey Kellogg, M.D. (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1970).

[2] The objection to A. T. Robinson's plan for South Africa in 1892 was that it was a move toward centralization. After receiving some input from the members of the Foreign Mission Board and others to whom he sent Robinson's proposal, Olsen replied to Robinson that "the plan of organization which you propose meets a serious objection on the very face of it; that is, too much centralization. . . . I feel assured that there are elements of danger in too much centralization. . . . If our denomination should take up the plan of organization that you suggest, you see at once that the idea of centralization would be most prominent, and that it would bring but comparatively few into responsible positions in the work. . . . It would be laid upon this one [executive] Committee to do all the thinking and planning for the Conference" (O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, 25 October 1892, RG 11, LB 8, GCAr). The rejection of Robinson's proposal on the grounds that it was a move towards centralization was rationalized on the basis of what the detractors understood Ellen White to be saying regarding the dividing of responsibility. Olsen told Robinson that "in regard to our work, you know that the testimony has been all the time that the burdens and responsibility should be divided." He continued: "How can we heed the admonitions of the testimonies given again and again, to

By the end of the decade, however, it had become obvious to some in positions of responsibility that there was to be no solution to the dilemma if organizational structures remained unchanged. Robinson's experiment in South Africa had not caused any major schism. In addition, the Australasian Union was functioning smoothly with auxiliary organizations operating as departments under the umbrella of the union executive committee.[1] Clearly a solution was available

---

divide up the responsibilities . . . and yet adopt the plan of organization you suggest seems quite difficult for me to understand; for . . . instead of dividing the responsibilities and laying them upon as many as consistently can take part, it at once centralizes and confines all the authority and all the burden of planning to a very few" (ibid.) See also, O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, 13 November 1892, RG 11, LB 8, GCAr.

[1] There appears to be some conflict regarding the record of how and when auxiliary organizations were integrated as departments under the Australasian Union Conference. In his "Autobiographical Sketch," A. T. Robinson contended that it was while he was president of the Victorian conference in Australia that the idea of departmental integration was first introduced into conference administration in that country. Since Robinson did not transfer to Australia until the latter half of 1897, the Victorian session that he referred to could not have taken place before mid-1898, as Robinson mentioned that it was winter in Australia. See W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 1 June 1897, LB 11, EGWO-DC; Robinson, "Autobiographical Sketch. Robinson recollected that the Victorian Conference committee's insistence that the "conference be re-organized, after the plan of the conference in South Africa," came "like a bombshell to Elders Daniells and White." Daniells is said to have exclaimed: "This is anarchy, this is confusion. We are not going to have any of this in Australia." But, Robinson contended, White proceeded, after the campmeeting season opened, to go around to "all the conferences in Australia" and reorganize "all the conferences in the Australian field on the same plan of the Victoria Conference" (ibid.) It seems somewhat difficult to reconcile Robinson's account of Daniells's and White's reaction with their commitment to structural reform and their involvement as initiators of union conference organization. Perhaps the inconsistency could be explained if departmental organization had taken place at union level but not at local conference level. But Robinson's recollection of the strong reactions of Daniells and White makes that possibility unlikely. The best explanation is most likely found by recalling White's reaction to Robinson's proposed constitution in 1892. Perhaps Robinson had not revised it in the

which, while some perceived it as centralization, could bring more effective coordination of effort and personnel to the task of the church.

Ellen G. White and the Authority of the General Conference

Robinson's action in South Africa was somewhat indicative of the failure of the General Conference executive committee to make decisions which were regarded as authoritative by the constituency--particularly the constituency in foreign mission fields. The missionary expansion of the church may have been proceeding at a rapid pace. Missionaries were being sent from the shores of the United States in numbers never before known by the denomination. But the centralized administrative structure and the unfamiliarity of those who were called upon to make decisions with the needs and methods of the missionary enterprise did not enhance the authority of the General Conference in the eyes of those who were engaged in foreign mission.

---

manner that White had suggested in 1892 and was now trying to introduce a constitution in Australia which was not satisfactory in all its details to the senior administrators. Further, Daniells himself at the 1901 General Conference session indicated that coordinated departments had started in Australasia in 1894. He said, "We selected the best person we could get in the State as Sabbath-school secretary. We made it simply a department of the Conference." He went on, "We carried this same plan right into our Union Conference organization. When it came to that, we made up our board of men representing these [departmental] interests" (GC Bulletin. 1901, 90-91). That being the case it does not appear that Robinson's recollection can be wholly substantiated by the facts. It is likely that it was not only as a result of any initiative shown by the Victorian Conference executive committee that departmental organization became an important attribute of the structure of the Australasian Union. Apparently the integration of departments into the conference structure was accomplished in the Australasian Union in a manner which was not perceived as centralizing.

Ellen White herself became aware of this during the early 1890s. In 1891 she had gone with her son, W. C. White, and some literary assistants to Australia. Her experience there, together with the doctrinal and personality turmoil in the church in the wake of the 1888 General Conference session, apparently caused her to reconsider her attitude toward the authority of the General Conference. Her absence did not prevent her from directing some sharp criticisms towards the General Conference officers and executive committee. Her reproofs were not simply to one or two members of the committee but were directed to the committee as a whole.

Ellen White had always maintained the highest regard for the authority of the church. In 1863 when the denomination was organized she wrote:

> There is no higher tribunal upon earth than the church of God. And if members of the church will not submit to the decision of the church, and will not be counseled and advised by them [local and travelling elders appointed by the church and the Lord], they cannot be helped. . . . What would be the use of a church if each one is permitted to choose his own course of action? Everything would be in the greatest confusion, there would be no harmony, no union. . . . It is not a light matter to resist the authority and despise the judgment of God's ministers.[1]

James White also upheld the authority of the church. In fact, he was the first to call the General Conference the "highest earthly authority with our people." When he made that statement in 1873 he was concerned that the General Conference president and the executive committee members were not being accorded proper respect and given a due hearing when they visited local campmeetings where matters of business were being discussed. He was not contrasting the authority of the church constituency with the authority of the General Conference and its officers so much as he was pointing out the need for respect and due recognition of those in positions of responsibility.[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Scott, 6 July 1863, Letter 5, 1863, EGWB-AU. In this letter the authority of the church appears to be equated with the authority of local and travelling elders, some of whom were recognized as ministers.

Soon afterwards he again made reference to the General Conference as the "highest authority:" this time in answer to George Butler's contention that authority was first and foremost to be recognized in the person of the leader. Butler was specifically referring to James White himself, as leader of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[2]

Perhaps Butler was simply building on the basis of the article that James White had written just three months earlier when he appealed for respect. Or perhaps Butler had originated his ideas himself. In either case, James White soon realized the fallacy in Butler's reasoning. Authority did not reside in any one individual. Rather, authority resided in a corporate body. The corporate General Conference was the highest authority on the earth.[3]

Like her husband before her, Ellen White did not refer to the authority of the General Conference in a context which indicated that she was setting the authority of the General Conference over against that of the constituency of the church. When she first upheld the General Conference as the "highest authority" she was condemning the concentration of power in one person (specifically, the president of the General Conference) and advocating its distribution. Authority resided in the corporate church.[1]

---

[1] James White, "Organization," RH, 5 August 1873, 60-61.

[2] George I. Butler, "Leadership," RH, 18 November 1873, 180-81; James White, "Leadership," in Ellen G. White, Testimony 25. 192; idem, "Leadership," 4-part series in Signs of the Times. 4 June 1874, 4-5; 11 June 1874, 12; 25 June 1874, 20; 29 June 1874, 28; idem, "Leadership," RH, 1 December 1874, 180.

[3] Ellen G. White, Testimony 25. 42-43. Even so, it was conceded that the General Conference was not infallible and could "err." James White, "Leadership," Testimony 25. 192.

Despite her assertion that the General Conference was the highest authority, Ellen White did not always regard the General Conference executive committee and officers as using their authority correctly. In her view it was quite conceivable that the General Conference by its abuse of the authority which it was granted by the church as the people of God, could lose the authority that it should have had.

Ellen White's thinking began to tend that way after the

---

[1] Ellen G. White, Testimony 25, 42-43. In a letter dated 15 August 1988, Tim Poirier, Assistant Secretary of the EGWO-DC, wrote: "In answer to your question--I do not find any E. G. White statement with that idea [the General Conference as the highest authority] predating the one by James White. The earliest appears to be the one in 3T 450-451 [the same one that had been originally published in Ellen G. White, Testimony 25, 42-43], published in January, 1875, making a written date of not later than 1874" (Tim Poirier to Barry Oliver, 15 August 1988, personal collection of the writer). Although in James White's initial reference in 1873 he makes it clear that he was speaking of the "General Conference" with reference to the executive committee, Ellen White did not specify, nor does the context conclusively indicate who she was referring to by her use of the term "General Conference." She could have been referring to the executive committee, although it is more likely that she was referring to the General Conference session "when the judgement of the brethren assembled from all parts of the field is exercised" (Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 9:260).

Minneapolis General Conference session in 1888. She wrote in discouragement after that session:

> From this time I must look to God, for I dare not rely upon the wisdom of my brethren. I see they do not always take God for their counselor, but look in a large degree to the men they have set before them in the place of God.[1]

Her dissatisfaction and disillusionment continued. In 1890, as the time appointed for the General Conference session approached, she told Olsen: "I do not expect to be at your General Conference. I would rather run the other way."[2]

The next year Ellen White delivered a most telling blow to the presumption that the General Conference officers and executive committee possessed unconditional authority. In 1891 she said:

> Methods and plans would be devised that God did not sanction, and yet Elder Olsen made it appear that the decisions of the General Conference were as the voice of God. Many of the positions taken, going forth as the voice of the General Conference, had been the voice of one, two, or three men who were misleading the conference.[3] (Emphasis supplied).

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Experience Following the Minneapolis Conference," MS 30, 1889, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 8 May 1890, Letter 46, 1890, EGWB-AU. On the last day of 1890, Ellen White wrote to Uriah Smith that since her words of counsel and even her motives had been misconstrued, she now felt "no inclination to converse with the men who occupy responsible positions" (Ellen G. White to Uriah Smith, 31 December 1890, Letter 40, 1890, EGWO-DC). While much of what she says in this letter is addressed to Smith himself and concerns his own attitudes, the latter portion of the letter has a wider reference to many who were in responsible positions at Battle Creek and in local conferences. Although Ellen White does not give any more specific indication as to whom she is referring, it is apparent that she did not regard the authority of the General Conference as being resident in the officers or leaders themselves. Authority, even delegated authority derived from a legitimizing process was conditional.

[3] Ellen G. White, "Board and Council Meetings," MS 33, 1891, EGWB-AU. The context of her manuscript indicates that Ellen White had already made her position with regard to the authority of the General

Five years later her opinion had not changed. In a letter written to the leaders of the denomination with reference to some things that had been of concern to her "from time to time since the Conference at Minneapolis," she bluntly told them that

> The sacred character of the cause of God is no longer realized at the center of the work. The voice from Battle Creek, which has been regarded as authority in telling how the work should be done, is no longer the voice of God.[1] (Emphasis supplied).

This statement was referred to by others and reaffirmed by Ellen White numerous times, even right up until the General Conference session of 1901.[2]

Conference clear, but there does not appear to be any extant documentation of an earlier statement. Perhaps she had previously expressed herself only verbally.

[1] Ellen White to the Men who Occupy Responsible Positions in the Work, 1 July 1896, Letter 4, 1896, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ellen G. White, "Relation of General Conference Committee to Business Matters," MS 33, 1895, EGWB-AU; idem, "Concerning the Review and Herald," MS 57, 1895, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Waggoner, 26 August 1898, Letter 77, 1898, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Those Occupying Important Positions in the General Conference, 24 January 1899, Letter 9, 1899, EGWB-AU; A. J. Breed to G. A. Irwin, 5 September 1899, RG 9, G. A. Irwin Folder 1, GCAr; Ellen G. White to S. N. Haskell, 16 November 1899, Letter 187, 1899, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "Regarding the Southern Field," MS 37, 1901, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "College Library Address," MS 43a, 1901, EGWB-AU; GCC Min, 1 April 1900, RG1, GCAr; GC Bulletin, 1901, 23-25. In 1938, Arthur L. White was asked to explain the statement that the General Conference was no longer the voice of God. He proceeded to answer the enquiry by endeavoring to describe the circumstances which had called forth the statement. He gave an admirable account of those circumstances but he missed the point. The point is that there were circumstances which nullified the authority of the General Conference. This White did not mention. Rather he encouraged loyalty and confidence in the leaders of the church. His point was that despite Ellen White's castigation of the leaders of the church it should not be supposed that she turned her back on the church or that she envisaged any other body which would supplant the church as it had developed over the years. Arthur L. White to J. L. Tucker, 3 May 1938, Document File 296a, EGWO-DC. For another analysis of the Ellen White's contention concerning the "voice of God," see George E. Rice,

Writing from Australia in 1894 she made it clear that, "as one whom the Lord has chosen to lay great burdens of the cause of truth upon, I must not consent to be led in all things by the counsels and decisions of my brethren, when I know there are times when they are moving blindly."[1] Then, with reference to the publishing work, she wrote the following year,

> I repeat, the fact that the General Conference has taken the control of the publishing work does not remove the objection to consolidation. . . . The very foundation of evil has not been removed. The same men are acting in the interests of the publishing work at Battle Creek, and their policy will be essentially the same as in the past, bearing the signature of men, but not the endorsement of God.[2]

In 1895 Ellen White declared that when "the very heart of the work" was "diseased, its action must be uncertain, fitful,

---

"The Church: Voice of God?" Ministry. December 1987, 4-6.

[1] Ellen G. White to Jennie L. Ings, 4 August 1894, Letter 36, 1894, EGWO-DC.

[2] Ellen G. White, "Consolidation of the Publishing Work," MS 31, 1895, EGWB-AU. At the same time Ellen White wrote to C. H. Jones, manager of the Pacific Press, counselling him to disregard the actions that were being taken at Battle Creek by the General Conference committee to consolidate the publishing concerns of the denomination. Against the will of the committee, Ellen White insisted that the Pacific Press was to maintain its independence. She wrote: "You are not to hold yourself to seek permission of the authorities of Battle Creek whether you shall or shall not pursue a line of work that seems impressed upon you to do. The Lord is the one to whom you are to be amenable. . . . I look upon consolidation in unity, and helpfulness of one another, as sound principle; but I do not and cannot give my influence to consolidation in blending the institutions in one great whole, and that be Battle Creek, the moving power, the voice to dictate and direct" (Ellen G. White to C. H. Jones, 8 July 1895, Letter 35a, 1895, EGWB-AU). References which indicate Ellen White's attitude to the authority of the General Conference in the same context are, Ellen G. White to the Men in Responsible Positions in Battle Creek, September 1895, Letter 4, 1895, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 1 April 1896, Letter 80a, 1896, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 31 May 1896, Letter 81, 1896, EGWB-AU.

unreliable."[1] In 1897, she said that the officers at the General Conference were like boys, rather than men, doing the work. In 1899 she reaffirmed that in her opinion, the General Conference had lost its influence.[2] Even after the reorganization in 1901 she referred to the "strange ways" of the General Conference. The basis of her assertion, even at that time, was that "the representatives of the Conference, as it has been carried with [kingly] authority for the last twenty years" could not continue to proclaim, "the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we." In 1903 she reiterated: "The men in positions of trust have not been carrying the work wisely."[3]

Examination of the context of each of these statements which addressed the status of the authority of the General Conference reveals a number of reasons why Ellen White regarded the authority of the General Conference in the manner she did during the 1890s and beyond. Among those reasons were (1) that the General Conference was not a representative body,[1] (2) that in the General Conference, decision making authority was too centralized,[2] (3) that "kingly power" was being exercised,[3] (4) that the General Conference had not been following sound principles,[4] (5) that the sacred and the common had been mixed,[5] (6) that the members of the General Conference executive committee had become entangled in business affairs,[6] (7) that men were not occupying the correct positions,[7] and (8) that there was not sufficient appreciation of the needs in foreign fields.[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "To the General Conference and Our Publishing Institutions," MS 66, 1898, EGWB-AU. This manuscript was originally written from Granville, New South Wales, in 1895.

[2] GCC Min, 23 September 1897, RG 1, GCAr; Ellen G. White to Those Occupying Important Positions in the General Conference, 24 January 1899, Letter 9, 1899, EGWB-AU.

[3] Ellen G. White, "Regarding Work of General Conference," MS 26, 1903, EGWB-AU. With reference to the fire in the Review and Herald plant, Ellen White indicated that the same tendencies toward consolidation of the publishing work in Battle Creek that she had spoken against during the 1890s were again in evidence. She wrote to E. R. Palmer: "I now wish to say that had not the Review and Herald been destroyed, the plans that you and elder Daniells were forming would have made it necessary for me to say things to counteract what you were working to accomplish. In your feelings of opposition to the proper development of the smaller printing offices, and your desire to bring much of our publishing work to Battle Creek, you were on the wrong track. But the Lord has taken this matter in hand, in a way that must be recognized, and it is not now necessary for me to carry this burden on my heart" (Ellen G. White to E. R. Palmer, 21 May 1903, Letter 92, 1903, EGWB-AU).

---

[1] Ellen White said: "I have said that I could no longer regard the voice of the General Conference, represented by these few men, as the voice of God. But this is not saying that the decisions of a General Conference composed of an assembly of duly appointed, representative men from all parts of the field, should not be respected. God has ordained that the representatives of His church from all parts of the earth, when assembled in a General Conference, shall have authority. The error that some are in danger of committing, is in giving to the mind and judgment of one man, or of a small group of men, the full measure of authority and influence that God has vested in His church, in the judgment and voice of the General Conference assembled to plan for the prosperity and advancement of His work" (Ellen G. White, Testimonies. 9:261).

[2] In the context of discussion as to the voice of the General Conference, Ellen White said: "We have reached the time when the work cannot advance while wrong principles are cherished. Two or three voices are not to control everything in the whole field" (Ellen G. White, "Regarding the Southern Work," MS 37, 1901, EGWO-DC).

[3] Ellen G. White, "Regarding Work of General Conference," MS 26, 1903, EGWB-AU.

[4] Ellen G. White to Those Occupying Important Positions in the General Conference," 24 January 1899, Letter 9, 1899, EGWB-AU.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ellen G. White, "Relation of General Conference Committee to Business Matters," MS 33, 1895, EGWB-AU.

[7] Ibid.

In short, while Ellen White had the highest regard for the church, the General Conference in session, and the executive committee as the agent and coordinator of the work of the church, and was actively defending the church against attack during the time that she was so critical of the General Conference, there were circumstances which were precipitated by the General Conference committee itself, or by its executive officers, which nullified its authority.[2] The General Conference, and later even the unions and local conferences, were not to be regarded as having an unconditional authority. Their response to God and to the jurisdiction that they each had, determined the status of the authority that each had been granted by the legitimizing process.[3]

The 1893 General Conference Session

Towards the end of 1892, Olsen had informed A. T. Robinson that "nothing would be more disastrous to the work now than if we should allow ourselves to be led into a controversy and a long discussion on the form of organization" in the church.[1] Despite Olsen's wish that time should not be wasted discussing organizational issues, however, organizational problems became more insistent as his tenure as General Conference president proceeded. At the beginning of 1893, just after the situation with Robinson had resolved itself, albeit against the wishes of Olsen and his colleagues, a letter from W. C. White was read to the General Conference executive committee.[2] White encouraged the committee to discuss and plan for the possibility of general organizations for Europe and Australia. He stressed that such organizations should come under the umbrella of the General Conference.

---

[1] Ellen G. White to Jennie L. Ings, 4 August 1894, Letter 36 1894, EGWO-DC.

[2] That Ellen White was defending the church "at the very time" she was saying that the voice of the General Conference was no longer the voice of God is demonstrated in Rice, "The Voice of God," 5. See also Ellen G. White, "Relation of General Conference Committee to Business Matters," MS 33, 1895, EGWB-AU.

[3] With reference to Ellen White's council to a local conference which after reorganization was following the principles which she had condemned before reorganization, see Ellen G. White to the Leading Ministers in California, 6 December 1909, Letter 172, 1909, EGWB-AU. Reorganization did not in itself guarantee the end of administrative abuses.

But perhaps because of his recent dealings with Robinson, and similar problems in Switzerland and Great Britain, Olsen was not prepared to accede to White's request. The minutes of the meeting record that even though he considered the idea of the organization of district conferences to be feasible, "the chairman thought nothing should be planned so as to interfere with the general supervision and work legitimately belonging to the General Conference." His rationale for maintaining centralized authority was that the General Conference was "the highest authority under God on the earth."[3]

---

[1] O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, 25 October 1892, RG 11, LB 8, GCAr.

[2] GCC Min, 25 January 1893, 9:30 A.M., RG 1, GCAr.

[3] Ibid. These minutes indicate that Olsen did consider the organization of district conferences feasible. It was even voted that "the sense of the committee" was "that it would be advisable to divide up the field . . . into districts; and that conferences, under the General Conference, be organized in these several districts, to take the oversight of the work in them." Despite this action, nowhere is

At the 1893 session of the General Conference a lengthy letter was read from Ellen White which recounted the struggles that had taken place at the time of organization of the church in the early 1860s. The letter admonished the assembled delegates not to think that they could dispense with organization. She was emphatic:

> Let none of our brethren be so deceived as to tear it [organization] down, for you will thus bring in a condition of things that you do not dream of. In the name of the Lord, I declare to you that it is to stand, strengthened, established, and settled.[1]

While this letter was designed to reaffirm commitment to the need for organization, it appears to have had the effect of stifling any adventurous organizational reforms that could have been effected at that General Conference session. Given the hesitant attitude of the General Conference president, the movement toward organization of full district conferences as envisaged by the executive committee stalled. But there was one decision made which did give at least some

---

there any record that the districts in North America were ever formally organized as district conferences. Until 1901 they were consistently designated in committee minutes as "General Conference Districts," not "District Conferences." Superintendents were appointed by, and directly responsible to, the General Conference. Some analysts have mistakenly concluded that district conferences were organized in 1893 (see J. I. Robison, "The Organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church: A Series of Lectures Presented at the Theological Seminary, April 1956," RG 21, GCAr, 19; and Beach and Beach, _Pattern for Progress_, 55). Since neither of these sources gives any reference for their assertion there is no way of verifying their contention that districts were organized as conferences. Perhaps they have mistaken the action of the executive committee that district conferences (i.e., district meetings) were to be conducted in 1893 as sanction for the organization of administrative units called district conferences. Such was not the case, however. See GCC Min, 10 July 1893, RG 1, GCAr.

[1] Ellen G. White to Brethren of the General Conference, 19 December 1892, Letter 32, 1892, EGWB-AU.

encouragement to those who were looking for organizational reform. Whereas previously all "foreign" work had been loosely designated as district seven, it was voted that Australasia was subsequently to be known as district seven, and Europe was to be known as district eight.

Olsen was happy with what had been done, even though it was not as much as should have been done. He wrote in the Week of Prayer readings for 1893 that the 1893 General Conference session "was a meeting of much importance to the work at large. The organization of the General Conference districts was rendered more complete, and the system was so extended as to embrace nearly all our work at home and abroad." He described the time when "upon the superintendents of these districts will rest much of the responsibility of the work in their fields that the president of the GC once carried."[1] That time was not yet, however.

W. C. White was not nearly so enthusiastic about the meager advances that had been made at the conference. He had wanted the session to go much further--no doubt because he already had in mind the plan of organization that was needed in Australia. He wrote to Olsen that although he was interested in his plan to increase the responsibilities of district superintendents, he was disappointed that more pressing reforms had not been addressed. He was not able to find any action regarding what he termed the "District Federation of

---

[1] O. A. Olsen, "The Year's Work and the Outlook," Home Missionary. November 1893, Extra No. 2, 3.

Conferences, or any plans for a European, or Australian Union."[1]

White and his colleagues did not rest satisfied. They were planning an experiment in Australia--the formation of the first union conference.[2] Despite the failure of the 1893 session of the General Conference to recommend such an action, the leaders in Australia decided to seek approval for the immediate implementation of a constituency-based union conference in the South Pacific. After all, Australia was a long way from North America.

1894-1897

The Australasian Union

W. C. White as district superintendent was concerned that organization of the union conference in Australasia be thorough. He did not want to rush the plan to such an extent that the union would flourish for a short time and then "die without ceremony or burial" as had been the case with the European Council.[3] He specially requested that the General Conference president be present to lead out in the organization of the first union of conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist organization. Olsen accepted the invitation and acted as chairman of the session.

---

[1] W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 8 May 1893, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 4, GCAr. Olsen's plan to increase the powers of the district superintendents was not formally acted upon until the General Conference session in 1895.

[2] In December 1892, W. C. White had suggested to Olsen the formation of some "ecclesiastical body to stand mid-way between state and colonial conferences and the General Conference" (W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 21 December 1892, LB 2, EGWO-DC).

[3] W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 9 July 1893, LB 3, EGWO-DC.

It was A. G. Daniells, however, who was appointed chairman of the committee which was given the task of drawing up a constitution. When that committee submitted its report on 19 January 1894, the suggested constitution was readily accepted and the first union conference in the Seventh-day Adventist Church became a reality. White was appointed president of the conference, Daniells the vice-president, and an executive committee of nine was chosen. Although it would be Daniells who was to take the leading role in reorganization at the General Conference session in 1901, he readily admitted that it had been White who was the father of reorganization.[1]

Thus another important innovation which was to have long-lasting repercussions for organizational structure in the church originated in the mission field. Both Robinson's plan in South Africa and the union organization in Australia worked so well that they became vital models when reorganization took place in 1901.[2]

In later years Daniells acknowledged that the establishment of union organization in Australasia had not been easy. Objections had to be overcome. He recalled that some in North America had been fearful that "the work was going to be wrecked," that the organization was going to be torn up, and that there was going to be "secession out there in the South Sea Islands." He assured the delegates at the 1913 General Conference session that there had been no secession and that the people of Australasia were as loyal to the denomination "as anybody in this wide world."[1]

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 23 March 1905, RG 11, LB 36, GCAr. W. C. White was following in the footsteps of his father, James White. LeRoy E. Froom had no hesitation in designating James White as the "father of church order among the sabbatarians" (LeRoy E. Froom, Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. 4 vols. [Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1964], 4:1059.) Daniells's recollections of departmental organization in New Zealand and subsequently in the Australasian Union Conference are difficult to reconcile with A. T. Robinson's recollections of events which transpired at the Victorian (Australia) Conference session. Compare GC Bulletin 1901, 89-91, with Robinson, "Biographical Sketch." See pages 89-90, above.

[2] The report of the formation of the Australasian Union Conference is in Seventh-day Adventist Year Book for 1894 (Battle Creek, Mich.: General Conference Association of Seventh-day Adventists, 1894), 60-61.

Reluctant Concessions

Despite the presence of O. A. Olsen at the organization of the Australasian Union Conference at the beginning of 1894, some of the members of the General Conference committee were uneasy with what they perceived as the newly gained independence of that union and the impact that such would have in North America. Consequently, on 17 April 1894, a sub-committee which had been formed to delimit the authority of the district conferences (i.e., the district meetings) voted that those gatherings should be occasions for Bible study and for consideration of the advancement of the work in their districts in line with any recommendations that the General Conference might apply to the local work. Under no circumstances were the districts to use their own initiative and take action upon matters which had "not been considered in principle, at least, by the General Conference."[2]

By the 1895 General Conference session there had been opportunity to observe the organizational experiment in Australia for over a year. At that session it was voted to expand the role of the districts in North America so that they could relieve some of the burdens being borne by those in responsible positions at General Conference headquarters. It was resolved that the presidents of the conferences, chairmen of mission boards, and the district superintendent of each district "constitute an executive board" to "take under advisement, with power to act, such local matters as shall be named by the General Conference."[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1913, 108.

[2] GCC Min, 17 April 1894, RG 1, GCAr. This action was subsequently reported in O. A. Olsen, "Recommendations of the General Conference Committee," RH, 19 June 1894, 395.

The record of the resolution is followed by a list of responsibilities which were to be accepted by the district executive boards. The list included the distribution of church employees within the district, arranging meetings, and operating schools "of more than four weeks in duration." Districts outside North America were to appoint a treasurer to collect and disburse funds as the General Conference would direct. Some additional restrictions were placed on the operation of the district boards in order to ensure that they did not step outside those boundaries prescribed by the General Conference.

The line of authority from the General Conference to the state conferences was very much a unidirectional line. There is no indication in any of the records of the General Conference executive committee or the General Conference session of 1895 that the districts in North America were to derive any authority directly from their constituencies. Any authority to act was derived from the General

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1895, 514.

Conference. They were in a similar position with reference to the General Conference as the divisions are presently said to be since attempts to clarify the definition of levels of church structure was undertaken in the mid-1980s.[1]

Not all were satisfied with the arrangement that had been made at the 1895 General Conference session. Olsen found himself constrained to address questions that were "being agitated throughout the field" regarding the object of the district conferences and the principle of delegate representation. In a statement published in the Review and Herald, he reaffirmed the position that prior authority was to be found in the General Conference and quoted the appropriate resolutions of the 1895 General Conference session. He tritely observed that it would be seen that these questions were "of practical importance." Further, anticipating the approaching round of district meetings, he encouraged church members to discuss how the resolutions could be made "as applicable as possible to the local work in each field." But he did not address the issue of the authority of delegates to make decisions independent of the General Conference.[1]

---

[1] A comparison between the definition of the function of the districts as proposed in 1895 and a contemporary description of the functions of divisional sections (divisions) of the General Conference given by Walter and Bert Beach in 1985 reveals some striking similarities. Beach and Beach describe the divisions as acting "strictly as sections of the General Conference, that is to say, for and as the General Conference in their respective territories." This arrangement is seen to be necessary in order to uphold the "authority and universality of the General Conference." Further, they explain that "the worldwide General Conference constituency . . . would elect the staffs of . . . all divisions; the divisions would have no distinct constituency of their own." As if in concert with the resolution named as resolution 15, 1895, Beach and Beach assert that "actions taken by the division committees are considered final, provided they are in harmony with the plans and policy of the General Conference as set forth in its constitution and bylaws and by Annual Councils." At the 1895 General Conference session, resolution fifteen was worded so as to make it understood that the executive authority of the district boards was always only to be "under advisement" and that their "power to act" on "local matters" was to be closely defined by the General Conference. GC Bulletin, 1895, 514; Beach and Beach, Pattern for Progress, 61-62.

In 1896 very little formal action was taken regarding organization. By that time Olsen had been president of the General Conference for eight years and had lost any willingness that he may have had in 1888 to be at all enthusiastic about innovation or organizational reform. Despite innovations that had come during his tenure as General conference president he had never been particularly forward thinking in that respect. The innovation of districts and the union conference in Australia had come in spite of, not because of, him. The necessity of dealing with financial and other crises that continuously plagued Battle Creek precluded him from giving the subject the attention it deserved. It was not so much that he objectively determined to maintain the status quo. Rather, by 1896 he was subjectively incapable of doing anything to change it.

That is not to say that he did not recognize that something was very wrong with the system. At the commencement of the spring session of the executive committee in 1896, Olsen laid particular stress upon the importance of the council, stating that "it would probably be the most important ever conducted by the Seventh-day Adventist denomination" (a common expression of his). He went on to earnestly exhort the committee to spend as much time as possible in prayer and personal devotion during the council.[1]

---

[1] O. A. Olsen, "District Conferences," RH, 17 September 1895, 608.

When, at the same meeting of the executive committee, he later took the opportunity to discuss "the plan of organization of the Seventh-day Adventists," he did not address issues and specific proposals, but rather spoke in terms of the peculiar nature of the organization and that "the only thing holding the denomination together" was the Spirit of God. Again the necessity of earnest devotion was urged. "Careful planning for our future work" was mentioned only as an after-thought.[2]

Institutional Growth and Its Consequences

Despite its administrative predicament, the church had been experiencing spectacular institutional growth during the years of the Olsen administration. That growth was not about to stop. Institutions were growing both in number and in size.[3] Most startling was the growth in the number of educational institutions. By December 1903, it would be reported that there were 464 church schools from elementary to tertiary level, employing 687 teachers and having an enrollment of 11,145.[4] In 1888 there had only been three major educational institutions and just a few small schools operated by local church congregations.

---

[1] GCC Min, 20 February, 1896, RG 1, GCAr.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Erich Baumgartner has pointed out that motivation for mission was "a common genius to all these institutions." That motivation was present in intention, if not in practice, according to Baumgartner. Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure," 33.

[4] "Statistical Report of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination, for 1903," RH, 18 August 1904, 9-16. For a discussion of the reasons for educational expansion during the 1890s, see George R. Knight, "Spiritual Revival and Educational Expansion," RH, 29

Major health institutions were also increasing in number. In 1888 there had been two health facilities. At the 1901 General Conference session the president was to report that there were twenty-four major institutions in "various parts of the world." In addition, "a large number of small bath- and treatment-rooms" had been established. He also described "rescue missions," "industrial homes," and "hygienic restaurants in several of our large cities" as other aspects of the medical and social work that was being undertaken.[1]

In the same report, Irwin made reference to seven large publishing houses that were located at strategic points around the world. In 1888 there had been six such institutions. Growth in publishing had occurred, not so much by the addition of large-scale concerns, but in the enlargement of already established publishing houses. The two publishing houses in the United States had been able to expand primarily on the strength of commercial printing contracts--a situation which evoked considerable criticism from Ellen White. Growth had also occurred as smaller presses were affiliated with some of the educational institutions. There were printing presses, for example, at Union College, Nebraska, and Avondale School for Christian Workers in Australia.

March 1984, 8-11.

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 21. The rapid development in the size of the health institutions is demonstrated by Prescott's report that there were some 2,000 persons employed in medical institutions compared with only 1,500 persons employed world-wide by the General Conference in 1901. Ibid., 172-82.

The Role of Institutions

While the church looked with a degree of pride upon her institutional accomplishments, and while glowing reports of growth appeared in the pages of the Review and Herald. General Conference Bulletin. and other denominational publications in various countries, all was not well. As early as 1891 there had been those who had questioned "the propriety of investing means so largely in building up publishing institutions, colleges, etc."[1]

The given reason for concern was that interest in institutions would "put off the coming of the Lord." Others contended that such was not the case at all. They were of the opinion that "nothing which helps to accomplish the work we have to do, puts off the coming of the Lord, but rather hastens it."[2] For them, institutional function was tied to eschatological hope and mission of the church. Institutions were a means of accomplishing the task and hastening the end. Thus there were two opinions as to the role of institutions in the mission of the church--some regarded institutions as a means to the end and some regarded them as a hindrance to that same end.

The Control of Institutions

To compound the situation with respect to the role that institutions were supposed to play in the mission of the church, there were continuous struggles for control of institutions. Those struggles did not emerge so much from attempts to wrest institutions from denominational control altogether, although precursors of the loss of the medical institution at Battle Creek can be seen in the board actions of the Benevolent Association during the period. Rather, contention emerged from the dilemma faced by each institution as it attempted to ascertain how it should relate to the auxiliary organizations within the denomination, the state conferences, and, particularly, the General Conference.

---

[1] U. Smith, "Origin and History," 57.

[2] Ibid.

The situation was not a simple one. Some institutions found themselves in serious financial difficulty shortly after being established. Finding themselves in that situation, institutional managers often attempted to solve their problem by requesting that the institution be taken under the direct control of the General Conference. But the General Conference was not in a position to assume that responsibility. It was itself continually in such a state of financial embarrassment that despite the committee's desire to assume firm control of the institutions, it was unable to do so.[1]

---

[1] Speaking of a situation which was developing in London in 1893, Olsen "emphasized the fact that the denomination ought to control the Publishing Houses, and not the Publishing Houses the denomination" (GCC Min, 14 February 1893, RG 1, GCAr.) By 1897 the question of control was still causing concern to the General Conference leaders. In fact, the situation had become so bad that, despite Ellen White's warnings regarding the dangers of centralizing institutional control, Irwin, who had been General Conference president for only eight months, confided to his friend A. J. Breed that "the more I learn of the workings of things generally, the more I can see the need of somebody having a general oversight . . . and not allow things to get into such a way as to allow one or two large institutions to have a controlling interest, so that they can manipulate things largely to their own liking" (G. A. Irwin to A. J. Breed, 29 November 1897, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr). One remedy for the situation had been attempted in 1895. At that time, the General Conference succeeded in taking an action which required that it appoint the editorial staffs of the leading magazines in the denomination rather than have them appointed by the publishing houses.

Institutions were largely left to their own resources and the resources of the church constituency.

Ellen White had considerable interest in the institutions of the church, particularly the publishing houses. She was not opposed to the establishment of institutions. As early as 1894, however, W. C. White had noted a pattern in his mother's counsel regarding institutions. He observed that his mother consistently counselled that church institutions should not be large, and that they should not be centrally governed by the General Conference or any other body at Battle Creek.[1]

Ellen White did not prioritize institutions. Clearly, she was committed to the priority of the world-wide mission of the church. The function of institutions was related to the missionary task. The General Conference, however, was finding it increasingly difficult to maintain the same commitment in the face of pressures which were brought to bear upon it by institutional growth and maintenance. During the 1890s, therefore, there was a consistent attitude that the best way that the General Conference could promote a world-wide missionary enterprise and at the same time attend to the needs of the institutions which were rapidly becoming the principle components of its missionary methodology was to consolidate institutional management and thus centralize the coordination of supply and demand for the financial and personnel resources of the church. Ellen White was not

---

GCC Min, 23 February, 12 March 1895, RG 1, GCAr.

[1] W. C. White to A. O. Tait, 24 September 1894, RG 9, LB 3, GCAr.

in agreement with that attitude, however.

Ellen G. White: Consolidation and Centralization

Consolidation of Institutional Control

When problems of centralization were discussed previous to 1888, they were discussed more with reference to the relationship between the General Conference and the state conferences. However, as the number of institutions rapidly increased after 1888 and the church continued to grow at a remarkable rate, Ellen White increasingly addressed her remarks to the problem of defining the relationship between the General Conference and institutions.[1]

During the 1890s, much of her counsel which called for the distribution of authority was given with reference to the publishing concerns of the denomination, and later, but to a lesser extent, with reference to the medical and educational institutions. The publishing work was, at that stage, the buttress of the missionary enterprise of the church. When, during the 1890s, she spoke of defining the role of the General Conference with reference to the institutions, the term "consolidation" rather than the term "centralization" was used more often to describe the tendency to bring the institutions under a centralized management.[1] Defining just what she meant by "consolidation," she said:

---

[1] Ellen White did give some counsel relative to institutional control previous to 1888. For example, in a letter to O. A. Olsen in 1896 she stated that "twenty years ago" she had "been shown" that the Pacific Press "was ever to remain independent of all other institutions." She continued: "Just prior to my husband's death [1881] the minds of some were agitated in regard to placing these institutions under one presiding power. Again the Holy Spirit brought to my mind what had been stated by the Lord. I told my husband to say in answer to this proposition that the Lord had not planned any such action" (Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 31 May 1896, Letter 81, 1896, EGWB-AU).

> I look upon consolidation in unity, and helpfulness of one another, as sound principle; but I do not and cannot give my influence to consolidation in blending the institutions in one great whole.[2]

Committee action to consolidate the publishing concerns of the church appears to have been first taken at the General Conference session in 1889. With the encouragement of O. A. Olsen, a resolution to that effect was passed without discussion by the session delegates. That resolution read "that we favor the present efforts to secure the consolidation of the various publishing interests of the denomination."[3] A committee of twenty-one which was appointed to consider the matter proposed a series of recommendations with "the purpose of taking entire control" of all the publishing interests, thus "bringing the work under one general management."[1]

---

[1] The reason for her use of the word "consolidation" appears to be that it was the term used to describe the committee delegated with the responsibility of making recommendations regarding the publishing work between 1889 and 1891. The committee was known as the Committee on Consolidation of Publishing Interests. See GC Bulletin. 1889, 158-59.

[2] Ellen G. White to C. H. Jones, 8 July 1895, Letter 35a, 1895, EGWB-AU.

[3] GC Bulletin. 1889, 148. Earlier, Olsen had said: "Unity is strength. This work as a whole is one. Why should not our various denominational enterprises be managed by boards elected by the General Conference? We acknowledge the General Conference to be the highest authority recognized by God on earth. Here the whole of our people are represented, and speak through their delegates. Here is no north or south, no east nor west; it is one the world over. Our publishing interest and our book business are of the greatest importance. Should not these properly be under one managing board, and that board chosen by this body in its annual sessions?" He concluded: "We do feel that this body should not adjourn before some attention is given to this matter" (ibid., 95-96).

That committee met on a number of occasions during the next two years and prepared a number of resolutions for the next General Conference session which was held in 1891. Apart from their resolve to consolidate the publishing concerns of the church, the most significant recommendation was that in order to implement the recommendation, it would not be necessary to form a new legal entity. The committee recommended that the General Conference Association serve as the incorporated body which could well take over the co-ordination and management of publishing institutions, and, at the same time, maintain consistency with the stated objectives of the association.[2]

Ellen White did not respond immediately to the adoption of the committee's report. Her warnings at the General Conference session in 1891 appear to have been confined to the need to encourage decentralization as the remedy for the congestion of Seventh-day Adventists and their enterprises at Battle Creek.[3] She did give an indication of what was to come, however, when, in a passing reference to the consolidation of institutions, she stated that "no man or set of men can rule in these institutions in Battle Creek."[4]

---

[1] Ibid., 149, 158-59.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1891, 123-24.

[3] Ibid., 181. In this address to the session she quotes a testimony that had first been given on 12 June 1868 in which she had encouraged Seventh-day Adventists to move out of Battle Creek for missionary purposes. See Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church: No. 16. 2-6. See also, idem, Testimonies. 2:113-16.

[4] GC Bulletin. 184.

In 1894, however, Ellen White was much more explicit. In the context of discussion over a proposal to cease publication or consolidate some of the periodicals published by the denomination she addressed the issue of consolidation. She generalized: "I have no faith in consolidating the work of publication, blending into one that which should remain separate." She stressed the need to recognize that "in the different branches of this great work, as in the branches of the vine, there is to be unity in diversity." She insisted that such was "God's plan, the principle which runs through the entire universe." She concluded:

> The work is not to be centered in any one place, not even in Battle Creek. . . . Mistakes have been made in this line. Individuality and personal responsibility are thus repressed and weakened. The work is the Lord's and the strength and efficiency are not all to be concentrated in any one place. . . . I have little faith in the large or small confederacy that is being formed. It looks dark and forbidding to me.[1]

Despite the fact that this letter was read to the delegates at the 1895 General Conference session, nothing was done to revoke the actions that had been taken in 1891. Instead, it was decided that the "editorial control and the shaping of the general policy" of the leading periodicals of the church "be placed in the hands of the General Conference."[2]

Ellen White continued to decry the consolidation of the management of institutions at Battle Creek.[1] Not until the reorganization of 1901 was effected would her pen be silent on the issue for a time. She was not to remain silent for long, however. She linked the fire at the Review and Herald plant in 1903 with the continuation of the spirit of consolidation and confederacy.[2]

---

[1] Ellen G. White to the General Conference Committee and the Publishing Boards of the Review and Herald and Pacific Press, 8 April 1894, Letter 71, 1894, EGWB-AU.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1895, 372-73, 358.

Centralization of Decision Making Authority

W. C. White was a member of the committee of twenty-one that was appointed at the 1889 General Conference session to consider the question of consolidation. He met with the committee between 1889 and 1891 when it was formulating its recommendations for the 1891 General Conference session. Since there appears to be no record of his dissent from the report that the committee placed before the session, it can be presumed, although not known for certain, that he was in favor of that report. Soon after that session he left for Australia and had no personal involvement with the developments that took place during the next six years.

---

[1] See Ellen G. White, MS 31, 1895, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to C. H. Jones, 8 July 1895, Letter 35a, 1895, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to the Men in Responsible Positions at Battle Creek, September 1895, Letter 4, 1895, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 1 April 1896, Letter 80a, 1896, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 31 May 1896, Letter 81, 1896, EGWB-AU. In 1901 J. N. Loughborough admitted that at the same time that Ellen White was speaking against consolidation, "some members of the General Conference Committee were studying a scheme by which to bring all the institutions connected with this cause under the controlling head of the General Conference" (J. N. Loughborough, "The Church: Advice to the Church," RH, 6 August 1901, 500). A paper prepared by the White Estate has listed six "evils" of consolidation of institutions as described by Ellen White. They are, (1) no preservation of individual judgment (Ellen G. White, Testimonies to Ministers [Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1962], 301); (2) no training of young men to responsibility (ibid., 303); (3) interference of one branch of the work with another branch of the work (Ellen G. White to the General Conference Committee and the Publishing Boards of the Review and Herald and Pacific Press, 8 April 1894, Letter 71, 1894, EGWB-AU); (4) individuality and personal responsibility repressed (ibid.); (5) neglect of other parts of the work (Ellen G. White to the Men in Responsible Positions at Battle Creek); (6) dangers of becoming a ruling power (ibid.); and (7) the possibility of demonic control (Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 9:261). See "Confederation and Consolidation" (unpublished research paper prepared by the Ellen G. White Estate, Washington, D.C., 1977).

[2] Ellen G. White to E. R. Palmer, 21 May 1903, Letter 92, 1903, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Leaders of Our Work, 23 May 1903, Letter 114, 1903, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "Centralization," RH, 10 December 1903, 8-9; idem, Testimonies, 7:171-74; Ellen G. White to the Workers in Washington and Mountain View, 30 November 1909, Letter 164, 1909, EGWB-AU.

In 1894, however, he stated in correspondence with Olsen that the problem of centralization "or diffusion of influence" was a subject that was in need of study. He admitted that "financially," centralization was successful. But he added that "for the progress of the work," it was "better to establish many places from which an influence would go out."[1] The problem of centralization was, at that stage, a problem of location for White. For Ellen White it was a problem of location, but also much more.

It seems that Ellen White's advocacy of the need to decentralize was inclusive of a number of concerns. Her opposition to the consolidation of institutions was one of those concerns. Another was her call for church members to move out of Battle Creek and settle in places where they could actively evangelize the population. A third concern was voiced in her repeated counsel that additional institutions should not be built in Battle Creek and existing institutions in that city not be expanded.[1]

---

[1] W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 15 July 1894, LB 6, EGWO-DC.

Along with her call to decentralize the administration of the church from its location at Battle Creek, Ellen White referred to a much more pressing concern. It was her conviction that there was an urgent need to delegate responsibility and decision making prerogative, both to more persons, but more importantly, to other levels of church administration.

First, with respect to the responsibility being carried by some individuals in the General Conference administration, W. C. White had written after the 1893 General Conference session that he was "surprised to see such a rapid return to the old plan of piling the heaviest loads onto men already overburdened." He continued: "You know that I . . . have believed that it was better for the cause to run large risks in the using of men not fully tried . . . than to disqualify the few men of experience, who might be invaluable to the cause as counselors, if not themselves loaded down with a double burden of work." He was referring particularly to the election of C. H. Jones as president of the Sabbath School Association, S. N. Haskell and Olsen to the International Tract Society, and Olsen as President of the Review and Herald in addition to all the other responsibilities that these men were already carrying. He added: "the dividing of responsibility which was undertaken in earnest in 1889-91 [while he and his mother were still in the United States], was in harmony with the light repeatedly given to mother on this subject."[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1891, 181-84; Ellen G. White to the General Conference Committee and the Publishing Boards of the Review and Herald and Pacific Press, 8 April 1894, Letter 71, 1894, EGWB-AU (portion printed in GC Bulletin. 1895, 372-73); W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 15 July 1894, LB 6, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 21 July 1901, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC; W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 26 June 1903, RG 11, 1903-W Folder 2, GCAr.

Second, with respect to the relationship between the General Conference and the state conferences, there were many administrative matters which did not need to be considered at headquarters but which were being decided at Battle Creek. For example, a problem in the Adelaide Church, South Australia, had to be dealt with by the General Conference executive committee,[2] and a missionary's personal problem in West Africa had to be referred to Olsen who was overseas at the time.[3] Affirming that the General Conference should have jurisdiction over such matters, Olsen was so bold as to assert that

> It is the province of the General Conference carefully to watch over, and have a care for, the work in every part of the field. The General Conference, therefore, is not only acquainted with the needs and conditions of every Conference, but it

---

[1] W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 8 May 1893, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 4, GCAr. Given the burden of responsibility that Olsen was attempting to carry, it is no wonder that he found himself in a state of almost constant exhaustion and sometimes even depression. Ellen White told him: "One thing is certain the work must be divided and part be laid upon other shoulders to share the burden with you" (Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen 19 June 1892, Letter 19b 1892, EGWB-AU). G. I. Butler, who preceded Olsen had found himself a physically broken man by the time he was relieved of office in 1888. Olsen's physical and mental exhaustion were often referred to in his letters to the Whites. See O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 1 February 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to Ellen G. White, 10 March 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 23 March 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to Ellen G. White, 23 May 1892, EGWB-AU; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 10 August 1892, EGWB-AU.

[2] GCC Min, 7 July 1893, RG 1, GCAr.

[3] The problem was sickness. Apparently the newly arrived missionaries, E. L. Sanford and G. K. Rudolph, had become very ill and the Foreign Missions Board needed to decide what to do with them. By the time correspondence travelled from Africa, to the United States, to Europe and then back to Africa again, the men could well have been dead. See FMB Pro, 19 July 1894, RG 48, GCAr.

> understands these needs and conditions as they stand related to every other Conference and mission field. . . .
>
> It may also be thought that those in charge of local interests have a deeper interest in, and carry a greater responsibility for, the local work, than the General Conference can possibly do. Such can hardly be the case if the General Conference does its duty. The General Conference stands as it were in the place of the parent to the local Conferences.[1]

Ellen White repeatedly spoke against the centralization of decision making prerogative. She regarded as a serious matter the failure of leaders at Battle Creek to recognize that those who were closer to the needs of the work were almost always better able to make decisions relative to those needs. In 1895 she said that there were "strange principles being established in regard to the control of the minds and works of men." She asked the leaders in the church, "Has God given any one of you a commission to lord it over His heritage?"[2]

In 1896 she continued to maintain that "altogether too much responsibility" was "imparted to a few men in Battle Creek." Those men who could not "appreciate the situation of matters in the different localities," as well as the men who were "right on the ground" were not to impose their will on the work. In this context she made a specific call for a rearrangement of the administrative structure of the church which would allow a sharing of authority and responsibility. She said:

> The work of the General Conference has been extended, and some things made unnecessarily complicated. A want of discernment has been shown. There should be a division of the field, or some other

---

[1] O. A. Olsen, "The Movements of Laborers," RH 12 June 1894, 379.

[2] Ellen G. White, Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers--No. 9 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1897), 4-5.

> plan should be devised to change the present order of things.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Ellen White also decried the authoritarian attitude that was being carried into their leadership style by some. It was her contention that position did not justify an authoritarian attitude. "God will sanction no tyranny, no sharp dictation, for this naturally repels, and often stirs up the worst passions of the human heart," she declared when writing to R. A. Underwood at the beginning of 1888.[2] Right on through the 1890s she continued to struggle with the attitudes of many of the leaders.[3] It was her fear that insubordination would eventually be an undesirable consequence of authoritarianism.[1]

---

[1] Idem, Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers--No. 8 (College View, Nebr.: College Press, 1897), 4, 10, 29. She added: "The Lord can be approached by all. He is much more accessible than the president of the General Conference" (ibid., 14). In a letter to A. O. Tait she elaborated: "Those living in distant countries will not do what their judgment tells them is right unless they first send for permission to Battle Creek. . . . Has the Lord to go to Battle Creek, and tell men there what the men working in distant countries must do?" (Ellen G. White to A. O. Tait, 27 August 1896, Letter 100, 1896, EGWB-AU). "Separate counsels of administration should be appointed," she told the Prescotts a few days later. "The men at Battle Creek are no more inspired to give unerring advice than are the men in other places, to whom the Lord has entrusted the work in their locality. . . . All should remember that if the Lord has a special work in any vicinity, all heaven is interested in that work. . . . The great sin which has been entering the ranks of Seventh-day Adventists is the sin of exalting man, and placing him where God should be. This was demonstrated at Minneapolis" (Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Prescott, 1 September 1896, Letter 88, 1896, EGWB-AU). Apparently, the leaders of the church were aware that what Ellen White was saying was correct. However there was a reluctance, or more likely, an inability to take those measures necessary to alleviate the situation. See O. A. Olsen to C. H. Jones, 22 July 1895, RG 11, LB 14, GCAr; G. A. Irwin to R. A. Underwood, 7 January 1898, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr; W. C. White to W. C. Sisley, 7 May 1900, LB 15, EGWO-DC.

[2] Ellen G. White to R. A. Underwood, 10 January 1888, Letter 3, 1888, EGWB-AU.

[3] Ellen G. White to G. I Butler, 14 October 1888, Letter 21, 1888, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to G. I Butler, 15 October 1888, Letter 21a, 1888, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to the Workers at the Health

As far as Ellen White was concerned, the tendency toward centralization was evidenced by a cluster of factors which she saw as undesirable and against which she was continuously outspoken during the 1890s. Those factors were (1) the concentration of too many responsibilities on one person or small group of people, (2) the location of too many members and institutions at Battle Creek, (3) the dominance of the General Conference over the state conferences, and (4) the authoritarian attitudes of many of the leaders. In calling for reform in each of these areas her counsel was often set in a matrix of concern for high spiritual values, the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the church, and the headship of Christ over the church.

Retreat, 31 May 1891, Letter 34, 1891, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to the Ministers of the Australian Conference, 11 November 1894, Letter 53, 1894, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 22 May 1896, Letter 83, 1896, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to E. E. Franke, January 1901, Letter 19, 1901, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, Testimonies to Ministers. 202-3.

[1] Ellen White was aware of the danger "of lording it over God's heritage" (Ellen G. White, Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers.--No 9. 18). She had warned that such a situation would "create such a disgust of man's jurisdiction that a state of insubordination would result" (ibid.) See also Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 19 September 1895, Letter 55, 1895, EGWB-AU; W. C. White to A. O. Tait, 2 September 1895, LB 8, EGWO-DC. Ellen White had also written that the "work of God" had been "retarded by criminal unbelief in His [God's] power to use the common people to carry forward His work successfully" (idem, "The Great Need of the Holy Spirit," RH, 16 July 1895, 450). Later, Loughborough took up her concern and in some "timely advice to the church" reaffirmed that lording it over the church was not according to the divine plan of organization, but was a "perversion of it"(J. N. Loughborough, "The Church: Timely Advice to the Church," RH, 30 July 1901, 485).

The Auxiliary Organizations and Centralization

Despite all that was said about consolidation and centralization, however, there was one aspect of church administration that was never referred to with reference to centralization by either Ellen White or W. C. White. That was the integration of the auxiliary organizations into a centralized administrative structure. That Ellen White was strongly opposed to the centralization of institutional control has already been demonstrated. That she was opposed to the centralization of auxiliary organizations, however, cannot be established. In fact, right up until 1899 she appears to have been totally silent on the subject.[1]

Even though W. C. White's attitude toward a given proposal should not necessarily be taken as evidence of Ellen White's attitude, it is likely that with the integration of the auxiliary organizations into the conference structure his attitude and actions reflected hers.[1] It was W. C. White who was the prime mover when it came to union organization with its departmental integration of auxiliary organizations. He approved of A. T. Robinson's plan in South Africa. The Australasian Union had endorsed him as its first president. In 1901 he was to have a marked impact on the direction of reorganization. Each of these innovations involved the integration of the auxiliary organizations into the conference administrative structure. Ellen White opposed none of these initiatives. She did not refer to the establishment of departments within the conference structure as consolidation or centralization.[2]

---

[1] The only reference to Ellen White's attitude that has been found in the course of research for this study has been a statement by W. C. White that his mother thought that "it would be a great misfortune if our brethren should hastily tear down what has been built up with so much labor" (W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 28 September 1892, LB 1, EGWO-DC). W. C. White was referring to the "auxilliaries"(sic) with this statement. The context indicates, however, that he was more concerned with any "hasty," ill-considered move which may later prove to be premature than he was with change when it was necessary. He emphasized that "as a people we are progressive, we are opposed to creeds, or to anything that will check development and this is right; but ought we not to guard against being fickle? Have we not already shown weakness in the hasty framing and continual tinkering of our constitutions?" (ibid.) Within a short time W. C. White himself became the prime mover of the union conference arrangement in Australia.

There were a number of reasons why the integration of departments into the conference structure was not opposed by Ellen White. First, she recognized the difference between control and co-ordination. If the church was to accomplish its mandate--to take the gospel to the world--it would be necessary to co-ordinate its activities so that broad objectives could be set and strategies could be worked out. This process needed to be worked through in a context which enhanced the complimentary rather than the competitive nature of each department. She said in this regard that "the law of reciprocal dependence and influence" was to be "recognized and obeyed."[1]

---

[1] An example of a difference between them had to do with the consolidation of the publishing institutions of the church. W. C. White had been a member of the committee between 1889 and 1891 which formulated the proposal for consolidation of the publishing institutions between. Ellen White firmly renounced that proposal.

[2] The officers of the General Conference and Foreign Mission Board did regard the integration of auxiliary organizations with the general organization as centralization at the time when A. T. Robinson made his proposal in South Africa in 1892. Their response showed that they were convinced that any move to do away with independent auxiliary organizations was a move toward centralization. See O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, 25 October 1892, RG 11, LB 8, GCAr. See also pages 79-80 above.

Second the church was one great whole. Certainly diversity was to be recognized and respected. She insisted that as far as institutions were concerned their day-to-day operation was a matter of their own control. But when it came to the "broad lines" she was concerned that the church maintain its sense of world-wide mission in unity. She stated her concept of oneness most clearly just before reorganization in 1901. She wrote:

> It has been presented to me that every department of the work is to be united in one great whole. The work of God is to prepare a people to stand before the Son of Man at His coming, and this work should be a unit. The work that is to fit a people to stand firm in the last great day must not be a divided work.[2]

The third reason why Ellen White could approve of the departmental idea was the time frame in which it was introduced. Had the idea to integrate departments at General Conference level been advanced in the early or mid-1890s when there was no corresponding plan to decentralize administrative control by the implementation of, for example, union conferences, it would have undoubtedly been rejected. But since the department idea had been first tried on the conference level in South Africa, and later on the union level in Australia, opportunity had been given for some experimentation so that by the time it came to the General Conference in 1901, a model was available which could be adapted to the needs of the church on a global scale.

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "The Medical Missionary Work and the Gospel Ministry," MS 167, 1899, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ellen G. White, "Sanitarium Chapel talk," MS 62, 1900, EGWB-AU. See also Ellen G. White to My Dear Brethren, 12 July 1900, Letter 102, 1900, EGWB-AU.

Conclusion

The years between 1888 and 1897--the years when O. A. Olsen was president of the General Conference--saw the continuation of the growth that had begun in the 1870s and 1880s as the church responded to its vision and mission. That growth had at least four dimensions: (1) It was numerical--new members were attracted to the church, particularly in the mission fields. (2) It was geographical--the church commenced working in at least one new overseas country each year, and in most years, three or four new countries. (3) It was organizational--three new auxiliary organizations were established, and those that had existed at the beginning of the period were themselves spawning auxiliary organizations and becoming more complex. (4) It was institutional--no period in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church has ever seen a more spectacular rate of institutional expansion than the 1890s.

Though it could be expected that the church would look with considerable satisfaction on the developments that were taking place, the organization and its administration were not equipped to cope with its own growth. Lack of role clarity between the various organizations, continuing centralization of decision making prerogative, financial shortage, dispute over the purpose and control of institutions, the question of the authority of the General Conference, competition for scarce resources between the church in North America and the expanding missionary enterprize of the church--

all these problems were directly related to the success of the church as it responded to its commitment to preach the gospel to the world.

There were some attempts to alleviate the administrative problems. In North America, the plan of dividing the geographical territory into districts was implemented. That plan was voted while W. C. White was acting as General Conference president. The districts in North America at no time had constituencies, however, and their decision-making prerogatives continued to be closely controlled by the General Conference. White was also closely involved in two other major initiatives which were to have considerable bearing on the direction that organization was to take in 1901. Significantly, both of those initiatives arose in the context and in response to the needs of the mission field.

First, he gave his approval to the concept of having the auxiliary organizations integrated into the conference structure of the church in the experiment of A. T. Robinson in South Africa. He may not have agreed with all of the finer details of Robinson's plan, but he did approve of the concept.

Second, he was the "father" of union organization in Australia. The Australasian experiment represented the first time that a level of organization other than a local conference or the General Conference had a constituency--that is, it had executive powers which were granted by the levels of organization "below" it, and not by the General Conference. Even so, the president of the new Australasian union, W. C. White, was appointed by the General Conference as superintendent of district seven.

The growth, the administrative problems, and the organizational innovations that had occurred during Olsen's tenure set the stage for the developments which were to come in the next six years. At the General Conference session of 1897 there was again an intentional attempt at General Conference level to reorganize the structure of the church--a move which would culminate in 1901-1903 with what Ellen White was to call an "entire new organization."[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Talk of Mrs E. G. White before Representative Brethren in the College Library, April 1, 1901, 2:30 P.M.," MS 43a, 1901, EGWB-AU.

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS REORGANIZATION: 1897-1903

Introduction

By 1897 it was widely recognized that radical organizational change was necessary. During the preceding decade each specific development in organization--such as the district arrangement in North America, the experiment in South Africa, and the organization of the Australasian Union Conference--had been part of a continuum which was to culminate in reorganization at the General Conference session in 1901. Yet no General Conference session since 1888 had held the potential for such revolutionary changes in attitude towards organizational reform as did the session in 1897.[1]

Even Olsen recognized that something had to happen. He had demonstrated over the years of his leadership that he did not know what was needed in order to rationalize an administrative structure which could accommodate and facilitate the evangelistic and missionary zeal of the church. By 1897 he was prepared to admit, however, that urgent change was necessary. In his opening presidential address to the session he said,

---

[1] In the foreword to a pamphlet written in 1914, C. C. Crisler nominated five General Conference sessions as pivotal in the development of the principles related to organization in the church. Those sessions were 1860, "when the proposal was made to organize the Review and Herald Office into a publishing association"; 1873, "when the question of leadership was brought before our people"; 1888, "when the first steps were taken toward dividing General Conference territory into District or union conferences"; 1897, "when a wise distribution of responsibility was called for"; and 1901, "when a further distribution of responsibility was advocated and successfully brought about." Crisler saw organizational developments as a continuum from 1897 to 1901. He pointed out that "in all these crises, the principles of organization adopted in the early days of our denominational history have been found wholly adequate to meet the needs of an ever-expanding work, and have thus been 'strengthened, established, and settled'" (C. C. Crisler, The Value of Organization: An Historical Study [n.p., 1914], 3).

> This Conference will be called upon to lay plans that are broad and deep. The third angel's message is to encompass the world; therefore it is highly important that efforts should be made wisely to distribute the responsibility connected with such work in order that every part may receive its proper share of attention. This is a time to go forward, and not backward. It is a time to enlarge on every hand.[1]

It was time for new initiatives. The impact of the burgeoning missionary expansion of the church could no longer be disregarded. There was a sense of vitality and urgency in the church at large. But the rapid rate of growth produced by that vitality was placing inordinate pressure on an inadequate administrative system and method.[2]

---

[1] G. C. Tenney, "Proceedings at the Conference," RH, 9 March 1897, 152.

[2] Despite the rapid growth of the church outside North America, the Foreign Mission Board was still manned by persons who had almost no extended work experience outside North America. W. C. White expressed his mother's concern at that situation. In a letter to the members of the Foreign Mission Board, he boldly informed them that she had "expressed great sorrow bordering on indignation that the Board was so largely made up of men who knew little or nothing of experience in mission fields," and who, despite this, "felt prepared to criticize and condemn the plans and efforts of those struggling with difficulties in the mission fields." White informed the board that his mother wondered why such a situation was necessary when many had returned home to North America having "done acceptable service in mission fields" (W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, 21 November 1897, LB 11A, EGWO-DC).

The 1897 General Conference Session

Probably because of the anticipated pivotal nature of the General Conference session in 1897 and because of his frustration over the failure of the sessions in 1893 and 1895 to make what he considered to be essential organizational and administrative reforms, W. C. White travelled from Australia to attend the session. He came as the president of the Australasian Union Conference. His mother remained in Australia.

At that session, held at Union College in Nebraska, White was able to express in person his concerns for the missionary enterprize of the church and the need for a reorganization. He and his mother had been in Australia for six years, and although there was continuous correspondence between themselves and the officers and boards of the General Conference, there had not been personal contact between them and the General Conference leaders except when Olsen visited Australia at the time of the organization of the Australasian Union in 1894. White took the opportunity, therefore, to recite the story of the organization of the union conference in Australia. By that time the union conference had been operating successfully for three years.

Surprisingly, the General Conference Bulletin for 1897 does not indicate that White was exceptionally outspoken in the regular business sessions of the conference. That there was a great deal of discussion outside the context of official sessions of the conference is indicated by a letter which White sent to his mother in order to inform her regarding the session proceedings. In that letter he confided that "the best features of the meeting" could not "be reported in the Bulletin." He was hopeful, however, that the principles that were discussed had been sufficiently implanted in order to "develop and bear fruit for the kingdom of God."[1]

After the session was over, W. C. White travelled to Battle Creek and stayed there for some weeks in order to canvass the need for reorganization of the church in the various committees of the General Conference and its auxiliary organizations. At one meeting of the General Conference Association, he chastised the members of the committee. As he saw it, too much time was being devoted to detail. While attention to detail may have been necessary it was his concern that committees at General Conference level should be free to concern themselves with broad principles, leaving finer details to those who were closer to the task at hand. He made it clear that details should be left to those "individuals whose duty it was to do the actual work." When men had been selected who had the confidence of the committee, White insisted that "they should be allowed to go forward and do the best they can."[2] Each committee had become so involved in trying to sort out conflicts of interest between themselves and in trying to define the work of employees so closely according to their respective areas of interest and emphasis, that those appointed to do the work were either stifled to the point of inaction or had adopted an attitude of complete disregard for the multiple instructions that they were receiving from headquarters. They were simply doing what they considered to be the best in the circumstances.[1] Such was especially the case in the mission fields which were far removed from Battle Creek. No doubt White's concern came directly from his earlier experience in Europe and more recently in Australia.

---

[1] W. C. White to Ellen G. White, 8 March, 1897, LB 11, EGWO-DC. In this letter White also confided that his deepest regret was that "we [the session delegates] did not break away from the old lines more fully." He was anticipating the events of 1901 but they did not eventuate in 1897. Despite the initiatives that he had taken with organization, White succeeded in having himself removed from administrative responsibility at this session. A. G. Daniells was appointed as president of the Australasian Union Conference. This was done at White's request. Given the advancing age of his mother and her standing in the denomination, he had decided that it was necessary for him to devote his full time to her assistance. See Valentine, "A. G. Daniells," 85.

[2] GCA Pro, 19 March 1897, RG 3, GCAr.

But W. C. White was not the only one working for organizational reform at the General Conference session in 1897. The same men who had created such an impact in 1888 with their preaching on righteousness by faith and the law in Galatians were again active in 1897. On this occasion the burden of A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and W. W. Prescott was, like that of White, reorganization. Unlike White, however, the background for their concern was not the missionary enterprize of the church or experimentation with a form of organization that was proving to be successful in the pragmatic situation. Also unlike W. C. White, their concern for reorganization arose in the first place from their theological positions. But despite different rationale for organizational reform, common objectives brought Jones, Waggoner, Prescott, and White together into an alliance which was to remain until the major rift between J. H. Kellogg and the leaders of the General Conference occurred in 1902.

---

[1] W. C. White to D. A. Robinson, 3 August 1896, LB 10, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White to A. O. Tait, 27 August 1896, Letter 100, 1896, EGWO-DC.

The most influential exponent of a what can best be termed a christocentric model of organization for the denomination was Alonzo T. Jones.[1] Jones's stature in the church had been established largely through the impact that he and E. J. Waggoner had made on those who attended the General Conference session of 1888, through the editorial positions that he held after 1888, and by his ability as a speaker.[2] After 1888, particularly in the early 1890s, Ellen White seemed to have no hesitation in stating that both Jones and Waggoner had been used by the Lord. In 1888, W. C. White had called Jones "a young giant."[1]

---

[1] Jones is often referred to below as representative of those persons who were aligned to a christocentric model of organization. The term "christocentric model," is used in distinction from the term "eschatological-missiological model." The latter designation is used to describe the form of organization which arose from the theological presuppositions of those allied with Daniells. Daniells's name is used more than any other as a representative of that group. The reason for the choice of terminology is explained in the text.

[2] George R. Knight has written a biographical account of Jones's life and ministry in From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones. Not only was Jones a popular speaker, but for a period he was editor of three of the church's most influential publications. From 1885 to 1889, he was co-editor of Signs of the Times with E. J. Waggoner; from 1887 to 1897, he was editor or co-editor of the American Sentinel: and from 1897 until 1901, he was editor-in-chief of the RH. Before Jones became editor of the leading publication in the denomination, the RH, he had a "conviction" that "at some time" he would "be head of the 'Review and Herald'"--a matter which seemed "very clear" to the members of the General Conference Committee. That he was able to fulfill the expectations of those who appointed him to the position was assured when Irwin reported to Ellen White early in 1898 that the RH had "gained over two thousand [subscriptions] since Elder Jones became connected with it." He added that subscribers were "much better pleased with the general tone of the paper" (G. A. Irwin to Ellen G. White, 13 October 1897, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr; G. A. Irwin to Ellen G. White, 30 January 1898, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr). Between 1888 and 1901 Jones wrote at least 534 articles which were published in the RH. In addition he prepared sermons, books, pamphlets, and many other articles which were published in other denominational publications. "Review and Herald Research," [Published articles of A. T. Jones, 1888-1901], SDAHC-AU.

Righteousness by faith and the meaning of "law" in Galatians had not been the only topics of interest to Jones in 1888. Towards the end of that year, he first represented the Seventh-day Adventist Church before the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor in an effort to defeat the passage of legislation which proposed that Sunday be a national rest day. The bill, which had been sponsored by Senator H. W. Blair, was considered by Seventh-day Adventists and other sabbatarians as a serious threat to their religious liberty. Jones proved himself an able exponent of the principles of religious liberty. During the 1890s no other person in the denomination so ably represented that cause.[2]

It was not surprising, therefore, that at the 1897 session of the General Conference, Jones was appointed as a member of the executive committee. But it was not only his interest in the theology of righteousness by faith or the principle of religious liberty that motivated Jones to accept that appointment. He had developed a perspective on the nature of the church which required that the structures of the church reflect certain theological presuppositions. So strong were Jones's convictions with regard to his understanding of the church that, when at the end of 1899 he became convinced that the denomination had little intention of making an attempt to reorganize its administrative structures in line with his conceptions, he resigned his position on the General Conference executive committee. He was willing to rejoin the committee only after the reforms of the 1901 General Conference session had been made.

---

[1] Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister [J. H.] Kellogg, ca. January 1893, Letter 86a, 1893, EGWB-AU; W. C. White to S. N. Haskell, 21 June 1888, LB C, EGWO-DC. Compare Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, 71-73.

[2] Ibid., 75-88.

Jones was never afraid to hold and to state his convictions in a particularly forthright manner. Even so, it was not only the manner in which he communicated, but the content of his preaching and writing that gave him such influence. While some may contend that it was a faulty trait of character that eventually caused him to turn away from the church--and that contention should not be dismissed altogether--it should be recognized that it was more the strength of Jones's theological conviction which compelled him to oppose what he perceived to be abuses of the New Testament doctrine of the church.[1] It was his contention that the system of organization that was being developed in the Seventh-day Adventist Church did not sufficiently take into account theological principles derived from the New Testament.

Together with Waggoner and Prescott, Jones was anxious that a set of theological principles which arose from consideration of the priesthood of believers, the headship of Christ, the church as the body of Christ, and spiritual gifts should determine the form of organization. He concentrated on those theological images which emphasized the universal nature of the church. His understanding of soteriology was foundational to his ecclesiological scheme. In fact, Waggoner and he endeavored to move the Seventh-day Adventist Church toward a theological understanding of the church that was more ontological than functional.[1]

---

[1] Ibid., 12, 159, 176-79, 192.

Given the influence of White, Jones, Waggoner, and Prescott, many significant changes took place at the 1897 session. The first was the election of a new General Conference president, George A. Irwin. Irwin had enjoyed a meteoric rise through the ranks of the administration of the church. He had become a Seventh-day Adventist only twelve years before in 1885. By 1889 he was president of the Ohio conference, in 1895 had been appointed president of District Two, and in 1897 was elected president of the General Conference.[2]

The second significant development in 1897 was an action "that Union Conferences be organized in Europe and America, as soon as deemed advisable, and that these Union Conferences hold biennial sessions, alternating with the General Conference."[3] However there is no record of any discussion of this plan and it must be assumed that its significance was not taken seriously enough on the floor of the session.

The third action was taken with reference to a proposal that "the General Conference territory be divided into three grand divisions." These divisions were to be "the United States and British North America," "Europe," and "Australasia." Each was to be known as a "General Conference." The remaining territory was to be supervised by the mission board. Very little discussion apart from some fine tuning of the territorial divisions was undertaken, and any questions were "answered to the satisfaction of the meeting."[1] In line with this recommendation, presidents were chosen for each of the three "General Conferences." Further, it was decided that the "presidency of the General Conference, the presidency of the Mission Board, and the presidency of the General Conference work in North America, be placed on three different men."[2] In actual fact, although a separate president was chosen for the Foreign Mission Board, one man--George Irwin--was chosen to be president of the General Conference and the newly created "General Conference work in North America.

---

[1] See chapter 4 below.

[2] SDA Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Irwin, George A."

[3] GC Bulletin, 1897, 215. When at the 1901 session the delegates representing the Southern field presented the first memorial requesting that a district be organized into a union conference, they referred to this proposal that had been adopted at the 1897 session. See GC Bulletin, 1901, 67.

The fourth action apparently engendered the most discussion, yet it was to prove the least advisable of all. The proposal was made that the headquarters of the Mission Board be moved to "some Atlantic State," from there to care for all mission funds and "all mission fields not included in the three grand divisions." Discussion, however, was not on the concept of moving--all seemed agreed that this was the most appropriate way to decentralize--nor was it on the new organizational concept that the organized territory of the General Conference was to have no jurisdiction nor administrative interest in most of the world's area and population. The major point of discussion was whether the new location of the Foreign Mission Board should be Chicago or, as the proposal recommended, on the Atlantic.[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin, 1897, 215.

[2] Ibid.

Other proposals passed at the 1897 session were the expansion of the executive committee to thirteen and the discontinuation of the book committee. In the record of the session, these proposals were preceded by a preamble which stated:

> In consideration of the rapid extension and varied character of the work of the General Conference, we acknowledge the inconsistency which has been so clearly pointed out to us, of centering so many responsibilities at Battle Creek, and having so many matters of a varied character, and relating to the work in widely different localities, submitted for consideration to a few men who largely compose our General Conference committees and boards. We also see that it is not wise to choose one man to preside over the varied interests and extensive territory of the General Conference.[2]

Despite sharp rebukes from the pen of Ellen White, and perhaps even the best intentions to the contrary, administrative bodies overseeing the church and its auxiliary organizations had been continuing to centralize. But in 1897 the church demonstrated that it was willing to try to solve the problem. Reporting the "doings of the conference" afterwards, G. C. Tenney said that the delegates felt as they approached the session that "some decisive steps must be taken to obviate" the "growing" tendency toward centralization.[3]

Tenney also noted that the subject of authority

> received considerable attention. . . . It was clearly demonstrated that there is no rightful authority but that which comes from God; that each one is accountable directly to him for the use of his talents; and that while organization for the purpose of concerted

---

[1] Ibid., 215, 230.

[2] Ibid., 215.

[3] G. C. Tenney, "Doings of the Conference," RH, 16 March 1897, 169.

> action is proper, the control of one man's mind or strength by another man is opposed to the principles of the gospel.[1]

It was the presence of W. C. White and the preaching of A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and W. W. Prescott which shaped the discussion of the principles of organization. It seemed that at the 1897 General Conference session, more than at any session since 1888, the principles of the gospel were being discussed. The difference was that now they were being discussed in the context of organizational reform.

1898-1900

The European Union

In response to the call for decentralization and the organization of union conferences in Europe and North America "as soon as deemed advisable," a European Union Conference was organized the following year.[2] At meetings held in Hamburg, Germany, in July 1898, under the chairmanship of G. A. Irwin, president of the General Conference in North America, a union conference organization was initiated in Europe. O. A. Olsen, former president of the General Conference, was "appointed" president. An executive committee of five was chosen. Apparently the European constituency had the prerogative to elect their own executive committee, but they were not given the authority to elect the president of the union. He remained accountable to the General Conference in North America.[1]

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1897, 215.

Although the 1897 General Conference session had established three General Conferences, it was still understood that the president in North America held priority as far as administration of the world church was concerned. There may have been some lingering pockets of concern that too much independence was being given to the new "General Conferences" in Europe and Australia. There had been talk of secession when the Australasian Union was organized in 1894, and there was probably the same talk when the European Union was organized in 1898.[2]

The Financial Predicament

Despite the innovations of 1897 it very quickly became obvious that the changes that had been made were insufficient to cope with the grave administrative problems at denominational headquarters in Battle Creek with their ramifications for the whole denomination. Nowhere was that predicament more keenly felt than by those who were attempting to maintain equity in the treasury.

The expansion and multiplication of institutions, the growing missionary contingent, and the maintenance of church structures had placed immense financial pressure on the General Conference. The division of the territory of the General Conference into districts had divided the financial priorities of conference administrators. Both administrators and church members were becoming more localized in their outlook as the 1890s progressed.

---

[1] For an outline of the history of organization in Europe, see L. R. Conradi, "Development of a General Organization in Europe," RG 21, 1920 Conradi L. R. Folder, GCAr. The appointment of the president at these early Union sessions was really a formality. The presidents of Europe and Australasia had been appointed, in fact, by the General Conference session as presidents of the General Conference for the respective territories and were probably not elected as such by the constituency.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1913, 108.

Olsen had recalled in 1896 that, beginning in 1892, funds were more freely contributed to the General Conference "than had ever been received before." Then followed the General Conference of 1893, that "remarkable meeting" at which it was "first advocated that the latter rain had commenced" and that Seventh-day Adventists were proclaiming their message with "a loud voice." Subsequently, the years 1893 and 1894 were most "favorable" years and so much was given that Olsen recollected that they "had an abundance for everything that was needed to advance the cause," so much so that at times they "were perplexed how to properly care for the money" that was on hand. Olsen lamented, however, that "from that time on things have been going the other way."[1]

The financial depression which had begun in 1893 had aggravated the situation. Even though, according to Olsen, the effects of that depression were not fully realized in 1893 and 1894, they were being felt in 1896 and 1897. Not only was that the case in the United States but right around the world. Olsen described the economic climate in North America in 1896 as being "just about as bad as it possibly can be."[1] In Australia heroic efforts were being made to establish the Avondale School for Christian workers despite a recession which had been described by Ellen White as early as 1893.[2]

---

[1] O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, 30 August 1896, RG 11, LB 16, GCAr. The records of the period 1892-94 do not paint quite the rosy picture that Olsen seems to recall. In October 1894, for instance, Olsen himself had called the attention of the General Conference Committee to the "very grave financial problems" that were being faced by the General Conference at that time. GCC Min, 16 October 1894, RG 1, GCAr.

When Irwin assumed the presidency in 1897, he had to face the financial predicament immediately. Within a few weeks the situation was so desperate that he wrote to N. W. Allee that the General Conference was "living from hand to mouth, so to speak." He told Allee that "some days we get in two or three hundred dollars, and other days we have nothing." On the particular day that he was writing, he lamented that the treasury was "practically empty," even though there were at that time "a number of calls for means."[3]

In a circular letter to all conference presidents written the next day, Irwin quoted a statement regarding the desperate situation of the General Conference from I. H. Evans, who was at the time president of the General Conference Association and was later to be the treasurer of the General Conference. The statement read:

> Our finances are in a very embarrassing state. . . . On our audit of last year we have overdrawn on the Review and Herald

---

[1] In 1896 Olsen wrote to Prescott that "the general financial condition of this country is just about as bad as it possibly can be. The presidential campaign is aggravating the situation, making it worse than it otherwise would be. The daily papers give a doleful aspect of the outlook. One firm after another, of long standing, and powerful in strength are [sic] going to the wall. Three out of five banks in Lansing, Mich., have recently closed. Everything seems to be in a very shaky condition. So far our institutions have stood the strain remarkably, and I hope that, in the good providence of God, they will be preserved from being humiliated before the world" (O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, 30 August 1896, RG 11, LB 16, GCAr).

[2] See Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister [J. H.] Kellogg, ca. January 1893, Letter 86a, EGWB-AU.

[3] G. A. Irwin to N. W. Allee, 5 May 1897, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr.

> $12,500. We have on our list of audits unpaid over $5000 [sic], so that we owe on last year's work nearly $18,000.[1]

The seriousness of the situation can only be properly understood in the light of Evans's continuing remarks:

> We have paid as little to our workers this year--since January--as possible. Many have not enough to live on and are in most embarrassing circumstances. . . . We must have at least $44,000.00 per annum more than we have been receiving, as we have nearly $15,000.00 interest on notes we owe the brethren.[2]

Despite concerted effort by General Conference leaders, the situation did not improve substantially. While there were some periods when the predicament was not as desperate as it was at other times, at all times the situation was out of control. The financial statement for 1899 showed that at the beginning of that year the General Conference had only $55.33 cash on hand. The same report showed that by 1 October of the same year there was an operating deficit of $9,529.74.[3] At the beginning of 1901 the General Conference was $41,589.11 in deficit. In August the deficit was still $39,600. It comprised a debt to the General Conference Association ($14.000), an unspecified loan ($3,000), debts to depositors ($6,600), wages due to laborers for 1900 ($6,000), and wages due to laborers from 1 January to 30 June 1901 ($10,000).[1]

---

[1] G. A. Irwin to W. M. Healey, 6 May 1897, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr.

[2] Ibid. In the same letter Irwin announced that the General Conference committee had set apart "May 29 and 30 as special days of fasting and prayer," and then added that the special day of spiritual refreshing would be "closing with a donation for the benefit of the General Conference." In July it was recorded in the minutes of the General Conference executive committee that a minister by the name of Goodrich working in Quebec had actually not received any wages for a full year. GCC Min, 27 July 1897, RG 1, GCAr.

[3] GCC Min, 10 October 1899, RG 1, GCAr.

Because of the chronic shortage of operating capital, nothing was being done to repay debts that had been incurred in order to establish various institutions. Percy Magan, who realized that part of the problem lay in the ease with which institutions borrowed money and the ease with which church members lent it to them, charged that "all our institutions" had been in "the borrowing business." He advocated that it was time for them "to quit" borrowing. But not only were institutions to cease borrowing: church members were to cease dabbling in "the lending business." Had the members not been "in the lending business," then it was certain that the institutions "would never have been in the borrowing business."[2]

In October 1900, when the plan to sell Christ's Object Lessons in order to relieve the debts of the educational institutions was suggested, it was estimated that the combined debt of the educational institutions alone was approximately $350,000.[3] A. G. Daniells further estimated that at that time the debt of all North American institutions combined came to over one million dollars. At the session of 1901 he said: "We talk about great indebtedness in America. We have large debts. We owe in America $1,250,000 on our institutions. That is a large indebtedness."[1]

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to Members of the General Conference Committee, 2 August 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr. See also A. G. Daniells to J. E. Jayne, 3 August 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

[2] Percy T. Magan, "Denominational Debts," RH, 11 April 1899, 235-36.

[3] GCC Min, 16 October 1900, RG 1, GCAr.

The situation overseas was equally critical. The work in Australia was struggling. Avondale School for Christian Workers was being established and efforts were being made to establish a major sanitarium in Sydney. In South Africa it was lamented that the conference had over-extended its capacity to operate institutions. The Wessells family had generously invested money from the sale of their property in the construction of institutions for which there was no longer sufficient income, nor a large enough church constituency to support such expansive undertakings.

The greatest crisis occurred in Scandinavia. Christiana Publishing House had borrowed heavily in order to operate its business. When O. A. Olsen wrote to the General Conference in 1899, he pointed out that while economic conditions were favorable in the early part of the decade, Christiana had increased its floating debt considerably. He reminded the officers that at times Christiana had even undertaken to advance wages and other expenses on behalf of the Foreign Mission Board and the General Conference. Olsen explained, however, that the funds to do that had been obtained by adding to the floating debt of the institution, as the publishing house "did not have the money at hand." The workers were supplied with their needs, and the publishing house fully expected "to be reimbursed by the General Conference." Olsen tried to lay the blame for the situation at the feet of the General Conference in order to receive from them the needed funds. Probably some of the blame should have been assigned there, but there were other mitigating factors.[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin, 1901, 76.

The General Conference apparently did accept some responsibility for the situation, but since there were no funds of any kind available to help Christiana, a special appeal had to be made to the churches in the United States. At the 1901 session of the General Conference, Daniells, W. C. White, and Olsen each made impassioned appeals on the basis of the principle of helping those in trouble. Neither Daniells nor Olsen made any reference to the possibility of mismanagement. White referred to the possibility that some were thinking that "those people over there" were "largely to blame for the trouble" that they were in. But he contended that such was not the point at all. Despite whoever was responsible, the duty of Christians was to aid those in dire situations. Were they to think as business men or as Christians? If Christians, then they should be willing to save others from the "results of their mistakes."[2]

In 1903 when the crisis at Christiana had been averted through the generosity of the churches in the United States, it was admitted that the situation had been brought about by mismanagement. At the General Conference session in that year, L. R. Conradi stated unequivocally that "things were not well managed in Christiana" and that the real situation was "well known."[3] In a statement on 3 March 1903, Daniells lamented that the church had "to pay the debts of bad management." What aggravated Daniells even further was that even when the denomination had repaid some $66,000 there was nothing to show for it--"not a dollar's worth of property in return."[1]

---

[1] O. A. Olsen to the Members of the General Conference Committee, Foreign Mission Board, and the G. C. Association, 20 September 1899, RG 9, LB 6, GCAr.

[2] Sten 1901, 20 April 1901, 3 p.m., RG 0, GCAr, 76, 81, 93, 98.

[3] Sten 1903, 11 April 1903, 7 p.m., RG 0, GCAr.

There was no single reason for the continuing financial crisis during the 1890s. As was the case with the Christiana Publishing House, it might be charged that the basis of the whole problem was bad management. But if it was bad management, it was not confined only to those in positions of financial responsibility. Veteran pastor, missionary, evangelist, and leader, Stephen Haskell, had a "policy of reaching out on borrowed capitol [_sic_] and then pressing for means to relieve the strain every little while." That policy "about discouraged" the churches where he was working.[2] In reference to another situation, the manager of the Pacific Press lamented, somewhat later, that a serious financial problem "might all have been avoided had brother Haskell been a little more explicit."[3]

Even General Conference presidents had some unfortunate business attitudes. In an executive committee meeting in 1895, O. A. Olsen explained the policy of the General Conference regarding the progress of the work.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells, [No title], 3 March 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr, 477. Daniells reflected: "Two years ago we had sixty thousand dollars to raise on the Christiana debt. All but six thousand five hundred dollars of this amount has been donated. The last payment is to be made next July. . . . But after paying this $66,000 to the banks and business houses of Christiana there are still two mortgages on the building covering its entire value. So we have nothing but the honor of being honest in return for this great sum. How much sixty-six thousand dollars would have helped the cause in the mission field if it could have been used for fresh work instead of being used to pay the debts of bad management for which we have not a dollars worth of property in return."

[2] R. C. Porter to O. A. Olsen, 22 January 1892, RG 9, O. A. Olsen Folder 1, GCAr.

[3] C. H. Jones to O. A. Olsen, 26 June 1894, RG 9, O. A. Olsen Folder 3, GCAr.

> Faith and not sight, is the policy of the General Conference. . . . It has not been the policy of the General Conference to wait until funds were in sight for supporting a work before entering upon it.[1]

Olsen substantiated his attitude by quoting a statement made by Ellen White and published only a few days earlier. She had said that the work should be pushed forward without "waiting to see the funds in the treasury" before it was undertaken. "God forbid," she continued, "that when his providence summons us to enter the fields white already to harvest, our steps should be retarded by the cry, 'Our treasury is exhausted.'"[2]

In 1897, having just assumed the presidency, Irwin stated that "while he believed that we should adhere to business principles as closely as possible," he considered that it would be "detrimental to the best interests of the work to adopt a worldly policy." What he meant was that it was not necessary to have money before spending it. For him faith was to "play an important part" in all that was done. He quoted exactly the same statement from Ellen White that Olsen had read almost two years earlier.[3]

A few weeks later, Irwin wrote to Daniells, noting that the

---

[1] GCC Min, 19 July 1895, RG 1, GCAr.

[2] Ibid. See also Ellen G. White, Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers-No. 3 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1895), 50-51.

[3] GCA Pro, 15 March 1897, RG 3, GCAr.

"financial situation" had become "very perplexing." He was sure that a "wrong policy has been pursued until we are reaping the results."[1] But he did not seem to be aware of exactly which policy was the wrong one. Irwin could discern the situation but he could not understand the problem nor propose a solution.

Even Daniells, after becoming General Conference president, spoke against conferences holding money in reserve. He said that he knew of conferences that had "from one to ten thousand dollars in their treasuries," but he did not believe that it was right to keep money in reserve when it was urgently needed. He believed that the time was coming when no conference would feel free to hold money in reserve. He was hopeful that the people would have such compassion on those in "regions beyond" that they would gladly give every surplus dollar to such needy enterprises "without delay."[2] It is somewhat difficult to reconcile Daniells's insistence that conferences not hold reserves with his insistence that they should not go into debt.

The rationale for these financial policies is not difficult to discover. In 1891, when answering the charge that more was being attempted by the General Conference than could be managed, Olsen replied,

> We are entrusted with a great and important work,--a message to every kindred, tongue, and people, and there certainly is no time to retrench and delay. The harvest is fast being ripened for the day of God, and the wheat must be garnered for the kingdom of God. The chaff will soon be given to the flames. May we all sense the

---

[1] G. A. Irwin to A. G. Daniells, 21 June 1897, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr.

[2] A. G. Daniells to H. R. Johnson, 17 July 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

> responsibility of the present now, and quit ourselves like men. In a short time the labor will be over, the world warned, the work accomplished, and God's remnant people made ready to meet their Lord.[1]

Irwin similarly had an eschatological foundation for his financial policy. While it was his intention to be as economical as possible in the management of the work, that policy could only be adhered to as it was "consistent with as rapid an extension of the work as the nearness of the end demands."[2]

Meanwhile, Daniells, who was in Australia in the late 1890s, was endeavoring to abide by the "no-debt" policy which was to be the mark of his General Conference administration and the spark which ignited the clashes with Kellogg in 1902-1904. He admitted a certain discomfort with his position, however. He feared that rigidly adhering to a "no-debt" policy could be retarding progress by "putting on the brakes" on expenditure. He wrote to Olsen that with his horror of debts and a fear of doing wrong by putting on the brakes, he had "for a long time been much worried and perplexed."[3]

Daniells, Olsen, and Irwin all took what may be considered to be some unwise financial positions because they were driven by an eschatological vision and a sense of mission. Financial conservatism was very difficult to reconcile with such a view.

---

[1] O. A. Olsen, "An Appeal in Behalf of Foreign Missions," RH. 29 September 1891, 602. See also O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 9 December 1895, RG 11, LB 14a, GCAr.

[2] G. A. Irwin to W. M. Healey, 6 May 1897, RG 11, LB 18, GCAr.

[3] A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, 2 August 1895, RG 9, O. A. Olsen Folder 4, GCAr.

Missionary Activity

The inability of the denomination to financially support its growth was having an effect on its whole missionary enterprize. It has not been often realized that in the last five years of the nineteenth century there was the slackening of missionary activity by the denomination. At the 1899 General Conference session, Allen Moon, president of the Foreign Mission Board reported that

> during the last two years we have opened up no new work in any part of the world. It has been an impossibility. There have been demands for opening the work in China. That work ought to have been opened a year ago, yet we have been utterly unable to do anything toward opening it.[1]

Not only were the financial and administrative crises at home having an effect on the church's ability to commence work in new areas, but they were preventing the placement of new missionaries in the field. Between 1895 and 1900 the number of missionaries being sent from the shores of North America decreased markedly in comparison to the increasing number during the first half of the decade. In 1895, one hundred missionaries were sent from the United States to twenty-nine countries. In each succeeding year, the number was reduced until, at the General Conference session in 1901, the president of the Foreign Mission Board reported that "during the present board's administration" [two years], only sixty-eight new workers had been sent to foreign fields. He added that twenty-three had been returned for "various reasons."[2]

---

[1] GC Bulletin, 1899, 73.

[2] Since the term of the Mission Board was two years, in this case, 1899-1901, approximately 34 new missionaries (men, women, and adult children) had been sent out in each of the years 1899 and 1900.

The failure to commence any new work between 1897 and 1899 and the decrease in the number of missionaries being sent abroad between 1895 and 1900 does not appear to have been the result of any marked decrease in the church's eschatological or missiological vision.[1] Indeed, the effects of the discussion of righteousness by faith and the renewed vision which it produced for many of the church leaders

---

GC Bulletin. 1901, 96. The figures for the years previous to that were, 1888, 23; 1889, 23; 1890, 12; 1891, 33; 1892, 18; 1893, 86; 1894, 62; 1895, 100; 1896, 64; 1897, 43; 1898, 33. "Missionaries Sent Out by the General Conference, and Foreign Mission Board of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," RG 21, Correspondence: Missionaries Sent Abroad--1918 Folder, GCAr.

[1] Borge Schantz has contended that the primary motivation for mission in Ellen White's writings was "the great commission." He also recognizes, love, mercy, pity, and eschatology as motives, and lists the saving of individual souls, the planting of churches, the warning of the world and glory to God as goals for mission in Ellen White. He does not demonstrate adequately the relationship between the eschatological motive and the way in which the great commission was interpreted by Ellen White and the Seventh-day Adventist Church contemporary with her. Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 556-627. There was in the 1890s some innovation with respect to social concern as part of the Adventist outreach program. It was known as "Christian help work." Ellen G. White, "Work for the Fallen," MS 14a, 1897, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Gilbert Collins, 9 June 1897, Letter 33, 1897, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "Come up to the Help of the Lord," MS 71, 1898, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to A. J. Sanderson, 29 August 1898, Letter 68, 1898, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Mrs A. E. Wessels, 1 December 1898, Letter 111, 1898, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to John H. Kellogg, 6 January 1899, Letter 4, 1899, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Iowa Conference, 28 August 1902, Letter 136, 1902, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to J. Edson White, 6 May 1908, Letter 140, 1908, EGWB-AU. John Harvey Kellogg was particularly concerned with the need for a heightened social concern among Seventh-day Adventists. General Conference Bulletin Published Quarterly. October 1895. 569. Although he himself may not have been so much motivated by an eschatological consciousness, others saw the alleviation of social ills as a vital part of the message that they were supposed to be proclaiming even though its ultimate goal was eschatological. Ellen G. White to Peter Wessels, 17 February 1897, Letter 116, 1897, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "True Christianity," MS 60, 1897, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "The Work for Today," MS 17, 1898, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to the Brethren in Battle Creek, 6 June 1898, Letter 51, 1898, EGWB-AU.

should have added greater impetus to the missionary enterprize. A more likely explanation for the problems is that the centralized organization as it existed was just not able to cope financially and administratively with its missionary enterprise. The existence of those problems may indicate that the impetus for reorganization came not only from the constraints placed upon the church by its expansion, but also from a concern that unless organizational changes were made, the church may not be able to fulfill its perceived commission and consequently, cease to have a legitimate reason for existence.[1]

---

[1] The missionary program was being stifled because decisions which should have been made by "those on the ground" had to be referred to Battle Creek. See W. A. Spicer to A. G. Daniells, 5 October 1893, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 2, GCAr; W. C. White to D. A. Robinson, 3 August 1896, LB 10, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to E. H. Gates, 23 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr. In his letter to D. A. Robinson, White focused on the dilemma caused by centralization. In reference to a "pioneer to a new mission field," he said: "If he consults with the Board in everything he will be forced sometimes to vary from instruction. If he does not consult them he will get the credit of moving independently. Whichever way he does, he will wish he had done the other." In a letter to Percy Magan, W. C. White said that "mother has been cautioned not to give sanction to any arrangement in connection with this [missionary] enterprise by which one class of men or of institutions shall lay binding restrictions upon another class of men or institutions; that His servants in one part of the world should not dictate to or lay restrictions upon His servants in another part of the great harvest field" (W. C. White to Percy T. Magan, 8 March 1900, LB 15, EGWRC). Records indicate that the church continued to enter countries in which it had never established itself previously. Between 1896 and 1900, eight new countries were "entered." In 1895 alone, however, official representatives of the Seventh-day Adventist Church had commenced to work in ten countries. Simply listing the countries in which work has been established has always been a preferred method of ascertaining the global impact of Seventh-day Adventist work. That such is not necessarily a reliable manner in which to indicate the health of the missionary enterprise is demonstrated in the records of the late 1890s when the establishment of new work in eight countries did not give any indication that the rate of growth of the foreign missionary enterprize had slowed by some 66 percent. See "Illuminating Statistical Facts: No. 8--Countries Entered," RG 29, Claude F. Conrad Collection, GCAr; Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist

ASTR Research Center Library

General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

Daniells realized that such a situation confronted the church as he visited Africa and Europe on his way to the 1901 General Conference session. In August 1900, while in Europe, he wrote to W. C. White that

> my heart is filled with interest that I can not [sic] express in behalf of these foreign fields, and I sincerely hope that the next session of the General Conference will rise to the high and important position it should take in behalf of these countries. . . . I see much to encourage us, and some things that need careful management in the way of reorganization. . . . In all these places I have secured all the details I can regarding the work, the same as I did in Africa, and shall arrange these data for future use if needed.[1]

Change was needed not only to accommodate the growth of the past but to facilitate growth in the future.

Stalemate

Despite the promise of the 1897 General Conference session, the next four years saw little overt development of organizational reform at the General Conference. Although Irwin anticipated the 1899 General Conference session by announcing that "this particular

---

Missionary Thought," 777-80; and "The Political Divisions of the World," (report prepared by the Office of Archives and Statistics, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists), RG 29, GCAr. It should be noted that there are some variations between the different sources. For purposes of this dissertation, the statistics quoted have been taken from the last-named source. However, even if either of the other sources is quoted, the argument regarding the impact of the slowing of growth is not affected.

[1] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 23 August 1900, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC. With reference to South Africa Daniells wrote, "I think the African conference should . . . reorganize the work and adopt a progressive policy which would be calculated to extend the message in all parts of the field" (A. G. Daniells to G. A. Irwin, 31 July 1900, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 2, GCAr). See also A. G. Daniells to E. H. Gates, 23 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to Edith Graham, 24 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr.

meeting" would be the "most important of all such meetings ever held," and that the church was "in greater peril" than ever before, there appears to have been a stalemate as far as progress toward reorganization was concerned.[1] Since it was his first General Conference session as chairman, Irwin appeared to be more concerned with matters of procedure than with grappling with a solution to the issues that were sapping the life blood from the church.[2]

That does not mean that there was no discussion of the need for reorganization at the 1899 General Conference session, however. Jones, Waggoner, and Prescott brought the matter to the attention of the session in an effort to continue the momentum towards reorganization initiated in 1897. Speaking of the grave financial predicament that had just been described by Allen Moon, president of the Foreign Mission Board, Jones asked: "Do you think that we, as a General Conference, shall begin to revolutionize a certain board?" Implying that such an action would be insufficient to remedy the situation he answered, "Let the General Conference first be revolutionized."[1]

---

[1] G. A. Irwin, "The Coming General Conference," RH, 7 February 1899, 90.

[2] See G. A. Irwin to A. G. Daniells, 10 November 1898, RG 11, LB 19, GCAr. Irwin appears to have been dependent on Ellen White insofar as relatively insignificant details were concerned. Yet with regards to important principles, Irwin was not in the habit of writing to her very often. Reference to Irwin's letter books while he was president of the General Conference reveals that often many months would elapse with no letter from Irwin to Ellen White. This was in marked contrast to the correspondence habits of Olsen and Daniells. Perhaps part of the reason was that Irwin was a relatively new Seventh-day Adventist and had not been enculturated in the same way that Butler, Olsen, and, later, Daniells had been. Another factor could have been that Ellen White had been out of the country for six years by the time Irwin assumed the presidency. He had only been a Seventh-day Adventist for twelve years. An example of a comparatively unnecessary dependency was Irwin's inability to decide where the 1899 General Conference session should be held. Even though Ellen White was in Australia he felt that he had to wait for her decision before broadcasting the venue. In a letter written to her on 10 November 1898, he requested that she give advice as to where the next General Conference should be held. At that stage, the session was scheduled to begin in only two months. The next day he wrote to Olsen that the session would be held in South Lancaster, Mass., "unless," referring to any directive that may still come from Ellen White, "we receive something from Australia to change it." G. A. Irwin to Ellen G. White, 10 November 1898, RG 11, LB 19, GCAr; and G. A. Irwin to O. A. Olsen, 11 November 1898, RG 11, LB 19, GCAr.

Jones's call for reorganization was accompanied by a call for individual repentance on the part of the leaders of the denomination. Reorganization was not only a corporate function but also an individual necessity. He exhorted the delegates that "there is a dearth of means and there will be a dearth of means just as surely as those who are connected with the work of God neglect to humble their hearts. They must fall on the Rock, or that Rock will fall on them, and grind them to powder."[2]

Following an extended season of prayer in which it is recorded that A. T. Jones, G. A. Irwin, J. H. Morrison, O. A. Olsen, Allen Moon, L. A. Hoopes, I. H. Evans, A. J. Breed, S. H. Lane, and A. F. Ballenger prayed, Waggoner took the floor and made an appeal for organizational reform. He was supported by Prescott and Jones. Although the discussion of organization and matters connected with it occupied the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth business meetings of the session, no significant actions relative to organization were taken at the 1899 session, however.[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1899, 74.

[2] Ibid. Waggoner was even more specific. He maintained that "all there is to it [organization] is for each individual to give himself over to the Lord, and then the Lord will do with him just as he wants to, and that all the time" (ibid., 86).

Reflecting on the business meetings in which organization was discussed, the Review and Herald later reported that no one who was present on that "great day, February 22," could forget the sight of "the whole General Conference . . . upon its knees before God in confession and prayer for forgiveness." Reformation had been called for at the session. But even though reformation had been discussed at that time, Jones, who was at that time editor of the church paper, pointed out that it had not been fully accomplished. According to him, repentance and confession alone "did not cleanse the machinery of the General Conference from the false principles and wrong practices that through the years had been woven in."[2] There was a more thorough work of reorganization to be effected.

Retrospectively, A. G. Daniells also recognized that the 1899 General Conference session had not made the progress toward reorganization that could have been made if the momentum had continued. Although supportive of G. A. Irwin, Daniells conceded that he was not the man to initiate radical changes. Writing to Edith Graham, the treasurer of the Australasian Union in 1901, he observed:

> The last two years [1899 and 1900] have been very trying to Brother Irwin. He has felt that his hands were so tied that he could not effect the changes and reform that he knew ought to be made. When the message came [in the college library address given

---

[1] Ibid., 73-77, 82-83, 85-94.

[2] [A. T. Jones], "Reformation Called For," RH, 4 April 1899, 217. A. T. Jones was editor of the RH at the time of the 1899 session. The editorial policy of the RH would therefore have reflected his perspectives on organization.

> by Ellen White in 1901] that there must be an entire reorganization, he felt great relief, and did all any man could do to assist in that work.[1]

The first General Conference session of the new century was to bring the far-reaching reorganization that had been anticipated by some and feared by others for more than a decade.

The 1901 General Conference Session

The Call for Reorganization

The day before the opening of the thirty-fourth session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in 1901, Ellen White was invited to meet with a group of church leaders assembled in the library at Battle Creek College. The meeting was called in order to discuss the need for urgent and critical analysis of the organizational structures in the church. Ellen White had not anticipated that she would be the principal speaker to that semi-informal gathering. She had made no attempt to prepare in advance any formal presentation to those assembled.[2] But when the meeting had been called to order and it was clear that she was to be the speaker, she found herself well able to voice her concerns; concerns which she recalled had arisen in the context of events that had "been acted and reacted for the last fifteen years or more."[1] Conscious of the gravity of the situation, she proceeded to take charge of the meeting and immediately appealed for a reorganization of the structures of the denomination.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to Edith Graham, 24 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr.

[2] When A. G. Daniells, chairman of the meeting, indicated that Ellen White was going to be the principal speaker, she retorted, "I did not expect to lead out in this meeting. I thought I would let you lead out and then if I had anything to say, I would say it." Daniells replied, "Well it seemed to me (and I think to all of us who counselled with you this morning) that we had said about as much as we wished to until we had heard from you" ("Talk of Mrs E. G. White, before Representative Brethren, In the College Library, April 1, 1901, 2:30 P.M.," MS 43a, 1901. EGWB-AU, 1). There are a number of extant versions of this College Library Address. The best known version is held by the White Estate as MS 43, 1901. That manuscript was released for publication as Release #1028 in 1983. The White Estate also holds a version which was reported and circulated by Dr John Harvey Kellogg. It is part of MS 43b, 1901, and is a variant of the unpublished MS 43a. The EGWB-AU also holds a copy of MS 43, 1901,

It had been a decade since Ellen White had personally addressed the leaders of the church. She and her son, W. C. White, had just returned from Australia where they had lived for nine years. Although now living on the west coast of the United States, Ellen White had made a special effort to attend the session, in spite of poor health. She was insistent that issues which she perceived as fundamental to the mission of the denomination be addressed and she wanted to be present.[2] So important was her contribution considered to be, that the date of the session had even been postponed some weeks

---

the edited version of the talk, with many interlineations in the handwriting of Ellen White herself. Apparently Ellen White later adapted her remarks given in the College library in order to address problems of a similar nature that arose subsequent to the reorganization of the church. Reorganization was not adequate in itself to solve the problems in the church. Since the released manuscript #1028 is recognized to be an edited version of the original stenographic record, the unedited version quoted above is used consistently throughout this dissertation in order to capture as closely as possible both the sentiments expressed by the speaker and the rhetorical power of her call to the denomination. Since the version being used is an unedited stenographic record of actual speech, no attempt is made to indicate errors in grammar, spelling, or punctuation by the use of "*sic*."

[1] Ibid.

[2] W. C. White to the General Conference Committee, 22 May 1900, RG 11, ST 1898-1900 Folder, GCAr.

in order to allow her to make the journey to Battle Creek when the weather was not quite so cold.[1]

Nevertheless, at the outset of this particular meeting, she admitted that "she would prefer not to speak." She realized the gravity and the controversial nature of the subject being discussed.[2] She was aware that if some form of reorganization were not effected, the administrative structures of the denomination could well collapse. So, with both a hesitancy and a tenacity born of commitment to the message and mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Ellen White proceeded.

Initially she described three broad areas as the context for her concern: (1) the "state of things" in the conferences--leaders did not understand the nature of their responsibility to the church and their influence in the church, (2) the numerical growth and the geographical extension of the missionary endeavor of the church, and (3) the centralization of administrative control in "one mind or two minds or three minds or four minds, or a few minds."[1]

---

[1] In the RH of 6 November 1900, 720, the 1901 General Conference session was advertised as taking place at Oakland, California, "beginning February 10 and closing March 3, 1901." In the RH for 18 December 1900, 816, a new time and place were advertised. The General Conference session was now to be held "in Battle Creek, Mich., April 2-23, 1901." For further discussion as to the reason for the change, see Richard W. Schwarz, "Reorganization and Reform," Adventist Heritage 10 (Spring 1985): 12.

[2] Ellen White did not want her address given in the Battle Creek College library circulated. She felt that what was said could be used to cause embarrassment to some who had been leaders in the church and its auxiliary organizations, and who had been involved in the administrative problems which she was addressing. A. G. Daniells to R. A. Underwood, 21 March 1902, RG 11, LB 26, GCAr.

Having contextualized her concern, Ellen White came to the point. Without hesitation she told the assembled leaders that the work carried on all over the field demanded "an entirely different course of action" than that which had been followed. A new and different foundation was to be laid. She was referring to the administrative structures and methods of the denomination. No longer was it sufficient to give only lip service to the need for change. She chastised her listeners: "When we see that message after message that God has given, has been taken and accepted, but no change--just the same as it was before, then we know that . . . new blood must be brought into the regular lines."[2]

She continued by specifying three necessary changes that would have direct bearing on the organizational structure of the church:

1. The managers of the "regular lines" were to be changed.
2. An "entire new organization" was called for.
3. A committee was to be elected which was not to grant to "half a dozen" a "ruling and controlling power," but which was to be widely representative. It was to include those who had leading responsibilities "in education, medical and other lines of work."[3]

At no time previous to reorganization at the 1901 General Conference session did Ellen White explicitly describe the organizational structures that were needed. While she often referred to broad principles of organization, she did not prescribe structures. The following day at the first business meeting of the 1901 session, she plainly told the delegates that "according to the light that has been given me--_and just how it is to be accomplished I cannot say_--greater strength must be brought into the managing force of the Conference" (emphasis supplied).[1] Principle rather than the prescription of structures was consistently her agenda when she addressed the need and shape of reorganization.

---

[1] White, "College Library Address." This title is used subsequently to refer to the address given in the Battle Creek College library.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Her attitude at the time of the initial organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the early 1860s had been similar.[2] On that occasion, and again leading up to 1901, she spoke in terms of principles, and left to others--in the first instance largely her husband, and in the second, largely her son, W. C. White, and his friend and confidante, A. G. Daniells--the work of applying those principles to specific structural forms. From her perspective it was not, in the first place, the structures which were faulty so much as it was "the principle" that was "wrong." The principles which informed administrative practice had become "mixed up." They were totally foreign to God's "sacred, holy, elevated, ennobling" principles which were supposed to determine the mode of operation "in every institution, in the publishing house, and in all the interests of the General Conference."[3]

---

[1] _GC Bulletin_, 1901, 25.

[2] See Mustard, "James White and Organization," 191-92, 211.

[3] White, "College Library Address."

The demand for change had become urgent. She emphatically declared: "God wants a change . . . right here . . . right now."[1] For her, the urgency for a broad-based reorganization was not merely a human prerogative, even though called forth by crisis, but a divine imperative. In an emotive appeal for the adoption of right principles, she said:

> God help you! I beseech of Him to help you, every one of you, and to help me. I want help. I want strength. I want power. But don't you never quote Sister White. I do not want you to ever quote Sister White until you get up on vantage ground where you know what you are about. So quote the Bible. Take the Bible. It is full of meat, it is full of fatness.[2]

It was not her intention that there be a glossing over of the principles which were the foundation of the imminent reorganization. Nor was it her intention that her own writings form the basis of authority for the change. The word of God was to be the basis of principle. Ellen White intended that a thorough investigation of both the context and the biblical principles form the background for the delineation of structure and its management.

The immediate effect of this gathering in the college library was felt the next morning in the first business meeting of the session. In contrast to the previous day when Ellen White had been reticent to speak, she took the initiative immediately and as soon as G. A. Irwin, the incumbent president of the General Conference had formally opened the session, she stepped to the podium and spoke to the assembled delegation. Her words were clear and pointed:

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

> That these men should stand in the sacred place, to be as the voice of God to the people, as we once believed the General Conference to be--that is past. What we want now is a reorganization. We want to begin at the foundation, and to build upon a different principle.[1]

She made it clear that there should no longer be any "kingly power" in the ranks "to control this or that branch of the work." Rather, she had become convinced that "power and strength must be brought into representative committees through "thorough renovation" and "reorganization." No longer should committees be monopolized by some who "felt free to dictate just what the committee should say and do," claiming that those who did not comply with their dictates "were sinning against Christ." Broad-based representation and decentralization of the decision making process were the keys to building "greater strength" into "the managing force of the conference."[2] Ellen White was careful, however, to stress that decentralization did not mean anarchy. Her calls for representation and decentralization were tempered by the need for unity in the church. In fact she recognized that to a certain extent centralization was necessary for the successful implementation of a world-wide missionary enterprise. That is why, for example, she subsequently supported the integration of the auxiliary organizations into the conference structure of the church. Although that integration was an action which centralized power under the administrative jurisdiction of the General Conference executive committee, it could be rationalized on the basis of its facilitation of the missionary enterprize and the reduction of needless duplication of effort.

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 25.

[2] Ibid., 25-26.

As in her address in the college library the previous day, Ellen White made no attempt to prescribe form. In fact, in reference to the strengthening of the administration of the church, she told the delegates that "just how it is to be accomplished I can not say."[1] Consistently, it was her contention that her role related to principle rather than form. The needed structures were always a function of the principles, and in no case could that dependency be reversed. So committed was Ellen White to the foundational nature of principles which she considered to be consistent with the spiritual nature of the church; and so concerned was she that those principles had been abused by those in positions of responsibility that she had no hesitation in telling the delegates at the session:

> I would rather lay a child of mine in his grave than have him go there [the publishing house] to see these principles mangled and perverted. The principles of heaven are to be carried out in every family, in the discipline of every church, in every institution, in every school, and in everything that shall be managed.[2]

In response to her call for a reorganization based on sound principles, A. G. Daniells took the floor of the session. Reading a prepared statement, he moved that "the usual rites and precedents for arranging and transacting the business of the conference be suspended" and that a representative committee be appointed to coordinate and focus "this matter of reorganization." In concert with Ellen White,

---

[1] Ibid., 25.

[2] Ibid.

Daniells affirmed that the problem had been with "methods and principles" which, he said, "must be swept away." There was to be no vendetta against administrators. Daniells made it clear that the movement to reorganize was "not a condemnation of men as men."[1] Ellen White had not been quite so gentle as Daniells. She wished to protect the confidence and reputation of those who held leading positions in the church, and she gave priority to principles rather than personalities. Nevertheless, she repeatedly chastised specific individuals and addressed personal appeals for change to the leaders of the church . Many of the leaders were recipients of her "testimonies" which often condemned their irresponsible attitudes and activities.

Ellen White's call for reorganization was not an impulsive call. She had been concerned for the church since the Minneapolis General Conference session in 1888. Although events at the 1901 General Conference session may have been pivotal, they were not isolated from a context which necessitated the session's precipitous actions.

Session Actions

Having given the clarion call to reorganization, Ellen White left it to the elected leaders of the church and the delegates at the General Conference session to discuss and delineate the form that reorganization was to take. Earlier, it had been W. C. White who had assumed the leading role in the movement towards organizational reform. Since 1897, however, he had chosen to take a more advisory and consultative role.

---

[1] Ibid., 27-28.

In 1901 it was A. G. Daniells who was the moving force behind the implementation of a reorganized form of church government. He was elected General Conference president at that session. Unlike his predecessors, he had spent the greater part of his ministry previous to his election to the presidency of the General Conference outside the United States. He returned from New Zealand and Australia with a wry sense of humor and an ability to adjust to diverse and difficult persons and situations.[1] More importantly, his missionary experience molded his theological and organizational priorities.

Coupled with an eschatological-missiological viewpoint was Daniells's natural predisposition towards administration and leadership. His strong personality, however, was not always an asset. Even while still in Australia he was reproved on a number of occasions by Ellen White because of his overbearing attitude toward other people.[2] Fortunately, Daniells was disposed to repent of his waywardness.

Nevertheless he often found himself in trouble because of his strong, judgmental attitudes. For example, when he clashed with Kellogg at the crucial annual council of the General Conference executive committee in November 1902, he made the statement that if it were not for the loyalty of the members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, they would never have put up with the burdens "that what we call leaders had loaded upon their backs for the last fifteen years." Kellogg interjected that he considered that Daniells had made "a very unwise and unrighteous statement." In fact he went so far as to call it "an outrageous statement." A little later Daniells was again "unwise," although on that occasion it was apparently in a private conversation with George Butler. Butler recalled that Daniells had called Kellogg a "hypocrite and a Jesuit."[1]

---

[1] W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 13 September 1901, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 2, GCAr. In a letter to W. C. White in 1902 Daniells described a group of ministers as being "like a lot of unbroken colts" (A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 21 April 1902, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC). Writing to I. H. Evans in 1903 he commented, "You know how a flock of geese can not get anywhere without a leader, and I declare, it seems to me that men are worse even than geese, without leadership" (A. G. Daniells to I. H. Evans, 18 January 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr).

[2] Ellen G. White to The Ministers of the Australian Conference, 11 November 1894, Letter 53, 1894, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to Brethren Daniells, Palmer and Colcord, 12 March 1897, Letter 50, 1897, EGWB-AU.

Despite his forthrightness, Daniells's strong personality and sense of organization were the qualities of leadership needed by the church in order to carry it through the turmoil of the early years of the twentieth century. W. C. White may have been the father of reorganization, but A. G. Daniells was the one whose strength of character and commitment to an unswerving purpose made a modified organizational structure a reality in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[2]

---

[1] "Stenographic Record of the Fifty-Second Meeting of the General Conference Committee, 10 A.M., November 16, 1902," RG 1, Documentary Collection, GCAr, 31; G. I. Butler to A. G. Daniells, 19 February 1905, RG 11, 1905-B Folder, GCAr; G. I. Butler to A. G. Daniells, 20 April 1905, RG 11, 1905-B Folder, GCAr.

[2] A. G. Daniells to N. W. Allee, 25 November 1901, RG 11, LB 25, GCAr. When the organization of the Pacific Union Conference was imminent in 1902, it was W. C. White who implored Daniells to be present. See W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 7 February 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 4, GCAr; and W. T. Knox to A. G. Daniells, 6

Under Daniells's leadership and with the backing of Ellen White and W. C. White, changes were made at the 1901 General Conference session which, while they redefined the administrative structures of the church, were also consistent with the principles of organization that had apparently controlled the organization of the denomination in the 1860s.[1] The following recommendations were made by the specially appointed committee which had been given the responsibility of considering the form that reorganization should take:

1. Unions and union missions were to be immediately organized in all parts of the world, wherever possible.[2]
2. The auxiliary organizations were to be discontinued as independent entities and integrated into the conference administrative structure under the direction of the General Conference executive committee. Each was to be a department headed by a departmental secretary. The exception was the International Medical Missionary

---

February 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 5, GCAr. For secondary reference, see F. Donald Yost, "A. G. Daniells: The Making of a General Conference President," Adventist Heritage 6 (Summer 1979): 56-58; John J. Robertson, A. G. Daniells: The Making of a General Conference President, 1901 (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1977).

[1] Gilbert Jorgensen has ably described the 1901 General Conference session and it is not our intention to rehearse all the events of that session here. See Jorgensen, "Administrative Reorganization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists." The events and actions of the 1901 General Conference session are recorded in GC Bulletin, 1901.

[2] See recommendation on organization, number 1, General Conference Quarterly Bulletin, 1901, 501. A full summary of all appointments and resolutions relative to reorganization is found in "General Summary of Organizations and Recommendations as Adopted by the General Conference and the General Conference Committee, April 2 to May 1, 1901," ibid, 499-506.

and Benevolent Association which was to retain its autonomy.[1]

3. The General Conference was no longer to be under the leadership of a single individual but was to be directed by an enlarged General Conference executive committee composed of twenty-five members. The committee was to comprise men representing wide-spread interests although six were to be appointed by the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. The committee was to elect its own chairman--a title which was to replace that of "president of the General Conference."[2]
4. Provision was to be made for the transfer of ownership and management of institutions that had been under General Conference

---

[1] See recommendations on organization, numbers 6 and 9, ibid. There was very little discussion concerning the integration of the auxiliary organizations into the conference structure of the denomination. Certainly, that action which was a centralizing action was not perceived as such by the delegates at the session. Ellen White, W. C. White, and A. G. Daniells had apparently so convinced the session of the viability of the arrangement on the basis of the pattern that had been in operation in Australia for the seven years previous that no discussion was considered necessary. The speech which was probably pivotal was that given by A. G. Daniells (with some helpful interjections by W. C. White) at the fourth meeting of the session, Friday, 5 April 1901. See GC Bulletin. 1901, 89-93. He again addressed the issue in the sixteenth meeting, 12 April 1901, 3:00 P.M. At that time, after again discussing what had been done in Australia, Daniells said: "We talk about the General Conference, but we have never had a General Conference. We have had a North American General Conference, or a North American Union Conference, but we have not had a world's General Conference. In this new arrangement [talking of the integration of departments into the conference structure], it appears to me that we have the broadest, the most efficient, and the most workable General Conference Committee that this denomination has ever had" (ibid., 228-29).

[2] See recommendations on organization, numbers 5, 7, and 8, ibid.

jurisdiction to the respective unions.[1]

5. Provision was made for a more substantial financial base for the missionary enterprize of the church. A fund-sharing plan was commenced.[2]
6. The members of the Foreign Mission Board were to be nominated by the executive committee of the General Conference and elected at the session. Thereafter the administration of mission work was to be under the supervision of the General Conference committee. It was to be left to the committee to decide how long the corporate life of the Foreign Mission Board should be extended.[3]

No departmental structure was established to promote the missionary cause and care for the needs and concerns of missionaries in the field. Rather the General Conference executive committee became an enlarged foreign mission board. A. G. Daniells, having just returned from a protracted period of foreign service, was elected as its chairman, and William Spicer, who had recently returned from mission service in India, was appointed to act as the corresponding secretary.[1]

---

[1] See recommendations on organization numbers 14 and 15, ibid. See also ibid., 232, 281.

[2] See recommendation on organization number 4, General Conference Quarterly Bulletin. 1901, 501; GC Bulletin. 1901, 169-70. See also recommendations on finance, numbers 1-5, General Conference Quarterly Bulletin. 1901, 502; GC Bulletin. 1901, 170-72, 207.

[3] See recommendations on organization numbers 11-13, General Conference Quarterly Bulletin. 1901, 501; GC Bulletin. 1901, 175-80, 201-7, 219, 225-29. The Foreign Mission Board was retained as a legal entity until 1919, but its function had effectively ceased in 1903 following a transition period. Since 1930, a standing committee has been responsible for inter-division appointments. That committee is chaired by the secretary of the General Conference. Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v., "Mission Board."

Missionary Expansion

The immediate result of the action to bring the foreign mission work under the control of the General Conference, and the impact of the presence of Daniells and Spicer can be observed by simply comparing the diminishing number of missionaries leaving the shores of North America between 1895 and 1900 with the dramatic leap in the number of departing missionaries in the years 1901 and 1902. In 1901 alone, 183 new missionaries were sent overseas. Many of these were appointed at the General Conference session in that year.[2] In 1903, the number had fallen again due to the organizational and theological turmoil in the church. However, in an article written for the _Review and Herald_ at the beginning of 1904, W. A. Spicer wrote that sixty laborers had sailed from the United States, and eight others who had been already stationed in Europe went into a pioneering area. Spicer also reported that besides those counted, some had gone to Mexico and Europe as independent, self-supporting workers. He mentioned that it was not the custom of the Foreign Mission Board to list children, although they were certainly wanted in the fields and were counted "as helpers in the missionary campaign."[1]

---

[1] Bruce Bauer has criticized the integration of the congregational and mission structures in the denomination after 1901. He has argued that the contemporary missionary enterprize of the Seventh-day Adventist Church would be better served by the maintenance of a semi-autonomous mission board which would be responsible for the promotion of world mission and the appointment and care of cross-cultural missionaries. See Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures."

[2] See "Missionaries to Foreign Fields: 1901 and 1902," RG 21, Correspondence: Missionaries Sent Abroad--1918 Folder, GCAr.

Commenting on the new wave of missionary commitment and fervor that was beginning to be felt in the denomination after the downturn in the late 1890s, Daniells observed that the Lord had "laid it upon the hearts of many, many people to offer their services to go abroad." He noted also that the financial situation was improving so that a larger number had been able to be sent abroad. Daniells was not satisfied, however. Fresh from fourteen years of mission service himself and having some awareness of the dimensions of the task that the church had set for itself, he was quick to point out that what had been done was just "a very small beginning" and that even more would be accomplished when the church took "hold of this work to finish it in this generation."[2]

There was always a strange mixture of optimism and pessimism in the context of Adventist mission. The great optimism was expressed in terms of "open doors . . . millions of them everywhere . . . and Jesus Christ knocking at every one of them."[3] Russia was described as "a field full of open doors."[4] In 1902 Daniells was so confident that the task was attainable that he declared: "I hold that a man can do almost anything in this world if he sees the way to do it, and has the convictions that it ought to be done."[1] Conviction was that necessary requirement that few Seventh-day Adventists were lacking. They were convinced that the end of the world was upon them and that the accomplishment of the task was imminent. At the 1901 General Conference session, W. A. Spicer confidently asserted that the Spirit of God was "working upon heathen hearts" and, therefore,

---

[1] W. A. Spicer, "Off to the Mission Fields in 1903," RH, 4 February 1904, 5.

[2] Sten 1903, 30 March 1903, RG 0, GCAr.

[3] GC Bulletin. 1901, 258.

[4] Ibid., 247.

> we need not think because there are vast populations unevangelized, that it will take God a long time to do the work. Never have I felt the imminence of the coming of the Lord so keenly, never has it seemed so clear that the Lord was even at the door, as out there in India, with the millions of heathen round about.[2]

The very urgency which spurred optimism also, at times, engendered an apparent pessimism. As early as 1889 Seventh-day Adventists were concerned that in comparison with what others had done, and were still doing, their part was "quite insignificant."[3] In 1901, Daniells declared that unless something were done, it would "take a millennium to give this message to the world. . . . We shall never, at the rate of progress we are making, get this message before the world in our day."[1]

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to S. N. Curtiss, 28 January 1902, RG 11, LB 25, GCAr.

[2] GC Bulletin, 1901, 434.

[3] J. O. Corliss, "The Needs of the Church," RH, 17 December 1889, 758. Corliss had just returned home, having been a member of the pioneering Seventh-day Adventist party that went to Australia in 1885. In this article, he discussed his theory of mission service. In one of the earliest calls within the Seventh-day Adventist Church for thorough preparation for mission service--preparation which even should include anthropological study--he said: "While it may be necessary to urge upon people the abstract theory of the duty of doing missionary work, a knowledge of how to work must first be gained before that theory can be successfully carried out. To know how to work successfully for any people, it is absolutely necessary to know their circumstances and surroundings. Without such knowledge, it is not possible to create an interest in them" (ibid.)

The pessimistic predicament, however, was presented only in order to challenge the listeners to greater exploits. Seventh-day Adventists would not conceive of the possibility of failure. The eschaton was imminent. The optimistic expectation of carrying the Seventh-day Adventist message to the world was non-negotiable.

1902: Confrontation

The General Conference session in 1901 had ended on a very optimistic note. The delegates had responded with an extended praise and testimony meeting on the last day of the session. Ellen White reflected that "a sweet solemnity" came over her when she brought to mind the events of the meeting and that the delegates had witnessed "the stately steppings of the Lord" in its outcome. Daniells, who had keenly anticipated the session of 1901 regarded the session as a great victory, the beginning of a new era. He wrote to E. H. Gates, pioneer missionary to the South Pacific, that he had high hopes that the next General Conference session would be a "missionary conference."[2]

The optimism continued through 1901 and into the first half of 1902. Daniells was busy carrying the responsibility of demonstrating how the principles of organization were to be implemented in the conferences and unions in North America and overseas.[1] In mid-1902, however, his sharp clash with J. H. Kellogg severely strained the ability of the denomination to maintain its commitment to those principles.

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 48.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1901, "Missionary Farewell Service," 458-66; ibid, "Continuation of the Farewell Service," 466-73; Ellen G. White, "Bring an Offering to the Lord," MS 48, 1901, EGWB-AU; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 23 August 1900, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to E. R. Palmer, 3 May 1901, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 6, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to E. H. Gates, 23 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr.

Daniells had anticipated at the beginning of 1902 that there might be a crisis brewing over conflicting principles of organization. He did not anticipate, however, the tenacity with which those who were drawn against him would pursue their objective. In mid-1902 Daniells and Kellogg sharply disagreed over the "no-debt" policy that Daniells insisted that the church adopt. The focus of attention was the establishment of a sanitarium in Britain. Daniells was not prepared to permit the church to finance the project by creating further debts and he was not prepared to compromise that position.[2] He held tenaciously to his conviction, believing that "right principles" would prevail. He could not countenance "peace" if right principles were sacrificed. As far as he was concerned, there was no conflict between principles; only between men. Principles were non-negotiable.[1]

---

[1] Between June and September 1901 Daniells told White that he attended 12 camp meetings "besides my trip to the South and New York, and the time I have put in at Berrien Springs with the Lake Union Conference Committee." "During that time, he added, "I have travelled 10,000" miles. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 2 September 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr. See also A. G. Daniells to W. T. Knox, 31 January 1902, RG 11, LB 25, GCAr.

[2] A statement of Daniells's view of the circumstances of the "London incident" which he recognized as "the cause of the trouble that has arisen between Dr. Kellogg" and himself was included in a letter written to W. C. White in early 1903. See A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 3 March 1903, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC. A copy of the statement is to be found in RG 11, LB 30, 470-76, GCAr. See also, A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 6 July 1902, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

As Daniells later reflected on the clash between Kellogg and himself, he recounted how "the Doctor" had not only attempted to discredit his "no-debt" policy, but had also sought to undermine his faith in the counsel that had been given by Ellen White and in the validity of her inspiration. Daniells wrote to W. C. White: "You do not know how nearly I was brought to ruin by the cunning insinuations of doubt that man sowed in my mind." He told White that the doctor had also tried to do the same thing to Prescott and Spicer and that he had "nearly succeeded" with all of them.[2]

The battle was fought in the public arena at the fall council of the General Conference executive committee in November 1902. At that time, it became obvious that not only the debt policy of the General Conference was to be decided but also any future relationship between the denomination and the medical institutions under the control of the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association was coming under serious question. To complicate matters even further, Kellogg had just completed and circulated draft copies of his book, The Living Temple. Despite concerted efforts by Kellogg and his allies to gain control of the executive committee and replace Daniells with A. T. Jones as chairman, Daniells was able to rally sufficient support to win the day.[1] The conflict was to have a marked impression on Daniells, however. Theological and organizational controversy was to modify the emphasis that was placed on some of the principles of organization that had been espoused in 1901.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 21 January 1902, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to A. B. Olsen, 28 August 1902, RG 11, LB 27, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to H. W. Cottrell, 2 November 1902, RG 11, LB 27, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to W. Covert, 28 December 1902, RG 11, LB 29, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to G. C. Tenney, 23 February 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr. Looking from a different perspective, W. C. White said that the conflict was not so much with men as with principles. White was endeavoring to be as conciliatory as possible in the situation. Daniells, on the other hand, was determined that there was only one right set of principles and that they were those which he espoused. See W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 3 November 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 6, GCAr.

[2] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 2 July 1904, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 28 October 1904, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

1903 General Conference Session

Because of the confrontation that had occurred between Daniells and Kellogg the church found itself deeply divided as it approached the 1903 General Conference session. Allied with Kellogg were most of those involved in the medical institutions operated by the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner also aligned themselves with Kellogg--but not because they were specifically involved with his medical interests. They united with him because of their mutual opposition to some aspects of the plan of organization that was being championed by Daniells, and to some extent by their tendency toward immanentist theology.[2]

On the other hand, most of the administrative staff of the church were allied with Daniells. Even W. W. Prescott who had stood with Jones and Waggoner in 1897 and in 1901 had joined forces with Daniells.

---

[1] Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 380-81.

[2] See, for example, the discussion of Jones's sermon at the 1903 General Conference session on page 232, below.

Despite some sharp differences of opinion that had existed between the two groups before the 1903 General Conference session, it was the effect of resolutions taken at that session which made schism inevitable. Although many actions concerned with organization were taken at the session, the two which proved most divisive were the integration of the medical missionary work into the departmental structure of the General Conference and the reinstatement of the title "president."

The Integration of the Medical Work into the Conference Structure

The 1903 General Conference Bulletin reported that the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association should "so arrange its constituency, and its constitution governing the same, that it may be indispensably and always a department of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists."[1] The intention was that the medical missionary work should bear the same relationship to the General Conference as did the other former auxiliary organizations. J. H. Kellogg was not about to accept that kind of reasoning, however.[2] He had no intention of subordinating his organization to the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Despite Ellen White's insistence that "it was in the purpose of God that a health institution should be organized and controlled exclusively" by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Kellogg had long decried that necessity and regarded the medical institutions as "undenominational."[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1903, 216.

[2] For discussion of Kellogg's reaction to the resolution and subsequent developments see Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 380-81.

The consequence of the action taken at the 1903 General Conference session and Kellogg's reaction to it was that by 1906, the denomination was to lose the principal medical institutions that had been administered by the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Kellogg himself would be disfellowshipped by the denomination in that year.[2]

At Issue over the Presidency

The other issue which precipitated schism attracted more discussion than any other organizational issue considered by the session in 1903--even more than the issue over the medical institutions. It had to do with the title that was to be given to the one appointed to serve the denomination as its chief executive officer. Perhaps more than any other, this issue was indicative of the principles which had been developed by Jones, Waggoner, and Prescott during the 1890s and into the new century.

During the early part of the 1890s, Jones and Waggoner had been developing an ecclesiology which understood the headship of Christ to have preeminence over human leaders in the church--a christocentric ecclesiological model. At the same time, Ellen White was rebuking the leaders of the General Conference for their centralizing and authoritarian attitudes. By 1897, it was widely recognized that a change in the General Conference leadership was necessary. Jones and his associates, Waggoner and Prescott, saw the General Conference session in that year as an opportunity to impress upon the church their concepts of organization, especially their view of the office of the president of the General Conference.[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Physicians and Helpers of the Sanitarium (n.p., 1879), 31; Sten 1903, 3 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 80-85; and 5 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 6-17.

[2] Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg," 406-11.

Fortuitously for them, a special series of testimonies was printed during the General Conference session of 1897 and circulated among the delegates. On page twenty-nine of that series was the sentence: "It is not wise to choose one man as president of the

---

[1] The record of the General Conference session proceedings for 1897 is exceedingly brief. The only explicit references to organizational concepts and principles can be found in the record of a series of sermons that were preached by E. J. Waggoner on the book of Hebrews. GC Bulletin. 1897, 156-7, 235-36, 250-52. Reaction to the agitation of the principles of organization was mixed. W. C. White seemed enthusiastic. W. C. White to Ellen G. White, 24 February 1897, LB 11A, EGWO-DC. Writing four years later, just after the General Conference session of 1901, Alberta Little wished that "those who have the shaping of the work just now, while it is going through the present upheaval or revolution or whatever you please to call it, would study the principles underlying this work" as had been advocated by Prescott and Waggoner in 1897. Alberta L. Little to A. G. Daniells, 18 June 1901, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 2, GCAr. On the other hand, John Harvey Kellogg was not at all sure that the principles that were explicated in 1897 were suitable for the church. Even though an alliance was soon to develop between Jones, Waggoner, and himself, he wrote to Irwin in 1898 that "I myself believe the principles of authority which he [Prescott] and Dr. Waggoner expounded at College View at the last General Conference, but at the same time it seems to me clear that the old methods of organization and the administration of organized work are not altogether wrong." Kellogg was revealing his bias towards his own centralized, bureaucratic style of administration. J. H. Kellogg to G. A. Irwin, 17 July 1898, RG 9, S. N. Haskell Folder, GCAr.

General Conference."[1] That sentence, taken out of its context, became the rallying call for those who wished to dispense with the title, "president."[2] It was to be quoted time and again during the next twelve years by those who advocated a christocentric model of organization.

The immediate outcome was that the presidency of the General Conference Association, the presidency of the Foreign Mission Board and the presidency of the General Conference in North America were allocated to three different men rather than to only one man as had been the case previously; the territory of the General Conference was divided into three so that there were in actual fact three General Conferences (Australasia, Europe, and North America, with the latter retaining general oversight of the other two); and the jurisdiction of the president of the General Conference was distributed so that three presidents--in Australasia, Europe, and North America--bore the responsibility.[1] It appears that even the title "president" was dispensed with for a time, although usage quickly reverted to the former title. For that reason, some took the opportunity to accuse the General Conference of apostasy.[2]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers (College View, Nebr.: College Press, 1897), 29. Also reprinted in Ellen G. White, Series A (Payson, Ariz.: Leaves of Autumn Books, 1976), 287. The letter, "To Conference Presidents and Councillors," in which the sentence was penned, was written from "Sunnyside," Cooranbong, New South Wales, Australia, in August 1896. There is no record of the letter in the files of the EGWB-AU. The original letter was apparently gathered together with a number of other "testimonies" relating to organization and printed while the General Conference was in session in 1897. The foreword by O. A. Olsen was dated 21 February 1897, the third day of the session.

[2] No specific entry was made in the GC Bulletin. with reference to Ellen White's statement concerning the presidency of the General Conference, except in a preamble to the recommendations presented to the floor of the session by the sub-committee on plans. Further, the record only gives an abbreviated, second-hand account of the discussion concerning the actions which were taken by the delegates in response to the attention drawn to this sentence and it is impossible to know the context and the full content of all that was said. The importance of the discussion can be assessed, however, by the nature of the actions that resulted and the rapidity with which they were taken--only one week after Olsen wrote the foreword to the testimony that contained the sentence which was the focus of attention. GC Bulletin 1897, 212.

No significant adjustments to the scheme were made at the General Conference session in 1899. However, by 1901 Ellen White and W. C. White had returned to the United States and A. G. Daniells was emerging as the leader of the church. All three had been involved with the structural experiment in Australia and, presumably, were amenable to innovation. Those who had been at the forefront of reform at the 1897 session realized that the time was right for them to champion a form of organization that fitted their theological requirement. Although Prescott was no longer quite as outspoken as he had been in 1897, it was he who brought the attention of the session to the same sentence that had precipitated the changes in 1897.[3]

With reference to the presidency, there were two changes made at the 1901 session. First, it was voted that the leader of the General Conference be the "chairman" of the executive committee. Second, the chairman was to be elected by the executive committee itself rather than from the floor of the session. The intention was that no person carry the title of "president" of the General Conference. Unlike most of the other innovations in 1901, neither changing the title of the leader of the church nor the method of election to office were part of the package that Daniells and the Whites had carried with them from Australia. Those decisions were wholly a response to the efforts of those who held to the necessity for a christocentric model of administration. If Christ was the head of the church, they reasoned, no person should have a title which appeared to supplant him from that office.

---

[1] Tenney, "Doings of the Conference," 170. At the 1903 General Conference session, Jones attempted to call the delegates back to the principles of 1897 when "the Conference adopted . . . three presidents instead of one" (Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 44).

[2] Writing to A. G. Daniells soon after the 1901 General Conference session, W. C. White remembered that "after the Conference at College View [1897] it was emphatically stated that now we had no president of the General Conference; and yet within a few months the title was used the same as before; and this very fact is now pointed to as a matter of apostasy" (W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 24 May 1901, LB 16, EGWO-DC).

[3] Sten 1901, 10 April 1901, RG 0, GCAr, 59.

The record of the action which gave the General Conference executive committee authority to elect its own chairman indicates that discussion of the proposal was very brief. Only six persons spoke to it apart from Daniells who was chairing the meeting. Of those, only one, H. C. Basney, could "not see any light" in the proposal. He observed that "if this is the way it is to be done, it appears to me as though more power will be concentrated in this Committee than ever before." Strangely no one took up his point. Perhaps the reason was that almost immediately S. B. Whitney rose to exhort the delegates "with reference to the preciousness" of time and that each "should be quick to hear, but slow to speak." "I appreciate the interest of these brethren in these questions," Whitney added, "but brethren, we can save time and labor for ourselves, if we should think a little more before we speak." The record indicates that the delegates responded with hearty "amens" and nothing more was said right then.[1]

At the next meeting, reference was again made to the proposed change in the constitution that allowed the committee to elect its chairman and dispensed with the title "president." The discussion was quickly sidetracked but not before W. C. White had taken the opportunity to show his support for the proposal. He contended that it seemed "to be for the advantage of the work" that the committee, which would "be a thoroughly representative one," be allowed "to choose its chairman, its secretaries, its treasurers, its committees, and agents." He added that it was quite possible that "no one should be chairman of this committee for a period of more than twelve months at a time." At no time did any of the delegates speak to the substitution of the term "chairman" for the title "president."[2]

But within a few weeks, A. G. Daniells, who was appointed as chairman of the executive committee, was using the title "president." On 21 May he wrote to W. T. Knox that "some of the recommendations made during the Conference have turned out to be unwise, and we have been obliged to reverse the action of the Conference."[3] On 31 May he thought it necessary to explain the situation to W. C. White:

---

[1] Sten 1901, 10 April 1901, RG 0, GCAr, 58-61.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1901, 205-6.

[3] A. G. Daniells to W. T. Knox, 21 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr. In 1906 W. C. White noted that a search of his personal letter files revealed that "letterheads published for the Mission Board shortly after the close of the conference of 1901, bear the name of A. G. Daniells, Chairman, whereas the letter-heads published for the General Conference Committee which were issued as early as May 13, bear the name A. G. Daniells, President" (W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 13 August 1906, RG 11, W. C. White Folder 2, GCAr). The General Conference Quarterly Bulletin for the second quarter of 1901

> I have given considerable thought to the question you raise regarding the presidency of the General Conference. I may say further that the members of the Committee who were left at Battle Creek were brought face to face with the question, and we all decided that the meaning of the expression in the Testimony was not that the General Conference should have no president, but that the President of the General Conference should not be the one person to whom the details in the various parts of the field should be referred. Brother Prescott fully agreed with us in this. I was asked to write an explanation to the members of the Committee who were abroad; but I felt a little delicate about doing this. I told Brother Prescott I thought that the men who first gave this turn to the expression were the ones to correct it; and I still think so.[1]

Apparently Daniells did not write to the members of the General Conference committee explaining what had happened. Five years later, A. T. Jones (a member of the executive committee elected at the General Conference session in 1901) charged that Daniells had manipulated an appointment to the General Conference presidency by a small group of committee members without the consent of the larger committee and against the intention and direction of the General Conference in session. Daniells replied that he had not been elected to the position at all. Jones countered that he must therefore have assumed the position and that to take such a step was even worse than if he had been elected.[2]

---

listed Daniells as the chairman of the committee. The Bulletin for the third quarter listed him as the president.

[1] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 31 May 1901, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

[2] A. T. Jones to A. G. Daniells, 26 January 1906, RG 11, 1910 [sic] A. T. Jones Folder, GCAr; General Conference Committee, Statement. 25-26; A. T. Jones, A Final Word and a Confession (n.p., [1906]),31-35). Jones's letter to Daniells was later reprinted as Some History, Some Experiences, and Some Facts (n.p., 1906). In A Final Word. Jones claimed that he was not aware that Daniells was

Daniells's reasoning regarding the use of a title can be traced in the correspondence between W. C. White and himself soon after the session in 1901. On 24 May 1901 White wrote to Daniells requesting his opinion on the matter of the title of president. He referred to Jones's contentions that the General Conference had "no president any more"; that the state conferences were "not to have presidents"; and that "the office of president of the Union Conference" was soon to be abolished. White explained that by insisting on the use of the term "chairman," he thought Jones was attacking the disposition towards kingly power that was often displayed by those in positions of responsibility. Nevertheless, he questioned the need to discard "the name and title of president" altogether. He thought that by using the designation "chairman," they had merely "exchanged a convenient title for a clumsy one." According to White's estimation, it was "the method of work more than the title

---

using the title "president" until just before the opening of the General Conference session in 1903. Idem, A Final Word, 32-33. W. C. White said that his mother approved of the reply (i.e. the Statement) that the General Conference committee had prepared in response to Jones's History, Experiences, and Facts. White himself felt that on occasion the reply was a little more vigorous than it needed to be. He reminded Daniells that "early in the summer of 1901" Daniells "had found it necessary to sign some legal documents in behalf of the General Conference." White asked: "Did not the Committee meet and take some action, or come to some agreement signifying that the Chairman of the Executive Committee was President of the Conference?" "If so," White contended, "should not this have been recognized in your 'Statement?'" (W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 30 May 1906, RG 11, 1906-W Folder 1, GCAr). Further, the reply to Jones that had been prepared by the General Conference made no attempt to answer the charges of authoritarianism that had been leveled by him. There was no recognition of the danger of developing a bureaucracy and no reference to the many warnings concerning "kingly power" and the centralization of decision making authority that had been given by Ellen White. No conciliatory attitude at all was shown in the paper. W. C. White objected to that.

that required reformation." If they were to revert to the use of "president," however, something should be written for the Review and Herald so that they situation would be understood by all.[1]

In reply, Daniells explained that the committee had decided "that the meaning of the expression in the Testimony was not that the General Conference should have no president, but that the president of the General Conference should not be the one person to whom the details in the various parts of the field should be referred." He added that he thought that "the men who first gave this turn to the expression were the ones to correct it."[2]

White replied that he thought it was right of Daniells to use the title "president" instead of the title "chairman of the General Conference committee." He was pleased, however, that there had been no public comments regarding the title. Nothing had actually been written in the Review and Herald regarding the matter. He also informed Daniells that A. T. Jones had been elected president of the California Conference, and that, surprisingly, it had been done "without any protest to the use of the title."[3]

---

[1] W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 24 May 1901, LB 16, EGWO-DC.

[2] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 31 May 1901, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

[3] W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 19 June 1901, LB 16, EGWO-DC. The acceptance by Jones of the presidency of a conference was a surprise to Daniells. In the first place, Daniells did not see Jones as a particularly adept administrator. He confided in his friend E. R. Palmer: "Brother Jones is a mighty man in the Scriptures and in history; but he is a queer fellow in business affairs. . . . We had been counting on Brother Jones for a lot of fine field work during the coming year. What on earth he will do with a Conference, is more than anybody can tell. Of course he will be a strong man to travel over the State, but he will need a whole committee to keep business

In his reply to White, Daniells took the time to explain the situation more fully. First, he claimed that he had never been in harmony with what he considered "the radical positions" of Jones and

---

affairs in proper shape" (A. G. Daniells to E. R. Palmer, 19 June 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr). Daniells was not the only one to question Jones's administrative aptitude. After he had been president for a little over a year, the secretary of the California Conference wrote to Daniells that Jones was "not adapted to the work of Conference President." He had "great principles" and "grand thoughts" but was "utterly impractical because of lack of executive ability, judgment and wisdom." Brown's criticisms were not vindictive. He described Jones as being "among his friends," who wanted to see "his great gifts employed in the work" for which he was adapted. He summarized: "Men with great talents often have great strength combined with great weakness. This is certainly true in the case of brother Jones" (M. H. Brown to A. G. Daniells, 8 August 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 3, GCAr). Not all considered Jones to be so poor an administrator, however. In March 1902, E. A. Sutherland implied that Jones could do just as good a job of administering the Lake Union as Daniells. E. A. Sutherland to A. G. Daniells, 10 March 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 3, GCAr. Even W. C. White was somewhat sympathetic towards Jones and complimented him on the bold, courageous manner with which he was taking hold of the work in California. W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 26 September 1901, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 2, GCAr. By February 1902, however, White began to realize that Jones was just a little too enthusiastic and that some of his administrative methods were too abrasive. He informed Daniells that he might be called upon to smooth some troubled waters in California. W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 7 February 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 4, GCAr. More surprising to Daniells than Jones's election in spite of his lack of administrative ability, however, was that he had permitted himself to be elected to take the very title to which he had so strenuously objected. If Jones so strongly objected to the title, why did he so readily assume a presidency? At the 1903 General Conference session he explained his motives for allowing himself to be elected to the presidency in California in terms of opportunity to apply his principles of organization and administration in an actual situation. Apparently the experiment was not too successful. Jones resigned from the presidency after the 1903 General Conference session. Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 60b-61. Despite his apparent inconsistencies between theory and practice, both White and Daniells retained good faith in Jones as a counsellor and Bible expositor until the events of mid-1902 began to polarize the leadership of the church. W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 12 July 1902, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 6, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to G. I. Butler, 3 July 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr. For an account of Jones tenure as conference president, see Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, 194-205.

Prescott. Second, he explained that the need to provide a title for the head of the organization in reference to some dealings with railway companies led Prescott and himself to re-examine the testimony written by Ellen White in 1896. Their conclusion was that "the man acting as president of the General Conference was not to be cumbered with the details of the entire conference." On that point the "division of the field into separate, distinct Union Conferences" satisfied the requirement. Third, they had concluded that the instruction given by Ellen White in the testimony which had been used to substantiate the abolition of the title of "president," was directed at the "putting away of kingly, autocratic, arbitrary power," not merely a title. Abuse of power, he reasoned, could be exercised regardless of the title used. With that, Daniells had informed Prescott that he was the man to make the explanation, and "thus the matter dropped."[1]

White, in his reply, simply noted "with interest" what Daniells had said concerning the title of president, but had no burden to say "anything more about it." He considered that no great harm would come from what had been said unless somebody felt "a burden to create confusion."[2]

Jones and his associates, however, did feel a burden. It was not "a burden to create confusion" for its own sake. It was a burden which had grown from their conviction that Christ alone was the head of the church. That theological position was to be translated into practice as a principle vital to their concept of organizational design.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 1 July 1901, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

[2] W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 11 July 1901, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 3, GCAr.

At the 1903 General Conference session a new constitution was passed which reinstated the title "president" and restored the election of the president as a prerogative of the delegates, rather than of the executive committee. This was not done without serious objections by Jones, Waggoner, and their allies, although the objections were not so much to the restoration of the method of election as they were to the reinstatement of the title. Even the committee which recommended the changes was divided on the issue. It submitted a majority report to the floor of the session which recommended that the changes be made; and a minority report which recommended that the constitution as written in 1901 be retained. In the discussion which followed, Percy Magan called the attempt to restore the former title of "president," "subversive to the principles of organization given . . . at the General Conferences of 1897 and 1901." His contention, along with those of Jones and Waggoner in particular, was that "those principles were given . . . by the Spirit of God."[1] The implication was that they could not be changed.

Jones spoke against the dangers of a return to "one-man-power." For him the use of the title seemed to be all that was needed to guarantee abuse of the position of leadership in the General Conference. He did not indicate that he recognized that leadership could be abused regardless of the specific title which was attached to its function. In the polemical situation in which he found himself, and with the efforts he was making to have the title of "president" permanently revoked, Jones may not have been willing to concede that point.[1]

---

[1] Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 39-43.

The new constitution was adopted, however, after extended speeches by Daniells, W. C. White, J. N. Loughborough, and G. I. Butler. Daniells argued that the burden of the appeal by Ellen White was not that the title of "president" be dispensed with but that "the field . . . be divided up so that he [the president] will not have the large burden of details that have been falling upon him." This requirement, he claimed, was satisfied by the union conference arrangement.[2] W. C. White argued that by making the departments advisory rather than executive, the tendency toward kingly power which had previously been multiplied in proportion to the number of distinct auxiliary organizations, was reduced.[3] Loughborough and Butler recounted the history of the organization of the church. They had personally been involved in the developments of the early 1860s and considered that the same tendencies toward disorganization which had been exhibited formerly were in evidence again. Loughborough even claimed that "what astonished" him was that "the same identical expressions that men used back there who fought organization--almost word for word" were being used again.[1]

---

[1] Jones's complete argument and the replies given by W. C. White, A. G. Daniells, J. N. Loughborough, and G. I. Butler can be read in Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 43-90a.

[2] Ibid., 70-76. Daniells added: "I can not see the danger and the harm in this that our brethren speak of. I do not see it" (ibid., 76). In the polemical situation, Daniells was not willing to accede to Jones's claim that the dangers of authoritarianism and bureaucracy were implicit in the organizational design that was being implemented in 1903.

[3] Ibid., 64-70. White quoted a letter from his mother written in 1902 in which she approved of the decentralization of power which had been effected by the union organization aspect of the reorganization in 1901. Ellen White had said: "The division of the General Conference into District Union Conferences was God's arrangement. In the work of the Lord in these last days there should be no Jerusalem centers, no kingly power" (ibid., 68).

But Jones, Waggoner and many of their allies were not convinced. They believed that the church was denying the principles that had been the basis of organization in 1901 and that it was opening the door to bureaucracy, following the same pattern of organization as the Roman Catholic Church. Later, when organizational polemics were strongest (in 1906 and 1907) it was the use of the title "president" that was decried by Jones as an indication that the church had denied New Testament principles in its choice of an organizational system.[2]

One wonders why the question was never settled in the most obvious manner. Why was Ellen White herself not consulted and asked to give an explanation of precisely what was meant by that one sentence that she wrote in 1896--the sentence that was so troublesome and used as the basis for the position of Jones and his allies?

---

[1] Ibid, 77-90b.

[2] See A. T. Jones to A. G. Daniells, 26 January 1906, RG 11, 1910 [sic] A. T. Jones Folder, GCAr; Jones, A Final Word. 31-35; idem, An Appeal Presented before the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists at Takoma Park, Washington, D.C., May 27, 1909 (n.p., 1909). For further insight into the attitudes of A. G. Daniells and a later explanation for the reasons for the re-emergence of the use of the title of "president," see General Conference Committee, Statement. 17-19; and A. G. Daniells to C. C. Nicola, 30 July 1906, RG 11, 1906-A. G. Daniells Folder, GCAr. In the former, Daniells calls the action taken at the 1901 General Conference session to give the prerogative for selecting its chairman to the committee "a step toward disorganization" (General Conference Committee, Statement. 17). For insight into W. C. White's later attitude, see W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 13 August 1906, RG 11, 1906-W Folder 2, GCAr.

In the first place, Ellen White did not enter into debate over the form and the structure of the denomination. She had the opportunity to do so in her address to the assembled leaders of the denomination in the Battle Creek College library the day before the opening of the 1901 session, but she chose to refer only to principles of organization. She had the same opportunity the next day on the floor of the session but instead she told the delegates that "just how it [the strengthening or reorganization of the conference] is to be accomplished I cannot say."[1] Her consistent attitude was that her function was to discuss principles. It was the function of the church in session to come to consensus regarding how those principles were to be applied. Whenever she referred to specific elements of structure, she did not mean that her reference or approval deemed those structures sacrosanct, but that they were appropriate (or inappropriate as the case may be) for the principles which she espoused.

Second, Ellen White encouraged the leaders and theologians of the church to think theologically and arrive at consistent theological foundations for the principles of organization in the church. It was never her declared purpose to initiate theological positions on behalf of the church. That function always was the function of the church itself. It was her purpose to direct the attention of the church to the Bible from which theological foundations and principles of organization could be derived. Both those allied with Jones, and those allied with Daniells fell into the trap of misusing her statements in order to attempt to substantiate their respective positions on the form of the organizational structure when they should have been substantiating them on the basis of sound theological and biblical reasoning. Jones did so with reference to the selection of a "chairman" rather than a "president." Daniells did so, but less convincingly, with reference to the use of the mosaic plan of organization as an illustration of the "perfect" form of church government.

---

[1] GC Bulletin 1901, 25. See also page 164 above.

Regardless of her attitude to the delineation of structures or the initiation of theological foundations for those structures, Ellen White did not disparage the use of the title "president." In a "testimony" written on 19 June 1899, almost three years after the one which was used to decry the title of "president," Ellen White again pointed out that "the work of the General Conference should never have rested on one man." On that occasion she was referring to "work" and not to title. Her contention was that no one person should be expected to carry the workload and bear the responsibility for decisions made that was being expected of the General Conference president. She protested that the "President of the General Conference" (emphasis supplied) had "altogether too many burdens for one man to carry." That such had been the case had "been presented to" her "for years." She freely referred to the leader of the General Conference as "president" without any intimation that the use of that title was inappropriate or that it negated other principles which could have been determinative of structural form.[1]

Again in 1904, after the discussions of the 1903 General Conference session, Ellen White wrote to two of those who supported the minority report submitted by the committee on plans and constitution. Referring to the "last General Conference [1903]" she said that "the situation was a most trying one," and that "there needed to be chosen as President a man who was in harmony with the work that God was trying to do through the Testimonies" (emphasis supplied). The issue for Ellen White was not the title, but the function and use of the office. In the same letter she affirmed her support for the election of Daniells to the presidency of the General Conference as "the man for the place."[2]

But for Jones the title seemed to assume such proportions that it became the symbol of the success or failure of his quest for reform. He appears to have regarded the rejection of his proposal to use the title "chairman," as the symbol of the rejection of all the principles of reorganization that he espoused. Ever since the General Conference session in 1897 Jones and Waggoner, by their insistence that the church consider theological foundations for organizational structure, had had a marked influence on the direction that reorganization took. With the reinstatement of the title "president,"

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Words of Counsel Regarding the Management of the Work of God," MS 91, 1899, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ellen G. White to P. T. Magan and E. A Sutherland, 23 July 1904, Letter 255, 1904, EGWB-AU.

Jones and Waggoner both recognized that the church was moving in an entirely different direction from that which they had intended.

After that reversal at the General Conference session in 1903, despite his intention to uphold unity in the church, Jones gradually became more outspoken. His attacks on the leadership of the church were more often made in the public forum.

The Response of Ellen G. White to Reorganization and the Structure of the Denomination

From Satisfaction to Despair

At first, Ellen White had been pleased with the direction that the reform in organization took in 1901. In retrospect, she expressed satisfaction that

> during the General Conference [of 1901], the Lord wrought mightily for His people. Every time I think of that meeting, a sweet solemnity comes over me, and sends a glow of gratitude to my soul. We have seen the stately steppings of the Lord our Redeemer. We praise His holy name; for He has brought deliverance to His people.[1]

But her gratitude soon changed to despair--the same despair that had been expressed repeatedly during the decade past. By 1903 centralization was again being condemned by her in terms of the exercise of "kingly power," the same terminology that she had used before reorganization. It had been necessary to organize union conferences, she asserted, in order that the General Conference should not "exercise dictation" over all the separate conferences. Power was not to be "centered in one man" or in a small group of men. Yet, having briefly recounted the abuses of the past which she had hoped had been eliminated by reorganization, she emphatically stated that the General Conference had again "fallen into strange ways," and that there was "reason to marvel . . . that judgement" had not fallen.[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Bring an Offering to the Lord," RH, 26 November 1901, 761-62. See also, GC Bulletin, 1901, 463-64; Ellen G. White, "Bring an Offering to the Lord," MS 48, 1901, EGWB-AU.

Nine days after expressing her surprise that the judgment of God had not fallen on the denomination she wrote to Daniells himself. With the 1903 General Conference session behind them she warned him to "be careful how we press our opinions upon those whom God has instructed. . . . Brother Daniells, God would not have you suppose that you can exercise kingly power over your brethren.[2] She was to find it necessary to continue to give Daniells and other conference officers the same reproof in the years to come.[3]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Regarding Work of General Conference," MS 26, 1903, EGWB-AU. Ellen White wrote these words on 3 April 1903 while the General Conference was in session at Oakland, California.

[2] Ellen G. White to Elder Daniells and His Fellow Workers, 12 April 1903, Letter 49, 1903, EGWB-AU; See also Ellen G. White to E. R. Palmer, 21 May 1903, Letter 92, 1903, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "Principles for the Guidance of Men in Positions of Responsibility,"MS 140, 1902, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to A. G. Daniells, 1 March 1903, Letter 4, 1903, EGWB-AU.

[3] Ellen G. White to Elders Daniells and Evans, 23 September 1907, Letter 314, 1907, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to A. G. Daniells and W. C. White, 30 December 1907, Letter 2, 1907, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White to The Leading Ministers in California, 6 December 1909, Letter 172, 1909, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "The Work Hindered by Lack of Faith," MS 117, 1907, EGWO-DC; W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 11 January 1907, RG 11, Incoming Letters 1907-W Folder 1, GCAr. Another reason for the tendency toward centralization of authority arose from the fact that reorganization required more administrative personnel than previous to 1901. At the 1901 General Conference session Daniells himself had expressed the desire to have "as many laborers of this denomination in the field in personal contact with the masses, preaching the gospel to them as we possibly can"(GC Bulletin. 1901, 228-29). Yet, by 1906 Daniells was arguing that the increase in administrative personnel was an indication that indeed decentralization had taken place. He stated that the "managing force"

Lamenting what "might have been," she wrote to Judge Jesse Arthur at the beginning of 1903:

> The result of the last General Conference has been the greatest, the most terrible sorrow of my life. No change was made. The spirit that should have been brought into the whole work as a result of that meeting, was not brought in because men did not receive the testimonies of the Spirit of God. As they went to their several fields of labor, they did not walk in the light that the Lord had flashed upon their pathway, but carried into their work the wrong principles that had been prevailing in the work at Battle Creek.[1]

When Ellen White said that "no change was made," she was referring to the spiritual renewal and focus on the mission of the church that she had hoped would accompany structural reorganization. She had repeatedly called for such renewal. She was not simply referring to the structures of church organization. Significant

---

had "been strengthened by the addition of over 500 of the most experienced and capable persons that could be selected" (General Conference Committee, Statement. 22-23, emphasis supplied). See also A. G. Daniells, "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation--No. 8," 29 March 1906, 7; idem, "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation--No. 9," 5 April 1906, 7. The GC Bulletin of May 14 1909, indicated that drawing into administration over five hundred persons who had not been there before greatly increased "the efficiency" of the administration. GC Bulletin. 1909, 8. In addition to conference administrators, Daniells pointed out that proper administration of institutions had demanded that even more people be added to the administrative staff of the church.

[1] Ellen G. White to Jesse Arthur, 14 January 1903, Letter 17, 1903, EGWB-AU. Writing to A. G. Daniells a few days earlier Ellen White told him that she "thought of where we might have been had thorough work been done at the last General Conference. An agony of disappointment came over me as I realized that what I had witnessed [in a dream in which all was peace and harmony] was not a reality" (Ellen G. White to A. G. Daniells, 5 January 1903, Letter 7, 1903, EGWB-AU). See also, GC Bulletin. 1903, 31; Ellen G. White to A. G. Daniells, 5 January 1903, Letter 5, 1903, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "Unity of Effort," MS 16, 1903, EGWB-AU. Although some of Ellen White's disappointment was with specific reference to incidents which had occurred in connection with the publishing and the medical work, she also focused her attention on the failures of the leaders of the General Conference themselves.

structural change had been made at the General Conference session in 1901. Those changes were intended to resolve the problems of centralization which had been the direct result of "wrong principles . . . in the work at Battle Creek." Perhaps she had been looking for a reformation far more pervasive than administrative refinement. Certainly the theological and organizational turmoil since mid-1902 had distressed her. In either case, her lament to Arthur "that matters in Battle Creek are in a most precarious condition" indicated that structural form was not as important to her as spiritual renewal and sound principles of administration.[1] Principle, rather than form was her agenda.

Despite her disappointment Ellen White was not about to sever her connection with the denomination. Her reproofs, directed towards the leaders of the church, were not those of a divisive opponent but those of a loyal supporter. She certainly did not condone tendencies to disorganize the church. She affirmed that organization would always be needed in the church and that the structures would become more "systematic" as time passed.[2]

---

[1] Ellen G. White to Jesse Arthur, 14 January 1903, Letter 17, 1903, EGWB-AU. That Ellen White's remarks addressed to Arthur were intended to refer to leaders of the church in general and not only to those who were aligned with Kellogg or Jones is indicated by the tenor of several letters that were written about the same time. For example, a few days before, she had written to Daniells: "This is a warning that comes to all, especially to those in positions of trust: 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall'" (Ellen G. White to A. G. Daniells, 5 January 1903, Letter 5, 1903, EGWB-AU).

[2] Ellen G. White to E. J. Waggoner, 27 December 1892, Letter 27a, EGWB-AU.

Ellen G. White and the Possibility of Subsequent Structural Change

Ellen White had been calling for urgent and radical change throughout the 1890s. In Australia she had been isolated from the headquarters at Battle Creek and at the same time been made aware of the struggles, financial hardship, and cultural strangeness of the mission field. Her experience there helped to sharpen her perception of the ineptitude and inadequacy of the organizational system of the church.

But her call for reform, unlike that of Jones and his associates and unlike that of Daniells and his allies, was not a call which emerged only from one particular theological perspective. Her balanced theological perspective cast her in a mediatorial role from which she was able to address the strengths and weaknesses of all.

During the first decade of the twentieth century her support for the position of Daniells and the elected leaders of the church increased as the theological positions of Jones and those with him became more unbalanced. Even so, she was quite prepared to register her disapproval of administrative abuses and affirm that change should be expected from time to time as the shape and needs of the church developed.

For example, soon after the General Conference session of 1901, Ellen White wrote to A. G. Daniells regarding the work among the "colored people" in the South. She admonished Daniells to be flexible in his administration because of the unique needs of the South. The church was not to become "narrow" and confined by "regular lines." Different methods of organization and approach were necessary in culturally diverse situations.[1] For administration to be tied to an inflexible, predetermined policy which could not adapt to diverse cultural and sociological needs was, for Ellen White, an abuse of administrative prerogative.

The very same day, Ellen White wrote to her son Edson, who was working in the south. Edson was inclined to be too adventurous with his innovations. Whereas Daniells the administrator had to be counselled to allow change and innovation in a different socio-cultural milieu, Edson had to be cautioned not to be too hasty. Ellen White wrote,

> You need now to be able to think and judge with clear discrimination. Great care must be exercised in making changes which differ from the old-established routine. Changes are to be made. but they are not to be made in such an abrupt manner that you will not carry the people with you.
>
> You who are working in the South must labor as if in a foreign country. You must work as pioneers, seeking to save expense in every way possible. And above all, you must study to show yourselves approved unto God.[2] (Emphasis supplied).

This letter, written with reference to the demands of cultural diversity, indicates that Ellen White expected and, in fact, advocated change, but that such change should be implemented with a great deal of care and sensitivity.

It is true that Ellen White gave the structural form that was implemented as a result of reorganization in 1901-1903 her support. It is not true that she gave it her unqualified support. Nor is it true that she intended to be specific in her endorsement. She spoke in terms of the principles of reorganization, not in terms of the specifics of structure. For her, the specifics were always adaptable to the needs of time and place. The principles, however, were non-negotiable.

---

[1] Ellen G. White to A. G. Daniells, 30 June 1901, Letter 65, 1901, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ellen G. White to J. Edson White, 30 June 1901, Letter 62, 1901, EGWB-AU. See also, Crisler, The Value of Organization. 14-17.

That such was the case was demonstrated with reference to the endorsements that Ellen White continually gave to the organizational system in the church. Even when, during the 1890s, she was so outspoken in her criticism of the centralization of location and decision making authority at Battle Creek, the practices of the leaders of the church, and the failure of the committees and boards to ensure proper representation in their composition, she was still loyal to the church. Ellen White may have made it entirely clear that for most of the decade she did not regard the General Conference as the voice of God and therefore did not grant to that body an unconditional authority which could not be transcended. Nevertheless she was a supporter of principles of organization.

In late 1892 Ellen White wrote to the General Conference in session. Her letter was read by O. A. Olsen, president of the General Conference. She wrote:

> We had a hard struggle in establishing organization. Not withstanding that the Lord gave testimony after testimony upon this point, the opposition was strong, and it had to be met again and again. But we knew that the Lord God of Israel was leading us, and guiding by his providence. We engaged in the work of organization and marked prosperity attended the advance movement. . . . The system of organization has proved a grand success. Systematic benevolence was entered into according to Bible plans. The body "has been compacted by that which every joint supplieth." As we have advanced our system of organization has proved effectual.
>
> In some parts of the work, it is true, the machinery has been made too complicated; especially has this been the case in the tract and missionary work; the multiplication of rules and

> regulations made is needlessly burdensome. An effort should be made to simplify the work, so as to avoid all needless labor and perplexity.
>
> The business of our Conference sessions has sometimes been burdened down with propositions and resolutions that were not at all essential, and that would never have been presented if the sons and daughters of God had been walking carefully and prayerfully before him. The fewer rules and regulations that we can have, the better will be the effect in the end. When they are made, let them be carefully considered, and, if wise, let it be seen that they mean something, and are not to become a dead letter. Do not, however, encumber any branch of the work with unnecessary, burdensome restrictions and the inventions of men. In this period of the world's history with the vast work that is before us, we need to observe the greatest simplicity, and the work will be stronger for its simplicity.
>
> Let none entertain the thought, however, that we can dispense with organization. It has cost us much study, and many prayers for wisdom that we know God has answered, to erect this structure. It has been built up by his direction, through much sacrifice and conflict. Let none of our brethren be so deceived as to attempt to tear it down, for you will thus bring in a condition of things that you do not dream of. *In the name of the Lord, I declare to you that it is to stand strengthened, established, and settled*. At God's command, "Go forward," we advanced when the difficulties to be surmounted made the advance seem impossible. We know how much it has cost to work out God's plans in the past, which have made us as a people what we are. Then let everyone be exceedingly careful not to unsettle minds in regard to those things that God has ordained for our prosperity and success in advancing his cause.[1] (Emphasis supplied).

This portion of Ellen White's letter to the General Conference session in 1893 has been often used by Seventh-day Adventists in an attempt to legitimize the structures of their church and to imply that they should not be changed.[2] However the appropriateness of that usage must be seriously questioned.

---

[1] Ellen G. White to Brethren of the General Conference, 19 December 1892, Letter 32, 1892, EGWB-AU; *GC Bulletin*. 1893, 20-25.

[2] See, for example, W. P. Bradley, "Perfectly Joined Together," *RH*. 22 March 1951, 8-10; B. E. Leach, "Unions: Why They're There," 6-part series in *Southwestern Union Record*. 26 April 1984, 12p; 10 May 1984, 12p; 24 May 1984, 16p; 7 June 1984, 12p; 21 June 1984, 12h; 21 June 1984, 12i.

In her letter in 1893, Ellen White said that the organizational structure of the church was to stand "_strengthened, established, and settled_" (emphasis supplied). If by her assertion she was referring to the _principles_ of organization then she was being consistent in her practice of leaving to those in positions of responsibility the details of structure, while endorsing the endurability of the principles which had been established in the 1860s.

If she was referring specifically to the structures as they stood in 1893, however, we are posed with a dilemma. How could Ellen White speak of structures standing "strengthened, established, and _settled_," when at the same time she was speaking so strongly against centralization in the organization? Even more significantly, how could she advocate and endorse the radical change that was necessary in 1901? The structures did not remain settled. Within eight years they were changed, with her endorsement. Either she was talking of principles in 1893, or she was affirming that, while principles should be non-negotiable, structures were adaptable to time and place. Or she was referring to both.[1]

That she was referring to principles, and that she was affirming that structures were adaptable to both time and place is further borne out by a later use of the letter which was written in 1892 and read to the General Conference session in 1893. Her letter was reprinted in the _Review and Herald_ of 1907. The intention of the editors was to bolster up the position of the church administration with reference to the structures that had been adopted in 1901-1903. It seems somewhat ironic, however, that the letter used to support union conference organization was written before the structures had been defined in their current form; before there ever was a union conference. While it can be assumed that Ellen White gave her approval to that reprint, such can only be the case if she understood her counsel to be based on principle, and that structures were adaptable.

---

[1] See J. N. Loughborough, "The Church: Caution to the Church," _RH_, 23 July 1901, 469-70.

Another example of her focus on principle rather than form was a declaration in 1899 that the features of the work were to remain settled. With reorganization only two years away she could not have been referring to form. She knew from first hand experience of the success of the union structure in Australia. She also was painfully aware of the inadequacy of the structures which still existed at the General Conference. How then could she advocate no changes in the "features of the work?" Changes came rapidly and radically. The likelihood that Ellen White was referring to principles, certainly not to the specific structures that were adopted in 1901 and 1903 is one explanation. Another explanation takes the context of her statement into consideration. The context indicates that organization was not her principle focus when she made the statement. She was more concerned with the foundational doctrines of the church. Contention that she was discussing organizational structures can only be inferred from the text and not affirmed with certainty.[1]

Reorganization of structure for Ellen White was consistent with the establishment and maintenance of the principles of organization that were themselves non-negotiable. Time and place were the conditioning factors which were to determine how the principles were to be implemented. Unity was to be preserved, but not at the expense of the highest regard for diversity. The principle of decentralization, the principle which was stressed more than any other in 1901 was to be consistently maintained because it held within itself the possibility of continuous change. Ellen White could see that the church was growing beyond the bounds of North America. She was experienced in culturally diverse situations. She could not endorse principles or structures which would impose uniformity on the church in the name of unity.

Ironically, the very statement which affirmed her commitment to diversity has been often used to imply that she endorsed uniformity in structure.[1] Ellen White wrote in November 1901:

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "The Work for This Time," MS3, 1899, EGWB-AU. When portion of this letter was reprinted in the sixth volume of Testimonies for the Church. the word "general" was added before the word features (Ellen G. White, Testimonies. 6:17). This sentence has been used to support the immutability of the specific structure of the church (See Beach, "Reflections on Denominational Structure," 16). Ellen White was not even discussing structure. In the context she does not even appear to be discussing organization. She was discussing the doctrines of the church. But even if she were discussing structure, general features refer to principles, not specifics. And even if she were referring to structural principles, the statement was written two years before 1901 and thus does not give specific endorsement to a change that was made two years later. Another explanation must be found than the one given which attempts to support the specifics of current church structure by the use of this statement.

> Too much power is invested in humanity when matters are so arranged that one man, or a small group of men have it in their power to rule or to ruin the work of their fellow-laborers. In the erection of medical institutions and the development of their work, there is not to be a ruling, kingly power, as there has been in the past. The kingly power formerly exhibited in the General Conference is not to be perpetuated. The publishing work is not to be a kingdom of itself. It is essential that the principles that govern in General Conference affairs shall be maintained in the management of the publishing work and the sanitarium work. No one is to think that the branch of work with which he is connected is of vastly more importance than other branches.
>
> The division of the General Conference into District Union Conferences was God's arrangement. In the work of the Lord for these last days there are to be no Jerusalem centers, no kingly power. And the work in the different countries is not to be tied up by contracts to the work centering in Battle Creek; for this is not God's plan. Brethren are to counsel together; for we are just as much under the control of God in one part of His vineyard as in another. Brethren are to be one in heart and soul, even as Christ and the Father are one. Teach this, practice this, that we may be one with Christ in God, all working to build up one another.[2]

These paragraphs which were written on 27 November 1901, seven months after the General Conference session, pointed to a danger which still existed--the danger of failing to implement the principle of decentralization in all the features of the church organization. Ellen White wrote in a manner which was conducive to unity, not disunity. But her burden was that there should not be any centers of kingly power. Her implication was that such concentrations of power would supplant the possibility of that unity which was to be a symbol of the relationship in the Godhead.

---

[1] See Bert B. Beach, "The Role of Unions in the Framework of the Present Denominational Structure" (Paper prepared for the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations, 1983, RG 500, Monographs Series, GCAr), 9; Leach, "Unions," 21 June 1984, 121.

[2] Ellen G. White, "Unheeded Warnings, II," MS 156B, 1901, EGWB-AU.

The reference to "District Union Conferences" was incidental. The word "decentralization" could be substituted for the phrase "the division of the General Conference in District Union Conferences," and the meaning of the whole paragraph would not be changed at all. That Ellen White was not attempting to be definitive is indicated by her combination of two designations--"district" and "union." She was not at all endorsing one or the other. The districts had not been union conferences. They had been the forerunners of union conferences. But that was not the essential point for her. The essential point was that a division of responsibility had been made and that division was God's arrangement. Kingly power in the administration of the church was not to be tolerated. Uniformity and unwillingness to make necessary adaptations were exactly the opposite to that which she had in mind. The work throughout the world was not to be tied in rigid conformity to the control of headquarters.[1]

A statement that was made in 1905 has also been used to contend that to diverge from the structure of the church would be to apostatize from the truth.[2] The statement appears below in its context:

> Those who took part in the establishment of our work upon a foundation of Bible truth, those who know the waymarks that have pointed out the right path, are to be regarded as workers of the highest value. They can speak from personal experience, regarding the truths entrusted to them. These men are not to permit their

---

[1] See also, Special Commission on Church Structure [appointed by the Pacific Union Conference], "Church Organization Structure In-Depth Study," vol. 1, "Findings and Recommendations, June 1, 1983," 284.

[2] See, for example, Leach, "Unions," 12i; Bert B. Beach, "Windows of Vulnerability," RH, 2 August 1984, 3-5; idem, "The Role of Unions," 8.

> faith to be changed to infidelity; they are not to permit the banner of the third angel to be taken from their hands. They are to hold the beginning of their confidence firm unto the end.
>
> The Lord has declared that the history of the past shall be rehearsed as we enter upon the closing work. Every truth that He has given for these last days is to be proclaimed to the world. Every pillar that has been established is to be strengthened. We cannot now step off the foundation that God has established. We cannot now enter into any new organization; for this would mean apostasy from the truth. The medical missionary work needs to be purified and cleansed from everything that would weaken the faith of believers in the past experience of the people of God. Eden, beautiful Eden, was degraded by the introduction of sin. There is need now to rehearse the experience of the men who acted a part in the establishment of our work at the beginning.[1]

When this manuscript was released by the White Estate as MS Release No. 65, it was retyped and in that form inserted into Selected Messages: Book II. In the retyping, a paragraph break was inserted after the phrase "apostasy from the truth." In Selected Messages the second half of the paragraph was not even quoted and the selection was concluded with that phrase. Had the whole paragraph been included, the break in the paragraph at that point would have given the previous sentence and the following sentence more emphasis than they had as originally typed. But to omit the rest of the paragraph, to select only a short portion of the manuscript, and to head the selection "No New Organization," was a distortion of the author's original meaning.[2]

The context of the statement indicates that Ellen White's reference was to two things. First, she was referring in the manuscript to the experiences "of the men who acted a part in the establishment of our work at the beginning." Her reference to organization was to the establishment of the principles of organization back in the 1860s in the context of the pillars of truth then established; not to the specific form adopted in 1901. Form was important and she did not say that radical changes were necessary at that time, but her reference on that occasion was to principles established at the beginning; not unions, or departments or any other aspect of the form. Further, her reference was conditioned by the attacks that had been made on the _principles_ of organization at that time (since the confrontation in 1902), particularly by those aligned with Kellogg and his medical missionary work. The reference to the medical missionary work continues right on in the same paragraph to illuminate the meaning of the previous sentence with its _passing_ reference to organization. Within a few weeks after Ellen White wrote this manuscript, Jones wrote the letter to Daniells which was the basis of _Some History, Some Experiences, and Some Facts_.[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Steadfast unto the End," MS 129, 1905, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ibid.; Ellen G. White, "Steadfast Unto the End." MS 129, 1905, MS Release No. 65, EGWB-AU; idem, Selected Messages: Book II (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1958), 389-90.

Ellen White again affirmed her commitment to the need for organization at the beginning of 1907. On that occasion, with the controversy being fueled by the opponents of the reorganized structures of the church, Ellen White appealed for harmony and order in the discussions regarding organization. She was concerned that the organization itself not be broken down by "disorderly elements" that were seeking to control the church. Again, she was supportive of the "system of organization and order" that had "been built up by wise, careful labor." But she was not addressing the issue of uniformity or the unchangeable nature of the structure that had been erected.[1]

---

[1] A. T. Jones to A. G. Daniells, 26 January 1906, RG 11, 1910 [_sic_] A. T. Jones Folder, GCAr. If Ellen White was unequivocally stating that to change the system of organization would be to apostatize from the truth, why did the General Conference feel free to introduce divisional sections in 1913. Was that considered to be apostasy?

Ellen White at no time attempted to dictate a specific form. She left that to others.[2] Her work was to support the principles of organization and to expound those principles which were in harmony with the purposes and nature of the church. She did not demand nor support the absolute necessity of uniformity of structure. She was committed to unity in diversity. Sometimes those who have attempted to interpret her intention have been so careful to strain out the gnat that they have altogether missed the camel.

Conclusion

The 1890s were a period of turmoil for the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Numerical and institutional growth was experienced in a context of organizational upheaval as administrators endeavored to find organizational structures which would facilitate the ongoing mission of the church. The structures that had been adopted in 1860-1863 were no longer adequate to accommodate the needs of the church. Not only was the church growing numerically and institutionally, but since 1874 it had been also growing internationally.

During that period of transition, the church was sustained by its youthful vitality, optimistic hope, sense of divine providence, and commitment to the evangelization of the world. Despite uncertainty there were those within the church who were prepared to experiment with new organizational structures which would facilitate the internationalization of the church and the success of mission. Those developments, which in 1901 culminated in a reorganized administrative structure in the Seventh-day Adventist Church are to be understood as a continuum, not as isolated events.

---

[1] Ellen G. White, Testimonies to the Church Regarding Individual Responsibility and Christian Unity (Mountain View, Calif.: The California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1907), 19-20.

[2] See GC Bulletin. 1903, 25. See also, page 164 above.

It has been the purpose of these two chapters to document some of the practical problems faced by the church in the 1890s which made reorganization imperative, and to describe the innovations and conflicts which were part of the reorganization process in 1901-1903. The purpose of chapter four is to examine in detail the theological considerations that were so important to the determination of the form that the reorganized structure assumed at that time.

CHAPTER IV

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF REORGANIZATION[1]

Introduction

Before a conference system of organization was adopted by the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the early 1860s, there had been much debate about the need for organization.[2] Before reorganization in 1901 there was no serious consideration of the need for organization as such. Church leaders were agreed that organization was necessary. What had become apparent during the 1890s was that in order for the church to continue to grow, the form of organization which the church had adopted needed refinement and adjustment. Thus it was a question of form--the form that the organizational structures of the church should assume--that was the focus of reorganization.

Church leaders did not think that organizational refinement and adjustment should be made in a haphazard fashion, however. They often spoke of the need for undergirding principles--not only those principles which were foundational to structural forms but many other principles which informed the attitudes and positions which the church adopted on a whole variety of issues.[1] Yet, in spite of their insistence on the necessity of "principles," Seventh-day Adventists did not develop systematic theological positions which provided a framework by which their principles could be prioritized. They had concentrated their attention on those distinctive doctrines which gave legitimacy to their independence and existence as a denomination. They were too preoccupied by their own rapid expansion to take time to find consensus on a distinctive ecclesiology.[2]

---

[1] When the terms "theological," "ecclesiological," "soteriological," and eschatological" are used with reference to the schemes of A. T. Jones and A. G. Daniells, it should be understood that those terms are being used in a less-than-precise manner. The thought of those who were allied with Daniells was not systematized in a theological manner. They thought in terms of doctrines and biblical examples rather than in theological categories. Although Jones and his associates were more theological in their approach, even they were not systematic in the strictest sense.

[2] See Mustard, "James White and Organization," 116-61; Anderson, "Sectarianism and Organization, 1846-1864," 36-65; Schwarz, Light Bearers. 86-103.

It is not surprising, therefore, that investigation of the historical data reveals different viewpoints regarding the selection of theological material to be used to support reorganization of denominational structures. Those differing positions were concentrated around two foci. On the one hand there were those--represented especially by A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, D. J. Paulson,

---

[1] For amplification of the discussion of "principles" see the "Introduction" to chapter 5.

[2] Such a situation was to be expected of a young, rapidly growing church. At the 1888 General Conference session an attempt was made to try and persuade the church to think theologically. The focus of attention was soteriology. Those responsible for the initiatives shown at that session were A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner. Shortly after 1888, Jones and Waggoner were describing theological images and concepts which they believed defined the nature of the church. With their interest in the "church" they also began to describe structural forms which they were convinced should be derived from their ecclesiology. While it cannot be said that Jones and Waggoner developed a comprehensive ecclesiology, it is true that they were more systematic in their treatment of the biblical data which related to ecclesiology than were their contemporaries within the denomination.

Percy T. Magan, and for a time, W. W. Prescott--who were anxious that a set of theological principles which arose from their consideration of the priesthood of believers, the headship of Christ, the church as the body of Christ, and spiritual gifts determine the form of organization. They concentrated on those theological images which emphasized the local nature of the church and overlooked to a large extent those which emphasized the universal nature of the church. They did not wish to have any one person named as "president" of the General Conference. They were concerned that calling a man "president" detracted from the headship of Christ and removed the focus of attention from the mystical nature of the church to the human, visible nature of the church.

On the other hand, there were those--represented especially by A. G. Daniells, W. C. White, and W. A. Spicer--who maintained that the church was not only local but also universal in nature. For them, the universal unity of the church took priority over the individuality and diversity of its constituent local congregations and individual members. They did not deny that Christ was the head of the church, that the church was his body, that there were spiritual gifts given to the church, and that the reformation principle of the priesthood of believers was important to Seventh-day Adventists. It was just that they did not take into consideration the possibility that organizational principles derived from emphasis on those theological concepts could facilitate the task of the church. That task was the transmission of the gospel, as Seventh-day Adventists understood it, to the world. For them the task informed their concept of the church.

For Jones and his associates, their concept of the church informed the task.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to trace in full the theological and organizational conflict that existed between those who were allied with Daniells and those who were allied with Jones during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. That task awaits further research. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe and evaluate those theological presuppositions which were foundational to the organizational structures that were adopted by the church during the process of reorganization by comparing the theological foci of Jones and his associates with those of Daniells and his associates.

The Theological Foundations for Organization as Perceived by A. T. Jones and His Associates: The Christocentric Model

A Theological Foundation

It was Jones's contention that the organizational form of the denomination, both before 1901 and after 1903, was founded on principles which bore insufficient relationship to New Testament Christianity.[1] At the same time, he believed that the scheme of organization that he promoted was derived almost exclusively from the New Testament. He endeavored to support his proposal by developing a particular ecclesiological viewpoint which he contended was the only viable alternative if the New Testament was to be taken seriously. He particularly related his ecclesiology to his soteriology and his eschatology.

---

[1] Jones and his associates had a considerable impact on the determination of form at the 1901 General Conference session. Although not totally satisfied, they were gratified by the apparent response to their calls for reform. Insofar as they were each calling for reorganization, the "Jones camp" and the "Daniells camp" formed a brief, albeit somewhat tenuous, alliance at that time. The alliance did not last beyond mid-1902, however. Later (1906-1909), Jones wrote a series of pamphlets in which he expressed his grievances with the denomination, and particularly with its failure to provide adequate theological grounds for its position. The denomination replied to the first of these. See Jones, Some History, Some Experiences, and Some Facts; General Conference Committee, Statement; Jones, A Final Word;

Soteriology

Jones and Waggoner had been the leading proponents of a fresh understanding of righteousness by faith at the Minneapolis General Conference session in 1888. It was immediately after that session that the General Conference executive committee took its first major step towards organizational reform by dividing the territory of North America into four districts. Within twenty years, both Jones and Waggoner were to leave the church, not because of the attitudes of opponents to the doctrine of righteousness by faith, or even because of debates concerning the nature of the law in Galatians. The issue which appears to have been debated by them more than any other single issue, at least at General Conference sessions between 1897 and 1903, was organizational reform.

But organizational reform was not conceived in terms of sociological, governmental, or managerial categories by Jones and his associates. It was always envisaged in relation to theological presuppositions which were irrevocable for the determination of form. Of those theological categories, their understanding of soteriology

---

idem, An Appeal.

was prior to all others. Not only had Jones and Waggoner rediscovered the meaning of righteousness by faith and justification by faith, in particular, and expounded on their relevance and necessity to the Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal scheme, but they made an attempt to construct a theological system on a soteriological foundation. In 1897, Waggoner declared: "Justification by faith is not simply one series or line of truth to be presented to the people. It is the whole truth; it is the third angel's message; there is nothing else."[1]

By declaring that justification by faith was "the three angel's message," they were insisting that their soteriology was foundational to their ecclesiology and their proposals in regard to church organization. It was the primary determinant of their theological scheme. That meant that the soteriological relationship of the individual with Christ was preeminent. When, at the Ottawa, Kansas, campmeeting in 1889 Jones asked the question, "Who compose the church?" he answered, "The members; those who believe in Christ."[2] The church was defined by individuals who were in a salvific relationship with Christ. Certainly the church was a corporate body, but its corporate nature was always considered more as a function of the individual, independent members and congregations that comprised it. The church was a united body, but that unity was not to be permitted to deprive each member of his or her independence, individuality, and originality. Each had "a right to exercise every part of his right in relation to Christ."[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin, 1897, 253.

[2] Topeka, Kansas, Daily Capital, 16 May 1889. The Sermons Preached at the Ottawa, Kans., campmeeting have been reprinted in The 1889 Campmeeting Sermons: As Found in the Topeka, Kansas Daily Capital May 7-28, 1889 (St. Maries, Idaho: LMN Publications, 1987).

Reorganization, therefore, was not so much a function of the corporate church as it was the responsibility of the individual church member. Reorganization was related not only to the structures of the denomination, but to the inner life of the individual. In his first sermon at the 1901 General Conference session, Jones insisted that

> a reorganization of the General Conference calls for a reorganization of each individual Seventh-day Adventist throughout the world. . . . Whomsoever it is that God shall reach by that life of his, that is organization; and whomsoever he shall reach by that life of his in greater measure, that is reorganization.[2]

In that same sermon, which Daniells later referred to as "grand," Jones related the grace of God, present in the life of each individual church member, to the organization of the church. Quoting the second chapter of Ephesians, Jones pointed out that the basis of membership in the church was the grace of God in the life and that it was that grace which "joined" and "knitted" the body together into a "building, built by the Head." Jones concluded: "That is organization, that is reorganization. Come, brethren, let us be reorganized."[3]

At the next General Conference session in Oakland, California, Jones again emphasized the soteriological foundation for ecclesiology. Speaking on the significance of church membership, he applied the language of Dan 8:14 to personal regeneration and to church membership. He exhorted the delegates at the session:

---

[1] Ibid. See also the edition for 10 May 1889.

[2] GC Bulletin. 1901, 37-38.

[3] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 12 June 1901, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC; GC Bulletin. 1901, 42.

> There is need of such a cleansing of the sanctuary . . . as will finish transgression in the life of every Seventh-day Adventist, will make an end of sins there, and will make reconciliation for all the sins that have ever been there. . . .
>
> Only that . . . can be any true cleansing of the sanctuary; . . . and belonging to the church indeed as this is, the giving of this message . . . can be accomplished in the generation that remains.[1] (Emphasis supplied).

The church was defined as those individuals who were "cleansed." Its corporate existence was an expression of the sum of the existence of each component part. The task of the church which was to be accomplished in that generation was expressed as a function of each part, before it was considered attainable by the whole.

Their soteriological foundation meant that when Jones and Waggoner described the church, they first described it in terms of its divine characteristics--as a community of the saved, separated from the realm of the world. No account was taken of other dimensions of the church, especially its human or sociological nature. They overlooked the reality that life in the church was not lived only in terms of a mystical relationship to God, but in relationship to other individuals, to family, to the church itself, and to the world. They failed to realize that soteriology alone was not a sufficient foundation from which to construct an ecclesiology.

---

[1] Sten 1903, "Sermon of Elder A. T. Jones, March 29, 1903," 29 March 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 38-39.

Eschatology

The eschatological hope of Jones and Waggoner and their associates grew, in turn, out of their emphasis on individualism and righteousness by faith. When Jones preached on the seventh angel at the 1903 General Conference session, he admitted that "one place" where the mystery of God was to be finished was "the world itself." However, much more essential was the finishing of the mystery in "the lives of the believers." He contended that

> if the manifestation of God in the lives of those who preach . . . is not completed also, we could preach . . . ten thousand years and the end would never come. . . . [The believer's] life is God manifest[in the flesh], only that is the finishing of the mystery of God in the way that it counts.[1]

The next day E. J. Waggoner preached a sermon which he titled "The Gospel of the Kingdom." He did not deny that the gospel had to be preached to everyone. But like Jones, he emphasized that the preaching was to be done with reference to the actions and reactions of the individual. Waggoner went further than Jones, however. Not only was "every act" and "every thought" crucial as the prospect of the end was considered, but any preaching that was to be done was not to be simply a story about Jesus, but "literally the preaching of the Lord Jesus." By this Waggoner meant that in the preaching event it was to be "the Lord Jesus Himself preaching."[2]

By 1903, as the controversy over John Harvey Kellogg's manuscript of the Living Temple was breaking on the church, Jones and his associates had already imbibed some of the immanentist notions that were proposed in the book. Such notions assimilated well with the soteriological and eschatological emphases that Jones and Waggoner had maintained over the years. Eschatological introversion was very much the corollary of soteriological individualism.

---

[1] Sten 1903, "Sermon of Elder A. T. Jones, March 29, 1903," 29 March 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 33-34.

[2] Sten 1903, "The Gospel of the Kingdom," 30 March 1903, RG 0, GCAr.

With the primary eschatological focus being turned inward, the function of structural organization in the denomination was not seen in terms of facilitation of the global mission of the church. A global task expressed in terms of preparing every nation, kindred, tongue and people for the eschaton was not as important to the hastening of the coming of Christ as the attitude of the individual to righteousness by faith. Organization was necessary, but its function was seen more in relation to the individual's eschatological hope than to any need for missionary urgency compelled by an imminent eschaton. While Jones did not deny the need for mission, he had no extended missionary experience outside the United States. Waggoner did have missionary experience in Britain during the 1890s, but had no real opportunity to imbibe an appreciation for the world-wide concept of mission.

Ecclesiology

In the early post-1888 years, Jones chose to address one of three subjects in most of his sermon series: righteousness by faith, religious liberty, or church order and organization. His prominent role at the 1888 General Conference session and his influence in the denomination brought him into dialog with those who could not clearly see the forensic nature of justification and its relationship to sanctification. As editor of the American Sentinel and executive committee member of the National Religious Liberty Association, Jones was called upon to address issues which threatened the liberty and freedom of conscience of church members, especially during the late 1880s and early 1890s when Sunday laws in several states meant imprisonment and persecution for some Seventh-day Adventists.[1]

But Jones's developing interest in church order and organization did not arise in the context of organizational polemic nor administrative function. He was not a member of the General Conference executive committee until 1897 and was always so much in demand as a speaker and writer that he was given no opportunity to become deeply involved with the conference administration of the church until then. Rather, his interest in organization derived primarily from his theological understanding of the nature of the church. What also may have molded his attitude towards organizational reform was the sustained opposition that he and Waggoner received from many church leaders, including the president of the General Conference, to their presentations of righteousness by faith and their concept of the law in Galatians in 1888. Further, both he and Waggoner were no doubt aware that Ellen White was becoming increasingly outspoken regarding the centralizing tendencies of the General Conference and the authoritarian administrative style of its officers.[1]

---

[1] Reports regarding Sunday laws and their effects on Seventh-day Adventists were especially prominent in the RH from 1885-1895. Within that decade, the years 1889-1892 appear to have been the most problematic, if the number of reports alone can be taken as a guide. After 1895, apart from references to continuing problems in Tennessee and some threats of legislation in other states and even overseas, the problem of Sunday laws did not receive the attention in the RH that it had earlier. No doubt this was partly due to the efforts of Jones himself who appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on 13 December 1888 and on 22 February 1889, in order to defend the sabbatarian position. Again he was involved as a key witness in the defeat of the Breckenridge bill on 18 February 1890, and as an outspoken opponent of the law which was signed into legislation stipulating that federal appropriations for the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 would not be paid unless the fair closed on Sundays. For further description of the impact of Sunday law legislation on the Seventh-day Adventist Church, see Everett Dick, "The Cost of Discipleship: Seventh-day Adventists and Tennessee Sunday Laws in the 1890's," Adventist Heritage 11 (Spring 1986): 26-32; and Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, 75-88.

Whichever was the case, very soon after 1888 Jones was preaching on the subject of ecclesiology and church order. At the Ottawa, Kansas, campmeeting held just seven months after the Minneapolis General Conference session Jones preached thirty-one sermons. Only four of those were on righteousness by faith. Eleven were on the church and its organization, and the rest were concerned with subjects related to religious liberty. In the main, Jones's discourses on the subject of the church were built around what were to become the cardinal aspects of his ecclesiology--the church as the body of Christ, the spiritual giftedness of the individual members of the church, and the headship of Christ in the Church. Already, Jones had begun to emphasize the concept of individuality--the concept which was later to be expressed as the principle of self-government. He stated that "Christ wants us to be ourselves and no one else." The correct principle was that it was Christ's will that we be "independent in our originality." He concluded that there should be "independence of action," but "unity of purpose."[1]

---

[1] For example, see Ellen G. White to Brethren Butler and Haskell, 28 October 1885, Letter 12, 1885, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to R. A. Underwood, 10 January 1888, Letter 3, 1888, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler, 14 October 1888, Letter 21, 1888, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White to G. I. Butler, 15 October 1888, Letter 21a, 1888, EGWB-AU. Also see above, 58-66.

In a series of seven sermons presented during and immediately after the General Conference session in 1897, Jones substantiated his ecclesiological viewpoint, which he had usually supported by exposition from the New Testament, by referring to examples and illustrations from the Old Testament. In one of the sermons--"The Apostasy of Israel"--Jones pointed out that the essence of Israel's apostasy was that they did not believe God. The evidence was that they set up their own earthly form of government. The inference was clear. To usurp the headship and character of Christ in the church by setting up an organization with a human leader was also, in Jones's view, apostasy.[2] In his ecclesiology as well as in his soteriology and eschatology, the person of Jesus Christ was the foundation of Jones's scheme.[3]

---

[1] Topeka, Kansas, Daily Capital. 10 May 1889. The concept of the church as the body of Christ was not wholly unknown in Seventh-day Adventist literature before Jones began to preach it. In 1880, James White wrote a short editorial in which he alluded to Paul's use "of the several members of the human body to illustrate the members of the church of Christ" (James White, "Bible Religion: The Church of Christ Illustrated by the Human Body," RH, 15 April 1880, 248). But White did not use the metaphor in order to discuss the nature of the church. Rather his was a pragmatic concern--the need for church discipline and the necessity to sometimes "cut off" members of the "body" in order to preserve the health of the whole. It appears that Jones was the first in the Seventh-day Adventist Church to develop the theological implications of Pauline imagery beyond casual reference.

[2] The General Conference Bulletin (Quarterly), first quarter 1897, 40-45.

[3] Thus the choice of the term "christocentric model."

At that General Conference session Jones was more than ably supported by his long-time ally, E. J. Waggoner, and also by W. W. Prescott. Waggoner preached a series of eighteen sermons on the book of Hebrews. He often interspersed his remarks on the text of Hebrews with his ideas of the direction that organizational reform should take.[1] Prescott, who took a smaller series on the subject of education, also took every opportunity to promote his views on organization.

By 1903, however, it was apparent that Jones and Waggoner were deriving an ecclesiastical viewpoint from their ecclesiology which was irreconcilable with the form of organization that was being adopted by the denomination. They held the position, for example, that the headship of Christ over the church should not be detached from the actual organization of the church. The headship of Christ was not a principle of organization to be given casual assent and forgotten. Rather, the reality of Christ's headship was to be realized in an organization that was not to "come from the members," was not to originate with or be managed by human components in the church, but was to come "from the Head." "All reorganization" was to "come from Christ himself, through the Spirit of God."[2]

---

[1] In one of his discourses, Waggoner asked the question, "How am I going to get that organization which the Lord wants me to have?" He answered, "Be born again." For Waggoner, as for Jones, corporate organization was always to be merged with personal regeneration. Prescott supported Jones and Waggoner by appealing for the conference to follow "God's method of organization"; the method of organization that they had advocated (GC Bulletin. 1897, 157, 163-67, 236, 248).

[2] A. T. Jones, Church Organization: Sermon by Elder A. T. Jones (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1901), 18, 19. Jones concluded the sermon: "There is no danger whatever [of schism]--except

Not only was Christ head of the body, but the head and the body were considered as one. Christ was depicted as the church, and the church as Christ. In a sermon at the General Conference session in 1903, Jones preached a sermon to all the assembled delegates in which he claimed that

> the church is the body of Christ in the word [*sic*]. It is Christ manifested in the word [*sic*]; it is Christ incarnate in the world, and that church being his body, being himself manifested, to love that church, and give myself for it is nothing less, and it can not be anything more than to love him and give myself for him. . . . *The* church, the church of Christ, is himself manifested. He is this.[1]

Certainly the church was not merely the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Since membership in the church was defined not by a creed but by relationship to Christ, and since by its very nature the church was Christ incarnate in the world, it was not possible for any human organization to draw boundaries around the church and enclose some and exclude others. The only qualification for membership was an existential relationship with Jesus Christ, and only Christ himself was qualified to assess the nature of his relationship with each individual. The church, therefore, was to be found even "among the nations of the heathen," and "there in oppression and in slavery, in bondage," the nations could find the truth through such a church.[2]

---

among those who 'hold not the head'" (ibid., 21). A similar perspective to that of Jones and Waggoner is presented in Lawrence O. Richards and Clyde Hoeldtke, *A Theology of Church Leadership* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1980).

[1] Sten 1903, "Sermon of Elder A. T. Jones, March 29, 1903," RG 0, GCAr, 22-23.

[2] Ibid., 32. Thorough study needs to be given to the comparisons and contrasts between the ecclesiological views of Jones and Waggoner and ecclesiological emphases in the Holiness and

Reference has already been made to the parallel ecclesiological concepts of Waggoner and Jones during the 1890s. When at the 1903 General Conference session an attempt was made to adopt a constitution which reverted to electing a president as the leading officer of the General Conference, three members of the Committee on Plans and Constitution dissented from the majority report and submitted to the floor of the session a minority report. The three

---

Pentecostal movements of the 1880s-1910s. Although in-depth study of those issues lies outside the purposes of this dissertation, a preliminary investigation has revealed some striking parallels between the soteriological and ecclesiological views of Jones and Waggoner and some of their contemporaries within those movements. For example, Arthur T. Pierson in his small commentary on the Keswick conventions (which began in 1875), summarized "the Keswick method." The "method" comprised one essential tenet: the Holy Spirit was "practically regarded as the presiding officer and chief administrator in all truly holy assemblies." He was the "true Archbishop, the Supreme Teacher, the Divine Guide and Governor" (A. T. Pierson, The Keswick Movement [New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903], 121). From that "fundamental position," Pierson listed "several others": (1) "habitual waiting on God in prayer," (2) "avoidance of man-worship," (3) "independence of worldly attractions and patronage," (4) "apostolic simplicity of worship, witness, and fellowship," and (5) "all believers . . . held to be one in Christ Jesus" (ibid., 121-23). The parallels between these positions which were characteristic of the Keswick movement and the espoused positions of Jones and Waggoner (who advocated divine headship in church organization) are obvious. One difference, however, was that whereas the Holiness movement and the Pentecostal movement in particular were more pneumatocentric, Jones and Waggoner remained more christocentric through 1903. It is probably true to say, however, that they talked of the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer and the church more than those who were allied with Daniells. For Daniells, the function of the Holy Spirit was usually related to the task of the church. For a discussion of christocentrism versus pneumatocentrism, see Donald W. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 43-44, 51-52. Other works which should be consulted in comparing and contrasting the ecclesiological views of Jones and some of his contemporaries outside the Seventh-day Adventist Church include, Melvin E. Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980); R. Laurence Moore, Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and W. J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972).

dissenting members were E. J. Waggoner, D. J. Paulson, and Percy T. Magan.[1]

Waggoner assumed the role of spokesman for the group. He explained that they objected to the constitution as proposed by the majority report because it was "fundamentally and diametrically opposed to the principles of organization as set forth in the Bible." He added that "both the form and the spirit" of the proposed organization were wrong. To substantiate his case, Waggoner rehearsed many of the ecclesiological positions that, with Jones, he had developed over the fifteen years since 1888.[2]

First, he asserted that the local church was to be the basic unit and standard of organization. According to Waggoner, this was the biblical model.[3] Second, Bible organization was "opposed to the exaltation of any person over others." He contended that "in the economy of God," all were to be kings and nobody ruled over any other. Presumably he was working from the reformation principle of the priesthood of believers. This was another variation on the headship-of-Christ rationale for not electing a president. The reason for not having a titular president was not only the headship of Christ, but the equality of all. He explained,

---

[1] The minority report claimed, in part, that the proposed constitution of 1903 was "so subversive of the principles of organization" given in 1897 and 1901 that those who supported the report could not possibly subscribe to it. In their opinion, it reversed the "reformatory steps" then taken before they had been given an "adequate trial." Sten 1903, "Report of the Minority of the Committee on Plans and Constitution," 9 April 1903, 11:00 A.M., RG 0, GCAr, 17.

[2] Ibid., 21-34.

[3] Ibid., 22. E. J. Waggoner's father, J. H. Waggoner, had written a series of articles on the subject of the church in RH in 1885. Curiously, in the eighth article in the series he had defined the structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as "congregational." He began that particular article: "The system of church government among Seventh-day Adventists, as among Baptists, is the congregational." In the same article he described the conference organization which was also a part of the structure of the church. However, the conference organization was perceived only as "the balance-wheel, the check to prevent maladministration of discipline in the churches" (J. H. Waggoner, "The Church.--No. 8," RH, 9 June 1885, 360-61). It appears that J. H. Waggoner, like his son after him, saw the local congregation as the basic organizational unit of the church. That this article, which suggests that the organizational structure of

> Nobody is going to rule. I am a king; but I recognize that other man as king, and I will submit to his authority, under God, and the other men will recognize the other one's authority, under God, when he stands under relationship to God; and I will recognize the whole of them, and they, in turn, me; and there is mutual reigning, absolute sovereignty, on the part of each individual, and, above all, submission on the part of each to one another and to the whole.[1]

Third, Waggoner argued that although the need for leadership was recognized in the New Testament, authority to lead was derived from the mystical relationship between the individual and God. It was not to come from the position to which that person may be elected.[2] Waggoner failed to recognize, however, that leadership authority and mystical relationship fall into two different categories. The theological concept of the headship of Christ does not negate the sociological need for leadership. Leadership is a sociological concept quite apart from its theological ramifications. The Bible recognizes the need for leadership because in human society there must

---

the denomination was congregational, was printed in the RH is indicative of the lack of ecclesiological discussion and clear structural definition that was characteristic of the church at that time.

[1] Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, 11:00 A.M., RG 0, GCAr, 29-30.

[2] Ibid., 28.

be leaders. Leadership is not only a theological category, just as the concept of mystical relationship is not only a sociological category. The mystical relationship between the believer and Christ is theologically grounded. Jones and Waggoner failed to realize that their theological data could not define everything in regards to the need for human leadership in the church and the manner in which that leadership should be exercised.

For Waggoner, abrogating the need for leadership was a mark of maturity. He stated to the assembled delegates at the 1903 General Conference session that he was sure that the time would come when such things would "be left aside as the toys of childhood." To assume that human leadership in the church would always be necessary was, for him, a mark of disbelief in the power of the Holy Spirit to keep the church unified.[1]

Just before concluding his remarks and appealing to the delegates to reject the proposed constitutional changes, Waggoner admitted that although the constitution adopted in 1901 had been "better than anything" they had ever had and "a step in the right direction," his approval of it was based on the fact that "it was milder" and "had fewer provisions" than any other constitution that the church had adopted since it was organized. His support was certainly not unqualified, however. He had not actually voted for it at all, nor had he "voted for any constitution for the last ten years." He saw it as a step in the "right direction" but still so far from expressing the principles he was espousing that he could not cast a vote for it. That being the case, he could not possibly revoke the principles which he held and had "been teaching for many years," by recommending to the delegates at the 1903 session a constitution that he perceived as a direct reversal of the gains that had been made when the 1901 constitution had been adopted.[1]

---

[1] Ibid., 27-28.

By 1903 Jones, Waggoner, and a significant group of others who shared their soteriological, eschatological, and ecclesiological biases were comparing the developing organizational form of the denomination with the institutional and hierarchical characteristics of the papacy. In that year, Jones published a pamphlet in which he denounced the "religious despotism" of the papal system. He pointedly titled the short work One Man Power.[2]

Its implications were not lost on A. G. Daniells. Writing to G. I. Butler some months after the 1903 session of the General Conference, Daniells was perplexed. He said:

---

[1] Ibid., 27, 31. At the 1903 General Conference session, W. W. Prescott was no longer an ally of Jones and Waggoner. He had changed his position soon after the 1901 General Conference session and had become supportive of the position held by Daniells. It had been Prescott who, at the 1897 General Conference session, had first drawn the attention of the delegates to the recently published statement of Ellen White that it was not wise to choose one man as president of the General Conference. GC Bulletin. 1897, 58.

[2] A. T. Jones, One Man Power (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, [1903]), 20. The final paragraph read: "And so the meaning of the things that are occurrent today, and the outcome of the combines that are prevalent everywhere, and in all things, is the religious despotism of a one-man power of the Papacy restored to a short-lived supremacy, and then hurled down to eternal destruction and perdition. While for those who, with the other heroes of the ages, in their individual integrity, refuse all that. and stand in their individual integrity with God in Jesus Christ, the sure outcome is the rising to be with God in everlasting victory and eternal glory. For 'those who are on his side . . . will share his victory.' Who is on the Lord's side?" (ibid., 21).

> I am utterly astonished at the position Dr. Waggoner is taking in this matter [organization]. Both he and Elder Jones seem to think that we are establishing the papacy in our midst, but I can not see this at all.[1]

In 1909, reflecting on the situation in 1901 and 1903, Jones wrote an appeal to the General Conference in session. He wrote:

> I repeat: In 1901 the denomination was brought to the very threshold of the Christian and New Testament order. But instead of going on through the open door, fully into evangelical Christianity, in 1902 that whole order was reversed. In 1903 this reversal was confirmed in General Conference. And now, as officially written and published, the denomination is openly and positively committed professedly to the Mosaic order but in fact to the first steps of the papal order.[2]

Jones's ecclesiology had been molded by the same processes and presuppositions that gave birth to his emphasis on righteousness by faith. Together with Waggoner he had endeavored to move the Seventh-day Adventist Church toward a theological understanding of the nature of the church which was more ontological than functional. Their efforts should be appreciated over against an almost complete disregard for ecclesiological thinking by other leaders of the church.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to G. I. Butler, 3 July 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr. Daniells's lack of understanding of the theological basis of Jones and Waggoner's position was revealed in this letter to Butler. Daniells did not agree with Jones and Waggoner, but clearly his disagreement was not based on theological reasoning, but on the pragmatic implications of their proposal, which, given his administrative ability and aptitude, he perceived as destructive to the goals and purposes of the church. He wrote to Butler: "These new ideas regarding church discipline, organization, etc., are a revelation to me. For fourteen years I labored in Australia in blissful ignorance of these new notions. There I worked with Brother and Sister White, all those years, carefully and patiently building up a systematic, thoroughly organized movement. We never met with the charges of papacy, kingship, bossism, or anything of the kind. To my mind there is an element of anarchy, disorganization, and chaos in this opposition to what I should call organization. . . . Therefore, notwithstanding their protestations, I can not help feeling that they are opposed to organization. They may not think so, but that is what it amounts to" (ibid.)

[2] A. T. Jones, An Appeal, 49. This appeal was read at the General Conference session in response to a written request by Jones to present his case before the session delegates. Shortly afterwards, Jones's membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church was revoked.

Because his ecclesiology was based on his soteriology, however, Jones gave insufficient attention to the corporate nature of the church, its universal nature, and its sociological dimensions. After 1901, and especially after 1903, most who defended the reorganized structure of the church did so on the basis of an appeal to New Testament references to the church universal, and gave almost no attention to New Testament references to the church local. Jones and his associates, on the other hand, largely neglected even New Testament references to the church universal and chose to concentrate their attention on the church local.

Their greatest omission, however, was the result of their failure to recognize that the church is not wholly, nor only, a theological entity. They did not address the church as a sociological entity. At the 1897 General Conference session, Waggoner had made it clear that they did not consider the church to be anything but a divine institution. He bluntly stated that "the Church of Christ is not a human organization."[1] Jones and he did not take into account the reality that the church is made up of human beings and that it does display those sociological and organizational characteristics common to all human endeavor.

They also failed to take into consideration the impact of sin on the church and its structures. Jones and Waggoner were convinced that those who were totally surrendered to Christ and, therefore, under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit, would not sin. The church, in their view, comprised people who were living without sin. Consideration of the impact of sin on structures was irrelevant.

---

[1] G.C. Bulletin, 1897, 236.

Regardless of the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of the church, however, a human organization needs a system of checks and balances. Idealistic organizational forms which deny the presence and impact of sin are inappropriate, even for the church. Structures should take into account the ecclesiological and sociological dimensions that are integral to the church. But they are appropriate only if they are able to accommodate the impact that the fallen nature of man and freedom of choice has upon all social institutions. The soteriological and anthropological positions of Jones and his associates made their acceptance of such a perspective impossible.

The Theological Foundations for Reorganization as Perceived by A. G. Daniells and His Allies: The Eschatological-Missiological Model

While Jones and his associates started their theological reasoning with righteousness by faith, Daniells and his associates began with the certainty and imminence of the return of Jesus Christ. On that eschatological foundation Daniells and those who saw the situation as he did built their commitment to global missionary endeavor. The imminence of the second coming of Christ determined the urgency of the mission. Soteriology was important to them, especially since they were aware of the initiatives that had been shown by Jones and Waggoner in 1888. But in contrast to Jones and Waggoner, soteriology was not the starting point of their theological reasoning.

Ecclesiology was for those allied with Daniells more a function of their eschatological and missiological perceptions. The church existed because it had been commissioned to perform a specific task. That task was missionary in nature. The missionary nature of the church was the theological perspective that informed the need for, and shape of, the structures of the church. Denominational organization was modelled according to the contingencies of the task. The task itself was contingent on the eschatological hope of those who had accepted Christ. Writing to W. C. White in 1903, Daniells stated that "the vital object for which Seventh-day Adventists have been raised up is to prepare the world for the Coming Christ; the chief means for doing this work is the preaching of the present truth, or the third angel's message of Rev. 14:6-12."[1]

Because the need for organization arose from a perception of eschatological and missiological necessity, there was no doubt among those who held this view that the structure which they erected was biblically based. They understood that the New Testament affirmed that Christ was returning and that the transmission of the gospel to the world was the primary precondition for his return. With a consciousness of divine providence, they understood that Seventh-day Adventists had been specifically chosen within a precise time reference in order to herald the "everlasting gospel" to all the world.[1] Their's was a conviction born of commitment to the necessity of a biblical foundation for their faith and practice, including their organizational practice. Daniells reflected the conviction of the denomination when, in 1906, he confidently declared that

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 17 May 1903, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

> The doctrines we hold not only created our denomination, but our denominational aim, purpose, or policy, as well. This denominational purpose or policy is formed by our view of what the Bible teaches. It is peculiar to our denomination. It differs from the policies of other denominations and organizations as widely as our doctrinal views differ from theirs.[2] (Emphasis supplied.)

Some years later, W. A. Spicer was even more emphatic than Daniells. Challenging the church to take up the "world-wide proclamation of the everlasting gospel and the finishing of the work," he contended that "every principle in the organization of our work . . . is found in the Word of God." Clarence Crisler who was the private secretary of Ellen White from 1901 until 1915, began the foreword to a pamphlet that he wrote the year before her death by categorically stating that "the underlying principles of the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination . . . may be traced in the records of the New Testament." Both Spicer and Crisler were careful to say that it was "principles" and not forms that were to be found in the New Testament.[3]

---

[1] Some of the passages of Scripture that they used to substantiate their position of urgency were: 1 Thess 4:16-18; John 14:1-3; Act 1:7-9; Matt 24:14; 28:19-20; Mark 16:15-16; Rev 14:6-14.

[2] A. G. Daniells, "A Statement Concerning Our Present Situation--No. 3," RH, 22 February 1906, 6.

[3] W. A. Spicer, "Divine Warnings against Disorganization," RH, 14 September 1916, 4; C. C. Crisler, The Value of Organization, 3. See also S. N. Haskell, "Organization--No. 18," RH, 16 May 1907, 4; A. G. Daniells, "Organization as Developed by Our Pioneers," RH, 21

Since the time of Butler the biblical scholars of the church had been persons other than those in leading administrative positions. The influence of the theologians had been determined by their preaching and writing. With the demise of Jones and Waggoner and the shift of Prescott into a leading administrative position, the General Conference leaders, particularly Daniells, assumed the role of theological arbitrators. Since their selection to administrative office was more likely to have been made because of their administrative talent rather than their theological acumen, however, it was to be expected that their organizational decisions would be made more on the basis of administrative facility than comprehensive theological reasoning.

Long before, W. C. White had strongly counseled against the dangers of just such a situation. Writing to A. O. Tait in 1895 he said:

> When these few men in responsible positions [the officers of the International Temperance Society] come to feel as certain ones did in '87 to '90 that they are personally responsible for the theology of the denomination, and for the working our [sic] of plans, financial and otherwise, then there comes in a restricting of the work, which is anything but healthful. I tell you frankly I am afraid of it."[1]

February 1918, 5; and J. L. McElhany, "Principles of Conference Administration," Ministry. March 1938, 5. The assertion that "principles" of organization were derived from the Word of God is very different from the claim that the "four-level structure . . . came to the church from Scripture, Ellen White counsels, and divine providence" (Bert B. Beach, "Reflections on the Present Denominational Church Structure," [paper prepared for the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations, 1985, RG 500, Monographs Series, GCAr], 17-18, emphasis supplied).

[1] W. C. White to A. O. Tait, 2 September 1895, LB 8, EGWO-DC. Three years earlier, White had written to O. A. Olsen that "It seems to me that it is not good for our work when the business men undertake

By 1903, the two men who had been the most influential theologians of the denomination during the 1890s had assumed an ecclesiological stance which was unacceptable to the administrative officers of the church. The church was justified in rejecting the organizational contentions of Jones and Waggoner. The problem was that there were few theological alternatives. So absorbed were the leaders of the church in refuting the organizational implications of Jones and Waggoner's position that they failed to recognize the value of much of what was being said. As a result they constructed a system which did not take into account explicit theological principles. Those principles which were later labelled "theological" were not derived by theological reasoning. They were discovered by use of the same methodology that Seventh-day Adventists had always used with a great deal of success in their doctrinal exposition--the method of proof-texting.

Eschatology and Mission

Mission: Eschatology's Requirement

Reorganization was undertaken in the first place not because the end was coming, but because there was a "work" to do before the

---

to shape the opinions of our people and direct or hinder the progress of the cause in matters of theology. . . . And is there not also some impropriety in our allowing the theologians who have never borne a large proportion of the burden to organize, build up, and carry forward successfully the business interests of the denomination, to step in and take a very active part in tearing down that which has been built up at a great cost by those who have made these features of the work a life-long study" (W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, 14 October 1892, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 4, GCAr.)

end could come.[1] Reorganization, or for that matter organization, could not be substantiated on the basis of the return of Christ alone. Those who insisted that organizational form be determined only by the imminence of the return of Christ had, in the history of Adventism, denied the necessity of any form of organization at all. It was the mission policy of the church which in 1905 was described as "the most important feature of our denominational policy," and it was the urgency associated with that mission that was more the precipitating factor in reorganization than the imminence of the Christ's return.[2]

Certainly expectation of the return of Christ had always been a cardinal feature of the Seventh-day Adventist belief system. During the 1860s and 1870s, however, when the concept of world mission was emerging from the Adventist sub-consciousness, the need to fulfill the mission of the church was slotted in between the concept of the church and the imminence of Christ's return. The accomplishment of the gospel commission became pre-requisite to the return of Christ. Therefore, the accomplishment of that task rather than the second coming itself became the primary focus of attention for the church.

That emphasis gained strength during the 1890s and on into the twentieth century. In his opening address at the 1901 General Conference session, George Irwin, whose term as General Conference president was to finish at that session, insisted that "the one great object" in all the deliberations and plans proposed for adoption was "the rapid dissemination of the third angel's message."[1] Daniells, who was to take over as General Conference president, proclaimed that "the message of the third angel is to be given to the entire world." It was not to be confined to a particular country, nation, or group of people, but was "for the whole world alike. . . . The end [was] being delayed by his [God's] own people [and] the only way to hasten that end and bring it speedily [was] for his people to do their duty."[2]

---

[1] In 1906, when refuting charges made by A. T. Jones, it had been affirmed that reorganization "was to be effected which would more fully take in the full scope of the work to be accomplished throughout the world" (General Conference Committee, Statement. 16).

[2] A. G. Daniells, "The President's Address: A Review and an Outlook--Suggestions for Conference Action," RH, 11 May 1905, 8.

The urgency of the situation had also been pointed out by Ellen White. For some time she had been insisting that the end could already have come if the church had done "her appointed work." In an editorial written only six months after the 1901 General Conference session, Uriah Smith collated a number of her references to the duty of the church with reference to the urgency of the situation. Typical of those which Smith selected was: "Had the Church of Christ done her appointed work as the Lord ordained, the whole world would before this have been warned, and the Lord Jesus would have come to our earth in power and great glory." Smith concluded:

> It is our own fault that we are not there [in the delights of the immortal state]. We are living on borrowed time, time borrowed from that during which we ought to have been in the kingdom. Let none sink down in discouragement with the thought that the Lord has delayed His work and His coming. It is not here now, only because we have not hastened it. It ought to make any one ashamed to be complaining that the Lord delays His coming, when he thinks

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 20, 47.

[2] Sten 1901, 19 April 1901, RG 0, GCAr, 40a, 51.

that he ought to be in the kingdom here and now.[1]

While attending the European Union Conference session in 1902, Daniells said:

> I sometimes hear people give an exhortation after this fashion: they say, 'The Lord is soon coming; we have consequently a very short time in which to work, therefore we must be greatly in earnest.' Now I think that is a wrong statement of the matter altogether. If I understand it, the fact is this: we ought to be terribly in earnest in this work, that the message may speedily be given to all the world, that Jesus may soon come. When we get the fact burned into our hearts that Jesus cannot come until the world is warned with the message for this time, then, dear friends, we shall be earnest that the Gospel may be given, that Jesus may come.[2]

None were more conscious of the part they were playing in the divine scheme of things than those who went to the ends of the earth to spread the gospel as missionaries. Writing just before he left to pioneer the Seventh-day Adventist cause in Australia, S. N. Haskell wrote that "the most conclusive evidence that we can have that we are nearing the close of probation and the coming of the Lord is the fact that the warning of this event is going to the whole world."[3]

The "end" was still discussed and hoped for by Seventh-day Adventists. But more and more, the end was regarded as remote--more remote at least than the evangelization of the world which was becoming the primary objective of the church and its members. In 1894 Ellen White stated that the church "had been organized on earth for missionary purposes" (emphasis supplied), and it was Christ's requirement that his followers make "his work the first and highest consideration."[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, Desire of Ages (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1898), 633-34; [Uriah Smith], "Living on Borrowed Time," RH, 1 October 1901, 636.

[2] "Sermon by A. G. Daniells at the Opening of the Conference," Bulletin of the European Union Conference Held in London, May 15-25, 1902, 3.

[3] S. N. Haskell, "Australia," RH, 6 January 1885, 12.

Since organization and the form it took was not understood to have a direct relationship to the end of the world, but was mediated by the task, it is not surprising that expectancy began to be expressed, not only in terms of the coming of Christ, but in terms of the growth of the church. Already in 1891, Seventh-day Adventists were beginning to assess their viability as a movement and substantiate their hope, by referring to statistics which indicated satisfactory growth rates. In that year Uriah Smith, editor of the Review and Herald. pointed out that the "visible growth of the cause, and the marked blessing of God upon the labors of his people, have helped the church to bear what otherwise would have been a severe trial; namely the delay in the accomplishment of the blessed hope for which the church has so long been waiting for."[2] Growth was a tangible, measurable gauge of the success of the church, and reorganization was to be the means of facilitating that growth. Nothing could be permitted to come between the growth of the church and the fulfillment of the mission.

"This Generation"

Seventh-day Adventists had been strongly committed to their conviction that the coming of Christ was to occur in "this generation." At the end of the 1880s many articles appeared in the church press which took up that theme. Those articles emphasized the conviction that Christ was to return before all those who had experienced the events of 1844 passed to their rest. They based their expectation on Christ's words in Matt 24:34. In an editorial written in 1891, Uriah Smith explained the rationale for the position. He concluded that article by affirming:

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Missionary Enterprise the Object of Christ's Church," RH, 30 October 1894, 673.

[2] [Uriah Smith], "Origin and History," RH, 27 January 1891, 57.

> The generation living in 1844, when the great Advent proclamation was set before the world in such power, was the first generation that had these things presented to them in this manner. Many of them are still living, and all will not have passed off the stage of action. before the angels are sent to gather the elect into the everlasting kingdom.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Despite an effort at the 1903 General Conference session to revive commitment to the necessity of Christ's return in "this generation," as an impetus for mission, a shifting understanding of the meaning of the term was evident.[2] In another editorial written by

---

[1] [Uriah Smith], "This Generation," RH, 17 November 1891, 712. See also [idem], "This Generation," RH, 22 March 1887, 182; M. E. Steward, "This Generation," RH, 30 August 1887, 548-49; and George B. Thompson, "This Generation," RH, 4 September 1888, 564.

[2] The crisis over organizational issues at the 1903 General Conference session called forth a strongly eschatological emphasis in the preaching at that session and in the months that followed. Immediately before the session convened, Daniells circulated a letter to administrators and delegates which contained a strongly worded exhortation to "renounce everything of a worldly character, and everything in our denominational machinery and methods that does not direct to this end [giving this message to all the world] (see A. G. Daniells to A. T. Robinson, 6 March 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr). The first sermon of the session delivered by W. W. Prescott set the keynote of the session--the second coming of Christ. In that sermon Prescott told the delegates that they were not to plan longer than "this generation" and endeavored to explain the delay of the parousia to that point (GC Bulletin. 1903, 220; Sten 1903, "Sermon by W. W. Prescott, Friday Evening, March 27, 1903, at 7.30," RG 0, GCAr). In his second sermon the next day, Prescott used the phrase "this generation" twenty-one times. Other speakers at the session took up

Uriah Smith, but only a few months before his own death, he did not focus his attention on the generation which had witnessed the events of 1844, but on the "generation which _is_ crucifying this threefold message _now_." That was the generation which would "live to see the end of the world."[1] At that stage Smith's ideas may not have been widely publicized. Certainly the former meaning of the phrase continued to be used in preaching, but it was apparent that the urgency of that interpretation was beginning to fade. Whether this was only the result of the realization that the pioneers were in fact passing from the scene, or whether preoccupation with organizational reconstruction had negatively impacted the eschatological fervor of the denomination is not possible to determine. Administrators were becoming concerned that the sense of urgency and imminent expectation was being lost. Daniells lamented that

> many of our dear, loyal, self-sacrificing people have begun to lose confidence in this thing [being translated without seeing

---

Prescott's theme. George B. Thompson stated unequivocally that some who had seen the events of 1844 would still be alive when Christ returned (Sten 1903, "Evening Talk, Elder G. B. Thompson, Friday Evening, 7:30 o'clock, April 3, 1903," RG 0, GCAr). G. A. Irwin spoke of "the gray-headed men of seventy and upwards" who were "rapidly dropping out of our ranks, one by one." He was concerned that if the work was to be finished "in the little time allotted . . . we must make haste" (Sten 1903, "Sermon by Elder G. A. Irwin, S.D.A. Church Oakland, Calif., March 28, 1903, 3:00 P.M.," RG 0, GCAr, 10a). Even so, some were not so sure that the prospect of preaching the gospel to the world in "this generation" as interpreted by these preachers at that time was a feasible proposition. E. J. Waggoner, commenting on the situation in Great Britain, said that there was one thing of which he was certain: unless funds and manpower were forthcoming, "it would take an exceedingly long generation . . . to cover the whole territory, . . . it would take a long while" (Sten 1903, 5 April 1903, 3.00 P.M., RG 0, GCAr, 44-45).

[1] [Uriah Smith], "In This Generation," _RH_, 23 September 1902, 3.

> death]. They are beginning to fear that they will have to die without seeing that for which they have so fondly hoped, and which they so much desire now to see.[1]

In an effort to try to revive flagging expectations, an editorial was written in 1904, presumably by W. W. Prescott, in which he admitted that the "hope of the immediate coming of the Lord . . . had become almost a forlorn hope with many," but that it was being revived by the "encouraging response to the rallying call for means and messengers to carry the threefold message quickly." Prescott went on to explain that upheavals taking place in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the insidious liberalism that was inundating other denominations were evidences that the "loud cry" was still being heard. He reassured his readers: "We have known for years that we were in the time of the loud cry of this message, and we have been sorely grieved because of the delay, but recently we have been comforted with the assurance that 'there shall be delay no longer.' The time has fully come for this promise to be fulfilled."[2]

A year later he was admitting that the advent had apparently been delayed again.[3] Inevitably, after numerous cycles of increased expectancy, then disappointment, the earlier perspective on "this generation" could not be sustained. In 1905 the concept of the warning being given to the presently living generation was being advanced as a subtle variation on the former emphasis on the return of Christ in the generation of those who had been alive in 1844.[1] Adventists had likely been influenced and motivated by the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to G. C. Tenney, 23 February 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr.

[2] [W. W. Prescott], "Significant Changes," RH, 22 December 1904, 3-4.

[3] In an editorial written in 1905, Prescott admitted that there had indeed been delay again. He said: "More than four years have passed since the prophetic declaration that 'there shall be delay no longer' was taken by this people as the basis of renewed hope and courage. . . . There has been further apparent delay" ([W. W. Prescott], "No More Delay," RH, 21 December 1905, 3).

By 1911 that emphasis was no longer so subtle. The generation of 1911 was the generation to be warned and the generation to "witness the appearing of Christ in the clouds of heaven."[2] In 1930 Arthur Daniells wrote an article in which he admitted that the expectation of the return of Christ "in this generation" had not occurred in the manner or at the time that the pioneers had expected. However, he explained that the problem was not with the word of God but with the church. Daniells understood the prophecy in terms of conditionality. Apparently, Ellen White's statements had also been conditional. Whether or not the prophecy was conditional or otherwise was not so much the concern, however. For him the most important implication remained: "the possibility that God's people possess the power either to hasten or to delay any of God's purposes or plans."[3] By 1901, Daniells was convinced that reorganization was needed in order that

---

[1] [W. W. Prescott], "The Warning to This Generation," RH, 16 February 1905, 3. Examples of articles which were still endeavoring to keep alive the former hope in 1905 were Otey James, "One of 'This Generation,'" RH, 20 July 1905, 18; and L. A. Smith, "The End of 'This Generation,'" RH, 2 November 1905, 5.

[2] F. M. Wilcox, "The Reason for Our Existence as a Denomination," RH, 21 September 1911, 6-7.

[3] A. G. Daniells, "Is Christ's Coming Being Delayed? If So, Why?" Ministry. November 1930, 5-6, 30.

God's purposes and plans should not be unduly delayed.

Ecclesiology

Gerard Damsteegt has pointed out that by 1874 the Seventh-day Adventist Church had developed an ecclesiological self-understanding which was expressed in terms of eschatological and typological motifs. In actual fact, so strongly eschatological was the Seventh-day Adventist orientation in theology, that even those motifs that Damsteegt classified as typological were eschatologically applied. Eschatology informed all other aspects of biblical interpretation for the Adventists. As the mission consciousness of the church developed, it was defined by the prospect of the imminent eschaton.[1] The church did not need to do too much theological reflection about itself. Christ was coming, there was no time for introversion. The prospect of warning the world was far more inspiring than ecclesiological reflection.

It was the function of the church which gave its existence legitimacy. The Seventh-day Adventist commitment to task had arisen from a sense of divine providence. Their doctrine of providence did not arise from a Calvinistic predisposition in theology, however. It arose from a historicist interpretation of prophecy. Their interpretation of prophecy located the denomination in an historical continuum over which divine providence had control. Determinism functioned, not in the soteriological dimension as in Calvinism, but in the cosmic dimension. Theodicy was ultimately the object of history. They understood their role in that theodicy as the evangelization of the world in preparation for the second coming of Christ. That "assignment" defined not only the church's *modus operandi* but also its *raison d'etre*. For Seventh-day Adventists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the church was mission.

---

[1] Damsteegt points out that the idea of the church being a missionary society was first ventured among Seventh-day Adventists in the year that the General Conference was organized--1863 (Damsteegt, Foundations of Seventh-day Adventist Mission. 256).

Ecclesiological Vacuum

Their functional view of the nature of the church explains why Seventh-day Adventists published so few articles on the subject of ecclesiology during the 1890s, but many which promoted mission. In the main, articles which addressed ecclesial concerns discussed such matters as church order and government, church discipline, the duties of church officers, and the responsibilities of church membership rather than theological issues relating to the nature and being of the church.[1] Nowhere, other than in the sermons and articles of A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and W. W. Prescott were there attempts made to give a formal theological basis for ecclesiology. If any biblical reference was made, it was usually a passing reference to order being the rule of God's government or the rule in nature, or maybe even a characteristic of the early church. Very little elaboration was attempted. The church was taken for granted. It was assumed. It was visible, defined, not by an ontological ecclesiology but by a task which had to be accomplished and a set of doctrines which were determinative of orthodoxy.

---

[1] In the years 1850-59, fourteen articles were written in the *RH* on subjects immediately related to church order and government; 1860-69, forty-two articles were written; 1870-79, thirty-three articles; 1880-89, thirty-four articles; 1890-99, only six articles. It is difficult to know just why there were so few articles on the question of church order and government in the 1890s. Perhaps it was the realization that there were serious problems with the system of organization, and nobody was able to suggest improvement which could solve the dilemma. On the other hand, it may be that many suggestions for structural modification were being made, but they were being suppressed by an editorial policy which considered them counter productive to the unity and stability of the organization.

In 1885, J. H. Waggoner wrote the first extended series of articles on the subject of the church to be published in a Seventh-day Adventist journal. No other major series of articles which represented the accepted church attitude on the subject was produced for another fifteen years--right through the time when the church was enduring serious organizational trauma. However, even Waggoner's series dealt only incidentally with ecclesiology. He was much more concerned with matters of discipline, qualification of church officers, incorporation of members, the sacraments of the church, and church standards of behavior. In the first article brief mention was made of the church as _ekklesia_. and in the third article there was a discussion of ordination; but apart from those allusions, the rest of the discussion was concerned with matters of order which were not substantiated by formal theological rationale.[1] That such was the case is especially surprising in view of Waggoner's standing in the church as one of its leading theologians. If he, of all people, did not think it necessary to develop a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology in a series of articles such as he wrote, it is improbable that any other Seventh-day Adventist at that time would have considered the task pressing.

---

[1] J. H. Waggoner, "The Church," 17-part series in _RH_, 21 April 1885, 249; 28 April 1885, 264-65; 5 May 1885, 280-81; 12 May 1885, 297-98; 19 May 1885, 313-14; 26 May 1885, 329; 2 June 1885, 345-46; 9 June 1885, 360-61; 16 June 1885, 376-77; 23 June 1885, 392-93; 14 July 1885, 440; 28 July 1885, 470-71; 4 August 1885, 488-89; 18 August 1885, 520-21; 25 August 1885, 537-38; 1 September 1885, 552-53; 8 September 1885, 568-69. In the second article Waggoner made reference to the covenant of membership that all persons who were accepted into the fellowship of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were required to sign. It was worded: "We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together as a church, taking the name Seventh-day Adventists, and covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (Waggoner, 28 April 1885, 265). In the eighth article

In the next fifteen years there were only four individual articles published which endeavored to develop an ecclesiological theme. None of them, however, gave any more comprehensive or formal eschatological-missiological basis for a doctrine of the church than had Waggoner's pioneering series of articles.[1]

Waggoner designated the organizational pattern in the Seventh-day Adventist Church congregational (Waggoner, 9 June 1885, 360). The local church was defined in terms of the doctrinal beliefs of the members.

[1] R. F. Cottrell's article made brief mention of the church as a building with Christ as the foundation. The burden of the article, however, was that persons joining the church should be thoroughly indoctrinated so that the "the laborer who brought them into the church, hoping to see them shine as stars in his crown" would not "'suffer loss' in seeing his work on the building come to naught" (R. F. Cottrell, "The Church a Building," RH, 27 March 1888, 194). I. E. Kimball's article did show some promise as an ecclesiological treatise. He spoke of a church where all "'are members one of another,' and 'members of his [Christ's] body, of his flesh, and of his bones'. . . serving God with one consent, as one man." But the possibility of an ecclesiological agenda was betrayed by his opening and closing sentences: "There are but comparatively few who in any way comprehend the requirements and responsibilities attaching to church members. . . . Who will stand with the church of the 144,000 who are found without fault before the throne of God?" (I. E. Kimball, "'A Glorious Church,'" RH, 9 April 1889, 228-29). U. Smith's editorial was more concerned with order in the church than with the nature of the church. He dealt exclusively with the local church. Significantly, he proposed that the requirements of church organization were not only to be modelled on the New Testament but also that "_expediency_ would readily suggest other necessary agents to serve the church" (Uriah Smith, "Order in the Church," RH, 6 October 1896, 635; emphasis supplied). George Tenney came closer than any of

In 1900 John N. Loughborough began a series of twenty-seven articles for the Review and Herald on the subject of the church. That series was still being published when the General Conference session of 1901 convened.[1] In that series, Loughborough made the first attempt to examine systematically some of the images of the church in the New Testament and relate them to the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Despite the potential for development of a more ontological ecclesiology, however, Loughborough used those images only as a means to illustrate some facets of the functional life and order of the church and the expected behavior of its members.[2]

---

the others to a discussion of the nature of the church. He explored the theme of unity in diversity. Despite passing reference to the nature of the church, his agenda, however, was not the church but the individual in relationship to other individuals and the attitudes that should be adopted to avoid prejudice. See George C. Tenney, "Unity in Diversity," RH, 27 October 1896, 686. Consistently, when the nature the church was addressed, it was presented in terms of the beliefs, behavior, or task of its members. The church was perceived as functioning only as a facilitator of the member's participation in the task of mission.

[1] J. N. Loughborough, "The Church," 27-part series in RH, 2 October 1900, 635-36; 9 October 1900, 651; 16 October 1900, 667-68; 23 October 1900, 682-83; 30 October 1900, 698-99; 6 November 1900, 715; 13 November 1900, 731; 20 November 1900, 747; 27 November 1900, 763; 4 December 1900, 779-80; 12 February 1901, 106; 19 February 1901, 122-23; 4 April 1901, 234-35; 7 May 1901, 300-301; 14 May 1901, 314-15; 21 May 1901, 337-38; 28 May 1901, 346-47; 4 June 1901, 363-64; 11 June 1901, 380-81; 18 June 1901, 397; 25 June 1901, 404-5; 2 July 1901, 419-20; 9 July 1901, 436-37; 16 July 1901, 452; 23 July 1901, 469-70; 30 July 1901, 484-85; 6 August 1901, 500-501. This series was reprinted in 1907 as J. N. Loughborough, The Church, Its Organization, Order and Discipline. To the original series of twenty-seven articles, each forming a chapter in the book, were added the "Conference Address" of RH, 15 October 1861, as chapter 24; "Reorganization," as chapter 25; "Numerical Representation and Committees," as chapter 29; and "Answers to Questions," as chapter 30.

[2] For example, in the third article which discussed Paul's image of the church as the body of Christ, there was no discussion of the implications of the headship of Christ in the church, nor of the

Descriptive images of the church were not entirely disregarded in denominational publications. But those images that received greater emphasis described the function of the church. Particularly utilizing those images in the New Testament which drew on military themes, Daniells and those allied with him often described the church in terms of the army-fortress model.[1] Daniells even referred to the General Conference headquarters as "the seat of war," from time to time.[2]

The fortress-army image of the church was particularly useful at the 1903 General Conference session. Perhaps that was a reaction to the war-like controversy in which those in the administrative ranks

---

meaning of the unity between Christ and his church. Rather, the necessity for unity among believers and the sympathy of Christ toward their sufferings was addressed. In the seventh article, which treated the church as the light of the world, Loughborough discussed the expected behavior of church members. While Loughborough's articles were instructive discussions on the ethical obligations of the Seventh-day Adventist Christian, they were not theological analyses of the nature of the church. Loughborough's methodology did not permit such an agenda. In all articles he merely quoted some biblical references appropriate to the subject he had chosen and appended a series of quotations from Ellen White. His own input was minimal. See John N. Loughborough, "The Church: The Head and the Body," RH, 16 October 1900, 667-68; idem, "The Church: The Light of the World," RH, 13 November 1900, 731. Structure in the denomination was more a function of delay of the advent than an expression of the life of the church.

[1] Mustard has pointed out that the army-fortress model should be traced back to the contention between James White and G. I. Butler over leadership, during the 1870s. Given his perspective on leadership, Butler preferred to consider the church an army. That model implied strict discipline and order. White, on the other hand, preferred the fortress model. The church was a place of protection and consolation, but also a place of isolation. See Mustard, "James White and Organization," 213-14.

[2] A. G. Daniells to I. J. Hankins, 18 June 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; Sten 1901, 18 April 1901, RG 0, GCAr; GC Bulletin. 1901, 397.

of the church were engaged. Most probably, however, the use of that imagery accompanied the eschatological-missiological emphasis which at that session became even more prominent than usual.[1]

Ecclesiastical Considerations

Published ecclesiological reflection may have been almost non-existent in the 1890s, but articles which developed ecclesiastical themes fared little better.[2] Apart from Loughborough's extended series, it is difficult to find any other articles that were written in the years immediately prior to 1901 that anticipated the arguments that were later to be employed in order to justify the model of church structure that was adopted in 1901-1903.[3] Certainly the series of articles written by Earnest Raymond that were strategically inserted into Review and Herald immediately before the 1901 General Conference session by A. T. Jones did not support that cause.[1]

---

[1] Women also were said to be "buckling on the armor"(GC Bulletin, 1903, 28). Spicer, Daniells, and Thompson used the image extensively in their sermons at the session. Sten 1903, "Sermon by Elder W. A. Spicer, S.D.A. Church, Oakland, Calif., Mch 31, 1903, 7:30 P.M.," RG 0, GCAr; Sten 1903, "Elder Daniells. 3.00 P.M. April 4.," RG 0, GCAr, 3; Sten 1903, "Evening Talk, Elder G. B. Thompson, Friday evening, 7:30 o'clock, April 3, 1903," RG 0, GCAr. Those who were most drawn to the eschatological-missiological basis for ecclesiology and church structure were more likely to use army-fortress imagery in reference to the church. That imagery was not nearly so common among those who chose a christocentric foundation for their ecclesiology and structure.

[2] The term "ecclesiological" denotes theological discussion of the nature of the church. The term "ecclesiastical" denotes discussion of the structures of the church which may or may not be theologically defined.

[3] Reference is made below to some ecclesiological motifs in Ellen White's writings. She was an exception to the assertion that there was little ecclesiological reflection during the 1890s. Her emphasis relative to the church and its organization, however, was more of an affirmation of the need for organization than a rationale for a specific structural form.

In 1892, S. N. Haskell described the organizational plan of the Israelites as they journeyed from Egypt to Canaan. In that article Haskell claimed that the Mosaic plan of organization should be the pattern for the structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He described four aspects of that plan that he thought should "never be forgotten." First, God's organization was perfect. It "embraced all Israel in one general organization, while . . . individuality was preserved." Second, all Israel acknowledged the appointment of certain individuals to prominent positions. Third, The plan of organization was so minute that "it extended to . . . everything connected with the journeyings of Israel in the wilderness." Fourth, the plan was adaptable. It was further developed in the days of David. "No one who has ever carefully studied this order connected with God's people," Haskell continued, "can fail to be impressed with the fact that the nearer relation we sustain to God, the more perfect will be the order of our worship."[2]

After 1901, apologists for the reorganized structural form of the denomination referred more often to the Mosaic plan of organization than was the case before 1901. While Loughborough referred to the Mosaic scheme in much the same way as had Haskell in 1892 (as an illustration of the order that should characterize the church) Daniells and Spicer used it as their specific theological rationale for the form of denominational structure.[1] In articles published by them, particularly between 1905 and 1909 when the new organization was under concerted attack, the Mosaic plan of organization was almost always used first in their attempts to show that there was biblical support for the form of organization which the church had adopted.[2]

---

[1] Earnest A. Raymond, "Organization: The Science of Life's Development," 4-part series in RH, 11 December 1900, 786-87; 25 December 1900, 818-19; 1 January 1901, 5; 29 January 1901, 69. Idem, "Organization: The Early Church," 3-part series in RH, 12 February 1901, 98-99; 26 February 1901, 133; 5 March 1901, 146-47; idem, "Organization: The Remnant Church," RH, 19 March 1901, 178-79; idem, "The General Conference," RH, 26 March 1901, 194-95. It is possible that Earnest Raymond was related to W. L. Raymond who had been influential in shaping Jones's theories and attitudes towards the church in the mid-1880s (see Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, 180).

[2] S. N. Haskell, "Is Organization of God?" RH, 11 October 1892, 634.

In an article written in 1907, Daniells called the mosaic organizational pattern "the most perfect organization applicable to human society." He then described eight aspects of that organizational pattern which were descriptive of the structure that had been adopted by Seventh-day Adventists. To clarify his point even further, he then delineated six aspects of the "plan of organization adopted by Seventh-day Adventists" that were "very similar" to that of Moses. He concluded that

---

[1] J. N. Loughborough, "The Church: Order in Ancient Israel," RH, 9 April 1901, 234-35. This article was published while the General Conference session of 1901 was in progress. Whether Loughborough had prepared it before the session is impossible to say. Its impact on the delegates also cannot be ascertained. It is worthy of note, however, that the Mosaic plan of organization was chosen as the subject of the article describing the church that was inserted in the issue of the RH which was published during the General Conference session. Both the previous edition and the subsequent edition of the RH carried articles which discussed different themes altogether--New Testament illustrations of church unity and order--and the article on the Mosaic plan appeared to be out of sequence.

[2] A. G. Daniells, "Organization--No. 15," RH, 16 May 1907, 4-5; W. A. Spicer, "The Gospel Order--No.2," RH, 1 April 1909, 5-6. See also S. N. Haskell, "Order," RH, 30 May 1907, 9-10; and J. S. Washburn, "The Author of Order," RH, 6 June 1907, 9-10. The article by Spicer, together with the other seven in the series was later printed in pamphlet form. See W. A. Spicer, Gospel Order: A Brief Outline of the Bible Principles of Organization (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, [1909]).

> this comparison might be carried still further, but what has been pointed out will prove sufficient to make it plain that there is a very close resemblance between that simple, complete, and efficient system of organization provided for the church established by Moses, and the organization worked out for the remnant church called out by the threefold message of Rev. 14:6-14.[1]

Jones strongly objected to Daniells's use of the Mosaic plan of organization as the basis of the Seventh-day Adventist form of organization. He maintained that "the Mosaic order was for the direction and government of the church in the Mosaic or Old Testament times only: and has not, and can not possibly have, any place in the church of the Christian or New Testament times." He maintained that "the Christian order, and the Christian order alone," was that form of governance which should be utilized by "the church in the Christian, or New Testament times."[2]

Jones was justified in maintaining that the New Testament discussion of the church, particularly the local church, had been inadequately considered by those who were defending the reorganized structure. It does appear somewhat incongruous that an organization whose form was decided with reference to an eschatological goal should find its theological rationale in a model over three millennia old. But Jones's criticisms again indicated that he had failed to realize that whenever and wherever the church exists, it is a sociological entity as well as a theological entity, and that those sociological constants which speak to the organizational form of the church should be considered alongside theological categories. Mosaic organizational form illustrated the Seventh-day Adventist structure so well because it was primarily a sociological plan, not a theological dictum. This distinction Jones consistently overlooked. For different reasons, so did the leaders of the church allied with Daniells.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells, "Organization--No. 15," 5.

[2] Jones, An Appeal. 33-42.

Jones's objections seem to have made no substantial difference to the attitude of the leaders of the church toward the pattern of Mosaic organization. William Spicer was still using it in 1930 as his first example of biblical organization principles. Other leaders followed his example.[1]

That is not to say that church leaders did not refer to other theological grounds for organization, but apart from their use of the illustration of the Mosaic plan, their reliance on scripture was more with reference to the need for organizational principles than it was with reference to a specific plan of organization or reorganization. They maintained, for example, that the Lord was "a God of order," while Lucifer was "the author of confusion."[2] They understood that Christ was the head of the church and that the church was his body. In the opening prayer at the 1903 General Conference session, G. A. Irwin requested that while the church had a visible leader, "the great

---

[1] W. A. Spicer, "This Second Advent Movement: An Organized Movement", RH, 24 April 1930, 5-6; S. G. Haughey, "Our Church Organization," RH, 12 March 1931, 11-12; J. L. McElhany, "Principles of Conference Administration," Ministry, March 1938, 5-7.

[2] W. A. Spicer, "Gospel Order--No. 1," RH, 25 March 1909, 4.

Head of the Church may take his rightful place in this Conference."[1] But the headship of Christ did not obviate the need for human leaders. Daniells wrote to L. R. Conradi in 1903:

> Every board must have a chairman or president, that will be the recognized head. That is too obvious to require argument. I have said that a flock of geese have [sic] a leader. We can not do business, nor carry on anything like organized effort without administrative servants, and this requires someone selected from among the brethren who shall be administrator or executioner. I can not harmonize Doctor Waggoner's theory with his practice. I think this whole movement against organization which we saw manifested during the Conference is a bit of a clap-trap.[2]

The concept of unity in diversity was occasionally discussed.[3] Daniells's perspective was revealed in a letter to W. C. White and A. T. Jones. He wrote that it was "very difficult to harmonize all the peculiar elements the Lord calls into his vineyard." Daniells was not really sure that those diverse elements could be harmonized at all. He admitted, however, that "he [the Lord] knows how to do it, and I suppose he can teach us how."[4]

---

[1] Sten 1903, 27 March 1903, 2:30 P.M., RG 0, GCAr, 2. Immediately following, with reference to Israel in the wilderness and possibly as an allusion to the Mosaic form of organization, Irwin requested that "the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night overshadow this place" (ibid).

[2] A. G. Daniells to L. R. Conradi, 1 July 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr. In that letter Daniells wrote to Conradi that the church had no visible head other than Christ. He was speaking with reference to the position taken by Jones and Waggoner at the General Conference session of 1903.

[3] The theme of unity in diversity was particularly used by Ellen White. Her son, W. C. White, occasionally referred to it. In 1900, when writing to an "old friend and school-mate," he said: "In our schools we should aim at unity in diversity, that is, diversity in detail but unity as to the general spirit and plan of the work" (W. C. White to Isadore L. Green, 10 April 1900, LB 15, EGWO-DC).

[4] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White and A. T. Jones, 23 September 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

"Unity in diversity" was even less mentioned after the confrontation with Kellogg in mid-1902 and the dissension at the 1903 General Conference session. Those who advocated a christocentric organizational structure were insisting on individuality and independence far too much to make it possible for the others to advocate "unity-in-diversity" without appearing to play right into their hands.

The role of the Holy Spirit also was discussed very little by those advocating an eschatological-missiological model of structure in comparison to those advocating a christocentric model. Jones and Waggoner were insistent that the specific role of the Spirit with each individual was to bring him or her into fellowship with the church and to maintain that fellowship. Daniells, Spicer, and their allies did not consider the role of the Spirit in the church as a function of his role in the life of each component part of the church. For them, it was the church that was guided by the Spirit. In 1909 Spicer implied that if the Spirit had guided the church to adopt a form of organization, why should there be any dissention regarding its form?[1]

What Spicer apparently failed to realize was that when he addressed the role of the Spirit, he only addressed that role in relation to the universal church. He said nothing about the role of the Spirit in relation to the local church in that article. In fact, in his whole series, his arguments were selected so as to defend the organization of the universal church. While it is true that Jones and Waggoner based their argument on the nature of the local church and the organizational concepts which arose from that, it is just as true that in his attempt to give a New Testament rationale for corporate organization, Spicer neglected organizational concepts which could be derived from those sections of the New Testament which discussed the local church. He was not the only one to do that. All who wrote in the Review and Herald in support of the eschatological-missiological foundation for church structure in the decade after the reorganization of 1901-03, did the same thing.[1] All, that is, except Ellen White.

---

[1] W. A Spicer, "Gospel Order--No. 5," RH, 22 April 1909, 5.

The Ecclesiology of Ellen White

Throughout the 1890s and the 1910s Ellen White maintained an ecclesiological and ecclesiastical viewpoint which held in balance both christocentric and eschatological-missiological dimensions.[2] While it is true that she did support Daniells in his efforts to reorganize the church, it is also true that her support was not unqualified, and that she felt quite free to rebuke him when his ideas of organization and administration were not according to her own.

---

[1] W. A. Spicer, "Gospel Order," 8-part series in RH, 25 March 1909, 4-5; 1 April 1909, 5-6; 8 April 1909, 5-6; 15 April 1909, 6; 22 April 1909, 5; 29 April 1909, 5-6; 6 May 1909, 5-6; 13 May 1909, 7-8. See also, A. G. Daniels, "Organization: A Brief Account of Its History in the Development of the Cause of the Third Angel's Message," 15-part series in RH, 31 January 1907, 5-6; 7 February 1907, 5-6; 14 February 1907, 5; 21 February 1907, 5-6; 28 February 1907, 6; 7 March 1907, 5-6; 14 March 1907, 5-6; 21 March 1907, 4-5; 28 March 1907, 5-6; 4 April 1907, 5-6; 11 April 1907, 5-6; 18 April 1907, 5-6; 25 April 1907, 4-6; 9 May 1907, 5; 16 May 1907, 4-5; T. E. Bowen, "The Order and Organization of the Apostolic Church," 2-part series in RH, 2 May 1907, 9-10; 9 May 1907, 9-10; G. I. Butler, "The Church: Its Organization, Order, and Discipline," RH, 9 May 1907, 2; H. W. Cottrell, "Church Order," RH, 23 May 1907, 8-9; S. N. Haskell, "Order," RH, 30 May 1907, 9-10; J. S. Washburn, "The Author of Order," RH, 6 June 1907, 9-10.

[2] No attempt can be made here to conduct an extended investigation of the ecclesiology of Ellen White. Such should be the task of another research project.

Ellen White's expressed ecclesiological concerns during the period of reorganization included: (1) the headship of Christ,[1] (2) the priesthood of believers,[2] (3) the corporate nature of the church,[3] (4) the church as a building with Christ as the foundation,[4] (5) the missionary nature of the church,[5] and (6) the separation between the church and the world.[6] That Ellen White was able to integrate what were to others irreconcilable positions was demonstrated by her use both of the principle of unity in diversity and her approval of the Mosaic plan of organization as a model of church organization.

Ellen White's unity-in-diversity theme was often associated with her use of the symbol of the vine and the branches. Usually, her references to the vineyard or to the vine and branches theme discussed the broadness of the task and the diversity that was to be found both in the workers and in those to whom the gospel was to be preached.[1] Even Daniells picked up Ellen White's use of the vineyard theme and used it as she did for a time. There does not appear to be any record of him doing that after 1903, however.[2]

---

[1] The context for Ellen White's insistence on the headship of Christ was the tendency of administrative and evangelistic leaders to adopt authoritarian attitudes toward their fellow-workers and church members. For example, she wrote to E. E. Franke, who had been particularly ungracious toward S. N. Haskell in New York, "Christ is the only Head of the Church. He only has the right to demand of man unlimited obedience to His requirements" (Ellen G. White to E. E. Franke, January 1901, Letter 19, 1901, EGWO-DC).

[2] Ellen G. White to W. S. Hyatt, 15 February 1900, Letter 26 1900, EGWB-AU.

[3] GC Bulletin. 1903, 10.

[4] Ellen G. White, "The Need of Equalizing the Work," MS 109, 1899, EGWO-DC.

[5] Ellen G. White, "Missionary Enterprise the Object of Christ's Church," 2-part series in RH, 30 October 1894, 3-4; 6 November 1894, 3-4.

[6] Ellen G. White, "No Union between the Church and the World," RH, 26 February 1895, 3-4.

The probable reason why Daniells did not allude to the principle of unity in diversity much after 1903 was that it could too easily be made to fit the organizational scheme that Jones and Waggoner were advocating with their stress on individuality, spiritual gifts, and the church as a body of different and diverse elements.

---

[1] Ellen G. White to the General Conference Committee and the Publishing Board of the Review and Herald and Pacific Press, 8 April 1894, Letter 71, 1894, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "To the General Conference and Our Publishing Institutions," MS 66, 1898, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, "The Southern California Conference," MS 90, 1901, EGWB-AU; Ellen G. White, Testimonies. 7:171-74. Study needs to be done not only on Ellen White's use of the terms "unity" and "diversity" but also on her use of the images of the "vine and the branches" and the "vineyard." A random sampling from unpublished primary sources of her use of the image of the vine and its branches has indicated that when she uses that image, she almost always has in mind the concept of unity in diversity. A random sampling of her use of the image of the vineyard has indicated that the image is used almost always in the context of mission and that it often carries the connotation of unity in diversity. In her letters and manuscripts, the terms "unity" and "diversity" are used together forty-three times. The first time that she used them together was in 1888. See Ellen G. White, "Who Shall Be Saved?" MS 19, 1888, EGWO-DC. The term "vineyard" was used 991 times by Ellen White. Her first use of that term was in 1859. See Ellen G. White to Brother E, n.d., Letter 21, 1859, EGWB-AU. The majority of references were post-1888, however (only 90 references appeared before 1888--less than 10 percent). Reference to the "vine and the branches" occurred 224 times in her unpublished primary sources. The first was in 1847. See Ellen G. White to Eli Curtis, 21 April 1847, Letter 2, 1847, EGWB-AU. Only nine references appeared between 1847 and 1888, a forty-one-year period (4 percent). All the other references (215) appeared in the years after 1888. The last reference was in 1912. See Ellen G. White, MS 17, 1912, EGWO-DC.

[2] A. G. Daniells to W. C. White and A. T. Jones, 23 September 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

Even Ellen White spoke of unity in diversity only a few times after 1904.[1]

Her allusions to the Mosaic plan of organization as a biblical illustration of the plan of organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church go back further than her use of "unity in diversity." It appears that her first reference to the organization of the Israelites under Moses was in 1868.[2] At that time the Seventh-day Adventist Church had only been an organized denomination for a short period. Surprisingly, the concept was not used extensively by other writers in Adventist publications until S. N. Haskell used it in 1892 and J. N. Loughborough in 1901. After 1901 Ellen White apparently alluded to the Mosaic form of organization only once.[3]

---

[1] Between 1888 and 1903 she used the phrase or the terms in close relationship 37 times. After 1904 she only used them in the same way four times. See Ellen G. White, "Unity in Council Meetings," MS 158, 1907, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White, "A Missionary Education," MS 59, 1907, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White, "The Spirit of Independence," MS 38a, 1909, EGWO-DC; Ellen G. White to J. A. Burden, 6 May 1906, Letter 140, 1906, EGWB-AU. Ellen White occasionally regarded diversity as a negative value. In MS 158, written in December 1907, diversity was set over against unity as something to be avoided. In her last reference to unity in diversity, she returned to her overwhelming usage of unity and diversity as co-equal values. Speaking at that time of the need for unity in diversity, she insisted that "the leaders among God's people are to guard against the danger of condemning the methods of individual, workers who are led by the Lord to do a special work" (MS 38a, 1909).

[2] Ellen G. White, Testimonies. 1:650-53. See also, idem, Gospel Workers, (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1892), 158-60.

[3] A computer search of the unpublished manuscripts and letters of Ellen White written after 1901 has not turned up any references to the Mosaic plan of organization. The search was conducted by Tim Poirier of EGWO-DC on 13 September 1988. The only possible allusion that has been found is a reference to the need to study the counsel given to Moses in "Principles for the Guidance of Men in Positions of Responsibility," MS 140, 1902, EGWB-AU.

The Consequences of a Dipolar Ecclesiology

Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiological thinking at the beginning of the twentieth century was divided between those, on the one hand, who chose to emphasize a congregational form of organization with diversity as its greatest value, and those, on the other hand, who chose to emphasize a hierarchical form of organization with unity as its greatest value. Even though Ellen White assumed a median position with respect to both of those viewpoints, and even if it was considered desirable to have a church polity which combined elements of unity and diversity, the polemical attitudes of denominational leaders prevented any attempt to bring both of those viewpoints together. Strong defense of the reorganized structure actually resulted in movement towards the very thing that Ellen White had warned against in the 1890s: centralization.

Soteriology

Although the theological starting point of those who advocated an eschatological-missiological structure was not soteriology, it should not be thought that they did not appreciate its importance. The 1888 Minneapolis General Conference session had had its impact on the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Indeed, at the 1901 General Conference session there was a disposition toward open confession and repentance. O. A. Olsen called for regeneration *and* reorganization. The missionary farewell service, which began in mid-afternoon on Tuesday, April 23, had to be adjourned and continued that evening due to the number of participants who wished to give public testimonies as to their faith in the Lord. At those two meetings, 140 persons spoke publicly of their faith and commitment. Olsen said that he "did not want the meeting to close."[1]

The 1901 General Conference session was a session which emphasized the personal regeneration of the participants as well as the reorganization of the structures of the church. Certainly Jones and Waggoner and their associates were keen to press the implications of the relationship between the two as far as possible. However, it seems that those who were not already in sympathy with their viewpoint did not extrapolate the individual regeneration into the realm of organization. Regeneration was vital, but it did not extend into the very essence of the church and impact on the form of organization. Rather, regeneration was seen to be a prerequisite to participation in the church and its task, and it was the task that informed the form of organization, not the regeneration of the individuals involved in the task. Regeneration merely enabled personal performance of the task that was to be accomplished.

Conclusion

In this chapter, inductive investigation of the historical data has revealed that numerous crises confronted the church during the 1890s. Its administrative structures were in danger of disintegration unless urgent changes were made.

In addressing these, theological presuppositions relative to the purpose of the church's existence were foundational to the position that the leaders of the church adopted. Those presuppositions were not stated in the form of succinct ecclesiological propositions from which structural principles and form could be derived. Rather, they grew out of the sense of destiny and divine appointment to duty that had been characteristic of the Seventh-day Adventist Church since its inception. They were focused on the task of proclaiming the gospel to the world.

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 269, 458-75.

Because ecclesiological presuppositions and principles were not clearly stated, and therefore not carefully balanced, the ecclesiastical agenda of the church was shaped in the context of a polemic between those who held a more ontological view of the nature of the church and those whose views were more functional. The outcome was that a functional structure that was grounded in eschatological and missiological assumptions was shaped in order to facilitate the missionary task of the church.

It has been proposed that those denominational structures were established by divine mandate. It has even been claimed that the "four-level structure . . . came to the Church from Scripture, Ellen G. White's counsels, and divine providence."[1] If by that assertion it is implied that the _principles_ which have shaped the form of organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church were derived from those sources, then the data supports the contention to the extent that some unstated theological presuppositions molded the thinking of those who favored the eschatological-missiological model. But if by that assertion it is claimed that the structures themselves were prescribed by any of the sources suggested, then that contention cannot be supported by the data.

---

[1] Beach, "Reflections on Church Structure," 18.

Theological reflection indicates that the principles of organization were derived in part from revelation available to the church. Historical reflection indicates that theology was not the only source from which the principles of organization were derived. The church is not only a divine institution, but also a human organization in an imperfect context. Idealistic principles must be tempered with realism, and theological prescriptions must be combined with sociological models. The church is not a unilateral organization nor an amorphous organism.

CHAPTER V

THE PRINCIPLES OF REORGANIZATION

Introduction

Appeals to "principle" and references to "principles" were common in Adventist verbal exchanges, personal correspondence, literature, and sermons in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particularly among the leaders of the denomination was there a concern that administrative decisions should be made on the basis of "principle." Even individual church members were exhorted to make personal decisions with reference to "principle."[1]

Correct "principles" were regarded as foundational and indispensable in the educational enterprises of the church, its medical missionary work, the publishing work, the ministry, financial affairs and management, personal relationships, prophetic interpretation, and the organization of the church.[2] Ellen White exhorted the president of the General Conference not to "swerve from right principles" and to be "as firm as a rock to principle." A. G. Daniells emphatically declared that "principles, not members, ought to rule in the work of God." As the conflict between Daniells and Kellogg reached its climax, Daniells keenly anticipated the "triumph of right principles."[1]

---

[1] An indication of the pervasive use of the term "principle" can be obtained by reference to the Laser Concordance to the published works of Ellen G. White available in EGWB-AU. Under the words "principle," "principle's," and "principles," there are a total of 10,152 entries. By way of comparison, under the word "rule," there are only 1944 entries, approximately half of which would probably refer to the usage of the word as a verb rather than as a noun.

[2] Sten 1903, 7 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 37, 48; Sten 1903, 12 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 51, 53, 55; A. G. Daniells to G. B. Starr, 2 August 1903, RG 11, LB 31, GCAr; Ellen G. White, " Consolidation of the Publishing Work," MS 31, 1895, EGWB-AU; G. A. Irwin, "How Can the College Best Train Young Men for the Ministry?" (lecture delivered at

Adherence to right "principles" was advocated, but the habit of blindly following wrong "principles" was denounced. Again reference was made to a wide spectrum of concerns. In regard to the authoritarian and centralized control being exercised by the General Conference, Ellen White spoke, for example, of "strange principles" that were being established in an effort to "control . . . the minds of men"; "corrupted principles" that were robbing the center of the work of its regard for "the sacred character of the cause of God"; and "the principles of Rome" which were the basis upon which some were trying to bring about centralized control. Repeatedly, she castigated the leaders of the General Conference for becoming "corrupted with wrong sentiments and principles."[2] Arguments were conducted on the

---

the Battle Creek College Institute, [October 1898]), RG 11, LB 19, GCAr; W. C. White to S. H. Lane, 29 September 1901, RG 9, W. C. White Folder 2, GCAr; D. T. Bordeau, "Principles by Which to Interpret Prophecy.--No. 1," RH, 27 November 1888, 737-38.

[1] Ellen G. White, "Words of Counsel Regarding Management of the Work of God," MS 91, 1899, EGWB-AU; Bulletin of the European Union Conference Held in London, May 15-25, 1902. (n.p., 1902), 3; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 23 October 1903, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC.

[2] Ellen G. White, Special Testimonies for Ministers and Workers--No. 9 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1897), 16; Ellen G. White to The Men Who Occupy Responsible Positions in the Work, 1 July 1896, Letter 4, 1896, EGWB-AU; idem, Special Testimonies for Ministers, 9, 4-5; Ellen G. White, "Consolidation of the

basis of "principle," and opposing views on the floor of the General Conference session were promoted with references to "principle."[1]

Certainly "principle" was used in a wide variety of contexts and with a wide variety of referents, but it was not always clear that those who employed the term understood how they were using it. On the one hand, it appears that an appeal to "principle" or a reference to "principles" occasionally denoted the foundational elements of the object. In those cases, "principles" were regarded as foundational, both in the sense that they were causal (i.e., the effected action, form, or rule was derived from the principle) and essential (i.e., they prescribed the necessary essence of the effected action, form, or rule). In other words, they were prior to and had priority over action, form, or rule.[2]

Publishing Work," MS 31, 1895, EGWB-AU.

[1] For example, there was considerable discussion on the floor of the 1903 General Conference session over "gleaning"--the practice of allowing those working in needy fields to visit more affluent churches and make direct appeals for funds on behalf of those fields. W. C. White argued for the practice. He called the attention of the delegates to the "principle" of the poor being permitted by the Lord "to glean after the harvesters" (Sten 1903, 8 April 1903, 9.45 A.M., RG 0, GCAr, 13). He also cited the experience of G. I. Butler who had visited California in May 1902 and made appeals to the churches with the sanction of A. T. Jones, the president of the conference. See also W. C. White to W. A. Spicer, 28 May 1902, RG 11, 1903-W Folder 1, GCAr). In reply, however, S. H. Lane contended that there was another "principle" that ought to be well guarded. If gleaning were permitted then the churches would be deluged "all the time with appeals" (Sten 1903, 8 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 21-22). Some gleaners would be persuasive and give the impression that their work was of greater importance than some other branch of the work. Confusion would be the result. Both White and Lane claimed to be arguing on the basis of principle, although they were presenting different points of view.

[2] See, for example, S. M. I. Henry, "A Plea for Principle," RH. 25 April 1899, 261. That the difference between principles and norms was understood, was indicated by O. A. Olsen. Writing to his brother

On the other hand, it was often the case that an appeal to "principle" was merely an appeal for compliance to regulations and rules. In an article printed in Review and Herald in 1894, for example, "principle" was defined as "'a settled rule of action; a governing law of conduct; an opinion or belief which exercises a directing influence on the life and behavior.'" The author continued: "Principle is a rule governing all right thinking and every good action." Although the author then briefly described principles as "fundamental truths" controlling everything, his usage of the term indicated that he thought of a "principle" as a "rule" or "law." In other words, the term "principle" was being used to refer to a norm or a rule, and when an appeal to "principle" was made without reference to foundation or cause, compliance was expected on the basis of form, rule, or action, rather than on the basis of authentic principle.[1]

There were some who recognized the danger of confusing "rule" and "principle." In an address to the session of the General Conference in 1903, S. P. S. Edwards made an appeal for right principles, particularly with reference to healthful living. He was unequivocal. He informed the delegates that they could not live simply by "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not," but by the foundational

---

in Denmark who had complained that Americans seemed "to talk on principles almost altogether," Olsen admitted that "sometimes it is easier to talk on principles than it is to come down to definiteness" (O. A. Olsen to M. M. Olsen, 7 July 1895, RG 11, LB 14, GCAr). A principle which did not yield appropriate norms was just as undesirable as norms that were not founded on principle. Principle cannot be separated from form as theory cannot be separated from practice.

[1] Fred M. Rossiter, "Principle," RH, 27 November 1894, 739.

principle of righteousness in their "keeping of the Sabbath," their "health reform," and in "any other phases of the truth."[1] The following year in an editorial in the Review and Herald. W. W. Prescott reaffirmed Edwards's emphasis. Although he did not use the word "rule," using in preference the more common designation "principle," he demonstrated that he knew how to differentiate between principles and rules when he said:

> There is one principle which must be the warp and the woof of "the principles" in order that they shall be an integral part of this message, and that principle is the fundamental truth of the gospel,--the doctrine of righteousness by faith, of salvation from sin through the merits and ministry of Jesus the Son of God. When we have "the principles" without this essential principle we have simply the principles of self-exaltation and self-salvation.[2]

In this study, the term "principle" is used with reference to factors which were determinative of the process and form of reorganization of the administrative structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It was a term commonly used by those who were involved in that reorganization. Contextualization of the debate which took place in the process dictates that terminology similar to that which was used at the time be used to describe the ideas and presuppositions which affected the outcome of the process of reorganization.

In this chapter, the concern is not with specific organizational forms but with the principles which were determinative of those forms. Form is a function of principle, time, and place. The denominational leaders who had the greater impact on the course of reorganization did not consider that the Bible prescribed specific forms of organization which were to be imposed on all Christian churches for all time, but they did understand that principles which were to inform the determination of structure were to be found there.

---

[1] Sten 1903, 12 April 1903, 3 P.M., RG 0, GCAr.

[2] [W. W. Prescott], "The Principle and 'the Principles,'" RH. 15 September 1904, 3-4. Prescott explained that the same term could be used to define widely different viewpoints. Unless it was clearly understood that there were certain foundational principles, then there was "a danger of degrading 'the principles' to a mere shibboleth."

Certainly Ellen White did not prescribe specific form, but she did describe principles of organization, she did affirm that the New Testament set forth "simple organization and church order," she did encourage reorganization, and she did express her approval of the form of church organization which was appropriate for the needs of the church and its vibrant missionary endeavor in the early twentieth century. However, it does not appear to have been her intention to derive innovative forms of organization from the principles she advocated.[1] Such was the task of the church.

Such is still the task of the church. The church has the privilege and responsibility to institutionalize structural forms which meet the specifications established by those principles which are considered by the church to have priority. In the early years of the twentieth century principles of organization were prioritized according to their relation to the mission of the church. Study of those principles which were deemed foundational to the reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1901-1903 can still assist the church to prioritize principles which inform structures appropriate for the contemporary international character and mission of the church.

---

[1] Ellen G. White to the Leading Ministers in California, 6 December 1909, Letter 178, 1909, EGWB-AU.

Principles of Reorganization: The Christocentric Model

At the 1903 General Conference session, after the revised constitution had been adopted, Jones had stated that unity meant "a good deal more" to him "than any personal convictions or opinions" that he held. He affirmed that the constitution that had been adopted was now his constitution and that there would be "no more loyal man to that constitution" than himself.[1] But Jones was not able to abide by his stated resolution. Apparently other principles were higher on his scale of values than the need for unity. Although he believed in unity because it was a theological category, and espoused it publicly because he did not want to be perceived as an anarchist, he regarded unity more as a consequence of the beliefs of the church than as a category which took priority over principle and action. Jones's desire for unity was not prioritized to such an extent that it would permit him to compromise his perception of theological and organizational orthodoxy.[2]

---

[1] Sten 1903, 10 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 1.

[2] By way of comparison, Daniells apparently came to the place by 1903 where he regarded unity as a value which, in practice, transcended both the value of explicit ecclesiological statement and the need to derive organizational form from a theological position. The reason for Daniells's viewpoint was that as a consequence of his clash with Kellogg, he had been persuaded that world-wide organizational unity was indispensable if the mission of the church was to be facilitated. Since 1901 his emphasis had shifted somewhat. In 1901 he had been much more willing to recognize and endeavor to institutionalize diversity.

Organizational Starting Point

Since Jones's soteriology was defined with reference to the individual, personal freedom and individuality had become the focal points of his principles of organization.[1] Jones expressed his priorities by starting his organizational paradigm with the principle of self-government and working up. However, his poor organizational sensitivity, failure to appreciate the dimensions and unique contingencies of a world-wide mission, and theological bias prevented him from developing his organizational concepts beyond the needs of the local congregation.[1]

---

[1] Reporting on a meeting held to organize the Pacific Union Medical Missionary Association, of which he was elected chairman, Jones asserted that the principle of self-government was the principle of reorganization. He maintained that "this order of things finds in God with the individual Christian. its source of life and energy; and so of organization" (A. T. Jones, "Principles of Organization of the Pacific Union Medical Missionary Association," RH, 24 February 1903, 9). In a second article with the same title, Jones endeavored to support his contention by reference to some paragraphs that had been written by Ellen White. Referring to a "testimony" that had been read by White herself on the morning of the meeting, Jones informed the committee members that "its whole tenor carries everything back to the individual with God, and calls upon us to respect individual responsibility, individual talent, and individual effort." However, perusal of the quotations from White's "testimony" that Jones included in the article reveals that they do not wholly support his contention. While they discuss decentralization and the need to abandon authoritarian administrative styles, they do not say that the individual is the only starting point for the derivation of principles to govern the erection of an administrative structures--at least not in the way in which Jones was trying to interpret them. Idem, "Principles of Organization of the Pacific Union Medical Missionary Association: Concluded," RH, 3 March 1903, 9. These articles were written just before the 1903 General Conference session convened. Three months later, after the session had passed, R. C. Porter, an ally of Jones, continued the crusade to uphold the place of the individual in the scheme. He wrote of the controlling influence of the Spirit in the life of the church and its members. The implication was that if all were filled with the Spirit, there would be "perfect unity of action" and no need of organization. He continued: "In the church in his [Christ's] day he organized no confederacy to enforce his wishes in the plans of the church work or selections of church officers." His "gentleness, forbearance, pity, and faithfulness" were enough. Although Porter did comment in passing that the Spirit did "not ignore organization," the purpose of his article was to support those who upheld a congregational form as the most desirable form of organization. R. C. Porter, "The Church of Christ a Religious Liberty Society," RH, 16 June 1903, 8-9.

Daniells, on the other hand, started his paradigm with the world-wide task of the church and worked down. While Jones viewed the whole in terms of each component part, Daniells regarded each component in terms of the whole, the task of the whole being to take the gospel to the world. Daniells's organizational and missionary experience shaped his priorities. However, his focus on the global mission of the church and the accomplishment of that task was antithetical to his own intention that the structure of the denomination give attention to the needs of local church congregations and constituencies.[1]

---

[1] Notice the order of priority that Jones created in this paragraph: "Individual self-government necessarily expands to local self-government of the collection of individuals in a locality. . . . From the many localities local self-government expands to State or conference self-government. From the several State or conference organizations self-government expands to union conference self-government. And from union conferences, self-government expands to General Conference self-government: each organization governing itself only, in the field of its own activities, and not attempting to govern any other" (Jones, "Principles of Organization," 9). What Jones completely overlooked was that each successive level of administration above the local church could only find its "field of activity in the sum of the "fields" of its constituent parts, and that therefore it could not govern itself without at the same time governing the organizational level "below" it. Thus Jones, in practice, was never able to move past the local church as the unit of his organizational system, and in the final analysis that was the reason why his system had to be congregational. Without the institutionalization of a process which legitimizes authority, there can be no structure other than congregational structure. This Jones would not admit. In 1906 he contended that the superintendence of Christ could place the necessary controls on the organizational structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in order to prevent "disorganization, confusion, and anarchy." He stated, "I know by the eternal truth, that the Lord Jesus Christ alone, in His place at and as the Head of His Church, is able to organize His people, His Church, and His cause, far better than can be done without Him in that place, and with a man in that place at the head of His cause" (Jones, Final Word. 45-46).

Principles of Reorganization

Because the mystical relationship between "God and the individual Christian" was fundamental to Jones's theology, his principles of organization were founded on "the principle of self-government." His concept of "self-government" was foundational to his whole argument.[2] Just before the 1903 General Conference session, Jones authored a series of two articles on the principles of organization which had been adopted by the newly incorporated Pacific Union Medical Missionary Association, of which he was chairman. In those articles he took the opportunity to expound his own bias regarding the principles of organization. He stated:

> In a word, the principle of reorganization of the General Conference is the principle of self-government. The General Conference pushes back to union conferences all that can be done by union conferences; the union conferences push back to the

---

[1] Daniells's concern for local needs and his desire for broad-based decision making was best evidenced in his endeavor to establish a participatory election process at the local conference constituency meetings held immediately after 1901, and by his hope that the General Conference executive committee would be an advisory rather than an executive body. See below pages 314-17.

[2] Speaking of Christ's power over death in the raising of Lazarus, Jones said in 1902: "And that is the very power that goes with you and me in the preaching of this gospel of reorganization, which is the gospel of Jesus Christ, the third angel's message. To any soul in this world, bound hand and foot with the bondage and the ligaments of Satan all round about, there is a power that goes with you and me . . . to say to that man, Come forth, and he will come forth. . . . And there he stands a new man, loosed from his bonds, and free in God through Christ Jesus our Lord. That is self-government, thank the Lord" (A. T. Jones, "Reorganization," RH, 13 May 1902, 10).

> respective conferences all that can be done by the individual conferences; the conferences push back to the respective churches all that can be done by the individual churches; the churches push back to the individual Christians all that can be done by individual Christians; and the individual Christian pushes back to God all that can be done in and through the individual Christian by God.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

The principles which Jones listed in that series of articles were an elaboration of those which he had set down in an article almost one year earlier. In that article he had commenced with the question, "In what does this study of reorganization consist?" He answered: "Self-government is an essential of the third angel's message. It is an essential of the gospel. You cannot have the gospel without it."[2]

---

[1] A. T. Jones, "Principles of Organization of the Pacific Union Medical Missionary Association," RH, 24 February 1903, 9. See also Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 50a; A. T. Jones, "Reorganization," RH, 6 May 1902, 10-11. At the General Conference executive committee meetings held in November 1902, the meetings at which the conflict with Kellogg erupted in a public forum, Daniells declared that his first principle of reorganization was the principle of "decentralization by the distribution of responsibility" (GCC Min, 13 November 1902, 2:30 P.M., RG 1, GCAr). Jones countered that "the essence of reorganization is found in the principles of self-government, with God as the source of life and power in the government" (GCC Min, 17 November 1902, 3:00 P.M., RG 1, GCAr). In 1901, Daniells would probably have been willing to publicly agree with much that Jones said about self-government. Especially would he have looked with favor on the second sentence of the above-quoted statement. However, at no time did Daniells specifically frame his conception of the principles of reorganization in the terms chosen by Jones in the first sentence--he did not use the term "self-government." He was coming from a different theological and organizational starting point. Even if, in 1901, he had been predisposed toward stating his concepts in those terms, his clash with Kellogg in mid-1902 and the subsequent alliance between Jones and Kellogg ensured that such was not the case by 1903. That controversy, initially over the attitude of the administration toward debt, seemed to catalyze each side around its unifying focal point.

[2] Jones, "Reorganization," 10. See also idem, "Self-Government Means Self-Support," RH, 27 May 1902, 9-10; idem, "Self- Government Means Self-Support," RH, 3 June 1902, 8-10; idem, "Self-Government

In the Review and Herald the following week, Jones wrote again on the same topic. He went even further with his exposition of the principle of self-government. He said:

> Therefore, self-government is not simply a divine principle. It is that, and it is more than that; it is a divine attribute. . . . The principle, the idea, of self-government lies in the freedom of choice. The power of self-government lies in God in Jesus Christ.[1]

From that basis, Jones and his associates derived the other principles of their scheme of organization:

1. They maintained that it should be the people of God who held power and authority in the church, not those in particular administrative positions whom Ellen White had condemned as gathering all the power to themselves.[2]
2. They quoted Ellen White to substantiate their commitment to decentralization, not so much of location because they did not see that as a theologically based issue, but of decision-making power and authority. However, they tended to interpret White's counsel regarding decentralization and the abdication of "kingly power" in a manner which affirmed their presuppositions.
3. They regarded independent General Conferences in three locations

---

Means Self-Support," RH, 10 June 1902, 9-10. Jones had presented the concepts in this series of articles in a series of sermons he preached at the Lake Union Conference session. At that session he had received both the approval and the backing of A. G. Daniells who was concurrently acting as president of that union and as the president of the General Conference.

[1] A. T. Jones, "Reorganization," RH, 13 May 1902, 9-10.

[2] Sten 1903, 3 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 39.

to be better than one centralized General Conference.[1]

4. They were convinced that three General Conference presidents were better than one who had sole control.
5. The title "chairman" was preferable to the title "president" because it did not carry the same authoritarian and centralizing connotations.
6. The responsibility for control was to be distributed so that it was located in the place where the burden of labor was being borne because under such conditions the decisions that were to be made bore a direct relationship to the problem that was being encountered.[2]

---

[1] See Sten 1903, 27 March 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 22.

[2] C. H. Parsons (an architect and one of the few lay delegates at the 1903 General Conference session, or for that matter at any of the sessions that had been held since organization) had stated that he believed that it was important that those who had the greatest interest in a particular enterprise such as an institution, and were working towards the accomplishing of the purposes and goals of that enterprise should be most concerned with its control. W. C. White took up Parsons's theme immediately and insisted that it was "a fundamental principle" that "should be understood in connection with all lines of work that where the burden of labor is there rests the burden of control" (Sten 1903, 3 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 20a-21, emphasis supplied). Parsons and White were not entirely sympathetic with the position taken by Jones and his associates and certainly they were not aligned with Kellogg. Writing to Daniells, Parsons stated that he considered that Kellogg filled "the position of pope completely" in the medical work. Daniells, in reply, was very impressed by the analysis of the situation which Parsons had written, seeing it had come from one of "those who are not directly involved in the controversy" (C. H. Parsons to A. G. Daniells, 6 January 1903, RG 11, 1903-P Folder, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to C. H. Parsons, 27 February 1903, RG 11, LB 30, GCAr). Despite the fact that it was Parsons and White who first proposed the idea that those involved in an enterprise should control it, David Paulson took hold of it and applied it in terms of his own presuppositions. He expressed his belief that "more and more the axiom stated by Brother White will be true." It would, however, be necessary to translate it from "theory into practice," and the manner in which that was to be done would be determined by the way

7. Self-support was the corollary of self-government. Jones insisted that "inevitably, the support must come from the same source as comes the government," and that such a principle was "everlastingly fixed."[1]

The principles that were espoused by Jones and his supporters were based on selected passages of Scripture and on what they understood Ellen White to be saying. They enthusiastically set for themselves the goal of reforming the church. Despite the consequences of some extreme positions that became more obvious after 1903, it should be recognized that they had succeeded in bringing to the attention of the church in 1897 and again in 1901 the need to radically modify a system of organization which was beginning to impede, rather than facilitate, the missionary expansion and spiritual growth of the church.

But they were not satisfied with what they had accomplished. They did not regard the reforms of 1901 as reaching the ideal of self-government.[2] Therefore, when in 1903 the session voted to revoke

---

in which the constitution was to be drafted (Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 100b). Paulson was an ardent supporter of the position of Jones and Waggoner and had been one of those who submitted the minority report from the committee on plans and constitution to the 1903 General Conference session.

[1] Jones, "Self-Government Means Self-Support," 27 May 1903, 9.

[2] While discussing the proposal to change the constitution at the 1903 General Conference session, Waggoner revealed that he had not voted for a constitution for the last ten years, including the one adopted in 1901. Yet he did not oppose the constitution of 1901. His attitude was that because it had fewer provisions than any previous constitution it was better than anything that the church had ever had. He continued: "It was a step in the right direction: and I hail that with joy, as a movement toward the time, as I am just as sure we will come eventually as I stand here, when all these things

even those reforms which they had regarded in 1901 as the first steps toward the ideal, they were bitterly disappointed. It is not surprising that the leaders of their crusade eventually severed their connection with the church. The polemical, confrontational atmosphere which was engendered by the dynamics of the whole situation only hastened their exit.

Failures on their part also contributed to their predicament. Not so much their failures with respect to character or anything of a personal nature, or even any inappropriate theological understandings, but their failure to take into account that much of the counsel given by Ellen White with respect to the dangers of centralization, kingly power, and abuses of various kinds was given with specific referents. They did not sufficiently realize that the specific situation held the key to the interpretation and application of the principle that was being discussed. Their failure to allow the situation to impinge upon the manner in which the principle was to be interpreted meant that they insisted that the only way to apply a principle was to regard it as an independent entity, separate from any other principles which could inform the way it was to be understood. The end result was that their interpretation drove them towards an application of a specific principle which could not be sustained in a multiplex situation.

Together with their logical and hermeneutical shortcomings, their inability to consider that principles other than those which fitted their particular theological presuppositions could inform

---

will be left aside as the toys of childhood" (Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 27-28).

discussion of the organizational nature of the church contributed to their downfall. Their disregard of the sociological elements in the church and their insistence that a particular principle, such as self-government, not be conditioned in its application by other principles such as the granting of legitimate authority, meant that they had no way to control the practical application of the principles which they espoused. The effect was that they had no alternative but to champion a congregational form of organization which many Adventists interpreted as promoting the elimination of organization altogether.[1]

That such would be the end result of their idealistic notions was already obvious by 1903. Waggoner indicated that he had already come to the conclusion that the only reason the church needed organization was that it did not have enough confidence in its own loyalty to the Holy Spirit, and in the Holy Spirit to keep the church unified. He was convinced that when the church would trust the Holy Spirit, then constitutions could "be left aside as the toys of childhood" and organization would be a thing of the past. If that were to happen, there would be a "mutual reigning" and "absolute sovereignty, on the part of each individual, and, above all, submission on the part of each to one another and to the whole."[2] Thus it was that three years later (when looking back on the events of

---

[1] Again, perhaps such a situation as did develop may not have been necessary if the atmosphere had been one of mutual cooperation and trust between the parties and if a genuine effort to understand the point of view of the other side had been demonstrated.

[2] Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, Rg 0, GCAr, 27-30. Waggoner added that the only reason why his scheme could not be adopted was not that there was any limitation or omission as far as the scheme itself was concerned, but that the church was not yet ready for it.

1903) Jones lamented that from his perspective the denomination had turned its back on "New Testament order" and evangelical Christianity and committed itself "openly and positively" to "the first steps of the papal order."[1]

Still convinced that individual self-government should be the first of all "Protestant principles" to be considered, Jones did not hesitate to press his claim that the principle of self-government was not "allowed in the S.D.A. denomination." Even the very principle of representation which the church valued so highly, Jones decried as carrying "in itself the whole principle of papal infallibility." His contention was that nobody could "represent anybody except himself."[2]

---

[1] Jones, An Appeal. 49. See also page 238 above.

[2] Ibid., 55-56, 45. Jones had earlier drawn attention to the fact that Daniells himself had espoused the idea that all members who were in attendance at any given session should be considered to be delegates. See ibid., 45-46; European Union Conference Bulletin. 2. By 1907 Jones did not stand alone in expressing this kind of opposition to the organization of the church. Toward the end of 1906 W. L. Winner, a dentist from Philadelphia, wrote an apologetic for the position that Jones had espoused since the 1903 General Conference session. Daniells called Winner's pamphlet "a dangerous little document." Referring to Winner's style and logic, he wrote to Prescott that if "Jones had taken the matter up as Winner had, he would have done far more harm than he did." Daniells found Winner's document far more threatening "than A.T.'s little leaflet." See W. L. Winner, Gospel Simplicity. The Need of the Hour in Personal Piety. in Doctrine. in Organization (Boulder, Colo.: n.p., 1906); A. G. Daniells to L. R. Conradi, 18 January 1907, RG 11, LB 40, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to W. W. Prescott, 20 January 1907, RG 11, LB 40, GCAr. See also A. G. Daniells to C. H. Parsons, 20 January 1907, Rg 11, LB 40, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to H. W. Cottrell, 20 January 1907, RG 11, LB 40, GCAr; W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 14 February 1907, LB 33, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 22 March 1909, RG 11, LB 45, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to H. W. Cottrell, 16 April 1909, Rg 11, LB 45, GCAr. Largely in response to the Winner document with its "seductive, divisive, and in some respects, bewitching theories," Daniells himself wrote an extensive series of articles on the church and its organization for the Review and Herald. See A. G. Daniells to L. R. Conradi, 18 January 1907, RG 11, LB 40, GCAr; A. G. Daniells,

Principles of Reorganization: The Eschatological-Missiological Model

Organizational Starting Point

If Jones and his associates derived their principles of organization more from their individualistic understanding of soteriology and their ecclesiological emphasis, Daniells and his associates derived their principles of organization more from their evaluation of the pragmatic situation of the church.[1] For Daniells, the primary focus of that pragmatic situation was the scope of the church's missionary task. Having just returned from extended periods of foreign missionary service, Daniells, Spicer, Ellen White, and W. C. White were keenly aware of the inadequacy of the existing

---

"Organization: A Brief Account of Its History in the Development of the Cause of the Third Angel's Message," 15-part series in *RH*, 31 January 1907, 5-6; 7 February 1907, 5-6; 14 February 1907, 5; 21 February 1907, 5-6; 28 February 1907, 6; 7 March 1907, 5-6; 14 March 1907, 5-6; 21 March 1907, 4-5; 28 March 1907, 5-6; 4 April 1907, 5-6; 11 April 1907, 5-6; 18 April 1907, 5-6; 25 April 1907, 4-6; 9 May 1907, 5; 16 May 1907, 4-5. Another antagonistic element that emerged shortly after Winner's tract was a magazine which was initially called *The Platform*, but after three issues was renamed *The Platform and Voice*. It was published irregularly between January 1908 and February 1910. The editorial policy of that magazine encouraged the publication of anonymous articles. It is not surprising, therefore, that the articles themselves were particularly vitriolic in their criticism of the organized church. At the same time they were most conciliatory toward any diverse elements that were united by their attacks against the church. In order to counter the attacks of the "*Platform* people," Daniells suggested that a new volume of "'Testimonies for the Church'" be published, and that it contain the "fundamental principles underlying organization." See C. C. Crisler to W. C. White, 27 June 1909, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC. Copies of *Platform and Voice* are located in EGWO-DC and SDAHC-AU.

[1] While Jones largely ignored sociological formative factors, Daniells's dominant emphasis was certainly not on ecclesiological formative factors. Even so, it is not correct to say that Daniells was completely theologically unaware nor that Jones was totally sociologically naive.

administrative structure to cope with the contingencies of a global missionary enterprise. Their focus, given their theological presuppositions, was on the reorganization of the administrative structures of the church so that they could be an instrument rather than an inhibitor of mission.

Even though reorganization required that structural form be changed so that it would better facilitate the mission of the church, Daniells believed that the principles which were foundational to organization and which had been espoused by the pioneers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church when a denominational organization had been formed in the early 1860s were still valid. Since global mission had not even been a contributing factor to organization in the 1860s, that which was needed in 1901 was not a revocation of the principles that had been long established, but an adaptation which would render the structures more relevant and useful for missionary purposes.[1]

The development of the missionary focus of the church in the years since 1863 certainly did not diminish the need for structures. Daniells contended, with reference to what he perceived as the implications of Jones's ideas, that the principles which governed the choice of organizational structures should be those which supported the maintenance of the structures, not those which tended to destroy them. In retrospect, he pointed out that the principles which guided the church in its reorganization could not be permitted to lead the church towards disorganization or the abandonment of those "general principles" which in the 1860s had transformed a scattered group of "believers" into a viable denomination.[1]

---

[1] At the 1903 General Conference session Daniells insisted that "a careful study of the plan of reorganization, as worked out, will show that it does not attack or set aside any of the vital features of organization adopted by the pioneers of this message. It is a consistent and harmonious adjustment of these features to meet the necessities of a growing cause" (GC Bulletin. 1903, 18). Refuting Jones in 1906, the statement was made, this time "very clearly," that the call for reorganization in 1901 had not been "a call to abandon the original purpose and general plan of organization adopted by the pioneers of this cause." Rather the plan that had been adopted in the 1860s was adjusted and modified in 1901 "in harmony with the growth and development of our cause" (General Conference Committee, Statement. 19-20). See also Crisler, The Value of Organization. 4. In 1901-1903 the church was not yet able to anticipate the consequences of missionary success and the implications of its own internationalization. Of course, the church did not really see any need to anticipate too far into the future. After all, the fundamental theological presupposition for structural reform was eschatological.

Unlike Jones, Daniells did not categorically state that one principle in particular was foundational to all the others. Just as the theological basis of reorganization was not as clearly enunciated by Daniells as it was by Jones, organizational principles also were not clearly stated at the time when the decisions were being made. Daniells would later list the advantages of reorganization and attempts would be made to systematize the theological rationale for reorganization.[2] At the time, however, despite repeated reference to

---

[1] A. G. Daniells, "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation--No. 9," RH, 5 April 1906, 6.

[2] At the 1903 General Conference session Daniells made reference to some of the "features" of the "work" which were the result of reorganization. From what he said it may be deduced that he discussed the implementation of principles such as fairness, efficiency, localization, distribution of responsibility, unity, and simplicity. Nowhere did he infer, however, that these "principles" were presuppositional to the structure. Rather, they were regarded as consequential--resulting from the implementation of the new structure. GC Bulletin, 1903, 18. In contrast to Jones, who regarded his principles as foundational, Daniells most often spoke of the features of the organizational structure that had been adopted as advantages, consequences, and principles which were consequential rather than

"principles," no systematic treatment that could be used as a basis for decision making appeared. Without a systematic ecclesiology, there was really no basis upon which the church could formulate other well-defined principles of organization.

However, if one principle was more important than any other for those allied with Daniells in 1901, it was the principle of decentralization. Daniells implied that such was the case at the 1903 General Conference session when he was explaining his understanding of the sentence from Ellen White's 1896 letter that had been used by Jones, Waggoner, and Prescott in an attempt to do away with the presidency of the General Conference. Daniells explained that according to his understanding, Ellen White was saying that the leaders of the church needed to "decentralize responsibilities and details and place them in the hands of a larger number of men."[1] In this sentence he was using the term "decentralize" in the sense of the verb "to delegate." He understood Ellen White to be discussing the need for responsibility to be delegated to several persons rather than

---

presuppositional to the structure. See GC Bulletin. 1901, 226-30; GC Bulletin. 1903, 18; A. G. Daniells, "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation--No. 8," RH, 29 March 1906, 6-7; idem, "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation--No. 9," RH, 5 April 1906, 6-7; idem, "Some Beneficial Features of Our Organization," RH. 14 March 1918, 6. In his article in the RH, 14 March 1918, Daniells listed "some of the most vital and beneficial advantages organization brings to the church." He said: (1) It establishes order, (2) it secures and fosters unity and co-operation in endeavor, (3) it strengthens for conquest, (4) it strengthens for defense, (5) it aids every member in finding his place and doing his part, (6) it develops ability and leads to the bearing of responsibilities, (7) it recognizes and guards the rights and freedom of every member, and (8) it is an outward manifestation of the inward union and harmony of the body.

[1] Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 75.

being concentrated in just one person--the president of the General Conference.

1901 and 1903: A Subtle Shift in Emphasis

In 1906, Daniells wanted it to be understood that the principles of 1901 were the same principles which had always been the basis of organizational structures in the church. One of the main reasons for his insistence that such was the case was that the turmoil of the years following 1901 had indeed resulted in some changes in the emphasis that Daniells and his associates had placed on certain principles. As Jones tended toward a more laissez faire attitude toward church structures, Daniells tended towards a more authoritarian stance. He felt that such an attitude was necessary in order to keep the church unified. His shifting priorities were not evidenced so much by an outright denial of any specific principle as they were by a changing emphasis in the application of some of those principles.

Daniells had never espoused the idealistic principles of Jones and Waggoner. He had come from a different starting point altogether, as has been pointed out above. However, he had been influenced by them to some extent and, in 1901, had found himself using some of their terminology to explain his own concepts, even though he had followed a different route in order to arrive at them.

For a time after the 1901 General Conference session Daniells was quite comfortable with the alliance that existed between himself and Jones's allies. The desire for organizational reform had brought them together. The clash with Kellogg in mid-1902 quickly changed all that, however. From that point forward may be traced not so much a change in the principles which Daniells espoused, but a change in the relative place of those principles on his scale of values. He himself admitted that he was a pragmatist, that he believed in practice, not theory.[1] The realities of conflict, therefore, made a profound impact on his pragmatic sensitivities and led him to emphasize some of his principles more as time went on, and, correspondingly, to de-emphasize others. It must be stressed, however, that in Daniells's view, de-emphasis in practice did not constitute a denial of the legitimacy of the principle in theory.

Principles of Reorganization

Unity and Diversity

Reference has been made above to Ellen White's use of "unity in diversity" and the metaphors that she associated with it. Taken together, her references to unity and diversity formed a significant theme in her writings, particularly during the 1890s when diversity was becoming more apparent due to the rapid growth of the church.[1]

---

[1] With reference to the difficulties that had arisen in the year before the 1903 General Conference session, Daniells said: "I believe brethren, that we must look at conditions. We face conditions, and not theories. We have to deal with what is before us, and not altogether with an ideal condition or ideal situation. When we get to heaven we wont [*sic*] be doing a great many things that we are doing here. We will have very different conditions and we will be in an ideal state, and we can live ideally then; but while we are here in this world, and are facing conditions, we have to meet those conditions in the best way possible to carry on the work God has given us. . . . Somebody has to meet . . . problems and meet them right on the spot. We cannot take our seats like a piece of putty, and keep still the whole year. We have to deal with living problems" (Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 70-72).

During the 1890s both unity and diversity had negative and positive aspects as far as the mission of the church was concerned. Diversity was positive when it enhanced the potential of the church to reach diverse "nations, tongues, and peoples," and led to decentralization of decision-making prerogatives. It was negative when it caused chaos and confusion, such as was the case with the multiplication of auxiliary organizations. Unity was positive when it bound the church into oneness in Christ. It was negative when it was interpreted to require uniformity and unnecessary centralization of authority.

Given Ellen White's repeated references regarding the necessity for both unity and diversity to be respected in the church (an emphasis which appears to have been unique in Adventism to her), and her close association with A. G. Daniells and W. C. White, it is not surprising that in 1901 the principles of unity and diversity were essential to the proposals that were made with respect to reorganization of the denomination. The principle of unity was preeminent in the centralization of the auxiliary organizations as departments under the General Conference executive committee.[2] Unlike the former auxiliary organizations, the departments had no executive authority. The principle of diversity was preeminent in the decentralization of decision-making prerogatives through the establishment of an additional level of administration, and by delegating some functions which had previously been performed by the General Conference to union conferences.

---

[1] The increasing multi-ethnic membership of the church created constituent diversity. The multiplication of auxiliary organizations and institutions brought administrative diversity.

[2] Unity was necessary in order to encompass the dimensions of the mission of the church. There was no way for the Seventh-day Adventist Church with its emphasis on world-wide evangelization to succeed in that task unless there was unity of purpose, belief, and action. Unity of action required administrative co-ordination that could best facilitate strategic initiatives on a global scale. Further, the functional ecclesiological self-image that was

The records of the 1901 General Conference session indicate that there was very little discussion regarding the integration of the auxiliary organizations into the conference structure of the denomination. The emphasis was on the need to recognize diversity by decentralization. Past growth had made the recognition of diversity necessary, but projected future growth made provision for diversity imperative.

The place of decentralization as a principle of reorganization in 1901

In 1901, Daniells and those who were sympathetic to his viewpoints understood decentralization to be that organizational principle which, more than any other, was the key to the successful implementation of an organizational structure which would facilitate the realization of the mission of the church. In 1902 the General Conference committee minutes recorded Daniells as saying that "the guiding principle [of reorganization] had been the decentralization of authority by the distribution of responsibility." He added that the

---

characteristic of the church permitted a centralized administration that could co-ordinate and facilitate the mission of the church. It cannot be denied that, given the church's theological and pragmatic priorities, some centralization was necessary and legitimate.

application of that principle had led "to the organization of union conferences," and representation "on all operating committees" of the "four features of our work--the evangelical, medical, educational, and publishing interests."[1]

Daniells was insistent that the principle of decentralization be carried into the work of the church. One of his favorite expressions (one that he had taken from Ellen White), was that those "on the ground" should bear the burden of administration and have the prerogative of decision making.[2] He saw the implementation of the union structure as the manner in which administrative responsibility was being delegated to those "on the ground." The union administrators were, for Daniells, those "on the ground."[3]

---

[1] GCC Minutes, 13 November 1902, 2:30 P.M., RG 1, GCAr.

[2] Ellen G. White to A. O. Tait, 27 August 1896, Letter 100, 1896, EGWB-AU; A. G. Daniells to W. T. Knox, 21 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to E. H. Gates, 23 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to Edith R. Graham, 24 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 19 June 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to Members of the General Conference Committee, 2 August 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to W. T. Knox, 17 December 1901, RG 11, LB 25, GCAr. In 1895 Ellen White had used the phrase in a "testimony" to ministers. She said: "Be sure that God has not laid upon those who remain away from these foreign fields of labor, the burden of criticizing the ones on the ground where the work is being done. Those who are not on the ground know nothing about the necessities of the situation, and if they cannot say anything to help those who are on the ground, let them not hinder but show their wisdom by the eloquence of silence, and attend to the work that is close at hand. . . . Let the Lord work with the men who are on the ground, and let those who are not on the ground walk humbly with God lest they get out of their place and lose their bearings" (Ellen G. White, Special Instruction to Ministers and Workers [Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1895], 33; reprinted in Ellen G. White, Series A [Payson Ariz.: Leaves-Of-Autumn Books, 1976], 157).

[3] A. G. Daniells to H. W. Cottrell, 17 June 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr.

It is not the position of this study that the commitment of the administration of the Seventh-day Adventist Church to the principle of decentralization was ever revoked. It was not. Decentralization continued to be considered as a vital principle which governed the reorganization of the church. It is the contention of this study, however, that the confrontation and polemics over organizational issues that began in mid-1902 and continued for the next seven years (until Jones was removed from church membership in 1909), caused a renewal of emphasis on the need for unity in the church. That desire for unity on the part of the administration of the church meant that the structures of the church became more an instrument of the centralization of authority than they did an instrument of delegation and decentralization of authority. Jones claimed that just such a tendency was built into the very structures themselves. Such was not necessarily the case, but circumstances indeed confirmed that a changing emphasis toward one of the two basic principles of reorganization could compromise the stated intent of reorganization.

Concern for unity

When Daniells discussed the principles which were to govern the reorganization of the church at the 1901 General Conference session and described the benefits which would accrue from the implementation of the union conference plan, he did not particularly mention unity. Certainly Ellen White had done so in the College Library Address and certainly the principle of unity had always been a top priority for Seventh-day Adventists and would continue to be so, but for both Ellen White and A. G. Daniells the immediate priorities were elsewhere. In his single, most significant explanation of the operation of the Australasian Union Conference and its application to the world church, Daniells discussed the simplification of machinery for transacting business, the need to place laborers [administrators] in the field in personal contact with the people, the advantage of having general boards in the field, the necessity of having a general organization which did not concern itself primarily with affairs in the United States, the General Conference as a "world's General Conference," and the necessity for the boards of institutions and the committees of union conferences to be composed of persons familiar with their geographical areas of administration. And he added,

> The field is the world. I hope we will drop out of our vocabulary the word "foreign" when we talk about missions. It is missionary work. God occupies the center. All places are equally distant to him--all places are equally near to him![1]

But he did not even mention the need for unity.

At the second meeting of the General Conference session in 1903, however, Daniells did include unity among the list of advantages and benefits that were realized by reorganization. Having pointed out that reorganization had resulted in a distribution of responsibility and that "work in all parts of the world" was to be dealt with by those who were "on the ground," and that the "details" were to be "worked out" by them; he summarized: "in short, the plan recognizes one message, one body of people, and one general organization."[1]

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 228-29. Daniells's applications from the Australasian Union to the world church are given in the order which he discussed them.

By 1903 Daniells felt that it was important to stress the oneness of the administrative structures. Decentralization was still vital, but it was a decentralization which was carried out only along prescribed lines. In some respects, particularly in the organization of departments of the General Conference, there was more centralization than decentralization. Apparently some sensed the potential tendencies of such a course. With reference to the adoption of the revised constitution, M. C. Wilcox observed:

> We may pass all these resolutions, all these principles of organization, and go on and do just the same as we have been doing for the last twenty-five years. . . . If we will get this thing deep down in our souls . . . we will not bind ourselves about with red tape and feel that everything must go in just the same way. There are different fields sometimes that demand different organizations, and I hope that when that field comes, and when that time comes, and that place comes, that God will have men that will be willing to break the red tape, if necessary, and form the organization in harmony with the field, and according to the demands of the occasion.[2]

Ellen White also sensed the danger of placing inordinate stress on the oneness of the organization. Her concern was that such a position would result in the need to centralize authority so that organizational uniformity could be maintained. Specifically with reference to the publishing concerns of the church, she said:

> No man's intelligence is to become such a controlling power that one man will have kingly authority in Battle Creek or in any other

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1903, 17-21. The other points that Daniells made at that time were that the reorganization was guided by fairness, efficiency, localization, the distribution of responsibility, and simplicity. He also pointed out that the plan was consistent with that of the pioneers and that it allowed more workers to gain administrative experience.

[2] Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 20-20a.

> place. In no line of work is any one man to have power to turn the wheel. God forbids.[1]

She was particularly outspoken regarding failure to implement principles that had been introduced in 1901. Writing to Judge Arthur in January 1903, she maintained that as the delegates who had been in attendance at the session returned to their homes, they carried with them into "their work the wrong principles that had been prevailing in the work at Battle Creek."[2]

The context does not indicate exactly what "principles" were being discussed. Although structural changes which she approved of had been made in 1901, apparently the new structures could be abused with the same result as the former structures. Thus Ellen White once again found it necessary to reprove the leaders of the church and its departments because of the tendency to gather power about themselves. Whenever the need to promote unity was prioritized to the extent that it disrupted the maintenance of equilibrium between the principles of unity and diversity, and diversity was not taken into consideration as it should have been, centralization was the result.

Participation or Representation

Local conference participation

Daniells made a concerted effort to carry his emphasis on diversity and decentralization not only into union conferences but also into the local conference setting. Soon after the 1901 General Conference session, he began to promote broad-based participation in the decision-making process by encouraging the state conferences to permit all state church members to participate at their respective state sessions as delegates. Daniells's innovation in this respect was a departure from the system of permitting only duly appointed delegates to vote at the session.[1]

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "Principles for the Guidance of Men in Positions of Responsibility," MS 140, 1902, EGWB-AU.

[2] Ellen G. White to Judge Jesse Arthur, 14 January 1903, Letter 17, 1903, EGWB-AU.

---

[1] The reorganization of 1901 had reaffirmed the Seventh-day Adventist commitment to a representative style of church government. Despite J. H. Waggoner's assertion in 1885 that the church had adopted a congregational style of government, the mainstream had recognized that theirs was a style of governance that, combined elements of Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, and even Episcopal forms. They coined the term "representative" to describe it. Writing one hundred years after the initial organization, it was stated that "one of the important decisions of this conference [1863 General Conference] was the establishing of the principle of representative government through approved delegates" (L. L. Moffitt, "The General Conference," RH, 1 March 1962, 9). However, it does not appear that the term "representative" was widely used as a designation for the form of government until the time of reorganization in 1901-1903. See Mustard, "James White and Organization," 232-62. In July 1901, J. N. Loughborough wrote an article in which he pointed out that the church governed not only by means of representation but by "proportional representation." At the first General Conference session, however, such had not been the case. Although representatives were present from "Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, New York, and Ohio, . . . Michigan had more members present than all the rest of the States, and the Battle Creek church, and two or three adjoining churches, had more members present than all the rest of the churches in the State." Apparently when the constitution was voted, however, "a numerical basis for delegate representation in the Conferences and in the General Conference" was provided for. Loughborough assured his readers that "the sweet blessing of God, sensibly present, seemed to indorse the movement made" (J. N. Loughborough, "The Church: Numerical Representation and Committees," RH, 16 July 1901, 452). Daniells must not have read Loughborough's article in the RH. If he did, he decided to disregard it because he had embarked on a different course altogether. In fact, Loughborough's article may well have been written to counter what had been done at the Wisconsin, Ontario, and other conference sessions that Daniells visited in June and July 1901. See A. G. Daniells to I. J. Hankins, 18 June 1901, RG11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to W. W. Prescott, 24 June 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen and L. R. Conradi, 1 July 1901, RG 11, LB

Daniells's idea of representation was that any and every person who was in attendance at a local conference session and a member in that conference should be a delegate to the session. He strongly advocated a participatory election process for local conferences at most of the local conference sessions that he attended in 1901, at the Lake Union Conference session (of which he was president), and at the European Union Conference in 1902. In Europe he stated his concept as a principle. He said:

> As to representation, nobody can represent anybody except himself. All should be the Lord's representatives; but nobody can represent some other person, or a church. A church is "fully represented" in a Conference when all its members are present; but nobody can delegate his mind or his conscience to another. If a person is present at any meeting, he does not want somebody else to speak for him.[1]

It was further reported that while he did not presume "to dictate to any how they should do, he gave it as his conviction that just as in any church meeting all the members present are entitled to speak, so

---

24, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to N. P. Nelson, 17 July 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr. In another letter to W. W. Prescott on 21 July of the same year, Daniells said to Prescott, "You will be somewhat amused to hear that all the brethren present at the council [Lake Union session] were decidedly in favor of abolishing the old plan of electing delegates to the State Conferences, and substituting the plan of making every church-member present at any regular session of the Conference a member of the Conference in session for the transaction of business. A resolution recommending the States to make this change was passed without a dissenting voice" (A. G. Daniells to W. W. Prescott, 21 July 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr). See also A. G. Daniells to J. W. Collie, 10 April 1902, RG 11, LB 26, GCAr.

[1] European Conference Bulletin. 2. In 1909, A. T. Jones referred to Daniells's statement at the European Union Conference and indicated that it was in harmony with his own concept of self-government. He said of it: "It is a splendid statement of a fundamental Christian principle. . . . And that is the truth. It is the principle of 1901. And in the presence of that principle the present system of 1903 can not stand for a moment" (Jones, An Appeal. 46).

in any Conference all the members present are properly delegates." He added that his plan had "been adopted in quite a number of Conferences in America."[1]

Daniells was questioned at length concerning his proposal. Apparently quite a few of the delegates had read Loughborough's article, or were familiar with the early history of the development of the organizational structure of the church and saw pragmatic difficulties with the plan. They were concerned that such a plan could give one district an undue proportional influence and control. Daniells rebuffed such a suggestion on the basis that all were Christians; the implication being that no one member or group of members would exercise arbitrary or political power over others. Daniells countered even further. Given his commitment to mission, he assured the delegates that the principle of numerical representation could not be a satisfactory principle because if it were strictly followed from the local conferences right through to the General Conference, it "would leave the heathen lands wholly unprovided for, and was thus opposed to missionary effort." Each member was to "consider himself as representative of the world, and not merely of his particular locality."[2] He was somewhat inconsistent in his reasoning, however. He was not promoting participatory representation as a principle to be adopted at all levels of church administration. He was only concerned for its adaptation to local conference governance, and, to some extent, to union conferences. At General

---

[1] European Conference Bulletin. 2.

[2] Ibid., 2-3.

Conference level, Daniells's ideas of representation, especially with reference to overseas fields, were not at all participatory, nor were they even particularly representative.

Union conference representation

At the union level of administration, the concept of representation changed from broad-based participation by the people to unilateral representation of the departments and the institutions in the union. The same situation applied at the General Conference. In 1901 Daniells allowed the proposal that the executive committee elect its own chairman because he, along with W. C. White, considered the committee to be a "thoroughly representative one."[1] But the committee selected in 1901 comprised representatives of departments and institutions, with only the union presidents as representatives of "the people" who were supposed to be the authority base in the church. The union presidents were outnumbered seventeen to eight and could very easily be outvoted. Further, as chairmen or executive board members of the institutions within their own unions, union presidents were more often focused on institutional concerns than on the concerns of the local churches and the church members. They were, therefore, more likely to be sympathetic to institutional problems and needs than to the needs and concerns of the church at large. The composition of the committee inevitably led to a focus on institutional concerns. In this respect Seventh-day Adventist mission methodology was in accord with that of most mission agencies which depended to a large degree on the establishment of institutions.

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 206.

International representation

The situation with regard to representation of the world-wide constituency of the church was even more troublesome. As the composition of the General Conference executive committee was being discussed in 1901, G. G. Rupert asked if there was any provision for the "different nationalities among us" being represented on the committee. Prescott answered him by quoting Gal 3:28 and assuring the delegates that such was not necessary because "ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Rupert was not at all satisfied with that reply. He tried to raise the subject again, but Daniells, the chairman of the meeting, ignored him and passed over to the next recommendation. A few minutes later, J. W. Westphal raised the issue again. In reference to Rupert's question he observed that while it was true that all were one in Christ, and while the committee was to represent different institutions and departments of the work, he was convinced "that an American or an Englishman who is laboring among the Germans or the Scandinavians can not represent the German or the Scandinavian work, and plan with reference to it as he could if he had someone there" who understood the language. At that stage E. J. Waggoner, who had his own agenda of concerns that needed airing, had become frustrated by such an unnecessary diversion. He adroitly dismissed the question by stating that if the session was to include a representative of every language on the committee, the committee would be "several times twenty-five"; much too large to be practical.[1]

The outcome was that the safest course was chosen--only North Americans were elected to the executive committee. The irony of the situation was that the question that was asked by Rupert was probably asked with reference to Northern European migrants in North America, and not to the possibility of the representation of those who were not living in North America or who were not indigenous to North America. The possibility of having indigenous representatives from outside North America on the executive committee or the impact of cultural diversity on the form of organization adopted by the church was not even mentioned. It just was not an issue for the delegates at that session--the session which largely decided the structure which the church was to adopt to accommodate its global expansion and facilitate its world-wide mission.

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1901, 187-188. Analysis of the delegate composition at the 1901 General Conference session indicates that there were 234 delegates listed for the session. The SDA Encyclopedia gives 268 delegates. The reason for the discrepancy appears to be that the compilers of the SDA Encyclopedia included as additional delegates persons listed in a supplementary list of delegates who were not present when the roll was called at the first meeting of the session. In actual fact, those persons had already been listed in the full list of delegates and delegates at large. SDA Encyclopedia. 1976 ed., s.v. "General Conference Session"; GC Bulletin. 1901, 18-19. Of the general delegates listed, all held ministerial credentials or a ministerial licence except four. Those four were W. F. Surber, a colporter; James Cochran, also in the publishing work; W. R. Simmons, a doctor who was in church employment; and Ida M. Walters, a secretary and the only general delegate who was a woman. There were just a few other delegates who held ministerial credentials or licenses but who were medical practitioners. All general delegates and all delegates at large were denominational employees. There were no laypersons. Of twenty-four delegates who represented or had come from conferences outside North America, only three, J. C. Ottsen, G. W. Schubert, and Paul Roth (all from Northern Europe) did not consider themselves to be North Americans. Of the 234 delegates listed to attend, only 216 actually attended and took part in the deliberations. See Seventh-day Adventist Year Book for 1894. 11-138; The General Conference Bulletin: Third Quarter 1901 (Battle Creek, Mich.: The Seventh-day Adventist General Conference, 1901), 520-58; The General Conference Bulletin: Third Quarter 1902. 602-647; GC Bulletin 1901, 18-19; A. G. Daniells to E. R. Palmer, 3 May 1901, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 6, GCAr.

But that is not to say that there was no commitment to the principle of representation. Representation was understood as being compatible with the higher principle of decentralization. The church and its members were very much in the mind of Daniells both at the General Conference session in 1901 and in the year that followed. Though he was conscious "more and more" of the "influence and power" that the General Conference had, he was anxious to use that power "rightly" and get into "sympathetic touch" with the "rank and file" of the church constituency. He censured conference officers for failing to consult their constituencies when decisions of importance were to be made. In 1901 he wanted administration and government in the Seventh-day Adventist Church to be "of the people, by the people, and for the people."[1]

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to E. A. Sutherland, 20 December 1901, RG 11, LB 25, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, 18 June 1901, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC; A. G. Daniells to N. P. Nelson, 17 July 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr. W. C. White agreed with Daniells's emphasis on the priority of the people. On 2 September 1902 he wrote to Daniells with reference to the Michigan Conference session that had just been conducted: "I think, Brother Daniells, that the time has passed when you and I and some other of our brethren who have had clear light and wise counsel regarding the general management of our work, should be satisfied to leave matters with the committee. I think the time has come for us to speak plainly to the people, and when we speak the truth to the people, and the Lord begins to move their hearts, He will raise up men and develop plans which he will vindicate, but which could not be operated when the light and counsel is all confined to a few committeemen" (W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, 2 September 1901, LB 17, EGWO-DC).

Consensus decision making

Along with his regard for the prerogatives of the members of the church and his desire to implement a participatory decision making process at local conference level, Daniells advocated decision making by consensus in 1901 and 1902, rather than by majority vote. In contrast to his concept of participation which was promoted only on the state conference level, he advocated consensus decision making at every level of administration. Daniells told E. R. Palmer, his associate and confidante in Australia, that at the 1901 General Conference session no measure "received unkind treatment." Some of the proposals advanced were "amended" and a few "dropped out," but it had all been done by "common consent," not by "majority vote." Daniells declared that he had never seen "anything like it."[1]

At the European Union Conference in May 1902, Daniells endeavored to impress upon the delegates the value of his practice of encouraging consensus decision making. The record of the conference recounts that

> he stated that all church business ought to be by unanimous consent. Nothing ought to be carried by majority vote, and he had not, in the meetings over which he presided, been in the habit of calling for the opposition vote to any measure. Principles, not members, ought to rule in the work of God, and measures ought to prevail only as their inherited righteousness recommends them to the good sense and conscience of all sincere believers.[2]

One may wonder just what Daniells had in mind when he advocated the concept of consensus decision making.[1] Whatever was the case, his attitude changed rapidly, again as a consequence of the confrontation with Kellogg, so that, by the General Conference Session of 1903, vital decisions were being made on the strength of majority vote.[2]

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to E. R. Palmer, 3 May 1901, RG 9, A. G. Daniells Folder 6, GCAr.

[2] European Conference Bulletin, 3.

Daniells had also seen the demise of his concept of participatory representation at local conference constituency sessions by the 1903 General Conference session. A few weeks before the session had commenced, he had received some advice from his friend E. R. Palmer. Palmer had written:

> At various times when you and others have mentioned and advocated the policy of considering all members present at any meeting as delegates for the transaction of business I have felt serious apprehensions concerning it which I can hardly explain and which I

---

[1] Just before his death in 1932, R. A. Underwood made some terse observations with regard to James White's concept of consensus decision making. He said: "Elder James White was what men would call a shrewd leader--He understood the effect of being united--and one of his diplomatic moves was this in _all_ the questions that secured a majority vote in the General Conference or district or otherwise whatever carried by a majority of even a few votes--he got the delegates to _agree_ that it should be _reported unanimous_--and _no_ opposition was referred to in the report" (R. A. Underwood to L. E. Froom, 8 December 1930, RG 58, 1920s-1930s Interpretation Development of Folder, GCAr). Underwood's punctuation was not precise and his memory was not acute--districts were not introduced into the administrative structure until eight years after the death of James White. However, one wonders how much correlation there was between the practice of White (as recalled by Underwood) to seek unanimity for the sake of the report, and that of Daniells who was not in the "habit of calling for the opposition vote to any measure" (_European Conference Bulletin_. 3).

[2] In the reply to Jones in 1906, it was pointed out that the decision to adopt the new constitution at the 1903 General Conference session was made by majority vote. In fact, all the decisions made at the General Conference session in 1903 were adopted by majority vote. By that time majority vote was the method being consistently followed, despite Daniells stated desire to the contrary less than one year earlier. See General Conference Committee, _Statement_. 28.

> will not try to defend logically. Like many of the splendid principles of Socialism, I believe it is better for the next world than for this.[1]

Palmer was concerned that "scheming men" would take full advantage of the situation and would feel "free to 'pack' a conference and revolutionize the whole thing in harmony with personal aims and ambitions." Some years later, Ellen White added her weight to those who did not think the idea judicious. When it was proposed that all the members attending be delegates at one of the campmeetings in the Southern California Conference in 1906, she directed that it ought not to be so because it opened the door to "perplexity and confusion."[2]

The church had some adjustments to make in the years immediately after 1901. Some of the plans that were made and the methods that were followed were not wise. Daniells himself admitted that. However, the shift from emphasis on participatory representation and consensus decision making to emphasis on more structured representation and majority-vote decision making after the clash with Kellogg and the extended polemics with those opposed to the church structure was indicative of a shift from emphasis on the need for diversity (or decentralization) to emphasis on preservation of unity.

---

[1] E. R. Palmer to A. G. Daniells, 21 January 1903, RG 11, 1903-P Folder, GCAr.

[2] Ibid; Ellen G. White, "Counsel to Conference Presidents," MS 35, 1907, EGWO-DC.

Authority as a Principle of Reorganization

In 1901 Daniells intended that the General Conference executive committee should be advisory, not executive. Referring to the plan of organizing unions, he hoped that the General Conference and the Mission Board (which had been integrated into the General Conference executive committee), would be "ultimately . . . quite free from perplexing details." He was convinced that the new plan of organization would enable the committees "to take the position of general advisory boards."[1] Two weeks later he wrote to the members of the General Conference Committee:

> We are glad that the details in the various Union Conferences are being so fully taken over by those who are on the ground. . . . Our hope is that we shall be left almost entirely free to study the large questions of policy affecting the entire field, and to devote our energies to fostering the work in the weak parts of the field, and also the great mission fields in the regions beyond. Thus the general machinery is being reduced to a few simple parts.[2]

Some were concerned, even so, that too much power was being centralized in the hands of one board. They may have been beginning to question the wisdom of forming departments in the General Conference to replace the auxiliary organizations. Apparently in response, Daniells wrote to Edith Graham, the treasurer of the Australasian Union, that the General Conference executive committee could not possibly be guilty of centralizing because the facts of the matter were that the authority to act was being placed in the hands of

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to J. J. Wessells, 15 July 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

[2] A. G. Daniells to Members of the General Conference Committee, 2 August 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

"those on the ground." Daniells continued:

> The General Conference Committee does not propose to deal directly with the affairs in any Union Conference. We propose to interest ourselves in the welfare of every Union Conference, in every line of work. . . . So instead of centralizing our work, we have been distributing it.[1]

Daniells's answer to the centralization of power in the General Conference committee was that the committee was not going to make executive decisions. It was going to be a fostering, advisory, board whose interest was co-ordination, not supervision. With Ellen White's advice in mind, no doubt, Daniells was concerned that the General Conference committee should not exercise executive control, but that it should do everything in its power to co-ordinate the administrative functions of the church so as to respect that authority resident in the church membership. With the reforms that were suggested and implemented and with the movement away from centralization of authority, Daniells hailed the events of 1901 as the "beginning of a new era," the beginning of "our last grand march."[2]

By 1903 Daniells was speaking as though he still held the "advisory" concept of the role of the General Conference executive committee. But he was not speaking with the same certainty. At the General Conference session he stated: "As the work is now shaping, the province of the General Conference Committee is of an advisory character to a large extent--not altogether, by any means--and it is of a missionary character or phase."[1] No longer was the role of the General Conference executive committee merely advisory. A change of attitude had taken place. Notice, however, that no change had taken place with regard to the priority of mission. Any changes in the role of the General Conference executive committee with respect to coordination as set over against control were being made with reference to the missionary focus of the committee and the church.

---

[1] A. G. Daniells to Edith R. Graham, 24 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr.

[2] A. G. Daniells to E. H. Gates, 23 May 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr; A. G. Daniells to M. H. Brown, 17 June 1901, RG 11, LB 23, GCAr.

Those allied with Jones certainly pointed out the discrepancy between what had been espoused in 1901 and what, in fact, was the situation in 1903. E. A Sutherland, who was one of those aligned with Jones's position at that stage, pointed out that the plan in 1901 had been "that the General Conference Committee should be advisory, and not executive." He had no hesitation in pointing out, however, that "the plan that was laid for carrying on the General Conference work" had "not been fully carried out."[2]

---

[1] GC Bulletin. 1903, 100.

[2] Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 108-110. Those allied with Jones had their own theological and theoretical perspectives from which they were assessing the situation. It has already been pointed out above that those perspectives were unbalanced. For Daniells himself to admit, however, that the situation was not quite the same as it had been in 1901 is indicative of a change in emphasis taking place regarding the executive authority and power of the General Conference executive committee. C. H. Parsons even had to encourage Daniells before the 1903 General Conference session to ensure that "all feelings that pre-arranged plans had been made by the Committee for the action of the Conference" be taken away. Strict integrity was needed in dealing with the people. C. H. Parsons to A. G. Daniells, 4 March 1903, RG 11, 1903-P Folder, GCAr; C. H. Parsons to A. G. Daniells, 6 January 1903, RG 11, 1903-P Folder, GCAr. In his letter of 6 January 1903, Parsons concurred with Daniells's earlier view regarding the authority of the General Conference. He stated that "as the unopened and new fields are organized and become self-sustaining and self-managing, the amount of territory to be governed by the operations of the general work will constantly grow smaller

The delimitations of this dissertation prevent an extended treatment of developments beyond 1903. Such treatment should be the work of others who are willing to take up the task of examining organizational developments during the time of division organization in 1913-1918, and beyond. However, it should be mentioned that by 1909 at least one conference president was already upholding the authority of the General Conference by referring to the General Conference as the "highest authority God has upon the earth" and insisting that "to criticize and sleight the plans and counsel of the General Conference is to reject the leading of the voice of God upon the earth."[1] While in 1901 the authority of the General Conference was respected, references to it being the "highest authority" and the "voice of God on earth were very few. In 1901 insistence on the authority of the General Conference was not verbalized to the same extent that it was later in the decade and thereafter.[2]

---

until the end comes and the Gospel of the Kingdom has been given to all the nations of the earth." He did not conceive of the role of the General Conference in terms of supervision. Rather, for him, the General Conference was working towards obsolescence.

[1] C. McReynolds to A. G. Daniells, 19 February 1909, RG 11, 1909-M Folder, GCAr.

[2] Francis Wernick has somewhat astutely made reference to Daniells's 1901-1902 concept of the role of the General Conference as an impartial, advisory, fostering board. Wernick has observed, however, that the General Conference has enlarged its role from a coordinating, counselling body to "more of a supervisory role." Wernick advised that "we need to rethink the role of the General Conference." He added: "We do need a central office to preserve unity, to give coordination, and to give counsel. . . . Supervision versus coordination needs further study and definition" (Francis W. Wernick, "Philosophy of the Role of the General Conference" [paper prepared for the committee on the role and function of denominational organizations, 1984], RG 500, Monographs Series, GCAr). Note Wernick's agenda. The preservation of unity heads the list of

Simplicity and Adaptability as Principles of Reorganization

There are two other principles of reorganization which should be discussed. They are the principles of simplicity and adaptability. In view of the complication and confusion that had characterized denominational administration in the 1890s, reorganization was perceived as a simplification of the organizational system. In the 1890s Ellen White had advocated simplicity in organization and insisted that the machinery was not to be "a galling yoke."[1] Therefore, when reorganization was being considered in 1901, simplicity was understood to be an essential principle. The principles of representation and distribution of authority were related to the principle of decentralization. So also was the principle of simplicity.[2]

Daniells expressed himself most succinctly on the need for simplicity at the European Union Conference session in 1902. He said: Organization should be as simple as possible. The nearer we get to the end, the simpler will be the organization. I have no idea that we

---

concerns. It has been that way ever since the mid-1902 crisis.

[1] GC Bulletin. 1893, 22-24; Ellen G. White, "Overbearing Control Reproved," MS 43, 1895, EGWB-AU.

[2] In early 1902 Daniells said: "I believe that we have thrown away a great amount of money and energy in trying to keep useless machinery running. I find that the less complex we make our work, and the more we center our efforts on the simple straight lines of missionary evangelization, the heartier is the response of the people, and the greater is the manifestation of life in the enterprise" (A. G. Daniells to C. H. Jones, 21 April 1902, Incoming Files, EGWO-DC). See also A. G. Daniells to Members of the General Conference Committee, 2 August 1901, RG 11, LB 24, GCAr.

have got to the limit of simplicity.[1]

In 1903 simplicity was still described as a desirable principle of reorganization. In his "Chairman's Address" Daniells used the integration of the auxiliary organizations into General Conference departments as an example of the application of the principle of simplification.[2] However, it was admitted that in some regards, the machinery was still too complicated. Simplicity was proving to be an elusive quality in organization and it was to remain so. Especially was that to continue to be the case in those parts of the world where the administrative machinery that may have been necessary in North America or Europe was just "too complicated."[3]

The principle of adaptability was, in 1901, almost too obvious to need extended treatment. The very fact that the church was willing to enter into a process of radical reorganization is sufficient to indicate that priority was given to adaptability in organizational structures. Further adaptations in 1903 indicate that the commitment to adaptability remained. In 1902, in addition to his remarks at the European Union conference regarding simplicity, Daniells insisted:

> We see many things differently from what we did ten years ago, and

---

[1] European Conference Bulletin, 2.

[2] GC Bulletin, 1903, 18.

[3] At the 1903 General Conference session Daniells quoted Ellen White with reference to the simplification of machinery. He noted that she had declared that in "'some parts of the work it is true, the machinery has been made too complicated'" (Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 75b). Even in 1909 Ellen White found it necessary to stress that "simple organization and church order" were set forth in the New Testament and that the Lord had ordained such for "the unity and perfection of the church" (Ellen G. White to the Leading Ministers in California, 6 December 1909, Letter 178, 1909, EGWB-AU).

> I expect that we shall see still more. As new light comes, we ought to advance with it, and not hold rigidly to old forms and old methods. Because a thing is done a certain way in one place is not reason why it should be done in the same way in another place, or even in the same place at the same time.[1]

Attention has been given above to Ellen White's attitude to the possibility of subsequent structural change. Apart from Ellen White, W. A. Spicer was probably the most vocal advocate of the importance of allowing adaptability in the form that organization took in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It was Spicer, an experienced missionary, who was responsible as much as anyone for the success of the missionary enterprize of the church in the early years of the twentieth century. With his wide exposure to different cultures and situations, he repeatedly said:

> The details of organization may vary according to conditions and work. but ever as God has called his church together there has appeared in it the spiritual gift of order and of government, the spirit that rules in heaven.[2] (Emphasis supplied.)

Conclusion

The principles of reorganization of the administrative structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church are to be understood in the context of the need for the church to address the inadequacy of its existing administrative structure to accommodate and facilitate its missionary mandate. The principles by which the organization was restructured were clarified in the interaction between those who were allied with A. T. Jones and those who were allied with A. G. Daniells.

---

[1] European Conference Bulletin. 2.

[2] W. A. Spicer, "The Divine Principle of Organization," RH, 25 March 1909, 5. See also, idem, "The Divine Principle of Organization," RH, 27 July 1916, 4; idem, "The Second Advent Movement: An Organized Movement," RH, 24 April 1930, 6; Sten 1903, 9 April 1903, RG 0, GCAr, 75b. Even as early as 1888 O. A. Olsen had been prepared to grant that "as the work develops, things may take a different shape and form" (O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, 20 December 1888, RG 11, LB 1/2, GCAr).

Jones and his allies derived their principles of organization from their christocentric-soteriological emphasis. Self-government was their first principle. To the primacy of the principle of self-government were subordinated other principles of reorganization: distributed authority and mutual rule, independence, individuality, and self-support. The principles which they espoused, if accepted by the church without modification or adaptation, would have required the church to adopt a structure which would have been more congregational than representative.

The principles espoused by A. G. Daniells and his allies arose from their eschatological-missiological presuppositions and their awareness of the pragmatic situation of the church. Based on their presuppositions and confidence in their pragmatic sensitivities with regard to organization--the result of the success of their initiatives in Australia--their first principle of reorganization was decentralization. In actual fact, the term "decentralization" was used to refer to diversification and delegation of decision-making prerogative. Despite their commitment to diversification, the need for coordination and control of a global missionary enterprize remained and, in 1901, determined that the auxiliary organizations be centralized under General Conference control. Both unity (centralization) and diversity (decentralization) were vital principles of reorganization, although the records indicate that the leaders of the denomination spoke more of the need for decentralization, and not at all of centralization.

Other principles of reorganization were representation, broad-based authority, simplicity, and adaptability. In each case the implementation of the principle was viewed differently in 1901 than it was by 1903, particularly by A. G. Daniells. In 1901 and 1902 Daniells's stated emphasis had been on diversity rather than unity, participation rather than representation, advisory co-ordination rather than executive authority, simplicity rather than complexity, and adaptability rather than rigidity. However, the clash with Kellogg and the polemical confrontation which followed tended to shape the administration's attitudes to the extent that many of the principles that had been of first importance in 1901 were later de-emphasized in practice. In fact, after 1902 Ellen White was compelled to again address many of the abuses with respect to centralization and administration that she had continuously addressed during the 1890s.

The form of organization adopted by the church in 1901-1903 was that which was needed to meet the contingencies of time and place faced by the church as it contemplated the prospect of world evangelization in the new century. Even though Ellen White herself had indicated just eight years previous to reorganization that the organization of the church was settled, no-one was more insistent of the need for change in 1901 than she. Apparently neither Ellen White, A. G. Daniells, W. A. Spicer, nor any of the other more influential leaders in the denomination, intended at the time that the form should be inflexible.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CHURCH

Introduction

The global mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church has created an international community. Figures cited in the first chapter of this study reveal that since reorganization the internationalization of the church has proceeded unchecked. By the end of 1987, approximately 88 percent of the members of the church were indigenous to countries other than North America. That figure should be compared to approximately 17 percent at the end of 1900. At the beginning of 1988, 82 percent of church members were indigenous to socio-cultural communities very different from the Euro-American socio-cultural community. That is to be compared to only 4 percent at the beginning of 1901. Projections of growth indicate that, unless present growth patterns change radically, the proportion of Seventh-day Adventists indigenous to communities which are not Euro-American will be well over 90 percent by the turn of the century.[1]

---

[1] Seventh-day Adventists are not unique in respect to rapid growth. Many Christian denominations and societies which are actively engaged in aggressive evangelization and cross-cultural missionary activity are also experiencing similar patterns of growth--in some cases even faster growth. Seventh-day Adventists are somewhat unique, however, in respect to the high proportion of their membership which is indigenous to non-Western societies and cultures. Comparison between denominations can be made by reference to a comprehensive resource for the assessment of the status of Christianity in the

In view of its internationalization, the church should continuously evaluate the adequacy of its structures to fulfil its missionary mandate. It should ask itself whether an international Seventh-day Adventist Church can be adequately served and its mission facilitated, by structures which were conceived largely by persons from one particular socio-cultural community, unless the possibility

---

world: David B. Barrett, ed., World Christian Encyclopedia (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982). Barrett annually updates his assessment of broad trends in the January edition of International Bulletin of Missionary Research. Studies of the impact that the changing face of Christianity is having on the Christian church--its theology, its structures, and its mission--have proliferated, particularly in the last twenty years. For example, see Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964); O. E. Costas, The Church and Its Mission: A Shattering Critique from the Third World (Wheaton: Tyndale Press, 1974); Kosuke Koyama, Waterbuffalo Theology (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1974; I. Walbert Buhlmann, The Coming of the Third Church (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1977); Robert E. Firth, ed., Servants for Christ: The Adventist Church Facing the 80's (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980); C. Peter Wagner, On the Crest of the Wave: Becoming a World Christian (Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books, 1983); Bong Rin Ro and Ruth Eshenaur, eds., The Bible and Theology in Asian Contexts (Taichung, Taiwan: Asia Theological Association, 1984); Masao Takenaka, God is Rice: Asian Culture and Christian Faith (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986); Lesslie Newbigen, Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986); Bong Rin Ro, "Theological Trends in Asia: Asian Theology," World Evangelization 15 (March-April 1988): 16-17, 25. Since this study is particularly concerned with the formative principles of structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and their implications for the internationalization of the church, cognizance has been taken of the studies conducted with reference to other denominations, but application of the principles has been made to the unique situation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. That is not to say that the Seventh-day Adventist Church cannot learn from, and contribute to, the ongoing discussion regarding missionary theory and methodology in the Christian Church at large. For a church which is organized around the principle of mission, Seventh-day Adventists have remained too aloof from the Christian missionary community, and consequently, have not been able to give and to gain in the interaction that could have resulted if they had participated more fully.

of constant revision and modification is allowed.[1] Are organizational structures in the Seventh-day Adventist Church flexible and, therefore, adaptable to the needs of its changing constituency? If so, what role should theological considerations play in the determination of structural forms which meet the need of the church? How does the church's continuing commitment to mission impact on the form of structure that the church uses to accommodate growth and facilitate its mission? Answers to these questions may be found by considering some of the implications for the church which arise from this study.

---

[1] It has been pointed out above that there were only three delegates at the 1901 General Conference session who did not consider themselves North Americans. Those three were from northern Europe--a culturally similar environment to North America. Further, all delegates were church employees. There was no lay representation whatsoever. Erich Baumgartner has suggested that there are two immediate implications which arise from these facts. First, with reference to the employment of the delegates, Baumgartner has said that "the 1901 reorganization was heavily oriented towards the ordained minister and those responsible to lead the work." He contended, in contrast, that "our time has seen new moves to recognize the ministry and mission of the laity"; his implication being that structures should now reflect that change. Second, with reference to the socio-cultural background of the delegates, Baumgartner asked: "I wonder what wider representation would mean today in a church that has become a predominantly international church. Maybe it is time again to listen to the prophetic voices who call for the end of kingly power encapsulated this time in a cultural, racial group which has a hard time giving up the grip of control." Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure," 68-69. Not only was the uni-cultural delegate composition a potential source of distortion when it came to the applicability of a structure for a world-wide organization but such distortion was most likely emphasized even more by strongly ethnocentric viewpoints on the part of the delegates, the colonial context, and their belief in the manifest destiny of the United States. Some experienced missionaries did recognize the problem. At the 1901 General Conference session, W. A. Spicer said: "The thought of Americanism, of nationalism, is something to reckon with. I am an American. I am not ashamed of it; but I am not proud of it; and that makes all the difference in the world in being able to help people outside of America; for you take any man who is proud of the fact that he is an American, and he has erected a barrier between himself and every soul who is not an American. Anybody who has been in a foreign field has known this fact. . . . You will find this spirit of nationalism in all lands" (GC Bulletin. 1901, 154-55). While Spicer is to be commended for recognizing the existence of nationalism and attempting to do something to alleviate the problems it created, it should be recognized that neither he nor anyone else in the denomination addressed the reality of the impact of cultural difference on administrative structures. Difference was not understood as a positive value which, if addressed carefully, could enhance the suitability of structures in diverse situations. In fact, there is no indication that cultural difference was even considered except in the question by Rupert who was asking for more widespread representation on the executive committee. See above pages 301-3.

Flexibility of Structural Form

If the reorganization of the structural form of the Seventh-day Adventist Church had been determined between 1888 and 1903 on the basis of a rigidly defined theological ecclesiology, it would be very difficult to insist on the flexibility of its administrative structures. If form rather than principle had been the primary focus of that process, then the possibility of flexibility and adaptability of structures would be even more unlikely. The church, however, did not have a creedal statement which formalized a well-defined ecclesiology. Had its administrative structures arisen explicitly from such an ecclesiology, the Seventh-day Adventist Church would have a basis upon which to insist on rigidity of its structural form. Denominational structures were reorganized at a time when the church's ecclesiological understanding was defined more with reference to function than to an introspective ontological perspective. The contention was that there were certain "principles" which were determinative of form. The application of those principles was understood to be subject to the contingencies of time and place.

Therefore, inasmuch as the function of the church was integral to its ecclesiological perspective and the principles of organization were themselves adaptable, it is the position of this study that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has the responsibility to maintain an openness to continuous changes in its organizational structures which respond to the needs of its international constituency and missionary endeavor. Partly because of the paucity of ecclesiological thought and partly because of the internationalization of the church, the existing form of organization--in essence the form of organization adopted in 1901-1903--is considered by many to be inadequate to cope with the worldwide scope of the missionary endeavor of the church.

A Functional Ecclesiology

Commitment to a belief in the imminence of the coming of Christ and to the task of evangelizing the world in preparation for that event has displaced any tendency in the Seventh-day Adventist Church toward the development of an introspective ontological ecclesiology. There were some--Jones, Waggoner, and their allies--who attempted to think theologically about the church. They endeavored to invoke biblical images as their foundation for an ecclesiology which emphasized ontological images of the church--that is, an ecclesiology which was more focused on what the church was rather than on what the church did.

However, majority opinion among the leaders of the denomination held that their concern for the task of world evangelization was far too pressing for the church to commit itself to an ecclesiological position which did not give sufficient attention to the urgency of the task and its global scope. It was understood that it was the task that called the church into being and into action. Therefore, it followed that since the church was defined in terms of its mission and its functions, administrative structures were needed which optimized the realization of those functions.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church still operates with ecclesiological priorities which are better described as functional than ontological. A thorough, well-defined or systematic ecclesiological undergirding for its structure has not been formulated. Despite that deficiency, the impression is often given by many who hold positions of responsibility within the denomination, that the structures of organization in the church are not subject to adaptation or change. They seem to assume that rigidity is necessary for unity and that uniformity enhances organizational solidarity in the church. Their contention appears to be founded on the pragmatic assumption that change would invite disunity. They appear to assume that the form of organization adopted by the church was itself specified by divine revelation.[1]

---

[1] In 1979, a former vice-president of the General Conference said that "anything that undermines the basic church structure, however effective and efficient the program might be momentarily, eventually results in disunity and ineffectiveness" (Walter R. Beach, "More on Preserving Unity Worldwide," RH, 27 December 1979, 12). In the same paragraph Beach admitted that "certain adaptations" may be necessary in view of the need for "relevancy and growth." However, having stated that probability, Beach appears, in the sentence quoted above, to deny its possibility. Later in the article he reiterates his position: "Uniformity will be reserved for the basics of church policy and practice. This concept is indispensable to worldwide unity" (ibid., 13). It has been reported that in 1984, William Bothe, secretary of the North American Division at the time, said: "'We can say with the utmost conviction that the basic principles of church organization followed by the Seventh-day Adventist Church are as truly inspired as are the basic beliefs of the Seventh-day Adventist Church that we hold so dearly'" (Terrie D. Aamodt, "Laity Transform North

In the light of this study, such a position is somewhat incongruous. Rigid ecclesiastical structures normally arise from a well-defined, systematic ecclesiology which is focused on ontological images of the church. The Roman Catholic hierarchical structure is a case in point. In fact, any church which has a theology of apostolic succession and is presided over by bishops has rigid structures which arise directly from its theological stance. It is incongruous, however, that rigid structures should arise in a church whose ecclesiology is nearly always thought of in terms of mission--the function of the church. Especially is such the case when it is considered that the accomplishment of its commission to preach the gospel to the world is prioritized to the extent that it is in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Centralization and coordination of administrative structures are necessary in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The denomination has a world-wide scope which necessitates well-considered global strategies as well as localized plans and methods for evangelism. Congregational structural forms are not appropriate for the denomination. But the denomination should not be so rigid that it is unable to allow for the adaptation of its structures. Flexibility and the ability to adapt accord well with the ecclesiological emphases of the church and the contingencies of its task.

Pacific Constitution," Spectrum 15 [December 1984]: 7). The same journal stated the concern of some that "Adventist church structure is being raised to the level of doctrinal orthodoxy" (Association of Adventist Forums, "A Reaffirmation of Purpose," Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 29).

Ellen G. White and Flexibility

Careful study of the writings of Ellen White indicates that she was totally committed to the necessity of organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Any criticism which she addressed to the leaders of the church arose from her intense loyalty to the church and her desire to see it fulfill the commission which she believed it had been given by divine mandate. Her reproof and counsel was not given because she denigrated the church and regarded it as Babylon, but because she wanted it to attain to the full potential as the agent of Christ's mission to the world.

Ellen White's ecclesiological position appears to have been more balanced than that of either Jones or Daniells. She discussed themes which were integral to the positions of both parties. That her concern was more for the task of the church than for the ontological nature of the church, however, is indicated by her ultimate support for the principles of organization that formed the basis for the administrative structure adopted in 1903.

Her emphasis on the task of the church was consistent with her emphatic call for change when it came to the principles that were to be considered in the process of reorganization. At no time previous to reorganization nor during the process did she propose specific forms. Rather, she chose to address principles and left it to the church to determine forms. The very fact that she advocated change is indicative of her flexibility, especially since, in 1893, she had indicated that organization was settled.[1]

---

[1] See pages 207-10 above.

The writings of Ellen White carried a great deal of influence in the church in 1901-1903. Her writings continue to be regarded as authoritative in the contemporary Seventh-day Adventist Church.[1] Given the nature of her authority in the church it should follow that if she advocated and supported the principles of reorganization while at the same time permitting flexibility of structural forms, the contemporary Seventh-day Adventist Church should appeal to her writings as a basis for flexibility of its structural forms.

The Priority of Principle over Form

The principles of reorganization which have been described in this study are unity and diversity, representation, authority, simplicity, and adaptability. It has not been my purpose to define new structures for the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It is not even the purpose of the study to suggest that the existing structures should be changed. Rather, it is the purpose of the study to suggest with reference to the process of reorganization in 1888-1903 that change is integral to the very formulation of the structures themselves. The task of assessing the necessity for change, the process of change, and its outcome belongs to the corporate church, not to an exclusive group within the church. Attention to the priority of principle over form can mean that the church can maintain commitment to the principles of reorganization and still institutionalize forms which accommodate growth and facilitate mission.

---

[1] This study does not address the issue of the nature of Ellen White's authority in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Much has been written on the topic. For a brief summary statement see Seventh-day Adventists Believe. . . A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines (Washington, D.C.: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1988), 216-29.

In her address to the leaders of the church in the Battle Creek College library on the day before the opening of the General Conference session in 1901, Ellen White spoke of principles of organization, not of any specific form that was to be adopted as a result of reorganization. Referring to the need for change, she said, "the principle is wrong; . . . the principles have become so mixed and so foreign from what God's principles are [that] unless they [the leaders] can show a better idea of what principle is . . . [,] they will have to be changed." Nowhere in that address did she describe structural forms as such. She talked, as she always did in advocating change, in terms of principles. The next day, in an address to the session itself, she reaffirmed her consistent position. While calling for "renovation" and "reorganization," she was not prepared to say "just how" the structural forms were to be defined.[1]

Ellen White's commitment to principle rather than form and her view of the missionary nature of the church imply responsibility on the part of the church to ensure that contemporary administrative structures are flexible. While it is granted that such flexibility is limited by the nature of the principle, it should also be conceded that principle does not denote form and that flexibility of form is integral to the definition of principle in contrast to form.

---

[1] Ellen G. White, "College Library Address"; GC Bulletin. 1901, 25-26.

Theological Awareness

The Need for a Systematic Ecclesiology

The difference between the structural forms proposed by Jones, on the one hand, and by Daniells, on the other, was indicative of the dependence of their propositions on their particular ecclesiological emphases. Jones attempted to define a congregational church structure that arose from his interpretation of the New testament references to the local church. He was more concerned with the being of the church than with the task of the church. He understood the nature of the church in terms of the headship of Christ in the church. Structures were authenticated by their expression of that headship. He took care to substantiate his positions with explicit biblical references.

Daniells's proposal, on the other hand, was accepted by the denomination, because he advocated an ecclesiastical structure that gave priority to the realization of the missionary mandate of the church and which was able to accommodate the universal perspective of that sense of mission. Daniells did not understand the priorities of the church in terms of any ecclesiological categories. He subordinated theological consideration of the nature of the church to his commitment to the evangelization of the world. Nowhere did he explicitly set out a carefully defined ecclesiology. His was an overwhelmingly functional view of the church. Structures arose in the context of the need to perform the assigned task. Structures were the servant of the task. They were not the result of systematic theological reflection regarding the nature of the church.

It has been pointed out in this study that the theological principles which, in 1901-1903, were foundational to the formulation of structures were not explicitly stated by Daniells and his allies. That is not to say that they did not have in mind some theological presuppositions and principles which guided their deliberations and decisions. They understood the eschatological-missiological dimensions of the task to which the church had addressed itself, but they did not consider it necessary to address the nature of the church itself in order to assess the best structures for task realization.

In recent years, discussion regarding the doctrine of ecclesiology in the Seventh-day Adventist Church has begun.[1] Seven of the fundamental beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists voted at the General Conference session in 1980 are concerned with ecclesiological themes.[2] Recently, those seven beliefs have been grouped together under the heading of the doctrine of the church.[1] Whereas, in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, ecclesiological consideration has more often been called forth by necessity--generally in the context of discussions of church polity--there appears to be a growing realization that a systematic study of ecclesiology is vital.[2]

---

[1] See Raoul Dederen, "The Nature of the Church," Ministry. July 1972, 3-6, 32-35; Gottfried Oosterwal, "A Lay Movement," RH, 7 February 1974, 9-11; Walter B. Beach, "What and Where Is the Church?" RH. 11 January 1979, 4-6; Richard Rice, "Dominant Themes in Adventist Theology," Spectrum 10 (March 1980): 58-74; Jack Provonsha, "The Church as a Prophetic Minority," Spectrum 12 (September 1981): 18-23; Bert B. Beach, "Windows of Vulnerability," RH, 2 August 1984, 3-5; Raoul Dederen, "Tomorrow's Church, Truly a 'Remnant,'" RH 9 January 1986, 8-10; Charles Scriven, "The Real Truth about the Remnant," Spectrum 17 (October 1986): 6-13; George Rice, "The Church: Voice of God?" Ministry. December 1987, 4-6. In 1988, the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists began a systematic and historical study of ecclesiology as it relates to the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Whether or not any papers presented to the Institute will be published, and what impact the research will have on the church and its structure remains to be seen.

[2] Those seven are "The Church," "The Remnant and Its Mission," "Unity in the Body of Christ," "Baptism," "The Lord's Supper," "Spiritual Gifts and Ministries," and "The Gift of Prophecy." See Church Manual. 23-31. For further explanation of the statement of the fundamental beliefs as voted at Dallas and an illumination of each, see RH, 30 July 1981, 1-31; and Seventh-day Adventists Believe.

If the structures of the church are to reflect the theological dimensions of the church, more thorough ecclesiological work with reference to the uniqueness of the Seventh-day Adventist message and mission needs to be done. The church needs to integrate both ontological and functional categories in its ecclesiology. Can the members of the church say that the church is only something to belong to, or something to be?[1] Is the church only to be defined with reference to its task, or should more attention be given to those elements of New Testament ecclesiology which address the being of the church?

---

[1] See *Seventh-day Adventists Believe*, 133-229.

[2] See James S. Barclay, Wilber Alexander, William A. Iles, Frank L. Jones, Winslow B. Randall, Charles S. Stokes, and Neal C. Wilson, "Organization: A Discussion of the Structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," *Spectrum* 4 (Spring 1972): 42-62; Ron Walden, "How Hierarchical Views of the Church Emerge," *Spectrum* 9 (March 1978): 16-22; Charles E. Bradford, "The Authority of the Church," 2-part series in *RH*, 19 February 1981, 4-6, and 26 February 1981, 8; George W. Reid, "Time to Reorder the Church," *RH*, 28 July 1983, 14-15; Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Varieties of Church Structure," *Spectrum* 14 (March 1984): 40-53; Roy Branson, "A Church of, by, and for the People," *Spectrum* 15 (August 1984): 2-6; Tim Crosby, "The New Testament Church: Was It Hierarchical or Congregational?" *RH*, 14 February 1985, 5-7; Lorna Tobler, "A Reformer's Vision: The Church as a Fellowship of Equals," *Spectrum* 16 (June 1985): 18-23; Alden Thompson, "Wanted: Innovators," *RH*, 13 June 1985, 14-15; Caleb Rosado, "The Deceptive Theology of Institutionalism," *Ministry*, November 1987, 9-12. In 1980 Richard Rice wrote: "Traditionally one of the least developed aspects of Adventist theology, the doctrine of the church has become a major topic of interest. This is due largely to social and political developments, which, as the history of Christianity reveals, often provide a powerful stimulus to theological reflection. In current adventist ecclesiology, the principle issues fall into two categories: relations within the church, and relations between the church and other people and institutions. In the area of intrachurch relations, the major questions concern the nature and scope of church authority. Who should participate in the leadership of the church and to what extent should the lives of its members be subject to church authority?" (Richard Rice, "Dominant Themes," 65).

Structures should not be adopted only on the basis of the need for a pragmatic response to the contingencies of time and place. That such has occurred in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is indicative of the paucity of well-defined ecclesiological thought in the church. That is not to say that the structures need not be adaptable to time and place. They can be. But again, the flexibility and adaptability of those structures should emerge from ecclesiological understanding and not only from pragmatic responses to a particular set of circumstances.

The Need for a Hermeneutic for Ellen G. White's Writings

Failure to use the writings of Ellen White in their proper literary context leads to distortion of her primary emphasis.[2] Failure to use her writings within their proper historical context could have the same result. If Seventh-day Adventists are to understand their own history correctly and evaluate the role of Ellen White in the formulation of their organizational structure, they are obliged to use her writings in a consistent, contextualized manner.

---

[1] Association of Adventist Forums, "Defining Participation: A Model Conference Constitution," Spectrum 14 (March 1984): 25.

[2] See pages 205-16 above.

That careful use has not always been made of her statements promoting organization in the church has been alluded to already in this study. But implications for the structure of the church can not be properly understood unless proper hermeneutical principles are used.

No attempt can be made, given the limitations of this study, to explicate some hermeneutical principles for the writings of Ellen White. The dissention over the use of a title for the chief executive officer of the church illustrates that on some occasions proper hermeneutical principles were not used when important matters regarding organization were being decided. Not only did Jones and his associates extract a single sentence from its context and use it to substantiate their particular point of view regarding the presidency, but there does not appear to be any evidence that any serious attempt was made to understand Ellen White's main point--the need for delegation of authority. On the other hand, the correspondence that passed between Daniells and W. C. White indicates that they were more successful in their attempt to ascertain the meaning of Ellen White's statement and, therefore were convinced that she was not decrying the use of the title "president." W. W. Prescott accepted what they were saying and changed his point of view. It seems that once he understood the correct hermeneutical methodology, he was satisfied that Ellen White was not opposed to the use of the title "president."[1]

---

[1] For discussion of the issue, see pages 184-201 above.

The Seventh-day Adventist Commitment to Mission

Unity in Diversity

Whether the church chooses to continue to emphasize ecclesiological categories which derive from the nature of the task or chooses instead to emphasize ecclesiological categories which are more concerned with ontology, the principles of unity and diversity should be integrated within the structures of the church.

An ecclesiology which focuses on ontological considerations requires the church to recognize that its nature is a blending of diverse elements into a unified whole. Indeed, the church, according to the New Testament, should not be a mass of diverse, disjointed parts if ontological considerations are taken seriously. The church is one; whole, complete, and unified by and in Christ. Unity is called for precisely because there is multiplicity and diversity in the church. Diversity is just as much a fact in the church as unity. A unique quality which should set the church apart from the world is its ability to hold in unity the very diversity that gives it life within itself. It should have the capacity to recognize the value and the contribution of each part. It was not Christ's intention that the church should have unity but no diversity. It is the maintenance of diversity which makes the nature of the church's unity in Christ unique and indispensable.

An ecclesiology which focuses on the function of the church, on the other hand, also requires the maintenance of equilibrium between the principles of unity and diversity, but for a different reason. If diversity is neglected, the church will be unable to perform its task. It will neglect that very element which enables it to evangelize a multiplex world--its own diversity. Anthropological, cultural, and sociological diversity facilitate the growth of the church and the realization of its mission.[1] The church which subordinates the need to recognize diversity to a demand for unity is denying the very means by which it is best equipped to accomplish the task.[2]

The issue is not whether unity is vital to the nature and mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Unity is indispensable in the life of the church. The body of Christ is one. The witness of the New Testament is unequivocal regarding the need for unity in the church. Rather, the issue for the Seventh-day Adventist Church is whether or not unity is to be regarded as that organizing principle whose importance eclipses that of all other principles which may also be determinative of the structures of organization.[1]

---

[1] See Donald A. McGavran, The Bridges of God (London: World Dominion Press, 1955); idem, Understanding Church Growth. rev. ed., (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); C. Peter Wagner, Your Church Can Grow (Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books, 1976), 110-123; Roger L. Dudley and Des Cummings, Jr., Adventures in Church Growth (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1983), 51-58.

[2] The establishment of the Global Strategy Coordinating Committee by 1987 the annual council of the General Conference executive committee, and the appointment of Charles Taylor as special assistant to the president for research and analysis, was the start of what is hoped will be a greater commitment on the part of the Seventh-day Adventist Church to come to terms with the nature of the task that confronts it. See Kit Watts, "Global Strategy: Stretching for Jesus," RH 17 December 1987, 5. Other agencies and denominations have been more forward thinking and have been actively engaged in research and analysis for many years. Examples include, Ralph and Roberta Winter's U.S. Center for World Mission in Pasadena, California; MARC, a division of World Vision in Monrovia, California; the Strategy Working Group of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, Charlotte, North Carolina; Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia; and Wycliffe Bible Translators, Dallas, Texas.

Organizing principles can be evaluated in terms of the goals of the church. Seventh-day Adventists should continually ask themselves whether the primary goal toward which they are moving is the maintenance of unity, or whether their priority is task accomplishment--the evangelization of the world. If it is the latter, then the structures of the church should be understood and evaluated in terms which express the primacy of that goal. Subordinate goals have their place, but the church needs to be focused, and its structures should be oriented to that which is primary.[2]

In the context of the theological, financial, and organizational turmoil that has characterized the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the 1980s, it appears that emphasis on unity has been used to define the structure, or, rather, to perpetuate the structure that has existed with modifications since 1903. Although commitment to the evangelization of the world remains, it appears that structures are not being related so much to the facilitation of that task as to the preservation of worldwide unity. Unity is expressed as the prerequisite of mission. For example, in 1984, Neal Wilson, president of the General Conference, said, with reference to the relationship between the General Conference and the North American Division, that the preservation of the present structures in the church would prevent fragmentation of the church. He maintained that the "church must remain united." He insisted, however, that in order for that to be so, the church needed "strong centralized authority derived from all its parts"[1] (emphasis supplied).

---

[1] Because the denomination has not delineated a systematic ecclesiology, it is not possible to say that any specific principle is the organizing principle of the church. All that can be said is that there are emphases in the publications, executive actions, and decisions of the church which are indicative of a tendency to concentrate attention on unity as the organizing principle of first importance.

[2] Lyle Schaller introduced the idea of an organizing principle with reference to local church congregations. I have applied his concept to the denomination as a whole. See Lyle E. Schaller, Growing Plans (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1983), 128-33.

The report of the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations Commission which was voted at the 1985 General Conference session in New Orleans was concerned with the unity of the church. The first section of the report was titled: "Preserving the Unity of Church and Message." Though the report briefly mentions that the structure permitted a "decentralized sharing of administrative and promotional responsibilities with many individuals and organizations on four constituency levels in all parts of the world" and encouraged working leadership to relate "as closely as possible to local circumstances and to a responsible constituency," it stressed that unity was a function of, among other things, operating the church "in full harmony with the General Conference Working Policy." It pointed out that compliance and uniformity assured the church that "unity of working methods and organization" would be maintained.[2]

---

[1] Neal C. Wilson, "Rationale for a Special Relationship," Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 24.

[2] "Session Actions," RH, 5 July 1985, 9-10. In the first section of the report there are twenty-three references to the words "unity," "unified," and "uniting." The same section has no reference at all to the concept of "diversity," although it does refer to "decentralized sharing of administrative and promotional responsibilities." The question to be asked is where is the balanced

But if unity becomes the principle of first importance on the agendas of Seventh-day Adventist administrators and church members, then they may fail to achieve their goal just as surely as if the celebration of diversity were to become the primary agenda item. Unity or diversity cannot be goals in themselves. Rather they are principles of organization that together, in balance, facilitate goal accomplishment. Even if the church were to express its ecclesiology in more ontological terms or diversify its aims and objectives, the principles of unity or diversity alone, would not adequately express the objectives of the church. They are principles of facilitation of the mission and life of the church, which, when in balance, function towards the accomplishment of the purpose of the church.

Because decentralization was an important principle of organization in 1901, it should not be assumed that the principle of unity was lost sight of. The day before the 1901 General Conference session, Ellen White exhorted the leaders of the church to unify.[1] Even so, her concern at that time was more on the need to recognize the principle of diversity and to decentralize and delegate responsibility. This was done at the session and all were satisfied for a time.

It was not long, however, before the need for unity began to

---

ecclesiological rationale behind the report? The need for unity can not be compromised, but the statement of its form is cast into serious question when inadequate attention is given to the diversity of the church. See also Beach, "Reflections on Church Structure;" idem, "The Role of Unions;" and Beach and Beach, Pattern for Progress, 118-129.

[1] Ellen G. White, "College Library Address."

displace the emphasis on decentralization in the denomination.[1] It happened as a consequence of the theological and organizational confrontation begun in mid-1902. While decentralization was still proclaimed as the principle of reorganization, the maintenance of unity became a priority because of the circumstances that existed.

In order to meet what she perceived as too much emphasis on centralized decision making, Ellen White used some of the very statements which she had used before reorganization to address the problem of centralization after 1903. Though supportive of the church and of the concept and principles of organization, she was highly critical of the centralizing tendencies of the General Conference and of other levels of church administration. Her commitment to the importance of maintaining the principles of unity and diversity in balance did not allow her to take a narrow view of either the structures or the administrative practices of the church.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church today should carefully seek to maintain a balance between expression of the principles of unity and diversity in its administrative structures. Tensions which may arise because of theological controversy,[1] debate over structural and administrative issues,[2] financial embarrassment or concern,[3] a narrow view of the task,[4] or remnants of ethnocentric and nationalistic thinking[1] should not be permitted to prevent it from seeking structures which institutionalize its commitment to maintaining equilibrium between unity and diversity. Although it is exceedingly difficult to maintain commitment to diversity in the face of the pressures which are brought to bear on the administration of the church, the shape of the church and the needs of the world make such commitment even more urgent as the year 2000 approaches than they did a century ago. Diversity is today a fact. The church can not repress it. It would do better to celebrate it. Structures and administrative methods can be continuously monitored and modified where necessary in such a way as to promote the self-support, self-propagation, and self-discipline of all the diverse parts of the church without compromising the unity of the church. While each part of the church may be fully the church, no part should be conceived of or conceive of itself, as totally the church. Unity is dependent on the recognition of diversity.

---

[1] Gary Land has commented that "theoretically. the changes made in organizational structure beginning in 1901 were to decentralize the affairs of the denomination. For the most part, the Unions were to be the means of this decentralization, but they never became really independent administrative agencies." Land further pointed out that the integration of the auxiliary organizations as departments of the General Conference did, in fact, result in a centralization of authority. The span of executive control of the General Conference officers and executive committee increased in that respect. However, that aspect of reorganization was never described as centralization by the leaders of the church. Perhaps the reason was that the new structure proved effective as an instrument of mission. Land concluded with reference to the more contemporary needs of the church that "whether it is still adequate in 1975 [date of writing] is a question that deserves serious examination" (Gary Land, "Where Did Adventist Organizational Structure Come From?" Spectrum 7 [Spring 1975]: 27).

---

[1] Theological controversies in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the last decade, for example, have concerned the doctrines of righteousness by faith, the sanctuary, and the integrity and function of the gift of prophecy in the church.

[2] Actions at the last two sessions of the General Conference and discussion at annual councils of the General Conference executive committee since 1980 have reflected concern for organizational issues within the church. That the concern has escalated in the last two decades is indicated by the number of articles on the subject that have been printed for the Seventh-day Adventist constituency. In the decade 1966-1975 there were twenty-three significant articles on the subject of church organization in RH and Ministry ("significant" denotes an article more than one page in length). In addition, there were eleven significant articles on church structure in Spectrum. In the following decade, 1976-1985, discussion escalated remarkably. In RH and Ministry there were only twenty-nine articles on the same subject area--a modest increase of six over the previous decade. There were, however, forty significant articles in Spectrum and a similar proportional increase in articles on the subject in union conference publications. While the central church publications did not register a particularly significant increase in the number of articles published, the increase in the number of articles on church organization published in the quasi-Adventist publication Spectrum, and in the union publications in the United States is indicative of the interest and concern of the church in the discussion.

[3] Concern for the financial stability of the Seventh-day Adventist Church has been expressed in lieu of the Davenport crisis, and the bankruptcy of the Harris Pine Mills. Continuing concern over the debt of the Adventist Health System is evident.

[4] Reference has been made above to the Adventist view of the task of world evangelization as being tied to geographical and national categories rather than global and "people-group" categories. Integrated with this has been a "penchant for numerics" which may give the impression that the church is more concerned with numbers than with disciples.

---

[1] Remnants of the colonial mentality and nationalistic fervor which were characteristics of the age in which the church was organized cannot be permitted to persist in Seventh-day Adventism. Not surprisingly, examples of such thinking are abundant in the records of the church of that period. For instance, in 1894 Haskell wrote to Olsen: "I am strongly of the conviction you want men from America. God for some reasons has chosen that country, and has given a mould to the people that fits them to be missionaries better than any other people on the earth" (S. N. Haskell to O. A. Olsen, 8 October 1894, RG 9, O. A. Olsen Folder 5, GCAr). When reporting for the Foreign Mission Board at the 1901 General Conference session, I. H. Evans, the incumbent president of the board, said: "We shall probably always need some wise managers who shall go from Anglo-Saxon countries to direct the work; but we believe that in the future, economy and experience will teach us that besides the leading managers and teachers we must look to the development and training of native talent to do the work" (GC Bulletin. 1901, 96). He had no thought that there would ever be a time when there would be indigenous leaders in foreign countries. The organizational structure of the church was framed in just such a context. Other statements which illustrate a position relative to the manifest destiny of the United States were, for example, "The Strongest Nation in the World," RH, 10 February 1885, 96; Stephen N. Haskell, "The Leading Nations of the Earth," RH 16 April 1889, 246; idem, "The Work before Us," RH, 25 February 1890, 121; F. M. Wilcox, "The Work in Many Lands," RH, 10 July 1894, 438; W. Lenker, "Influence of the United States upon India," RH, 26 June 1894, 405; Sten 1903, 29 March 1903, "Sermon by L. R. Conradi," 10a-10b, RG 0, GCAr. A more contemporary statement is found in Neal C. Wilson, "Rationale for a Special Relationship," 22. For warnings of the dangers of ethnocentric and nationalistic pride and prejudice, see William A. Spicer's speech in "Notes from the General Conference," RH 7 May 1901, 296-97; Gottfried Oosterwal, "Adventist Mission: After a Hundred Years," Ministry. September 1974, 27; Russell L. Staples, "The Church in the Third World," RH, 14 February 1974, 6-8; Caleb Rosado, "The Deceptive Theology of Institutionalism," Ministry. November 1987, 11. A commitment to a doctrine of unity which imposes alien forms on any group, when adequate Christian forms could be derived from within the culture of the group itself, does not enhance unity. Such an endeavor, while creating an impression of uniformity, will result in discord and, to use Ellen White's term, "insubordination." (Ellen G. White, Special Instruction Relating to the Review and Herald Office and the Work in Battle Creek ([Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1896]), 33). See also Ellen G. White to O. A. Olsen, 19 September 1895, Letter 55, 1895, EGWB-AU.

The Effect of the Primacy of Mission on Denominational Structures

How does the Seventh-day Adventist Church's continuing commitment to mission effect the structures that the church uses to accommodate growth and facilitate its mission? Does the church wish to continue to define itself in terms of its mission? The answers to these questions are to be found in the first instance by consideration of the implications of the church's commitment to a strong eschatological urgency and sense of certainty and hope in the return of Jesus Christ.

An Eschatological Foundation for the Mission of the Church

Seventh-day Adventists remain committed to their eschatological emphasis in theology.[1] One of the reasons why the denominational growth patterns reflect much more rapid growth among those who live in what have been traditionally called "third world" countries is that the church is able to project a message of hope, even in apparently hopeless situations. That message is integral to belief in the imminent return of Christ and the inauguration of a new order, and foundational to the mission of the church.[2]

In the strategic planning of the church and the promotion of programs designed to quantify the accomplishment of measurable goals, mission is still considered in reference to the advent of Christ. The document "Evangelism and Finishing God's Work," voted at the Autumn Council of the General Conference executive committee in 1976, described the mission of the church in the context of eschatological language.[3] In the 1980s, growth has been promoted in terms of eschatological symbolism: "One Thousand Days of Reaping"--a program whose aim was to baptize an average of one thousand persons a day for one thousand days--and "Harvest Ninety"--a program which has the goal of doubling the number of accessions of the "One Thousand Days of Reaping" before the General Conference session of 1990.

---

[1] See for example, Seventh-day Adventists Believe. 313-83; V. Norskov Olsen, ed. The Advent Hope in Scripture and History (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1987).

[2] It is not correct to say, however, that Seventh-day Adventists only promote hope in the context of future realization. Seventh-day Adventists have long demonstrated their commitment to the realization of hope in the present by their commitment to social welfare and humanitarian concerns. Theirs is not a passive expectation of the eschaton, a legacy of Calvinistic determinism. Their's is an active hastening toward the eschaton. Christian social concern is regarded as a necessary component of a holistic approach to preparation for that event. Edward W. H. Vick, "Observations on the Adventism of Seventh-day Adventists," in The Stature of Christ. eds., Vern Carner and Gary Stanhiser (Loma Linda, Calif: privately printed, 1970), 197.

[3] "Resolution or Revolution?" Ministry. December 1976, 1-10.

Despite the continuing link between mission and eschatology, there have been some changes in the eschatological emphasis in the church since 1903. Eschatology is no longer considered in terms of "this generation" in the same way that it was at the 1903 General Conference session.[1] Adventist eschatology has become much more comprehensive in its treatment of the biblical data. For example, it has recently been asserted that "the final act in the process of redemption is not by any means to be regarded as the heart and center of that process."[2] While the church's eschatology should continue to convey hope and certainty for the future, even an Adventist theology should be "built necessarily and explicitly on the composite event of the incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ" and not only on an eschatological framework. The only reason, it has been affirmed, that there can be a final consummation is that there has been an event which demands consummation.[3]

---

[1] See Fritz Guy, "The Future and the Present: The Meaning of the Advent Hope," in Olsen, The Advent Hope. 211-29; Roy Branson, "Adventists Between the Times: The Shift in the Church's Eschatology, Spectrum 8 (September 1976): 15-26; and James Londis, "Waiting for the Messiah: The Absence and Presence of God in Adventism," Spectrum 18 (February 1988): 5-11;

[2] Guy, "The Future and the Present," 211.

[3] Ibid., 212.

That does not mean that its traditional eschatological focus must be forsaken by the church. What it does mean is that that eschatological focus and a commitment to mission must be set in the framework of a theological system which is uniquely Adventist, but at the same time well-balanced and systematic. It also means that a church organization which grows out of an eschatological foundation may need to take into account other theological categories and be modified so as to reflect appreciation of those categories. This could well mean that a more ontological view of the church is a necessary prerequisite of future considerations of organizational modification.[1]

On the other hand, it does not mean that commitment to eschatological imminence and structural organization are no longer compatible. There is no necessary discontinuity between eschatological hope and expectancy and church organization. There was no such discontinuity in the New Testament church and none is necessary today.[2]

If eschatological emphases are changing and imminence is not regarded with quite the same level of expectation as it was at the time of reorganization, how has that affected the Adventist concept of mission and how has that, in turn, affected the concept of the church and its structures? This is a very difficult question to answer. Thorough study is needed which evaluates and sets forth the theology, theory, and practice of Seventh-day Adventist mission and its implications for ecclesiology and church government in the contemporary world.

---

[1] Damsteegt has stated that apocalyptic-eschatological dimensions of the three angel's messages were the foundation for a Seventh-day Adventist theology of mission in the period 1850-1874. However, he has also pointed out that there were some other themes which were occasionally referred to-- the "Imitatio Christi," "the light of the world--the salt of the earth," "love," "salvation of others," and "the parable of the talents" (Damsteegt, Foundations of Seventh-day Adventist Mission. 263-68). More recently, Roy Branson has suggested, by way of example, that doctrines such as creation, salvation, and the priesthood of believers could inform the Seventh-day Adventist Church structure. Roy Branson, "Changing Church Structure: A Modest Proposal," JD (1983): 14-15.

[2] Branson, "Adventists Between the Times," 24.

There have been some advances in that direction.[1]

---

[1] Walter Douglas, John Elick, Merle Manley, Gottfried Oosterwal, and Russell Staples have been at the forefront of those within the Adventist Church who have attempted to place missiology on a credible basis. More recently, P. Gerard Damsteegt, Borge Schantz, and Bruce Bauer have written dissertations on subjects related to Seventh-day Adventist Mission. Other dissertations on mission in the Adventist Church are being prepared. The need for a thoroughgoing theology of Adventist mission was pointed out by Oosterwal in 1971. He wrote: "The church has been called into existence for missionary purposes. Its whole life and liturgy, work and worship, therefore should have a missionary intention, if not a missionary dimension." He continued: "Adventist missionary outreach today stands in great need of a theology of mission to guide the church in its preaching, policies, message, and methods" (Gottfried Oosterwal, "Mission in a New Key," Spectrum 3 [Summer 1971]: 13, 19, 20). One year later Oosterwal answered his own call for a theology of Adventist mission by publishing an article in which he suggested eight categories as the basis of an Adventist theology of mission. Gottfried Oosterwal, "The Mission of the Church," Ministry. July 1972, 7-10, 36-39. Shortly thereafter he published a book which made a considerable impact on Adventist mission theory and practice. Gottfried Oosterwal, Mission Possible (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1972). Since that time articles published on the subject of mission have included, Gottfried Oosterwal, "A Lay Movement," RH, 7 February 1974, 9-11; Russell L. Staples, "The Church in the Third World," RH, 14 February 1974, 6-8; Gottfried Oosterwal, "Adventist Mission: After a Hundred Years," Ministry. September 1974, 24-27; idem. "The New Shape of Adventist Mission," Spectrum 7 (Spring 1975): 34-43; idem. "How Many Tragedies: A Commentary," Spectrum 7 (Summer 1975): 45-47; Russell L. Staples, "The Gospel to the World," Insight. 20 April 1976, 14-17; Walter B. T. Douglas, "Advent Mission: an Engagement with the World," Insight. 20 April 1976, 17-20; Gottfried Oosterwal, "What Kind of Missionary," Insight. 20 April 1976, 20-24; Russell Staples,

However, a thorough, contemporary theology of Seventh-day Adventist mission is still to be written, as is a theory of Seventh-day Adventist mission and a history of religions from a Seventh-day Adventist perspective.[1] Though Seventh-day Adventists have espoused a compelling commitment to mission and regarded themselves as commissioned to take the gospel to the world, their missiological writings and the presence of missiologists on the faculties of their universities and colleges have both remained minuscule in comparison to the emphasis which evangelization receives in the literature and in

---

"Internationalization of the Church," Spectrum 11 (July 1980): 4; idem. "The Face of the Church to Come," RH, 2 January 1986, 8-10; Gottfried Oosterwal, "Mission Still Possible," Ministry. December 1986, 4-8; Walter B. T. Douglas, "Reaching the Unreached," RH, 16 June 1988, 20-21.

[1] Walter Douglas addressed the problem of the history of religions in the an article published in June 1988. The publication of the article was itself a theological statement. Seventh-day Adventists recognize the possibility of divine revelation operating outside the Judaeo-Christian framework. Using a quotation from Ellen White, Douglas asserted that "our first task among unreached people is to discover God's presence there, to discover how he is already at work, what form His presence has taken, and what earthen vessels He has selected to communicate 'the working of a divine power'" (Walter B. T. Douglas, "Reaching the Unreached," RH, 16 June 1988, 20). This statement represents a departure from the method of approach and the presuppositions behind that approach of Adventist mission in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when colonialism was seen as "God's providence" for the facilitation of the missionary task (Sten 1903, "Sermon by Elder L. R. Conradi, S.D.A. Church, Oakland, Calif., Sunday March 29, 1903. 10:30 A. M.," RG 0, GCAr, 8), and the attitude toward those in non-Christian, tribal groups was to "educate, civilize, Christianize" (FMB Pro, 2 December 1894, RG 48, GCAr). That Seventh-day Adventists were prepared to allow the possibility of the presence of some divine "light" in such situations, at least in theory if not in practice, is revealed by reference to the following: GC Bulletin. 1901, 434; S. N. Haskell, "Could the Heathen Nations Have Had the Gospel and the Lord Have Come Years Ago?" RH, 23 February 1892, 121; idem. "Religious Rites and Other Customs of the Matabeles," RH, 27 November 1894, 746; Uriah Smith, "Lighteth Every Man," RH, 18 May 1897, 312.

the official pronouncements of the church.

Mission and Contemporary Structure

If the reorganization of the administrative structure of the church was motivated by concern for the facilitation of mission, and if the purpose of organization is still the same today, then it is past time when the church should take a long look at its priorities and give attention to the place that mission holds in the church and its implications for structure. Some have been making a remarkable effort to help the church become aware of the centrality of its mission to the world. They have been far too few, however. Their voices have too often been drowned out in the clamor of theological and organizational debate. Why maintain a structure which is based on a commitment to mission when it seems more important to maintain that structure than to demonstrate the commitment to mission by thorough theoretical and practical restatement and innovation? Do message, mission, and structure still go hand in hand, or has there been a discontinuity somewhere which should be reflected in the structure of the church? Alternatively, has the perpetuation of structure taken priority over the message and mission of the denomination? Is mission being delimited, and its methods determined by the need to perpetuate the structure? The research of this dissertation indicates that there is no historical or theological rationale for such a situation in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Even if the Seventh-day Adventist Church were able to produce some well-researched ecclesiological thought, and some of its emphases in ecclesiology attain to a more even balance between ontological and functional categories, it is doubtful that the church would ever give up the primacy of mission as its fundamental reason for organization. Too much of Seventh-day Adventist history and theology finds its raison d'etre in the primacy of the church's mission. The church has been called into existence for "missionary purposes," and it is organized "for mission service."[1]

As was the case in the years immediately before reorganization in 1901, there are some signs that all is not well with the church's missionary enterprize. The church does not appear to be sending as many cross cultural missionaries as it was just a few years ago.[2] In addition, at a time when many evangelical missionary-sending organizations evaluate their missionary task anthropologically in terms of unreached people groups, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has, until very recently, evaluated its missionary success geographically.[1]

---

[1] Gottfried Oosterwal, "Mission in a New Key," Spectrum (Summer 1971): 13; Seventh-day Adventists Believe, 144.

[2] In 1971 Oosterwal said that "The Adventist church is the most widespread single Protestant missionary movement in the world, with the greatest number of overseas missionaries (approximately 2,500). This church, moreover, continues to grow rapidly and regularly and has seen no drop in the number of missionaries sent out each year" (Oosterwal, "Mission in a New Key," 17). By 1988 he can no longer say that such is the case on any count except that, in comparison to most other religious bodies, church membership continues to grow rapidly. Even so that growth is largely confined to what were traditionally referred to as "regions beyond," and not to the traditional "homelands." See 125th Statistical Report, 24-25. The trend in the number of intra-division missionaries being sent overseas each year is downward, according to the church's official report. That report indicates that since 1980, the average annual contingent of intra- and inter-division missionaries has been 284. Between 1971 and 1980, the average annual contingent was 349, and between 1961 and 1970, it was 347. Not only do the statistics indicate a sharp decline in the number of missionaries sent cross-culturally in the 1980s, but those statistics, since 1978, have included intra-division missionaries. Before 1978, only inter-division missionaries were counted. See 125th Statistical Report, 2. For the sake of comparison, reference is here made to North American personnel being sent overseas and the status of missionary zeal in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in that part of the world. Statistics indicate that between 1973 and 1985 Southern Baptists in the United States increased their missionary contingent from 2,507 to 3,346, a rise of 33 percent; Wycliffe Bible Translators increased from 2,200 to 3,022, a rise of 37 percent; Youth with a Mission increased from 1,009

Seventh-day Adventists have continued to assume that the greatest barriers to mission are theological, but some now recognize that the greatest barriers to mission are cultural.[2] Uniformity in the name of unity has been the methodological presupposition for

---

to 1,741, a rise of 73 percent; New Tribes Mission increased from 701 to 1,438, a rise of 105 percent; Assemblies of God increased from 967 to 1,237, a rise of 26 percent; while Seventh-day Adventists, now sixth on the list, decreased from 1,318 to 1,052, a drop of 20 percent. Samuel Wilson and John Siewert, eds., Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas. (Monrovia, Calif: Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center, 1986), 601-2. From 1968 to 1972 the Adventist Church sent 1,205 missionaries overseas from North America; 1973-1977, 957 missionaries; 1978-1982, 814 missionaries; and 1983-1987, 729 missionaries. The number of missionaries sent in the last five years is only 60 percent of the number sent between 1968 and 1972. The number sent in 1987 (123) was only 51 percent of the number sent in 1967 (237). The statistics for the number of North American missionaries sent overseas since 1967 were obtained in a telephone conversation with Eunice Rozenia, Director of the Office of Missionary Records, Secretariat, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., 14 September 1988. Consideration of all available statistics indicates that there has been a decrease in the number of personnel in the Seventh-day Adventist missionary contingent in the 1980s.

[1] Ralph D. Winter, "Unreached Peoples Update: Where Are We Now," World Evangelization 15 (March-April 1988): 4-5; idem, "The Unfinished Task: A New Perspective," World Evangelization 15 (March-April 1988): 9-12; Gottfried Oosterwal, "The Church in the World" (second lecture in a series of four delivered at the "Summit Strategy for Evangelism," held at Glacier View, Colo., 6-12 April 1979), 9. See also 125th Statistical Report. 36-37. The appointment of the Global Strategy Coordinating Committee may herald a new era in the way in which Seventh-day Adventists evaluate their impending missionary task and past success.

[2] Oosterwal, "The Church in the World," 11.

mission.[1] While Seventh-day Adventists have become one of the most ethnically diverse Christian denominations in the world, they remain, not only in danger of failing to respond adequately to the changes that cultural diversity has brought, but they are even in peril of refusing to acknowledge that diversity necessitates structural adaptation. To remain viable, change should not only be respected, it must be anticipated.[2] The implication of this study is that Seventh-day Adventists can examine their theological presuppositions and positions which inform church structure and decide which are to take priority.[3]

---

[1] See, for example, Richard Rice, "Dominant Themes in Adventist Theology," Spectrum 10 (March 1980): 58-59; Walter R. Beach, "More on Preserving Unity Worldwide," RH, 27 December 1979, 12-13. In 1984, Neal Wilson called for unity by appealing to the church as follows: "The General Conference is not something isolated from administration and leadership. It must not become just a 'United Nations General Assembly,' or a Council of Seventh-day Adventist Churches. It must have the ability to influence and motivate and also require accountability. The church must remain united, and this requires strong, centralized authority derived from all its parts" (Neal C. Wilson, "The Rationale for a 'Special Relationship,'" Spectrum 15 [December 1984], 24).

[2] Rosado, "Deceptive Theology," 11.

[3] In Seventh-day Adventists Believe, five major functions of church organization are listed. They are: "worship and exhortation," "Christian fellowship," "instruction in the Scriptures," "administering of the divine ordinances," and "worldwide proclamation of the gospel" (Seventh-day Adventists Believe, 21). Fundamental belief number five indicates that the church is "a community of believers who confess Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior," "the people of God," "called out from the world," joined together "for worship, for fellowship, for instruction in the Word, for the celebrations of the Lord's Supper, for service to all mankind, and for the worldwide proclamation of the gospel," "God's family," "the body of Christ," and "the bride" (ibid., 134). Many of these categories describe what the church is. Those categories which describe what the church does--worship, fellowship, instruction, celebration, and proclamation--are the categories which are specifically applied as the functions of organization. Organization is still not recognized as an expression

Conclusion

Many implications could be derived from a study of the history and principles of reorganization of the administrative structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the years 1888-1903. The issues that have been discussed in this chapter are the need for flexibility in administrative structures, the need for an undergirding ecclesiology as the basis for the structures, and the primacy of mission as the organizing principle which calls forth structures appropriate for the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Flexibility of administrative structures is needed in the Seventh-day Adventist Church so that the continuing internationalization of the church can be accommodated and the missionary enterprise of the church can be facilitated on a global scale. The possibility of flexibility is permitted by the ecclesiological functionalism of the church, the commitment of Ellen White to the need for change when necessary, and the priority of principle over form on the part of those who were involved in the process of reorganization in 1901-1903.

The contrasting organizational viewpoints of Jones and his associates and Daniells and his associates are indicative of the effect that ecclesiological stance, or lack of it, may have on organizational reform in the church. An urgent need for the church to clarify its ecclesiological perspective still exists. There is need also for the church to explicate a hermeneutic for the writings of Ellen White if it hopes to understand correctly her themes and

---

of the ontological nature of the church.

emphases relative to organization and its structures.

Along with that goes the need for the church to determine whether its commitment to global mission is to be the organizing principle which is ultimately determinative of its structural form, or if another concern, such as the need for unity in the church, is to be that principle. It is my contention that the implication of the process of reorganization at the beginning of the twentieth century is that mission is that organizing principle. It is up to the church, however, to decide whether it is willing to maintain its commitment to global mission and find structures which best facilitate the fulfillment of its mandate and the return of Christ, or focus on another principle such as unity.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were reorganized in 1901-1903 in order to accommodate the growth and facilitate the missionary endeavor of the church. Those reorganized structures were not closely bound to a formally defined ecclesiology. Therefore, it has been the contention of this study that the possibility of modifying the denominational structures remains, especially in the light of the continuing internationalization of the church.

In exploring this thesis, the purposes of this study have been:

1. To examine the historical precursors of reorganization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the period 1888-1903.
2. To analyze the historical data in order to inductively discover those reasons and principles which culminated in reorganization in 1901-1903.
3. To ascertain how those reasons and principles were related to significant factors such as soteriology, ecclesiology, eschatological vision, and missionary consciousness in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

4. To apply the findings of the historical research to the continuously changing situation of the contemporary Seventh-day Adventist Church, with particular reference to its internationalization.

This study has found that the years 1888-1903 were years of unprecedented growth in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Not only was the denomination experiencing outstanding numerical growth, but it was also expanding institutionally, organizationally, and geographically. At no other time in its history has there been a period of fifteen years when the denomination has witnessed multilateral growth to the same extent that it did in that period.

The growth of the church came about as it focused its attention on its missionary mandate. While Seventh-day Adventists had originally held more to a centripetal perspective on mission, their understanding of their missionary task had undergone considerable evolution during the 1860s and 1870s. By the latter half of the 1870s their missionary focus had become centrifugal. Not only were increasing numbers of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries leaving the shores of North America to go to the "regions beyond," but they were doing so with a sense of optimism and urgency. Their conception of the mission of the church and that urgency with which the missionary task was to be executed arose from a vibrant eschatological vision. The evangelization of the world was considered to be attainable. It was anticipated that the return of Christ would occur within the life-span of those who had experienced "great disappointment" in 1844.

Despite the optimism of the denomination, however, its administrative structures and methods were not equipped to cope with either the task it had set itself or the growth that resulted. Lack of role clarity between the various organizations, continuing centralization of decision making prerogative, financial shortage, dispute over the purpose and control of institutions, the question of the authority of the General Conference, and competition for scarce resources between the church in North America and the management of the expanding missionary enterprize of the church arose as a consequence of the unprecedented success that the church had encountered as it responded to its commitment to preach the gospel to the world. The rapid growth of the church and its ventures overseas had rendered the organizational structures that had been established in the 1860s inadequate and antiquated.

There were some attempts to alleviate the administrative crises prior to 1901. In North America, a plan to divide the geographical territory into districts was implemented. Innovative responses to the inadequacy of the administrative structures were conceived in the context of and in response to the needs of the "mission fields." In South Africa, A. T. Robinson integrated the auxiliary organizations into the conference structure of the church. In Australia, W. C. White and A. G. Daniells devised and organized a union conference which incorporated Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, and the islands of the South Pacific. The organization of the Australasian Union Conference meant that there was now an additional level of organization (other than a local conference or the General Conference) that had a constituency. The union had executive powers which were granted by the levels of organization "below" it and not by the General Conference.

In 1901 the innovations begun in South Africa and perfected in Australia were used as models for the reorganization of the denomination as a whole. Those models were appropriate for the church at that stage of its development since they had been conceived in response to needs which arose as the church expanded in missionary situations.

The principles which guided the process of reorganization were never systematically explicated. Through analysis of primary resource documents in the course of this study, five essential principles of reorganization have been discovered, however. Those principles were: (1) the need to hold unity and diversity in balance; (2) representation; (3) legitimization of authority; (4) simplicity; and (5) adaptability. Although these principles were those which guided the church in 1901, confrontation between A. G. Daniells and J. H. Kellogg in mid-1902, and the conflict over the form of organization which escalated from that time forward, resulted in a change of perspective towards those principles on the part of Daniells and those associated with him. By 1903 the tendency was toward emphasis on unity rather than diversity, representation rather than participation, executive authority rather than advisory authority, complexity rather than simplicity, and rigidity rather than adaptability.

The main reason why there was no delineation of the fundamental principles which guided reorganization was that there was no systematic theological statement on the nature of the church from a

Seventh-day Adventist perspective which could serve as a basis for such principles. Rather, the present study has found that it was the eschatological-missiological presuppositions of Daniells and his associates which formed a basis for the derivation of structural forms. Although eschatological-missiological presuppositions were foundational to the administrative structures that were adopted by the church, the relationship of those presuppositions to structural form was not explicitly stated. The structures themselves may have arisen out of the sense of duty and divine mandate that was characteristic of the church in the 1890s, but at no time did the denomination formulate a rigid ecclesiological stance that necessitated an inflexible structural response.

Daniells and his close associates were not alone in their zeal for reorganization. A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and W. W. Prescott, together with many of the denomination's medical personnel, were also committed to the need to reorganize the administrative structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, but for different reasons. Their agenda for reform was not formulated on the basis of an eschatological-missiological foundation as was the case with Daniells and his associates. Theirs was a christocentric-soteriological foundation. On the basis of the theological data that they had selected to substantiate their position, they promoted principles of organization and structural forms which were more congregational in nature. Their ideas were rejected by the denomination in 1903, however. The expanding missionary enterprize of the church was just too powerful a motivation to be subordinated to other concerns.

The implications which arise from the study of the reasons and principles for reorganization in the years 1888-1903 are numerous. This study has emphasized three of those implications:

1. The primacy of mission as the reason for organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Structures were reorganized in 1901-1903 specifically so that the denominational vision of a world-wide proclamztion of the gospel could be facilitated. While the study does not suggest that mission should be the only principle of organization, it does urge the church to consider whether mission is to continue to be its primary organizing principle or whether it wishes some other consideration to take priority. Certainly reflection on the process of reorganization in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century indicates that commitment to the mission of the church was foundational for the structures as they were conceived at that time.
2. The need for an undergirding ecclesiology which gives adequate attention to a theology of mission as the basis for administrative structures. This implication arises from the failure of the church in 1901-1903 to provide a well-defined ecclesiological foundation for structural reform. Jones and his associates actually were more successful in that regard than was the denomination at large. That is not to say that the denomination did not have an ecclesiological perspective. In contrast to the perspective of Jones and his associates, however, the ecclesiological thinking which determined the structures that were

adopted by the church was more concerned with the function of the church than with the ontology of the church. The need for clarification of ecclesiological perspective still exists. The Seventh-day Adventist Church should make a decided effort to integrate both functional and ontological perspectives in a distinctive Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology which gives adequate attention to its missionary mandate.

3. The need for flexibility and adaptability in administrative structures. This implication arises in the context of the two implications stated above. Seventh-day Adventists are free to adjust their structures according to their ecclesiological agenda and the contingencies required by their commitment to world evangelization. A. G. Daniells, W. C. White, W. A. Spicer, and Ellen White were committed to that position. To restate the thesis of this study: insofar as the structures of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were reorganized in order to facilitate the missionary endeavor of the church, and insofar as those reorganized structures were not closely bound to a formally defined ecclesiology, the possibility of modifying the structures remains, especially in the light of the continuing internationalization of the church.

In the course of this study it has become apparent that there is much careful investigation that remains to be done. I would therefore like to make some suggestions for further research in the hope that those who follow may continue the work that has only just begun in this dissertation.

In-depth historical research needs to be conducted in the following areas: (1) the role of Ellen G. White in the reorganization of the administrative structures of the church; (2) the role of other key persons such as W. C. White, A. G. Daniells, A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and J. H. Kellogg in the process of reorganization; (3) the organizational developments subsequent to 1903 (for example, 1903-1918) need documentation and analysis; (4) the relationship between Ellen G. White and W. C. White and its implications for reorganization; (5) a hermeneutic for the writings of Ellen G. White and the use of her writings as they relate to mission, organization, etc.; and (6) the relationship between theological positions held by Seventh-day Adventists (such as A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner) and contemporary theological developments outside the denomination.

Theologically oriented research projects which could be conducted include (in addition to the last suggestion above): (1) studies in the area of Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology, especially insofar as such ecclesiological reflection could impact contemporary administrative structures; (2) the ecclesiology in the writings of Ellen G. White--an important subject which has far-reaching ramifications for Seventh-day Adventist organization.

The subject of Seventh-day Adventist mission invites considerable attention from serious scholars. Needed research includes: (1) historical perspectives on the theology of Seventh-day Adventist mission which build on the work commenced by Damsteegt; (2) a contemporary theology of Seventh-day Adventist mission; and (3) anthropological and sociological studies which draw attention to the need for adaptation in missionary methodology and administrative practices.

Each of the suggested areas of research could inform the institutionalization of structures which are appropriate for an international church that can celebrate the success of its missionary enterprise while, at the same time, anticipating cooperation with the Holy Spirit in the task of disciple-making.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This selected bibliography of sources consulted in the course of the study is divided into two sections: unpublished materials (page 367) and published works (page 378). The unpublished materials are listed: (1) in an essay which describes manuscript and correspondence collections that were consulted (page 367), or (2) under the heading of "papers, theses, and dissertations" (page 374). The published works are listed alphabetically.

Unpublished Materials

Essay on Manuscript and Correspondence Collections

This essay describes relevant unpublished sources held in various archival collections which were consulted in the course of research.

Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Washington, D.C.

Unpublished primary sources housed at the General Conference Archives in Washington, D.C., were used extensively in the research. The archives are arranged in Record Groups. A list of Record Group numbers and names is available from the Office of Archives and Statistics at the General Conference.

Minutes and proceedings

The following sets of minutes and proceedings for the time periods indicated were examined exhaustively:

1. The Minutes of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference Committee Meetings, 1887-1903. Stenographic draft copies of some of those meetings are also available. They are in Record Group 1: General Conference Committee.
2. The Proceedings of the General Conference Association, 1887-1901. They are in Record Group 3: General Conference Association.
3. Proceedings of the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board, 1889-1903. After 13 February 1899, the proceedings are titled Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists. They are in Record Group 48: Foreign Mission Board.
4. Minutes of the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, 1893-1903. In 1896 the name of the association was changed to the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. They are in Record Group 77.
5. In addition to the published records of the General Conference sessions found in the _General Conference Bulletins_. which are available in the Archives, some of the session records of the recording secretary for the sessions in 1887-1905 are also available. The complete stenographic transcripts of the 1901 and 1903 sessions were particularly valuable for the purposes of the research. They include sermons and discussion on the floor of the session which were not included in the published bulletins. They

are found in "G.C. Session Recording Secretary's Transcripts and Notes," Record Group 0: General Conference Sessions.

Correspondence files

The correspondence which proved to be of most relevance to the research came primarily from two Record Groups:

1. Record Group 11: Presidential. In this collection are to be found letter books of outgoing correspondence of O. A. Olsen, G. A. Irwin, and A. G. Daniells. They are contained in the file "Outgoing Letters 1887-1914." Correspondence addressed to the office of the president is found in a file titled "Incoming Letters" which is arranged chronologically between the years 1889 and 1914. Letters in this file come from most of the administrative leaders of the church during the period and include letters from W. C. White, G. I. Butler, O. A. Olsen, S. N. Haskell, I. H. Evans, W. A. Spicer, E. R. Palmer, C. P. Bollman, A. J. Breed, M. H. Brown, A. T. Jones, J. H. Kellogg, W. T. Knox, W. W. Prescott, E. J. Waggoner, and many others. Case files for J. H. Kellogg and others contain some correspondence and are in "Documents and Special Files, 1888-1950," Record Group 11: Presidential.
2. Record Group 9: General and Historical. Record Group 9 contains material not readily assignable to a specific Record Group. However, because at one time the miscellaneous files in this Record Group were part of the Presidential holdings, much incoming correspondence, particularly correspondence addressed to A. G. Daniells is to be found here.

Some correspondence from RG 21: Secretariat; RG 31: Treasury; RG 29: Archives and Statistics; and RG 58: Ministerial Association was also helpful.

Other resources

Many unpublished papers on a variety of topics are available in RG 500: Monographs. Papers from that collection which were consulted are Bert B. Beach, "Reflections on the Present Denominational Structure," (1984); idem, "The Role of Unions in the Framework of the Present Denominational Structure," (1983); Maren L. Carden and Ronald Lawson, "Seventh-day Adventists in Conflict: A Nineteenth-Century Religious Movement Meets the Twentieth Century," (1982); Des Cummings, Jr., and Clyde Morgan, "The Adventist Church: Three Distinctive Experiences," (c1984); "The Public's Attitude Toward the Seventh-day Adventist Church: A Study Conducted by Gallup International," (n.d.); "Transcription of Dictation Made by Donald R. McAdams on August 16, 1976, Based on Handwritten Notes Made a Few Hours Earlier with Mr. Leonard Smith," (1976); and Francis W. Wernick, "Philosophy of the Role of the General Conference," (1984).

In Record Group 11: Presidential are the Records of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations (1985, Chairman F. W. Wernick). In Record Group 21: Secretariat is the Report of the Survey Commissions Held in the Central European Division in 1971, and records of the number of missionaries sent overseas. Other statistical facts regarding the number of persons sent overseas and the countries entered are found in the Claude Conrad Collection, Record Group 29: Archives and Statistics.

Several unpublished papers and compilations by Bert Haloviak which proved invaluable in the research are also available at the General Conference Archives. They include, "Documents on Church Organization: 1883-1907," (1984); "Documents on Departmental Organization: 1898-1907," (1986); "Documents on Union Conferences; 1886-1905," (1986); and "From Righteousness to Holy Flesh: Disunity and the Perversion of the 1888 Message," (1983).

Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.

Most of the research which related to Ellen G. White and her family was done in the Ellen G. White Estate branch office at Andrews University. Although most of the documents which are housed there are also located at the headquarters office in Washington, D.C., only those resources which were not available at Andrews University are listed below under the White Estate office in Washington, D.C.

The main resources for the research were the "Letter File" and the "Manuscript File" of Ellen G. White. All extant letters and manuscripts (mostly carbon copies of the original) of Ellen White between 1844 and 1915 are available in these invaluable collections. Some of the letters show editorial work in Ellen White's handwriting. Letters to Olsen, Irwin, Daniells, W. C. White, and other church leaders give insight into Ellen White's thinking, and contextual concerns during the period. A card index, organized by subject categories is available to direct the researcher to pertinent material. Her manuscripts often addressed specific issues germane to the research. Where possible the original letter or manuscript has been consulted and quoted in preference to later reprints in the form of "testimonies" or compilations of her writings.

Some incomplete correspondence files of other church leaders are also housed in the Andrews University branch office. They include selected outgoing correspondence of L. R. Conradi (1885-1933), A. G. Daniells (1891-1903), S.N. and Hetty Haskell (1892-1901), O. A. Olsen (1892-1897), Percy T. Magan (1902-1903), and W. W. Prescott (1892-1922).

Particularly valuable are indexes and various resource documents that are available at the Research Center as aids to research. Apart from the 35,000-word Laser Disc Concordance to the published works of Ellen White, there is also an index to the General Conference Bulletins (1887-1915), an index of the periodical articles written by Ellen White, a pamphlet file index, an obituary file and index, a question and answer file, an Ellen G. White bibliographical index, and an extensive document file from which resources were drawn in the research.

Ellen G. White Estate Office,
Washington, D.C.

The White Estate Offices in Washington, D.C., house all the outgoing letter and manuscript files of Ellen White, and the other files and indexes listed above. In addition, there is an "Incoming Letter" file. This file contains extant correspondence to both Ellen G. White and W. C. White from most of the church leaders of the period, and numerous other persons as well. It is a very valuable resource. Persons who have been quoted by means of letters in this file include A. G. Daniells, O. A. Olsen, S. N. Haskell, G. A. Irwin, G. I. Butler, and C. C. Crisler.

Ellen White was a prolific letter writer and so was her son, W. C. White. His outgoing letter books contain numerous letters relevant to the research. Those letter books are indexed by title and date of writing.

A recent addition to the resources available at the White Estate in Washington, D.C., has been a computerized concordance of all the unpublished works of Ellen White. This resource which may prove itself more valuable than any other existing aid for research into the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the role of Ellen White in particular, is being prepared for distribution.

Seventh-day Adventist Heritage Center Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.

The resources available in the Heritage Center are extensive. Apart from collections of published pamphlets, magazines, journals, and bulletins, there are many private collections containing scattered references to church organization and reorganization. Some individual collections that have been consulted are those under the names of W. A. Spicer, J. H. Kellogg, J. L. McElhany, A. W. Spalding, and C. H. Watson. An extensive obituary file with over 92,000 entries was most helpful.

The following unpublished research papers available in the Heritage Center have been consulted in the course of the research: Larry Ammon, "A History of the Organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," 1979; John T. Baldwin, "The Basis of the Seventh-day Adventist Form of Authority in Church Organization," 1963; Erich W. Baumgartner, "Church Growth and Church Structure: 1901 Reorganization in the Light of the Expanding Missionary Enterprize of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,"1987; idem, "Ecclesiology and the Mission of the Church," 1987; idem, "Historical Reflections on Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Missions," 1977; Carl Coffman, "The Development of an Understanding of the Message of the Third Angel of Revelation 14:9-12 from 1844," 1972; Robert E. Northrop, "Organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church: Sacred Shrine or Means to an End?" 1971; James W. Zachrison, "The Development of Dr. J. H. Kellogg's Theological Ideas up to 1903," 1973.

Papers, Theses, and Dissertations

Anderson, Carl D. "The History and Evolution of Seventh-day Adventist Church Organization." Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1960.

Andreasen, Niels-Erik. "Royal Authority and Prophetic Ministry in the Old Testament." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Arthur, David T. "'Come Out of Babylon': A Story of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970.

Bauer, Bruce. "Congregational and Mission Structures and How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Has Related to Them." D.Miss. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1982.

Baumgartner, Erich W. "Church Growth and Church Structure: 1901 Reorganization in the Light of the Expanding Missionary Enterprize of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Term Paper Prepared for Andrews University, 1987.

________. "Ecclesiology and the Mission of the Church." Term Paper Prepared for Andrews University, 1987.

________. "Historical Reflections on Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Missions." Term Paper Prepared for Andrews University, 1977.

Beach, Bert B. "Reflections on the Present Denominational Structure." Paper Prepared for the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1984.

________. "The Role of Unions in the Framework of the Present Denominational Structure." Paper Prepared for the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1983.

Birch, Alfred E. "A Pragmatic and Theological Evaluation of Management by Objectives in Seventh-day Adventist Conference Administration." D.Min. project report, Andrews University, 1980.

Boyd, Timothy N. "Apocalypticism in Contemporary Protestantism in Historical Perspective." Ph.D. dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1980.

Bozarth, Donald C. "An Investigation of the Development of the Concept of Seventh-day Adventist Missions, 1848-74. M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1956.

Bradford, Charles E. "A Theology of Church Organization and Administration." Paper presented at the Theological Constitution, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Burns, Stewart. "The Populist Movement and the Cooperative Commonwealth: The Politics of Non-Reformist Reform." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1984.

Coffen, Richard W. "Toward an SDA Agenda on Ecclesiology." Manuscript prepared for ASRS, 1984.

Colvin, George W., Jr. "The Women, the Church and the Courts: Sex Discrimination and the First Amendment." Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1986.

Dederen, Raoul. "Authoritative Teachings and Decisions in the Seventh-day Adventist Church." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August, 1980.

Delafield, Trevor J. "A Conceptual Model of Seventh-day Adventist Organization for the Local Church." D.Min. project report, Andrews University, 1978.

Douglas, Walter B. T. "The Theologian as Administrator: The Reformation and After." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Dudley, Roger L., and Des Cummings, Jr. "A Study of Factors Relating to Church Growth in the North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists. A research study commissioned by the North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, April 1981.

Gallagher, Jonathan. "Believing Christ's Return: An Interpretative Analysis of the Dynamics of Christian Hope." Ph.D. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1982.

Gerhardt, Johann H. "Development, Teaching, and Evaluation of a Course in Church Leadership and Administration for the Theological Seminary, Marienhoehe, Germany." D.Min. project report, Andrews University, 1986.

Graham, Roy E. "Ellen G. White: An Examination of Her Position and Role in the Seventh-day Adventist Church." Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1977.

Graybill, Ronald D. "Ellen White's Role in the Resolution of Conflicts in Adventist History." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

________. "The Power of Prophecy: Ellen G. White and the Women Religious Founders of the Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1983.

Hackett, Willis J. "The Search for Authority and Doctrinal Unity in the Church." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Haloviak, Bert. "SDAs and Organization, 1844-1907." Paper presented at the Central California Campmeeting, August 1987.

Jorgensen, Gilbert A. "An Investigation of the Administrative Reorganization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists as Planned and Carried out in the General Conferences of 1901 and 1903." M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1949.

Kurtz, Arnold. "A Response to Elder Charles Bradford's Paper 'A Theology of Church Organization and Administration.'" Presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Mustard, Andrew B. "James White and the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Organization 1844-1881." Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1987.

Oosterwal, Gottfried. "The Church in the World." Second lecture in a series of four delivered at the "Summit Strategy for Evangelism," Glacier View, Colo., 6-12 April 1979.

________. "The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Mission, 1919-1979: Part 1--1919-1939." Paper obtained from the author, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.

________. "The SDA Church in the 1980's." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Patzer, Jere D. "An Evaluation of Current Procedures of Local Conference Constituency Sessions with Recommendations for Possible Improvement." D. Min. project report, Andrews University, 1984.

President's Review Commission. "Role and Function of Denominational Organizations." Report prepared for Neal C. Wilson, President, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 18 July 1984.

Provonsha, Jack W. "A Response to Elder Charles Bradford's Paper 'A Theology of Church Organization and Administration.'" Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Robertson, John J. "Arthur Grosvenor Daniells: The Effect of Australasia upon the Man and His Work as Revealed through Correspondence with W. C. White and Ellen G. White." M. A. thesis, Andrews University, 1966.

Rock, Calvin B. "Structures for Renewal." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Schantz, Borge. "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal." Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.

Schneider, Robert A. "The Senior Secretary: Rufus Anderson and the ABCFM, 1810-1880." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1980.

Schwarz, Richard W. "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964.

Special Commission on Church Structure. "Church Organization Structure In-Depth Study." Vol 1, "Findings and Recommendations, June 1, 1983." Commission report prepared for the Pacific Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1983.

Teel, Charles, Jr. "Withdrawing Sect, Accommodating Church, Prophesying Remnant: Dilemmas in the Institutionalization of Adventism." Paper presented at the Theological Consultation, Glacier View, Colo., 15-19 August 1980.

Waldner, Mike M. "Christian Mission in Eschatological Perspective: Promoting the Dynamic of Eschatology for Missionary Motivation." D.Miss. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987.

Wernick, Francis W. "Philosophy of the Role of the General Conference." Paper Prepared for the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1984.

Published Materials

Aamodt, Terrie D. "Laity Transforms North Pacific Constitution." Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 6-12.

Aamodt, Terrie D., Curt Dewees, Jay Jennings, and Dan Kaempff. "The Harris Pine Bankruptcy: Too Much Too Soon?" Spectrum 17 (August 1987): 7-8.

Ackerman, V. S. "God's Priority: Organize to Evangelize." Fundamentalist Journal 2 (March 1983): 9-10.

"African Delegates Make Themselves Heard at General Conference Session." Visitor. 1 August 1985, 6.

Aghiorgoussis, Maximus. "The Church as a Presupposition for the Proclamation of the Gospel." Greek Orthodox Theological Review 25 (1980): 371-76.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. A Religious History of the American People. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

Amundson, Earl W. "Don't Eliminate the Unions." Spectrum 15 (May 1984): 52-54.

An Authentic Interview between Elder G. W. Amadon, Elder A. C. Bordeau, and Dr. John Harvey Kellogg in Battle Creek, Michigan, on October 7th 1907. [Riverside, Calif.: The Gathering Call], n.d.

Andersen, Wilhelm. Towards a Theology of Mission: A Study of the Encounter Between the Missionary Enterprise and the Church and Its Theology. London: SCM Press, 1955.

Anderson, Gerald H. "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886-1986." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (July 1988): 98-118.

Anderson, Gerald H., and T. F. Stransky, eds. Mission Trends. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-81.

Anderson, Godfrey T. "A Church Is Born 1850-1875." Review and Herald. Anniversary Issue, November 1975, 8-10.

________. "Make Us a Name." Adventist Heritage. July 1974, 28-35.

________. "Sectarianism and Organization, 1846-1864." In Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land, 36-65. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

Anderson, James D., and Ezra E. Jones. The Management of Ministry. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978.

Anderson, Ray S. Minding God's Business. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

Anderson, Rufus. Foreign Missions, Their Relations and Claims. New York: Scribner, 1869.

Anderson, Yvonne D. "The Bible, The Bottle, and the Ballot: Seventh-day Adventist Political Activism, 1850-1900." Adventist Heritage 7 (Fall 1982): 38-52.

"Annual Council Action on Evangelism and Finishing God's Work." Ministry. December 1976, 3-10.

Arzoo, George A. "Church of the People?" Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 62-63.

Association of Adventist Forums. "Change and Continuity in the Theology of a Church." Spectrum 14 (August 1983): 40-41.

________ . "Defining Participation: A Model Conference Constitution." Spectrum 14 (March 1984) 25-35.

________. "A Reaffirmation of purpose." Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 28-30.

________. "A Short Primer on Adventist Church Structure." Spectrum 13 (September 1982): 6-7.

Association of Adventist Forums Task Force. "A Call for an Open Church." Spectrum 14 (March 1984): 18-24.

Aufdehar, Glenn. "125 Years of Adventist Organization." Adventist Review. 27 November 1986, 12-14.

Bacharach, Samuel B., and Edward J. Lawler. Power and Politics in Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1981.

Bakke, Raymond J. "Strategy for Urban Mission." Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin 8 (March-April 1984): 20-21.

________. "Urban Evangelization: A Lausanne Strategy Since 1980." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 8 (1984): 149-54.

Bantz, Floyd E. "Old Roles, but New Routines: A Biblical Theological Rationale for Executive Leadership." Brethren Life and Thought 27 (1982): 141-48.

Barclay, James S., Wilber Alexander, William A. Iles, Frank L. Jones, Winslow B. Randall, Charles S. Stokes, and N. C. Wilson. "Organization: A Discussion of the Structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church." Spectrum 4 (Spring 1972): 42-62.

Barrett, David B. "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1988." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (1988): 16-17.

________. "Five Statistical Eras of Global Mission." Missiology 12 (1984): 21-39.

________. "Getting Ready for Mission in the 1990s: What Should We Be Doing to Prepare?" Missiology 15 (1987): 3-14.

________., ed. World Christian Encyclopedia. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Bartholemew, John N. "A Sociological View of Authority in Religious Organizations." Review of Religious Research 23 (1981): 118-32.

Basil, Douglas C. "Leadership Skills and the Crisis of Change." Humanitas 14 (1978): 309-20.

Baum, Gregory, and Andrew Greeley. The Church as Institution. New York: Seabury Press, 1974.

Beach, Bert. B. "Windows of Vulnerability." Adventist Review. 2 August 1984, 3-5.

Beach, Walter R. "The Church and Leadership." Adventist Review. 31 May 1979, 10-11.

________. "The Gospel Commission and the Remnant Church." In Our Firm Foundation. 2:425-462. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1953.

________. "How the SDA Church Is Organized." *Adventist Review*. 19 April 1979, 14-15.

________. "More on Preserving Unity World Wide." *Adventist Review*. 27 December 1979, 12-13.

________. "What and Where Is the Church?" *Adventist Review*. 11 January 1979, 4-6.

Beach, Walter R., and Bert B. Beach. *Pattern for Progress: The Role and Function of Church Organization*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1985.

Beaver, R. Pierce, ed. *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective*. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1977

________, ed. *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967.

Beckford, James A. "Religious Organization: A Survey of Some Recent Publications." *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 29 (1984): 83-103.

Bennis, Warren G., and Burt Nanus. *Leaders: The Strategies for Taking Charge*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.

Berger, Peter L. *The Sacred Canopy*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.

Berkouwer, G. C. *The Church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.

Berquist, James A. "The Structural Dilemma for Social Services in Christian Mission: Why Theology and Function Are Pulling in Opposite Directions." *International Review of Mission* 75 (1986): 242-52.

Beyerhaus, Peter. "Evangelicals, Evangelism and Theology: A Missiological Assessment of the Lausanne Movement." *Evangelical Review of Theology* 11 (1987): 169-85.

Beyerhaus, Peter, and Henry Lefever. *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.

Bieber, David J. "Church Structure Study Committee Reports." *Pacific Union Recorder*. 14 June 1982, 1.

________. "Rebuilding Church Structure: Some Other Perspectives--A Look at the Background of the Church Structure Studies." *Pacific Union Recorder*. 3 March 1986, 4-7.

Bietz, A. R. "Group Think." *Adventist Review*. 10 June 1982, 8-9.

Bietz, Gordon. "Leadership in Crisis." *Ministry*. December 1983, 20-22.

Bigelow, I. G. 'Our Missionary Work and Why It Is Important." *Review and Herald*. 9 January 1913, 4-5.

Blauw, Johannes. *The Missionary Nature of the Church*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Bonk, Jon. "The Role of Affluence in the Christian Missionary Enterprise from the West." *Missiology* 14 (1986): 437-61.

Borchert, Gerald L. "The Nature of the Church: A Baptist Perspective." *American Baptist Quarterly* 1 (1982): 160-67.

Borst, Diane G., and Patrick J. Montana. *Managing Non-Profit Organizations*. New York: American Management Association, 1979.

Bosch, David J. "An Emerging Paradigm for Mission." *Missiology* 11 (1983): 485-510.

Bowden, Henry W. "An Overview of Cultural Factors in the American Protestant Missionary Enterprise." In *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective*. ed. R. Pierce Beaver, 40-62. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1977.

Bowen, T. E. "Christ and His One Church." *Review and Herald*. 4 September 1900, 564-65.

________. "The Order and Organization of the Apostolic Church." 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 2 May 1907, 9-10; 9 May 1907, 9-10.

Bowers, N. J. "Order in the Work of God." 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 8 May 1888, 292; 15 May 1888, 307.

Braaten, Carl. "Ecclesiological Perspectives." *Covenant Quarterly* 41 (August 1983): 53-58.

Bradford, Charles E. "Authority in the Church." *Ministry*. October 1979, 14-15.

________. "The Authority of the Church." 2-part series in *Adventist Review*. 19 February 1981, 4-6; 26 February 1981, 8.

Bradley, W. P. "Creation of Our Church Organization." 6-part series in *Review and Herald*. 8 February, 1951, 3-5; 15 February 1951, 4-6; 22 February 1951, 5-7; 1 March 1951, 8-9; 15 March 1951, 5-6; 22 March 1951, 8-10.

________. "Election to Church Office." 2-part series in Review and Herald. 14 October 1971, 9; 21 October 1971, 9.

________. "First Steps in Church Organization." Review and Herald. 22 February 1968, 16.

________. "How a Policy Is Made." Review and Herald. 4 December 1969, 18.

________. "The King's Business: Your Church--Its Organization and Operation." 3-part series in Review and Herald. 25 February 1971, 8; 22 April 1971, 8; 6 May 1971, 10.

________. "They Called It Order." Review and Herald. 15 February 1968, 18.

________. "Types of Church Government." Review and Herald. 20 June 1968, 19.

Branson, Roy. "Adventism in Transition: The Church of the South Emerges at New Orleans." Spectrum 16 (November 1985): 2-16.

________. "Adventists between the Times: The Shift in the Church's Eschatology." Spectrum 8 (September 1976): 15-26.

________. "Changing Church Structure: A Modest Proposal." JD (1983): 14-22.

________. "A Church of, by, and for the People." Spectrum 15 (August 1984): 2-6.

________. "Trumpet Blasts and Hosannas: A Once and Future Adventism." Spectrum 18 (February 1988): 29-35.

Brauer, Jerald C. Protestantism in America. Rev. ed. London: SCM Press, 1965.

A Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Seventh-day Adventists. Battle Creek, Mich: Review and Herald, 1888.

Brouwer, Arie R. Reformed Church Roots: Thirty-Five Formative Events. New York: Reformed Church Press, 1977.

Brown, W. J. "The Problem of State Aid in Ghana." Review and Herald. 27 May 1971, 22-23.

Buchanan, Colin. "The Authority of Synods." Churchman: A Quarterly Journal of Anglican Theology 95 (1981): 33-42.

Bucke, E. S., ed. The History of American Methodism. 3 vols. New York: Abingdon Press, 1964.

Buhlmann, I. Walbert. The Coming of the Third Church. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1977.

________. "My Pilgrimage in Mission." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 10 (1986): 104-105.

Buhlman, I. Walbert, and Waldron Scott. "Mission in the 1980's: Two Viewpoints." Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research 4 (1980): 98-102.

Bull, Malcolm. "The Medicalization of Adventism." Spectrum 18 (February 1988): 12-21.

Burns, Edward M. The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957.

Butler, George I. "The Church: Its Organization, Order, and Discipline." Review and Herald. 9 May 1907, 2.

________. "An Important Financial Plan to Help Sustain Our Foreign Mission Work." Review and Herald. 3 January 1888, 9-10.

________. "Instruction in the Duties of Church Officers." Review and Herald. 28 February 1888, 137-38.

________. Leadership. Battle Creek, Mich.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1873.

________. "Leadership." Review and Herald. 18 November 1873, 180-81.

________. "More about the General Conference Association." Review and Herald. 3 January 1888, 9.

________. "No Church Manual." Review and Herald. 27 November 1883, 745-46.

________. "Progress in the General Conference Association Work." Review and Herald. 14 February 1888, 104.

________. "Propriety in Connection with Our Organization." Review and Herald. 10 March 1885, 153-54.

________. "Thoughts on Church Government." 8-part series in Review and Herald. 28 July 1874, 52-53; 4 August 1874, 60-61; 18 August 1874, 68-69; 25 August 1874, 76-77; 1 September 1874, 85; 8 September 1874, 92; 15 September 1874, 101; 22 September 1874, 109; 29 September 1874, 116; 13 October 1874, 124-25.

________. "Withholding of the Tithe for Use in Building Meeting Houses." Review and Herald. 10 January 1888, 26.

Butler, Jonathan. "Adventism and the American Experience." In The Rise of Adventism. ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, 173-206. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Byron, William J. "The Purpose and Nature of Leadership." New Catholic World 223 (1980): 205-8.

Cantrell, Randolph L., James F. Krile, and George A. Donohue. "Parish Autonomy: Measuring Denominational Differences." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 22 (1983): 276-87.

Capper, Leroy. "Imago Dei and Church Order." Evangelical Review of Theology 10 (1986): 214-27.

Carner, Vern, Sakae Kubo, and Curt Rice. "Bibliographical Essay." In The Rise of Adventism. ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, 207-317. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Carner, Vern, and Gary Stanhiser, eds. The Stature of Christ. Loma Linda, Calif.: Privately printed, 1970.

Carroll, Robert P. "Eschatological Delay in the Prophetic Tradition." Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 94 (1982): 47-58.

Casey, B. "Adventism, Apocalyptic, and Mission. College People 2 (Summer 1982): 40-42.

Caviness, L. L. "Did Christ Establish a Hierarchy?" Review and Herald. 18 January 1917, 4-5.

Cedar, Paul A. Strength in Servant Leadership. Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1987.

Chatfield, Joan. "Emerging Agendas in World Mission." Missiology 10 (1982): 391-95.

"Church Structure Study Committee Is Formed." Pacific Union Recorder. 8 March 1982, 1.

Cleveland, Earl E. "Regional Union Conferences." Spectrum 2 (Spring 1970): 41-46.

Clinton, J. Robert. Leadership Training Models. Altadena, Calif.: Barnabas Ministries, 1984.

________. Leadership Emergence Patterns. Altadena, Calif.: Barnabas Ministries, 1987

Clouse, Robert E. "Pentecostal Churches." The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church.. ed. J. D. Douglas. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974. 763-64.

Coffin, James N. "The Challenge of North America: How Church Leaders See the Issues." Adventist Review. 9 August 1984, 5-9.

________. "Incumbency." Adventist Review. 28 March 1985, 16.

Cole, Stewart G. The History of Fundamentalism. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963.

Coll, Regina. "Power, Powerlessness, and Empowerment." Religious Education 81 (1986): 412-23.

Colvin, George W. "Canada Considers Change in Church Structure." Spectrum 16 (April 1985): 62-63.

________. "Explaining Participation: A Commentary." Spectrum 14 (March 1984): 36-39.

________. "G. C. Commission Plans Minor Changes." Spectrum 15 (October 1984): 63.

________. "Management Principles for Churches." Spectrum 13 (September 1982): 57-58.

"Commission Gives Report on Question of Black Unions." Review and Herald. 17 June 1971, 32.

Conrad, Claude. "Structure of Our World Movement." 2-part series in Ministry. March 1938, 14-16; April 1938, 11-12.

"Consolidation." Review and Herald. 8 April 1971, 23.

Cooper, Victor. "The Servant-Leader." Ministry. February 1982, 20-21.

Corliss, J. O. "The Growth of Christian Missions." Review and Herald. 8 January 1889, 21.

[________]. "International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement." Review and Herald. 17 February 1891, 102.

________. "The Needs of the Church." Review and Herald. 17 December 1889, 758.

Cornell, W. E. "The Volunteer Convention." Review and Herald. 15 March 1898, 174-75.

Costas, O. E. The Church and Its Mission: A Shattering Critique from the Third World. Wheaton: Tyndale Press, 1974.

________. The Integrity of Mission. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

Cottrell, H. W. "Christian Organization." Review and Herald. 22 October 1903, 9-10.

________. "Church Order." Review and Herald. 23 May 1907, 8-9.

________. "The Growth of Denominational Organization." Review and Herald. 24 March 1932, 267-68.

________. "The Place of Institutional Work in Our Message." Review and Herald. 29 June 1905, 13-14.

Cottrell, Raymond F. "The Case for an Independent North American Division." Spectrum 13 (September 1982): 2-14.

________. "A True North American Division: Why We Can't Wait." Spectrum 19 (August 1988): 9-11.

________. "The Varieties of Church Structure." Spectrum 14 (March 1984): 40-53.

Cottrell, Roswell. F. "The Church a Building." Review and Herald. 27 March 1888, 194.

Covell, Ralph R., ed. "Future of the World Christian Mission." Missiology 15 (1987): 3-111

Covert, William. "Conference Work." Review and Herald. 29 June 1905, 12-13.

Crapol, Edward P. America for Americans: Economic Nationalism and Anglophobia in the Late Nineteenth Century. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973.

Crisler, C. C. Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1938.

________. The Value of Organization: An Historical Study. [N.p., 1914.]

Crosby, Tim. "The New Testament Church: Was It Hierarchical or Congregational?" Adventist Review. 14 February 1985, 5-7.

Crow, Paul A. "Mission and Evangelism: The Crisis of Mandate." Lexington Theological Quarterly 15 (1980): 114-28.

Crunden, Robert M. Ministers of Reform: The Progressive Achievement of American Civilization 1889-1920. New York: Basic Books, 1982.

Cushman, Robert E. "Institutional Integrity of the Church: An Inquiry." The Duke Divinity School Review 46 (Fall 1981): 50-63.

Daffern, Janice E. "Lay Representation in Union Constituency Meetings." Spectrum 11 (June 1981): 47-49.

Damsteegt, P. Gerard. Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977.

Daniells, Arthur G. The Abiding Gift of Prophecy. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1936.

________. "The Gospel Ministry." 6-part series in Review and Herald. 20 July 1911, 18-19; 27 July 1911, 20; 3 August 1911, 20-21; 10 August 1911, 16; 17 August 1911, 17-18; 24 August 1911, 12.

________. "An Important Question to Be Decided Now." Review and Herald. 3 December 1903, 6-7.

________. "Is Christ's Coming Being Delayed? If So, Why?" Ministry. November 1930, 5.

________. "Missionary Work." Review and Herald. 27 February 1894, 133-34.

________. "Organization." Review and Herald. 7 February 1918, 6.

________. "Organization: A Brief Account of Its History in the Development of the Cause of the Third Angel's Message." 15-part series in Review and Herald. 31 January 1907, 5-6; 7 February 1907, 5-6; 14 February 1907, 5; 21 February 1907, 5-6; 28 February 1907, 6; 7 March 1907, 5-6; 14 March 1907, 5-6; 21 March 1907, 4-5; 28 March 1907, 5-6; 4 April 1907, 5-6; 11 April 1907, 5-6; 18 April 1907, 5-6; 25 April 1907, 4-6; 9 May 1907, 5; 16 May 1907, 4-5.

________. "Organization Developed by Our Pioneers." Review and Herald. 21 February 1918, 5-6.

________. "The President's Address: A Review and an Outlook--Suggestions for Conference Action." Review and Herald. 11 May 1905, 8.

________. "Reformation and Reorganization." Review and Herald. 11 June 1925, 3-5.

________. "Some Beneficial Features of Organization." Review and Herald. 14 March 1918, 6.

________. "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation." 9-part series in Review and Herald. 8 February 1906, 6-7; 15 February 1906, 6-7; 22 February 1906, 6-7; 1 March 1906, 6-7; 8 March 1906, 5-6; 15 March 1906, 6; 22 March 1906, 6-7; 29 March 1906, 6-7; 5 April 1906, 6-7.

________. "Thorough Organization Still Needed." Review and Herald. 14 February 1918, 5.

________. "The Value of Organization." Review and Herald. 7 March 1918, 5-6.

Danker, William. J, and Wi J. Kang, eds. The Future of the Christian World Mission. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.

Dayton, Donald W. The American Holiness Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction. Wilmore, Ky.: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1971.

________. Theological Roots of Pentecostalism. Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1987.

Dederen, Raoul. "The Nature of the Church." Ministry. July 1972, 3-6, 32-35.

________. "Nature of the Church." Ministry. February 1978, 24B-24F.

________. "Peter in the New Testament." Ministry. July 1974, 10-12.

________. "Tomorrow's Church, Truly a 'Remnant.'" Adventist Review. 9 January 1986, 8-10.

Dennis, James S. Christian Missions and Social Progress. 3 vols. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897-1906.

________. The Modern Call of Missions. Studies in Some of the Larger Aspects of a Great Enterprise. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1913.

________, ed. Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902.

Dennis, James S., Harlan P. Beach, and Charles H. Fahs. World Atlas of Christian Missions. New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1911.

Dick, Everett. "The Cost of Discipleship: Seventh-day Adventists and Tennessee Sunday Laws in the 1890's." Adventist Heritage 11 (Spring 1986): 26-32.

________. "Organization of the Movement." Review and Herald. 3 December 1931, 7-8.

Dickson, L. K. "Leadership and Followership." Ministry. October 1931, 10.

________. "Responsibility of Administration." Ministry. May 1948, 5.

________. "Unerring Counsel for Executives." Ministry. June 1939, 35.

Dieter, Melvin E. The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980.

Dittberner, J. L. "What Is a Union Conference Session?" Atlantic Union Gleaner. 27 January 1976, 24.

"Do Adventist Colleges Have a Future?--A Symposium." Spectrum 18 (April 1988): 35-44.

Dole, Robert D. "Leadership-Followership: The Church's Challenge." South-Western Journal of Theology 29 (Spring 1987): 23-28.

Doohan, Leonard. "Contemporary Theologies of the Laity: An Overview Since Vatican II." Communio 7 (1980): 225-42.

Douglas, Walter B. T. "Advent Mission: An Engagement with the World." Insight. 20 April 1976, 17-20.

________. "The Church: Its Nature and Function." In Servants for Christ: The Adventist Church Facing the 80's. ed. Robert E. Firth, 53-85. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980.

________. "Reaching the Unreached." Adventist Review. 16 June 1988, 20-21.

Douglass, Herbert E. "Organizational Concepts Overshadow Friendship." Review and Herald. 19 June 1975, 11-12.

Drohan, Michael. "Christianity, Culture, and the Meaning of Mission." International Review of Mission 75 (1986): 285-303.

Drucker, Peter F. The Changing World of the Executive. London: Heinemann, 1982.

________. "The Coming of the New Organization." Harvard Business Review 66 (January 1988): 45-53.

________. The Effective Executive. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

________. Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

________. The Practice of Management. New York: Harper Brothers, 1954.

Dudley, Carl S. "Local Churches and the Denominational Structure: Seven Ways to Bridge the Gap." Christian Ministry 12 (November 1981): 13-16.

Dudley, Roger L., and Des Cummings, Jr. Adventures in Church Growth. Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1983.

Duey, Charles J. "Authenticating Authority: A Fourth-Level Breakthrough." Covenant Quarterly 39 (May 1981): 13-22.

Duge, John. "On Church Monies." Student Movement. 11 May 1988, 12.

Dulles, Avery. Models of the Church. Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1978.

________. The Resilient Church. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977.

Dumont, C. J. "Conferences Episcopales et Autocephalie des Egleses: Obstacles a la Convergence de deux Formes de Structure." Instina 30 (1985): 131-40.

Dwyer, Bonnie. "Commission Proposes Genuine Full-Fledged North American Division." Spectrum 14 (August 1983): 60-61.

________. "Innovations of a Constitutional Kind." Spectrum 16 (February 1986): 58-60.

________. "Pacific Union Considers Greater Lay Representation." Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 13-14.

________. "President's Commission Reviews Structural Change." Spectrum 15 (May 1984): 64.

________. "Right Turn on the Road to the General Conference." Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 15-21.

________. "Winds of Reform: Structural Transition in North America." Spectrum 14 (March 1984): 61-63.

Dybdahl, Jon. "How Culture Conditions Our View of Scripture." Ministry. January 1988, 7-9.

Dybdahl, Tom. "Court Verdict on Pacific Press Case." Spectrum 11 (July 1980): 14-17.

Edwards, J. E. "The Pastor's Relationship to Church Organization." Ministry. January 1963, 22.

Edwards, Rex. A New Frontier: Every Believer a Minister. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1979.

Efefe, Elonda. "Episcope and Oversight in the Church: An African Perspective." Mid Stream 25 (1986): 42-48.

The 1889 Campmeeting Sermons: As Found in the Topeka, Kansas, Daily Capital, May 7-28, 1889. St. Maries, Idaho: LMN Publications, 1987.

"Eighth Business Meeting (Report of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations)." Adventist Review. 3 July 1985, 10-14.

Eitel, Keith. "The Transcultural Gospel: Crossing Cultural Barriers." Evangelical Missions Quarterly 23 (1987): 130-38.

Ellis, A. E. The Missionary Idea. College View, Nebr.: Union College Press, 1906.

Emerich, Craig L. "Repertoire and Rhythm: Leadership Styles and the Demands of Pastoral Ministry." Perkins School of Theology Journal 40 (1987): 28-43.

Etzioni, A. Modern Organizations. Engelwood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Eva, W. Duncan. "Conference and Union Elections." Light. February 1971, 4-5.

________. "Fellowship Is as Important as Theological Dissent." Spectrum 17 (February 1987): 45-47.

Evans, I. H. "The Minister's Relation to Denominational Policies." Ministry. June 1933, 1.

Executive Committee, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. A Statement Refuting Charges Made by A. T. Jones Against the Spirit of Prophecy and the Plan of Organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination. Washington, D.C.: General Conference Committee, 1906.

________. Claims Disproved. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1920

________. Further Statements about Claims Disproved. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1922.

Fasol, Al, ed. "Christian Leadership." South-Western Journal of Theology 29 (Spring 1987): 5-43.

"Fifth Business Meeting (Report of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations)." Adventist Review, 2 July 1985, 8-11.

Figuhr, R. R. "Loyalty to the Church." Review and Herald, 29 September 1966, 16-18.

Fiorelli, Lewis S. "Expectancy of an Imminent Parousia and Concern with Church Order: An Inverse Relationship?" The Thomist 39 (1975): 1-23.

Firth, Robert E., ed. Servants for Christ: The Adventist Church Facing the 80's. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980.

Flaiz, Theodore R. "Some Basic Principles of Organization." Ministry, August 1952, 6-8.

Flynn, John M. "Authority in Anglicanism." Consensus 12 (Spring 1986): 1-2, 17-39.

Forman, Charles W. "The Growth of the Study of the Expansion of Christianity." Religious Studies Review 13 (1987): 30-33.

________. "A History of Foreign Missionary Theory in America." In American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective, ed. R. Pierce Beaver, 69-140. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1977.

"Formative Period in Organization and Doctrines." Ministry, April 1958, 22.

Foster, E. H. "Why I Became a Church Administrator." Light, October 1976, 4-5.

"Fourteenth Business Meeting." Adventist Review, 11 July 1985, 4-11.

"Fourth Business Meeting (Report of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations)." Adventist Review, 1 July 1985, 22-26.

Foyle, Marjory. "Missionary Relationships: Powderkeg or Powerhouse?" Evangelical Missions Quarterly 21 (1985): 342-49.

Frank, Douglas W. Less Than Conquerors. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

Frisbie, J. B. Order in the Church of God. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1859.

Froom, LeRoy E. "Accountability in Handling Men." Ministry, July 1940, 19.

________. "Church Policies and Procedures." Ministry. November 1949, 40.

________. Movement of Destiny. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1971.

________. "Patience and Permanence." Ministry. March 1931, 4.

________. Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. 4 vols. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1946-54.

Fuller, Geri A. "An Independent North American Division: Current Opinion at the General Conference." Spectrum 13 (September 1982): 15-21.

________. "Insuring the Church: The Unknown Giant at the General Conference." Spectrum 16 (April 1985): 30-34.

Gaffney, James. "From Models of the Church to Models of the Model." America 155 (1986): 377-80.

Gallagher, Jiggs. "Merging Unions and Conferences: The Example of Mid-America." Spectrum 13 (September 1982): 21-25.

Gaustad, Edwin S., ed. A Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1865. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.

________, ed. The Rise of Adventism: A Commentary on the Social and Religious Ferment of Mid-Nineteenth Century America. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

General Conference Bulletin. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1887-1903; Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1903-1918.

General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. 125th Statistical Report, 1987. Washington, D.C.: Office of Archives and Statistics, 1988.

"General Conference Proceedings." Review and Herald. 20 November 1883, 733.

"General Conference Proceedings." Review and Herald. 11 November 1884, 728.

"General Conference Proceedings." Review and Herald. 25 November 1884, 744-45.

"General Conference Proceedings." Review and Herald. 7 December 1886, 763.

"General Conference Report." Review and Herald. 26 August 1875, 59.

"General Conference Report." Review and Herald. 4 October 1877, 106.

Geraty, Lawrence T. "Dissent Is the Lifeblood of the Church's Renewal." Spectrum 17 (February 1987): 48-50.

________. "A New Statement of Fundamental Beliefs." Spectrum 11 (July 1980): 2-13.

Getz, Gene. Sharpening the Focus of the Church. Chicago: Moody Press, 1974.

Gittings, James A. "The Presbyterians: Structure and Mission." Christianity and Crisis 46 (1986): 181-86.

Glasser, Arthur F. "The Evolution of Evangelical Mission Theology Since World War II." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 9 (1985): 9-13.

Glasser, Arthur F., and Donald A. McGavran. Contemporary Theologies of Mission. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983.

Goen, Clarence C. "Ecclesiocracy without Ecclesiology: Denominational Life in America." Religion in Life 48 (Spring 1979): 17-31.

Grant, Lorenzo H. "Bureaucratic Theology." Spectrum 11 (November 1980): 62-63.

Graybill, Ronald. "Agenda for the General Conference Session." Spectrum 16 (June 1985): 24-27.

________. "A New Laity?" Visitor. 15 June 1986, 2.

________. "Role of Church Organizations Spelled Out." Visitor. 1 April 1985, 4.

________. "Union Constitutions: What Do They Say?" Visitor. 1 November 1985, 4-5.

Greenleaf, Robert K. The Servant as Religious Leader. Peterborough, N.H.: Windy Row Press, 1982.

Greenwalt, Glen. "A Priesthood of Believers--Neither Republic nor Hierarchy." Spectrum 18 (October 1987): 43-50.

Greiner, Larry E. "Evolution and Revolution as Organizations Grow." Harvard Business Review. 50 (July-August 1972): 37-46.

Guy, Fritz. "The Future and the Present: The Meaning of the Advent Hope." In The Advent Hope in Scripture and History. ed. V. Norskov Olsen, 211-29. Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1987.

Habada, Beverly, and Roy Branson. "The Struggle over Moving the General Conference." Spectrum. 18 (December 1987): 35-43.

Hackett, W. J. "Decision or Rationalization?" Ministry. August 1981, 18-19.

Hadden, Jeffrey K. The Gathering Storm in the Churches. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.

Hale, F. W. "Commitment vs. Capitulation." Spectrum 2 (Spring 1970): 31-40.

Halverson, Richard. How I Changed My Thinking about the Church. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1972.

Hammill, Richard. "Change and the SDA CHurch." 2-part series in Adventist Review. 6 January 1983, 6; 13 January 1983, 6.

Hammill, Richard, and Ronald Graybill. "Who Will Be Elected General Conference President in 1990?" Spectrum 18 (June 1988): 4-12.

Handy, Robert T. A. A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Hansen, Kent. "California Case Threatens Adventist Institutions." Spectrum 17 (October 1986): 24-28.

Happer, Andrew P. The Missionary Enterprise: Its Success in Other Lands and the Assurance of Its Success in China. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1880.

Harder, Ben. "The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and Its Contribution to 20th Century Missions." Missiology 8 (1980): 141-54.

Harmon, Nolan B. The Organization of the Methodist Church. Nashville, Tenn.: Methodist Publishing House, 1962.

________. "Structural and Administrative Changes." In The History of American Methodism. ed. E. S. Bucke, 3:1-58. New York: Abingdon Press, 1964.

Harms, Len. "Governance Commission Proposes Administrative and Electoral Plans." North Pacific Union Gleaner. 20 August 1984, 19-20.

________. "A North Pacific Layperson--Yes." Spectrum 15 (August 1984): 62-63.

Harrison, Paul D. "The Identity and Purpose of the Church." *Theology Today* 42 (1985): 342-52.

Haskell, Stephen N. "Australia." *Review and Herald*. 6 January 1885, 12.

________. "Could the Heathen Nations Have Had the Gospel, and the Lord Have Come Years Ago?" *Review and Herald*. 23 February 1892, 121.

________. "The Leading Nations of the Earth." *Review and Herald*. 16 April 1889, 246.

________. "India." 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 13 May 1890, 297-98; 20 May 1890, 312-13.

________. "Is Organization of God?" 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 11 October 1892, 634; 18 October 1892, 649-50.

________. "Mistaken Views of Heathenism." *Review and Herald*. 8 April 1890, 216-17.

________. "Order." *Review and Herald*. 30 May 1907, 9-10.

________. "Religious Rites and Other Customs of the Matabeles." *Review and Herald*. 27 November 1894, 746.

________. "To Nations, Tongues and People." *Review and Herald*. 10 November 1874, 157.

________. "The Work before Us." *Review and Herald*. 25 February 1890, 121.

Haughey, S. G. "Our Church Organization." *Review and Herald*. 12 March 1931, 11-12.

Haynes, Carlyle B. "Self-supporting and Self-propagating Churches." *Ministry*. August 1928, 27.

Henderson, G. D. *Presbyterianism*. Aberdeen: University Press, 1954.

Hendricks, Barbara. "Mission in the 1980s." *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 4 (1980): 10-12.

Henry, S. M. I. "A Plea for Principle." *Review and Herald*. 25 April 1899, 261.

Hevener, Fillmer. "Managing the Church's Most Valuable Asset." *Ministry*. April 1983, 14-15.

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

Hillman, Eugene. The Church as Mission. New York: Herder and Herder, 1965.

Hillock, Wilfred M. Involved. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1977.

________. "Need for Organizational Change in the Adventist Church." Spectrum 4 (Summer 1972): 24-32.

Hirsch, Charles B. "Reorganization Within, Conflict Without--1900-1925." Review and Herald. Anniversary Issue, November 1975, 12-13.

Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of Seventh-day Adventists. Basel, Switz.: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886.

Hitchcock, James. Catholicism and Modernity: Confrontation or Capitulation? New York: Seabury Press, 1979.

Hoekendijk, J. C. The Church Inside Out. Translated by Isaac C. Rottenberg. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966.

Hoffstadter, Richard. The Paranoid Style in American Politics. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.

Holbrook, Frank B. "Gospel Finance: Pulling Together." Adventist Review. 3 March 1988, 8-11.

Hollenweger, W. J. The Pentecostals. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972.

Honig, Anton G. "Mission Tomorrow: Interdependence at the Cutting Edge." International Review of Mission 75 (1986): 304-313.

Hook, Milton R. "The Making of a President--E. G. White and A. G. Daniells in Australia." Spectrum 18 (June 1988): 26-39.

Hoopes, L. A. "The Foreign Mission Board." Review and Herald. 1 November 1898, 701.

Hopkins, C. Howard. John R. Mott: 1865-1955. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979.

Houser, Estella. "The Student Volunteer Convention in Toronto." Review and Herald. 11 March 1902, 155.

Hudson, Winthrop S. Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life. 3d ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981.

________. "A Time of Religious Ferment." In The Rise of Adventism. ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, 1-17. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Hunter, George G. III. To Spread the Power. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1987.

Huntley, M. L. "The Spirit of God in Heathen Countries." Review and Herald. 17 September 1889, 582.

________. "The Student Missionary Uprising." Review and Herald. 17 December 1889, 790-91.

Hutcheson, Richard G. Wheel within the Wheel: Confronting the Management Crisis of the Pluralistic Church. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979.

Hutchins, A. S. "God's Order." Review and Herald. 2 February 1886, 66-67.

Hutchison, William R. Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

________. The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

"Interview with Martin Marty." College People 2 (January 1982): 26-32.

Irwin, Dale. "John R. Mott and World-centered Mission." Missiology 12 (1984): 155-65.

Irwin, G. A. "The Coming General Conference." Review and Herald, 7 February 1899, 90.

James, Otey. "One of 'This Generation.'" Review and Herald. 20 July 1905, 18.

Jay, Eric G. The Church: Its Changing Image through Twenty Centuries. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1980.

Johnson, David W., and Frank P. Johnson. Joining Together. 3d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1987.

Johnson, Douglas W. The Care and Feeding of Volunteers. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1978.

Johnson, Eugene E. "Too Long a Tenure for Church Executives." Adventist Review. 21 March 1985, 15.

Johnsson, William G. "New Orleans: A Watershed in Adventism." Adventist Review. 18 July 1985, 8-10.

________. "The Possibilities of World Adventism." Adventist Review, 18 September 1986, 4-5.

________. "Process." *Adventist Review*. 28 May 1984, 4.

Jones, Alonzo T. *An Appeal Presented before the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists at Takoma Park, Washington, D.C., May 27, 1909*. N.p., 1909.

________. *Church Organization*. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1900.

________. *Church Organization: Sermon by Elder A. T. Jones*. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1901.

________. *The Coming of Our Lord: We Would See Jesus*. Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1897.

________. *The Consecrated Way to Christian Perfection*. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, [1905].

________. "Denominational Finances." *Review and Herald*. 5 August 1902, 8-9.

________. *Ecclesiastical Empire*. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1901.

________. *The Final Word and a Confession*. N.p., [1906].

________. *One Man Power*. Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, [1903].

________. "Principles of Organization of the Pacific Union Medical Missionary Association." 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 24 February 1903, 9-10; 3 March 1903, 9-10.

[________]. "Reformation Called For." *Review and Herald*. 4 April 1899, 217.

________. "Reorganization." 6-part series in *Review and Herald*. 6 May 1902, 10-11; 13 May 1902, 9-10; 20 May 1902, 8-9; 27 May 1902, 9-10; 3 June 1902, 8-10; 10 June 1902, 9-10.

________. "Self-Government Means Self-Support." 3-part series in *Review and Herald*. 27 May 1902, 9-10; 3 June 1902, 8-10; 10 June 1902, 9-10.

________. *Some History, Some Experiences, and Some Facts*. N.p., [1906].

Jones, G. F. "Talking over Mission Methods." *Ministry*. August 1933, 16, 21.

Journal, General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1894. n.p. [1894].

Juberg, Morten. "Union President Outlines His Work and Importance of Union in Church Organization." North Pacific Union Gleaner. 20 August 1984, 18-19.

Kellogg, John H. The Living Temple. Battle Creek, Mich.: Good Health Publishing Co., 1903.

Kellogg, Moses E. "Order in God's Work." Review and Herald. 25 April 1893, 265-66.

Kelly, Dean M. Why Conservative Churches Are Growing: A Study in the Sociology of Religion. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Keough, G. Arthur. "Church of the People?" Spectrum 15 (December 1984): 63.

Kern, Milton E. "The Application of Christian Integrity." Ministry. December 1945, 3-5.

________. "Institutionalism Must Not Supplant Individualism." Ministry. February 1933, 3.

________. "Our Church Organization." Review and Herald. 20 March 1930, 13-14.

Kimball, I. E. "A Glorious Church." Review and Herald. 9 April 1889, 228.

Kime, D. S. "Training Nationals to Carry Responsibility." Ministry. August 1942, 7.

Kirby, Gilbert W. "Congregationalism." New International Dictionary of the Christian Church. ed. J. D. Douglas, 251-53. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974.

Kleuser, Louise C. "Statistics Are Revealing." Ministry. February 1962, 19.

Kloppenburg, Bonaventure. The Ecclesiology of Vatican II. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1974.

Knight, George R. From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones. Hagerstown Md.: Review and Herald, 1987.

________. Myths in Adventism. Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1985.

________. "Spiritual Revival and Educational Expansion." Adventist Review. 29 March 1984, 8-11.

Knight, George W., III. "Two Offices (Elders or Bishops and Deacons) and Two Orders of Elders (Preaching or Teaching Elders and Ruling Elders): A New Testament Study." Presbyterion 11 (Spring 1985): 1-12.

Kotz, E. "Organization and Unity in Diversity." Review and Herald. 22 December 1927, 2.

Koyama, Kosuke. Waterbuffalo Theology. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1974.

Kranz, Russel. "In God's Order." Adventist Review. 2 May 1985, 7-8.

Kuhn, Mary C. Leader of Men: The Life of Arthur G. Daniells. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1946.

Kung, Hans. The Church. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968.

________. Structures of the Church. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.

Kwirnam, Alwin. L. "How the General Conference Election Works." Spectrum 7 (Spring 1975): 17-18, 20-22.

Lall, Bernard M., and Geeta R. Lall. Dynamic Leadership. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1979.

Land, Gary. "Coping with Change, 1961-1980." In Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land, 208-230. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

________. "Shaping the Modern Church, 1906-1930." In Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land, 139-69. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

________. "Where Did Adventist Organizational Structure Come From?" Spectrum 7 (Spring 1975): 23-27.

________, ed. Adventism in America. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

________, ed. The World of Ellen G. White. Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1987.

Larson, R. C., and Wilfred M. Hillock. "The Education of Adventist Administrators." Spectrum 3 (Winter 1971): 66-73.

Lashley, Sylvan. "Divisions Adapt Church Policies to Local Cultures." Spectrum 14 (December 1983): 64.

Lassey, William R., and Marshall Sashkin, eds. Leadership and Social Change. 3d ed. San Diego: University Associates Press, 1983.

Latourette, Kenneth S. Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Vol. 3, The Nineteenth Century Outside Europe: The Americas, The Pacific, Asia, and Africa. New York: Harper, 1961.

________. A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Vol. 4, The Great Century, A. D. 1800--A. D. 1914. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1941.

________. Missions Tomorrow. New York: Harper and Bros., 1936.

Lawrence, Edward A. Modern Missions in the East: Their Methods, Successes, and Limitations. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895.

Lawrence, William D. "Distinctives of Christian Leadership." Bibliotheca Sacra 144 (1987): 317-29.

Leach, B. E. "Unions: Why They're There." 6-part series in Southwestern Union Record. 26 April 1984, 12p; 10 May 1984, 12p; 24 May 1984, 16p; 7 June 1984, 12p; 21 June 1984, 12h; 21 June 1984, 12i.

Lee, Frederick. "The Authority of the Church." Review and Herald. 10 April 1941, 9-10.

________. "The Authority of the Church." Review and Herald. 31 October 1957, 9-10.

Leith, John H., ed. Creeds of the Churches. 3d ed. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982.

Lenker, William. "Influence of the United States upon India." Review and Herald. 26 June 1894, 405.

Leonard, Harry, ed. J. N. Andrews, the Man and the Mission. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985.

Linden, Ingemar. The Last Trump: An Historico-genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978.

Lindgren, Alvin J. Foundations for Purposeful Church Administration. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1976.

Lindgren, Alvin J., and Norman Shawchuck. Management for Your Church. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1977.

________. Let My People Go. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1980.

Littlejohn, W. H. "Duties of Local Church Officers." 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 15 November 1887, 713-14; 22 November 1887, 730-31.

Londis, James. "Waiting for the Messiah: The Absence and Presence of God in Adventism." *Spectrum* 18 (February 1988): 5-11.

Loughborough, John N. "The Church." 27-part series in *Review and Herald*. 2 October 1900, 635-36; 9 October 1900, 651; 16 October 1900, 667-68; 23 October 1900, 682-83; 30 October 1900, 698-99; 6 November 1900, 715; 13 November 1900, 731; 20 November 1900, 747; 27 November 1900, 763; 4 December 1900, 779-80; 12 February 1901, 106; 19 February 1901, 122-23; 4 April 1901, 234-35; 7 May 1901, 300-301; 14 May 1901, 314-15; 21 May 1901, 337-38; 28 May 1901, 346-47; 4 June 1901, 363-64; 11 June 1901, 380-81; 18 June 1901, 397; 25 June 1901, 404-5; 2 July 1901, 419-20; 9 July 1901, 436-37; 16 July 1901, 452; 23 July 1901, 469-70; 30 July 1901, 484-85; 6 August 1901, 500-501.

________. *The Church: Its Organization, Order, and Discipline*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1907.

________. *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress*. Washington D. C.: Review and Herald, 1905.

________. "No Schism in the Body." 2-part series in *Review and Herald*. 21 February 1899, 113-14; 28 February 1899, 130.

________. "Order and Organization." *Review and Herald*. 26 June 1913, 3-4.

________. *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*. Battle Creek, Mich.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1892.

Lowe, Harry W. "Machinery or Mission?" *Ministry*. April 1962, 52.

Ludgate, T. K. "The Church a Divine Institution." *Ministry*. December 1945, 5.

MacDonald, Gordon. "When Wineskins Start to Rip." *Leadership* 5 (Winter 1984): 70-75.

Magan, Percy T. "Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement." *Review and Herald*. 10 March 1891, 150.

________. "Denominational Debts." *Review and Herald*. 11 April 1899, 235-36.

________. "Life Sketches of Arthur Grosvenor Daniells." *Review and Herald*. 18 April 1935, 2, 6.

Marc, Gabriel. "The Institutional Church in the Future: Facts and Interpretations." Pro Mundi Vita 82 (1980): 1-26.

Marsden, George M. Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Martin, Chalmers. Apostolic and Modern Missions. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1898.

Marty, Martin E. Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

Mathew, Parachel K. "Church Government in the New Testament." Communio Viatorum: A Theological Quarterly 24 (1981): 165-78.

Mathews, Basil. John R. Mott: World Citizen. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934.

Maxwell, C. Mervyn. Tell It to the World. Rev. ed. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1977.

May, Lynn E., ed. "Baptist Polity: A Look at Church Order." Baptist History and Heritage 14 (July 1979): 1-70.

Mazrui., Ali A. "Religion and Political Culture in Africa." Journal of the American Academy of Religion 53 (1985): 817-39.

McArthur, Benjamin. "A New Look at the Old Days: Adventist History Comes of Age." Spectrum 18 (February 1988): 36-42.

McClung, L. Grant, Jr. "Theology and Strategy of Pentecostal Missions." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (1988): 2-5.

McClure, A. C. "Southern Union Studies Church Organization." Southern Tidings. June 1984, 31.

McConaughey, J. L. "Loyalty to God and the Brethren." 2-part series in Ministry. June 1947, 5; July 1947, 11-12.

McCormick, Richard. "L'Affaire Curran." Spectrum 17 (February 1987): 37-44.

McCullough, David. "Incarnation and Institution." Christian Century 98 (1981): 1337-39.

McDonough, Reginald M. Working with Volunteer Leaders in the Church. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1976.

McElhany, J. L. "Principles of Conference Administration." 7-part series in Ministry. March 1938, 5-7; April 1938, 7-8, 43; May 1938, 9-11; June 1938, 33-34, 43; July 1938, 7-8, 40; August 1938, 6-7, 44-45; September 1938, 19-20.

________. "Principles, Problems, and Policies." 2-part series in Ministry, March 1937, 1, 22-23; April 1937, 1, 23.

McGavran, Donald A. The Bridges of God. London: World Dominion Press, 1955.

________. Understanding Church Growth. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.

McGregor, Douglas. The Human Side of Enterprize. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

________. Leadership and Motivation. Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1966.

McKelvey, R. Jack. "Authority in the Church." Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 23 (June 1978): 4-17.

Medley, Carlos. "Wilson Calls Church to Adopt Global Strategy." Adventist Review. 30 October 1986, 8-10.

Meleen, E. M. "Self-Reliance in the Indigenous Church." Ministry. August 1945, 39.

Menking, Stanley J. "Church Administration: Ministry with and for the People." The Drew Gateway 48 (Winter 1977): 41-51.

Mesar, Joe. "Income Sharing: A Plan for Economic Justice in the Local Church." Spectrum 13 (June 1983): 22-29.

Meyer, A. "The Worker's Personal Relationship with the Organization." Ministry. March 1955, 7.

Michael, T. J. "Shall We Go out of Business as a Foreign Mission Enterprise?" Ministry. September 1942, 3-6.

Mikolaski, Samuel J. "Leadership Secular and Sacred: An Interpretative Review of William J. Ouchi's Theory Z." Crux: A Quarterly Journal of Christian Thought and Opinion 21 (March 1985): 19-21.

Miles, Norman. "The Struggle in the Lake Region Conference." Spectrum 17 (May 1987): 19-25.

Miller, H. W. "Lessening Administrative Expense." Ministry. November 1932, 3.

________. "Periodic Changes Are Advantageous." Ministry. February 1933, 12.

Minear, Paul. Images of the Church in the New Testament. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.

"Model Constitutions Voted for Conferences and Unions." Adventist Review. 7 November 1985, 7.

Moffitt, L. L. "The General Conference." Review and Herald. 1 March 1962, 8-9.

________. "A God of Order Guides His Church." 9-part series in Review and Herald. 4 January 1962, 2-4; 11 January 1962, 2-3; 18 January 1962, 4-6; 25 January 1962, 2-3; 1 February 1962, 5-7; 8 February 1962, 6-8; 15 February 1962, 6-7; 22 February 1962, 7-8; 1 March 1962, 8-9.

Monnier, H. "Mission Land Mass Movements." Ministry. February 1940, 6-7.

Montgomery, Oliver. "Independence and Domination." 2-part series in Ministry. September 1928, 8; October 1928, 10.

________. Principles of Church Organization and Administration. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1942.

Moody, Dale. "The Shaping of Southern Baptist Polity." Baptist History and Heritage 14 (July 1979): 2-11.

Moore, J. "Comparison of Lay Participation in Church Polity." Spectrum 7 (Spring 1975): 19.

Moore, R. Laurence. Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Moorhead, James H. "The Erosion of Postmillennialism in American Religious Thought, 1865-1925." Church History 53 (1984): 61-77.

Mostert, Thomas J. "Responses to AAF Report on Church Structure." Spectrum 15 (August 1984): 60-61.

Mott, John R. Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott. 6 vols. New York: Association Press, 1946-1947, 1:82. Quoted in C. Howard Hopkins, John R. Mott, 1865-1955: A Biography. 232. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979.

Mott, John R. The Evangelization of the World in This Generation. New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1905.

Muck, Terry C., ed. "Church Politics." Leadership 4 (Summer 1983): 20-103.

Muller, Karl. "Christliche Mission und Kolonialismus im 19ten und 20ten Jahrhundert." Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 64 (1980): 192-207.

Murray, Milton. "Loyalty--The Needed Virtue." Adventist Review. 20 August 1981, 4-5.

Murrill, W. L. "North America's Role in Financing the World Church." Adventist Review. 9 August 1984, 10-11.

"Neal Wilson Talks about Law Suits." Spectrum 9 (March 1978): 30-37.

Neill. Stephen. A History of Christian Missions. New York: Penguin Books, 1964.

________. "Mission in the 1980s." Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research 3 (1979): 27-28.

________. "Third World and Mission." Review and Expositor 74 (1977): 135-48.

Netteburg, Kermit. "Columbia Union Develops Plan for Greater Growth." Adventist Review. 23 June 1988, 9-11.

Neufeld, Donald F. "The Church Manual Is Born." Review and Herald. 8 August 1974, 10-11.

________. "The Church's Teaching Authority." Review and Herald. 11 July 1974, 9-10.

________. "Is There a Teaching Authority in the Adventist Church?" Review and Herald. 31 January 1974, 11-12.

________. "Pressure to Disorganize." Review and Herald. 25 July 1974, 11.

________. "When Was the Seventh-day Adventist Church Organized? Review and Herald. 6 May 1971, 14-15.

________, ed. Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1976.

Neuhaus, Richard. "America--A Religious Republic?" Spectrum 17 (October 1986): 2-5.

Newbigen, Lesslie. "Christ and the Cultures." Scottish Journal of Theology 31 (1978): 1-22.

________. Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

________. The Household of God. New York: Friendship Press, 1953.

________. Trinitarian Faith and Today's Mission. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1963.

Nichol, Francis D. "Church Organization Takes Shape." Review and Herald. 4 April 1963, 15-16.

________. "The Story of Church Organization." 5-part series in Review and Herald. 3 January 1963, 14-15; 10 January 1963, 12-13; 17 January 1963, 12-13; 24 January 1963, 12-13; 31 January 1963, 12-13.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper and Row, 1951.

________. The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: H. Holt, 1929.

Ninaj, Bess. "Organization in the New Testament Church." Ministry. December 1959, 34.

Noll, Mark A., Nathan O. Hatch, and George M. Marsden. The Search for Christian America. Westchester, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1983.

Noren, Carol J. "Principles from Change Theory for the Church." Covenant Quarterly 41 (May 1983): 24-25.

Norwood, Frederick A. The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1974.

Nostbakken, Roger W. "The Concept of Authority in the Church." Consensus 12 (Spring 1986): 1-2, 41-52.

"Notes from the General Conference." Review and Herald. 7 May 1901, 296-97.

Nott, Peter. "Towards a Theology of Leadership." Expository Times 97 (1986): 138-42.

Olsen, M. Ellsworth. A History of the Origins and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1925.

Olsen, Ole A. "An Appeal on Behalf of Foreign Missions." Review and Herald. 29 September 1891, 601-602.

________. "District Conferences." Review and Herald. 17 September 1895, 608.

________. "The General Conference Council." Review and Herald. 5 August 1890, 489.

________. "The Movement of Laborers." Review and Herald. 12 June 1894, 378-79.

________. "Recommendations of the General Conference Committee." Review and Herald. 19 June 1894, 395.

________. "Report of the General Conference Committee Meetings from March 11-21, 1892." Review and Herald. 26 April 1892, 266.

________. "The Year's Work and the Outlook." Home Missionary. November 1893 (Extra No. 2), 2-3.

Olsen, V. Norskov, ed. The Advent Hope in Scripture and History. Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald, 1987.

Olson, A. V. Thirteen Crisis Years. 1888-1901. 2d ed. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1981.

Oosterwal, Gottfried. "Adventist Mission: After a Hundred Years." Ministry. September 1974, 24-27.

________. "The Challenge of Missions." Insight. 10 November 1970, 12-17.

________. "Continuity and Change in Adventist Mission." In Stature of Christ. ed. Vern Carner and Gary Stanhiser, 45-57. Loma Linda, Calif.: Privately printed, 1970.

________. "How Many Tragedies: A Commentary." Spectrum 7 (Summer 1975): 45-47.

________. "A Lay Movement." Review and Herald. 7 February 1974, 9-11.

________. "M. B. Czechowski"s Significance for the Growth and Development of Seventh-day Adventist Mission." In Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876. eds. Rajmund L. Dabrowski amd Bert B. Beach, 160-205. Warsaw, Poland: Znaki Czarsu Publishing House, 1979.

________. "Mission in a New Key." Spectrum 3 (Summer 1971) 13-23.

________. "The Mission of the Church." Ministry. July 1972, 7-10, 36-39.

________. "The Mission of the Church." Ministry. February 1978, 24G-24K.

________. Mission: Possible. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1972.

________. "Mission Still Possible." Ministry. December 1986, 4-8.

________. "The New Shape of Adventist Mission." Spectrum 7 (Spring 1975): 44-54.

________. Patterns of Seventh-day Adventist Church Growth in North America. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1974.

________. "The Seventh-day Adventist Church in the World Today." In Servants for Christ: The Adventist Church Facing the 80's. ed. Robert E. Firth, 1-52. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980.

________. "Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Seventies." Spectrum 2 (Spring 1970): 5-20.

________. "What Kind of Missionary." Insight. 20 April 1976, 20-24.

Outline of Mission Fields Entered by Seventh-day Adventists. 2d ed. Washington, D.C.: Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, 1908.

Outline of Mission Fields Entered by Seventh-day Adventists. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, 1920.

An Outline of Mission Fields: A Help to the Study of the Work of Seventh-day Adventists in Lands Outside North America. 5th ed. Washington, D.C.: Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, 1927.

Padilla, C. Rene. "The Mission of the Church in the Light of the Kingdom of God." Transformation 1 (April-June 1984): 16-20.

"Panel Recommends Present Conference and Association Legal Structure Be Retained." Pacific Union Recorder. 24 December 1984, 2.

Patterson, Gary B. "What Is the Church?" Adventist Review. 18 August 1988, 8-10.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. Spirit Versus Structure. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Percy, M. V. H. "Deceptive Theology." Ministry. May 1988, 2.

Pierce, Alfred M. Giant against the Sky. New York: Abingdon Press, 1958.

Pierson, Arthur T. The Crisis of Missions. New York: Robert Carter and Bros., 1886.

________. The Keswick Movement. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903.

Pierson, Robert H. "The Highest Authority That God Has Upon Earth." Ministry, June 1976, 7-9.

________. "How Can We Settle Our Grievances?" Review and Herald, 21 October 1976, 6-7.

________. "'The Letter of the Law.'" Ministry, November 1964, 13.

________. "Which Course Shall We Follow?" Review and Herald, 8 June 1972, 2.

Pietz, D. Lothar. "New Forms from Places Old and New." Dialog 18 (1979): 277-85.

Pilling, John T., ed. "Many Are One: Papers on Episcopal/Synodical Government." Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 21 [Occasional Paper #6] (1979): 1-20.

Plantner, C. Elwyn. "Some Thoughts on Rebuilding Church Structure." Pacific Union Recorder, 3 February 1986, 4-5.

Plueddeman, James E. "Beyond Independence to Responsible Maturity." Evangelical Missions Quarterly 19 (1983): 48-55.

Pocock, Michael. "The Destiny of the World and the Work of Missions." International Journal of Frontier Missions 1 (1984): 215-34.

Porter, Roscoe C. "The Church of Christ a Religious Liberty Society." Review and Herald, 16 June 1903, 8-9.

Prescott, Warren W.. "The Development of the Advent Movement." Review and Herald, 26 November 1908, 3.

[________]. "The Mission of the Church." Review and Herald, 16 August 1906, 3-4.

[________]. "No More Delay." Review and Herald, 21 December 1905, 3.

________. "Organization and Disorganization." Review and Herald, 12 December 1907, 4.

[________]. "The Principle and 'the Principles.'" Review and Herald, 15 September 1904, 3-4.

[________]. "The Purpose of Organization." Review and Herald. 14 November 1907, 3.

[________]. "Significant Changes." Review and Herald. 22 December 1904, 3-4.

________. "Studies in the Prophecies: This Generation." Review and Herald. 23 June 1904, 4-5.

[________]. "The Warning to This Generation." Review and Herald. 16 February 1905, 3.

Provonsha, Jack W. "Can There Be an Innovative Adventism?" Ministry. April 1976, 34-35.

________. "The Church as a Prophetic Minority." Spectrum 12 (September 1981): 18-23.

Ramseyer, Robert L. "Partnership and Interdependence." International Review of Mission 69 (1980): 32-39.

Rasmussen, Steen. "The Ministry and the Laity." Ministry. July 1939, 13-14.

Ratzinger, Joseph. "Theologie und Kirchenpolitik." Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift 9 (1980): 425-34.

Raymond, Earnest A. "Organization: The Science of Life's Development." 4-part series in Review and Herald. 11 December 1900, 786-87; 25 December 1900, 818-19; 1 January 1901, 5; 29 January 1901, 69.

________. "Organization: The Early Church." 3-part series in Review and Herald. 12 February 1901, 98-99; 26 February 1901, 133; 5 March 1901, 146-47.

________. "Organization: The Remnant Church." Review and Herald. 19 March 1901, 178-79.

________. "The General Conference." Review and Herald. 26 March 1901, 194-95.

Rea, Walter T. "Try It. You'll Like It." Ministry. August 1974, 23.

Read, W. S. "Presbyterianism." The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church. ed. J. D. Douglas, 800-801. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974.

"Reader's Symposium: Butler on Ellen White's Eschatology." Spectrum 11 (July 1980): 24-34.

Reapsome, James. "Making the Most of Management Theories." Evangelical Missions Quarterly 20 (1984): 62-63.

Rebok, Denton E. "They Must Increase--We Must Decrease." 2-part series in Ministry. January 1948, 7; February 1948, 32.

Reid, George W. "Time to Reorder the Church." Adventist Review. 28 July 1983, 14-15.

"The Reorganization of the General Conference Association." Review and Herald. 20 December 1887, 792-93.

Report of the General Conference. Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1863.

"Resolution or Revolution?" Ministry. December 1976, 1-10.

Reynolds, Keld J. "The Church under Stress, 1931-1960." In Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land, 170-207. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

Rice, George. "The Church: Voice of God?" Ministry. December 1987, 4-6.

Rice, Richard. "Dominant Themes in Adventist Theology." Spectrum 10 (March 1980): 58-74.

Richards, Lawrence O., and Clyde Hoeldtke. A Theology of Church Leadership. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980.

Rickey, Russel E. "Ecclesial Sensibilities in 19th-Century American Methodists." Quarterly Review: A Scholarly Journal for Reflection on Ministry 4 (Spring 1984): 31-42.

________. "Social Sources of Denominationalism: Methodism." Methodist History 15 (1979): 167-85.

Ridley, Betty. "Government and Leadership in the Church." Theology 81 (1978): 190-95.

Ro, Bong Rin. "Theological Trends in Asia: Asian Theology." World Evangelization 15 (March-April 1988): 16-17,25.

Ro, Bong Rin, and Ruth Eshenaur, eds. The Bible and Theology in Asian Contexts. Taichung, Taiwan: Asia Theological Association, 1984,

Roberts, D. Bruce. "Power and Servanthood: Emerging Notions for Church Leadership." Encounter 48 (1987): 83-92.

Robertson, John J. A. G. Daniels. The Making of a General Conference President. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1977.

Robinson, Ella M. S. N. Haskell: Man of Action. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1967.

Robinson, Virgil. James White. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1976.

Robison, James I. "Studies on Church Government." 6-part series in Review and Herald. 26 June 1952, 4; 10 July 1952, 6-7; 24 July 1952, 11-12; 14 August 1952, 7-8; 28 August 1952, 10-11; 11 September 1952, 4-6.

Rock, Calvin B. "A Better Way." Spectrum 2 (Spring 1970): 21-30.

Roehlkepartain, Eugene C., ed. "Ministry Focus: Management as Ministry." Christian Ministry 18 (March 1987): 7-24.

Rosado, Caleb. "The Deceptive Theology of Institutionalism." Ministry. November 1987, 9-12.

Rossiter, Fred M. "Principle." Review and Herald. 27 November 1894, 739.

Russell, Donald J. "Who Needs the Union Anyway?" Visitor. 1 June 1984, 2.

Sabbath School Department, Seventh-day Adventist Church. The Sabbath School: It's History, Organization, and Objectives. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1938.

Sandeen, Ernest R. "Millennialism." In The Rise of Adventism. ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, 104-118. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

________. The Origins of Fundamentalism: Toward a Historical Interpretation. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968.

________. The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970,

Saunders, Stanley P. "Christian Eschatology: The Ground and Impetus for Mission." South East Asia Journal of Theology 21 (1980): 16-25.

Schaff, Phillip. America. New York: Scribner, 1855; reprint, ed. Perry Miller, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Schaller, Lyle E. Growing Plans. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1983

Schaller, Lyle E., and Charles A. Tidwell. Creative Church Administration. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1975.

Schein, Edgar H. Organizational Culture and Leadership. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985.

________. Organizational Psychology. 2d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

Scherer, James A. Gospel, Church, and Kingdom: Comparative Studies in World Mission Theology. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987.

________. Missionary Go Home! A Re-appraisal of the Christian World Mission. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

________. "When Church and State Go Abroad: Missions and America." Worldview 25 (February 1982): 5-8.

Schilt, E. Nathan. "The AAF Task Force Replies." Spectrum 15 (August 1984): 61-62.

Schmitz, Kenneth L. "The Authority of Institutions: Meddling or Middling?" Communio: International Catholic Review 12 (Spring 1985): 6-24.

Schoepflin, Rennie B., ed. "Heirloom: Catholics, Lentils and Strange Byways of Reform. An Outsider's View of the Battle Creek Scene in the 1890's." Adventist Heritage 11 (Spring 1986): 50-55.

Schwarz, Richard W. John Harvey Kellogg, M.D. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1970.

________. "The Kellogg Schism: The Hidden Issues." Spectrum 4 (Autumn 1972): 23-39.

________. Light Bearers to the Remnant. Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press, 1979.

________. "The Perils of Growth, 1886-1905." In Adventism in America, ed. Gary Land, 95-138. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

________. "Reorganization and Reform: The 1901 General Conference Session, Battle Creek, Michigan." Adventist Heritage 10 (Spring 1985): 11-18.

________. "When Adventists Organized." *Adventist Review*. 12 May 1988, 8-10.

Schweizer, Eduard. *Church Order in the New Testament*. London: SCM Press, 1961.

Scofield, Michael. "The Adventist Health System: Can It Carry a Billion Dollar Debt?" *Spectrum* 16 (April 1985): 27-29.

________. "Top Down or Bottom Up? *Spectrum* 15 (May 1984): 56-57.

Scragg, Walter R. L. "Missing--A Sense of Community." *Ministry*. February 1978, 16-17.

Scriven, Charles. "The Case for Renewal in Adventist Theology." *Spectrum* 8 (September 1976): 2-6.

________. "The Real Truth about the Remnant." *Spectrum* 17 (October 1986): 6-13.

________. "When the Jailhouse Rocks: In Defense of Evangelism for the Church of Today." *Spectrum* 18 (February 1988): 22-28.

________. "A Word about Change in the Church." *Insight*. 17 November 1970, 22-23.

Sentee, Clarence. "The Value of Organization." *Review and Herald*. 16 July 1925, 9.

"Sermon by A. G. Daniells at the Opening of the Conference." *Bulletin of the European Union Conference Held in London, May 15-25, 1902*. 3.

"Session Actions." *Adventist Review*. 5 July 1985, 9-21.

Seto, Wing Luk. "An Asian Looks at Contextualization and Developing Ethnologies." *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 23 (1987): 138-141.

"Seventh Business Meeting (Report of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations)." *Adventist Review*. 3 July 1985, 8-10.

Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986.

Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook: 1888. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1889.

Seventh-day Adventist Year Book for 1894. Battle Creek, Mich.: General Conference Association of Seventh-day Adventists, 1894.

Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook of Statistics, 1889. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1889.

Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1957.

Seventh-day Adventists Believe. . . A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines. Washington, D.C.: Ministerial Association General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1988.

Shadel, Hazel I. "Manning and Maintaining a World Movement." Ministry. June 1943, 3.

Shedd, Charlie W. The Pastoral Ministry of Church Officers. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1965.

Shenk, Wilbert R. "The 'Great Century' Reconsidered." Missiology 12 (1984): 133-46.

Siemens, Ruth. "Secular Opinions for Missionary Work." In Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader. ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne, 770-74. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1981.

Sine, Tom. "Shifting Christian Mission into the Future Tense." Missiology 15 (1987): 15-23.

"Sixth Business Meeting (Report of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations)." Adventist Review. 2 July 1985, 11-13.

Skinner, L. A. "Student Volunteer Movement." Ministry. May 1948, 11.

Smith, Leon A. "The Church and the World." Review and Herald. 13 May 1890, 296-97.

________. "The End of 'This Generation.'" Review and Herald. 2 November 1905, 5.

________. "The World's Convention of Student Volunteers for Foreign Missions." Review and Herald. 17 March 1891, 168-69.

Smith, Timothy L. Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

________. "Social Reform." In The Rise of Adventism. ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, 18-29. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Smith, Uriah. "A Bird's-eye View of the Progress of Our Work." Review and Herald. 18 August 1896, 523.

________. "Lighten Every Man." Review and Herald. 18 May 1897, 312.

[________]. "Living on Borrowed Time." Review and Herald. 1 October 1901, 636.

[________]. "In This Generation." Review and Herald. 23 September 1902, 3.

[________]. "Note." Review and Herald. 3 February 1859, 87

________. "Order in the Church." Review and Herald. 6 October 1896, 634-35.

[________]. "Origin and History of the Third Angel's Message, Number 8." Review and Herald. 27 January 1891, 56-57.

[________]. "Our Work." Review and Herald. 12 January 1892, 24.

________. "The Seventh-day Adventists: A Brief Sketch of Their Origin, Progress, and Principles." 4-part series in Review and Herald. 3 November 1874, 148-49; 10 November 1874, 156; 17 November 1874, 164; 24 November 1874, 171.

[________]. "This Generation." Review and Herald. 22 March 1887, 182.

[________]. "This Generation." Review and Herald. 17 November 1891, 712.

Snyder, Howard. The Radical Wesley and Patterns for Church Renewal. Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980.

Spalding, Arthur W. Footprints of the Pioneers. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1947.

________. "The Great Conference of 1901." Review and Herald. 13 November 1952, 12.

________. Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists. 4 vols. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1961-1962.

Spalding and Magan's Unpublished Manuscript Testimonies of Ellen G. White Taken from the Private Collection of E. A. Sutherland, Percy T. Magan, M.D., David Paulson, M.D., O. A. Johnson, A. W. Spalding. N.p.: A. W. Spalding and Percy T. Magan, 1915-1916; reprint, Payson, Ariz.: Leaves of Autumn Press, 1975.

Spangler, J. R. "Concerns of 24 Pastors." Ministry. August 1981, 20-21.

Speer, Robert E. Christianity and the Nations. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910.

________. "A Few Comparisons of Then and Now." Missionary Review of the World 53 (January 1928): 5-10.

________. The Gospel and the New World. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1919.

________. Missionary Principles and Practice: A Discussion of Christian Missions and Some Criticisms upon Them. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902.

________. "The Watchword of the Movement: The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." In The Student Missionary Appeal. Addresses at the Third International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Held at Cleveland. Ohio. February 23-27. 1898. 201-216. New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1898.

Spicer, William A. After 100 Years: 1844-1944. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1944.

________. "A Democratic Organization." Review and Herald. 21 February 1929, 3.

________. "The Divine Principle of Organization." Review and Herald. 27 July 1916, 3-4.

________. "Divine Warnings against Disorganization." Review and Herald. 14 September 1916, 4.

________. The Gospel in All the World. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1926.

________. "Gospel Order." 8-part series in Review and Herald. 25 March 1909, 4-5; 1 April 1909, 5-6; 8 April 1909, 5-6; 15 April 1909, 6; 22 April 1909, 5; 29 April 1909, 5-6; 6 May 1909, 5-6; 13 May 1909, 7-8.

________. Gospel Order: A Brief Outline of the Bible Principles of Organization. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, [1907].

________. "How We Early Developed Efficient Organization." Review and Herald. 1 May 1947, 4.

________. Miracles of Modern Missions. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1926.

________. "New Testament Conferences." Review and Herald. 18 September 1913, 9-10.

________. "Off to the Mission Fields in 1903." Review and Herald. 4 February 1904, 5.

________. "Old Testament Illustrations of Gospel Order." Review and Herald. 10 August 1916, 4-5.

________. "Order and System in New Testament Times." Review and Herald. 27 August 1936, 8.

________. "Organizing the New Testament Church." Review and Herald. 17 August 1916, 3.

________. Our Story of Missions. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1921.

________. "The Spirit of Order and Organization in the New Testament Church." Review and Herald. 24 October 1940, 10-11.

________. "This Second Advent Movement: An Organized Movement." Review and Herald. 24 April 1930, 5-6.

Staples, Russell L. "The Church in the Third World." Review and Herald. 14 February 1974, 6-8.

________. "The Face of the Church to Come." Adventist Review. 2 January 1986, 8-10.

________. "The Gospel to the World." Insight. 20 April 1976, 14-17.

________. "Internationalization of the Church." Spectrum 11 (July 1980): 4.

________. "Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the 80's." In Servants for Christ: The Adventist Church Facing the 80's, ed. Robert E. Firth, 87-138. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980.

"Statistical Report." Review and Herald. 18 August 1904, 8-16.

"Statistical Report of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination, for 1903." Review and Herald. 18 August 1904, 9-16.

Starr, George B. "Organization--Its Object." Review and Herald. 29 May 1924, 3-4.

Steed, E. H. J. "Meeting the Institutional Crisis." Review and Herald. 1 April 1976, 14.

Steed, Mary Lou. "Church Schism and Secession: A Necessary Sequence." Review of Religious Research 27 (1986): 344-55.

Stevens, J. A. "The Church Organized." Review and Herald. 22 November 1934, 7-8.

Stevens, John, Sr. "Rebuilding Church Structure: An Opinion on Church Structure." *Pacific Union Recorder*. 3 March 1986, 4-7.

Stevenson, G. S. "Developing Indigenous Leadership." *Ministry*. July 1962, 26.

________. "The Philosophy of Administration." *Ministry*. January 1960, 16-17.

Steward, M. E. "This Generation." *Review and Herald*. 30 August 1887, 548-49.

Stockwell, Eugene L., ed. "The Future of Mission." *International Review of Mission* 76 (1987): 1-116.

Stransky, Thomas F. "Mission in the 1980s." *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (1979): 46-47.

Strayer, Brian E. "Adventist Tithepaying--The Untold Story." *Spectrum* 17 (October 1986): 39-52.

Strong, Josiah. *Expansion under New World Conditions*. New York: Baker and Taylor, 1900.

"The Strongest Nation in the World." *Review and Herald*. 10 February 1885, 96.

"Structure Study History Is Received." *Pacific Union Recorder*. 28 May 1984, 1.

Student Mission Power: Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement of Foreign Missions. New York: Student Volunteer Movement of Foreign Missions, 1891; reprint, Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1979.

Swatos, William H. "Beyond Denominationalism: Community and Culture in American Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20 (1981): 217-27.

Sweet, William W. *Methodism in American History*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1933.

________. *The Story of Religion in America*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

Synan, Vinson. *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.

Tarr, A. F. "History and Administration of Division Conferences." *Ministry*. October 1957, 15.

Taber, Charles R. "Contextualization." Religious Studies Review 13 (1987): 33-36.

Takenaka, Masao. God Is Rice: Asian Culture and Christian Faith. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986.

Teel, Charles, Jr. "On Church Structures, Change, and Unity." Review and Herald. 21 May 1970, 4-6.

Temme, Jon M. "Indigenous Christologies: Perspectives from the Early Church for the Modern Church." Trinity Seminary Review 9 (Spring 1987): 28-39.

Tenney, George C. "Doings at the Conference." Review and Herald. 16 March 1897, 169.

________. "Proceedings at the Conference." Review and Herald. 9 March 1897, 152.

________. "Unity in Diversity." Review and Herald. 27 October 1896, 686.

"Third Business Meeting (Report of the Commission on the Role and Function of Denominational Organizations)." Adventist Review. 1 July 1985, 20-22.

Thomas, N. Gordon. "The Second Coming: A Major Impulse of American Protestantism." Adventist Heritage 3 (Winter 1976): 3-9.

Thompson, Alden. "Wanted: Innovators." Adventist Review. 13 June 1985, 14-15.

Thompson, George B. "The Church." 4-part series in Review and Herald. 28 November 1918, 3-4; 5 December 1918, 3; 12 December 1918, 2-3; 19 December 1918, 2-3.

________. "Organization." Review and Herald. 7 September 1916, 5-6.

________. "This Generation." Review and Herald. 4 September 1888, 564.

Thomsen, C. T. "Institutions: Ends or Means to an End?" Review and Herald. 20 May 1976, 1.

Thung, Mady A. "Alternative Models for a Missionary Church: An Approach of the Sociology of Organizations." The Ecumenical Review 30 (1978): 18-31.

________. "Organizing Religion: An Exercise in Applied Sociology." The Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion 1 (1977): 145-66.

Tobler, Lorna. "A Reformer's Vision: The Church as a Fellowship of Equals." Spectrum 16 (June 1985): 18-23.

________. "Where Has the Proctor Case Taken Us?" Spectrum 17 (May 1987): 26-32.

Tollefson, Kenneth. "The Nehemiah Model for Christian Missions." Missiology 15 (1987): 31-55.

Torkelson, Max C. "The Imperative of Change." Ministry. October 1974, 24-25.

Torrance, James B. "Authority, Scripture and Tradition." Evangelical Quarterly 59 (1987): 245-51

Town, N. Z., H. H. Hall, and W. W. Eastman. The Publishing Department Story. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1947.

Troxel, A. Burge. "Accountability without Bondage: Shepherd Leadership in the Biblical Church." Journal of Christian Education 2 (1982): 39.

Tuell, Jack M. The Organization of the United Methodist Church. Rev ed. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1973.

Tutu, Desmond. "Mission in the 1980s." Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research 4 (1980): 12-13.

Tuveson, Ernest L. Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Tyner, Mitchell A. "Can Adventists Continue to Discriminate in Hiring?" Spectrum 17 (October 1986): 14-23.

Urresti, Teodoro J., ed. Structures of the Church. New York: Seabury Press, 1970.

Utuk, Efiong. "From Wheaton to Lausanne: The Road to Modification of Contemporary Evangelical Mission Theology." Africa Theological Journal 15 (1986): 151-65

Valantasis, Richard. "Body, Hierarchy, and Leadership in Chrysostom's 'On the Priesthood.'" Greek Orthodox Theological Review 30 (1985): 455-71.

Valentine, Gilbert M. "A. G. Daniells, Administrator, and the Development of Conference Organization in Australia." In Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific: 1885-1918. ed. Arthur J. Ferch, 76-91. Wahroonga, New South Wales: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986.

Vande Vere, Emmet K. Rugged Heart: The Story of George I. Butler. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1979.

________. Windows: Selected Readings in Seventh-day Adventist Church History 1844-1922. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1975.

________. "Years of Expansion, 1865-1885." In Adventism in America. ed. Gary Land, 66-94. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986.

________. "Years of Growth and Crisis, 1875-1900." Review and Herald. Anniversary Issue, November 1975, 10-11.

Van Dolson, Leo R. "The Adventist Church in the Eighties." Ministry. April 1978, 19-20.

Van Engen, Charles E. The Growth of the True Church. An Analysis of the Ecclesiology of Church Growth Theory. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981.

Van Horne, John. "Why Did Church Lawyers Use Hierarchical Language?" Spectrum 9 (March 1978): 23-29.

Vaucher, Alfred. "M. B. Czechowski--His Relationship with the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and the First Day Adventists." In Michael Belina Czechowski 1818-1876. eds. Rajmund L. Dabrowski amd Bert B. Beach, 132-59. Warsaw, Poland: Znaki Czarsu Publishing House, 1979.

Verkuyl, Johannes. "Mission in the 1980s." Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research 3 (1979): 93-94.

Verryn, T. D. "The Mission of the Church and Reconciliation within Ecclesiastical Structures." Missionalia 7 (1979): 65-77.

Vick, Edward W. H. "Against Isolationism: The Church's Relation to the World." Spectrum 8 (March 1976): 38-40.

________. "Observations on the Adventism of Seventh-day Adventists." In Stature of Christ. ed. Vern Carner and Gary Stanhiser, 196-204. Loma Linda, Calif.: Privately printed, 1970.

Waggoner, Ellet J. Christ and His Righteousness. Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1890.

________. The Church: Its Organization, Ordinances, and Discipline. Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1886.

Waggoner, Joseph H. "The Church." 17-part series in Review and Herald. 21 April 1885, 249; 28 April 1885, 264-65; 5 May 1885, 280-81; 12 May 1885, 297-98; 19 May 1885, 313-14; 26 May 1885, 329; 2 June 1885, 345-46; 9 June 1885, 360-61; 16 June 1885, 376-77; 23 June 1885, 392-93; 14 July 1885, 440; 28 July 1885, 470-71; 4 August 1885, 488-89; 18 August 1885, 520-21; 25 August 1885, 537-38; 1 September 1885, 552-53; 8 September 1885, 568-69.

Waggoner, Joseph H.., James S. White, John N. Loughborough, E. W. Shortridge, Joseph Bates, J. B. Frisbie, M. E. Cornell, Moses Hull, and John Byington, "Conference Address: Organization." Review and Herald. 11 June 1861, 21-22.

Wagner, C. Peter. On the Crest of the Wave: Becoming a World Christian. Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books, 1983.

________. Your Church Can Grow. Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books, 1976.

Walden, Ron. "How Hierarchical Views of the Church Emerge." Spectrum 9 (March 1978): 16-22.

Walters, James W. "The Need for Structural Change." Spectrum 14 (March 1984) 14-17.

Warren, Max, ed. To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.

Washburn, J. S. "The Author of Order." Review and Herald. 6 June 1907, 9-10.

Watson, David. I Believe in the Church. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.

Watts, Kit. "Global Strategy: Stretching for Jesus." Adventist Review. 17 December 1987, 5.

________. "What's Happening at the G.C.?" Insight. 9 June 1970, 3-7.

Watts, Rosemary. "North Pacific Union Reasserts Constitutional Independence." Spectrum 17 (February 1987): 29-36.

Wearner, Robert G. "Lucy Post: Pioneer in Adventist Missions." Adventist Review. 3 March 1988, 19-20

Webber, Robert E. The Church in the World. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986.

Weber, Max. Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building. ed. S. N. Eisenstadt. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

________. Theory of Social and Economic Organizations. Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons; ed. Talcott Parsons. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Weber, Timothy P. Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1982. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983.

Webster, F. C. "Organizational Refinement." Review and Herald, 10 February 1972, 23.

Weisberger, Bernard A. They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Wellcome, Isaac C. A History of the Second Advent Movement. Boston: Advent Christian Publishing Society, 1874.

Whaley, Howard. "The Demands of Change." Evangelical Missions Quarterly 20 (1984): 276-78.

"What about Reorganization of the North American Division: Interview with N. C. Wilson." Spectrum 4 (Winter 1972): 15-18.

Wheeler, Barbara G. "What Kind of Leadership for Tomorrow's Churches?" Action Information 11 (November-December 1985): 7-11.

White, Arthur L. "Early Developments of Church Order." Ministry, July 1941, 21.

________. Ellen G. White: The Australian Years, 1891-1900. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1983.

________. Ellen G. White: The Early Elmshaven Years, 1900-1905. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1981.

________. Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1969.

________. "James White--Man Extraordinary." Review and Herald, Anniversary Issue, November 1975, 20-21.

________. "The Story of the General Conference of 1901." 3-part series in Review and Herald. 29 March 1956, 16-18; 5 April 1956, 4-5; 12 April 1956, 3-5.

________. The Story of the General Conference of 1901. Washington, D.C.: Ellen G. White Publications, 1962.

White, Ellen G. "Bring an Offering to the Lord." Review and Herald, 26 November 1901, 761-62.

________. "Centralization." Review and Herald. 10 December 1903, 8-9.

________. "The Church: The Property of God." Review and Herald. 17 October 1893, 645-46.

________. "Communication from Mrs. White." Review and Herald. 27 August 1861, 101-102.

________. Desire of Ages. Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1898.

________. Early Writings. 5th ed. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1963.

________. Gospel Workers. Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1892.

________. "The Great Need of the Holy Spirit." Review and Herald. 16 July 1895, 449-50.

________. "Lessons from the Life of Solomon--No 5: Order and Organization." Review and Herald. 12 October 1905, 8-9.

________. "Lessons from the Past: Centralization." Review and Herald. 10 December 1903, 8-9.

________. "Letter to the Brethren at the General Conference, December 19, 1892." Reprinted in "Council Meeting - No. 2." General Conference Daily Bulletin. 29 January 1893, 22.

________. Letters to Physicians and Ministers. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1904.

________. Life Sketches of Ellen G. White. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1914.

________. "Missionary Enterprise the Object of Christ's Church." 2-part series in Review and Herald. 30 October 1894, 673-74; 6 November 1894, 688-90.

________. "No Union between the Church and the World." Review and Herald. 26 February 1895, 3-4.

________. "Order in the Church." Review and Herald. 15 April 1880, 241-42.

________. The Remnant Church. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1950.

________. "The Remnant Church Not Babylon." 4-part series in Review and Herald. 22 August 1893, 530-31; 29 August 1893, 546-47; 5 September 1893, 562-63; 12 September 1893, 578-79.

________. Selected Messages: Book II. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1958.

________. Series A. Payson, Ariz.: Leaves of Autumn Books, 1976.

________. Series B. Payson, Ariz.: Leaves of Autumn Books, n.d.

________. "Shall We Colonize around Our Institutions?" Review and Herald. 2 June 1904, 7-8.

________. Special Instruction Relating to the Review and Herald Office and the Work in Battle Creek. [Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1896.]

________. Special Instruction to Ministers and Workers. [Battle Creek, Mich.:Review and Herald, 1895].

________. Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers--No. 3. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1895.

________. Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers--No. 8. Lincoln, Nebr.: College press, 1897.

________. Special Testimonies to Ministers and Workers--No. 9. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1897.

________. Testimonies for the Church. 9 vols. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1949.

________. Testimonies to the Church Regarding Individual Responsibility and Christian Unity. Mountain View, Calif.: The California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1907.

________. Testimonies to Ministers. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1962.

________. Testimony for the Church: No. 16. Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868.

________. Testimony for the Church No. 25. [Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875].

________. "To Our Missionary Workers." Review and Herald. 8 December 1885, 753-54.

________. "The Unity of the Church." Review and Herald. 16 June 1885, 369-70.

White, H. "National Leadership." Ministry. April 1951, 9-12.

White, James S. "Bible Religion: Authority Vested in the Church of Christ." Review and Herald. 22 April 1880, 264.

________. "Bible Religion: The Church of Christ Illustrated by the Human Body." Review and Herald. 15 April 1880, 248.

________. "Leadership." 4-part series in Signs of the Times. 4 June 1874, 4-5; 11 June 1874, 12; 25 June 1874, 20; 29 June 1874, 28.

________. "Leadership." Review and Herald. 1 December 1874, 180-81.

________. "Leadership." In Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church No. 25. 181-92. Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875.

________. "Leadership." Review and Herald. 23 May 1878, 164.

________. "Leadership." Review and Herald. 13 May 1880, 312.

________. "Leadership." Review and Herald. 17 June 1880, 392.

________. "The Light of the World." Review and Herald. 21 April 1863, 164-65.

________. "Making Us a Name." Review and Herald. 29 March 1860, 152.

________. "Organization." Review and Herald. 24 June 1880, 8.

________. "Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Society." 15 June 1869, 197.

________. "A World-wide Mission." Review and Herald. 25 August 1874, 76.

White, William C. "Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen G. White: The Issue over Organization." Review and Herald. 19 March 1936, 7-8.

________. "Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen G. White: The Movement for Organization Consummated." Review and Herald. 26 March 1936, 6-9.

Whitney, R. E. "Preparation for Church Administration." Ministry. November 1964, 39.

Widmer, Myron. "AHS Begins Mission Clarification Process." Adventist Review. 2 June 1988, 14-16.

Wieland, Robert J., and Donald K. Short. 1888 Re-examined. Stratford, Mo.: Gems of Truth, n.d.

Wilcox, Francis M. "Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement." *Review and Herald*. 20 February 1894, 128.

________. "The Reason for Our Existence as a Denomination." *Review and Herald*. 21 September 1911, 6-7.

________. "The Work in Many Lands." *Review and Herald*. 10 July 1894, 438.

Wilcox, Milton C. "The Church." *Review and Herald*. 23 October 1883, 659-60.

________. "The Church of God." *Review and Herald*. 19 October 1922, 5-6

________. "The Church of the Living God." 17-part series in *Review and Herald*. 28 November 1929, 3-5; 5 December 1929, 7-8; 12 December 1929, 6-7; 19 December 1929, 5-6; 26 December 1929, 6-9; 9 January 1930, 5-7; 23 January 1930, 6-7; 30 January 1930, 8-9; 6 February 1930, 5-7; 13 February 1930, 8-9; 20 February 1930, 8-9; 27 February 1930, 8-9; 6 March 1930, 7-8; 13 March 1930, 8-10; 20 March 1930, 5-6; 27 March 1930, 13-14; 3 April 1930, 12-13.

Willey, Wayne. "Cut Number of Unions, Conferences in Half." *Spectrum* 16 (February 1986): 63.

Willimon, William H. "*Corpus Christi*: Carnal Thoughts on a Spiritual Day; Tension between Definitions of the Church and the Brute Sociological Fact of the Church." *Christian Century* 98 (1981): 634-36.

Wilson, Barrie A. "Ecclesiological Models: An Epistemological Examination." *Encounter* 40 (1979): 327-39.

Wilson, Marlene. *How to Mobilize Church Volunteers*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983.

Wilson, Bryan. "Sect or Denomination: Can Adventism Maintain Its Identity?" *Spectrum* 7 (Spring 1975): 34-43.

Wilson, Neal C. "Attacks on the Church." *Adventist Review*, 13 May 1982, 3, 10.

________. "The Davenport Case." *Ministry*. April 1983, 16-19.

________. "I Believe in Church Organization." *Review and Herald*, 3 November 1949, 10.

________. "Leadership and Authority." *Adventist Review*. 4 October 1979, 3.

________. "Preserving Unity World Wide." *Adventist Review*, 1 November 1979, 8-10.

________. "Rationale for a Special Relationship." *Spectrum* 15 (December 1984): 22-24.

Wilson, Samuel, and John Stewart, eds. *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*. Monrovia, Calif.: Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center, 1986.

Winner, William L. *Gospel Simplicity: The Need of the Hour in Personal Piety, in Doctrine, in Organization. A Plea from the Pew for a Complete Acceptance of Bible Standards*. Boulder, Colo.: n.p., 1906.

Winter, Ralph D. "The Two Structures of God's Redemptive Mission." *Missiology* 2 (1974): 121-39.

________. "Protestant Mission Societies: The American Experience." *Missiology* 7 (1979): 139-78.

________. "The Unfinished Task: A New Perspective." *World Evangelization* 15 (March-April 1988): 9-12.

________. "Unreached Peoples Update, Where Are We Now." *World Evangelization* 15 (March-April 1988): 4-5.

Woelfel, James. "Indwelling and Exile; Types of Religious and Secular World-orientation." *American Journal of Theology and Philosophy* 3 (1987): 93-108.

"Women in Early Adventism." *Adventist Review*. 4 February 1988, 16-21.

Wood, Kenneth H. "Ultimate Authorities That Christians Accept." *Review and Herald*. 4 August 1966, 13-14.

Worgul, George S. "People of God, Body of Christ: Pauline Ecclesiological Contrasts." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 12 (1982): 24-28.

World Wide Evangelization, The Urgent Business of the Church; Addresses Delivered before the Fourth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions Toronto, Canada, February 26-March 2, 1902. New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1902.

Worley, Robert C. *A Gathering of Strangers: Understanding the Life of Your Church*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976.

________. *Change in the Church: A Source of Hope*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971.

________. Dry Bones Breathe. Chicago: The Center for the Study of Church Organizational Behavior (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1978.

Wright, Conrad. "The Growth of Denominational Bureaucracies: A Neglected Aspect of American Church History." Harvard Theological Review 77 (1984): 177-94.

Wyke, Clement H. "Is the Church Following the Wrong Models?" Christian Ministry 17 (November 1986): 30-31.

Yamamori, Tetsunao. God's New Envoys. Portland, Ore.: Multnomah Press, 1987.

Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, 1896. N.p., [1897].

Yohannan, K. P. "Americans Can't Win the World for Christ." Christianity Today, 30 November 1986, p. 15.

Yost, F. Donald. "A. G. Daniells: The Making of a General Conference President." Adventist Heritage 6 (Summer 1979): 56-58.

Yost, Frank H. "The First-Century Church Organized." Review and Herald, 20 February 1958, 4-5.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION SERIES

VOLUME 15

* S S 0 1 1 9 4 7 5 5 9 *

SDA ORG
970326 DOCTRINAL Rtl: 14.95
OLIVER B 001

Cover Design: Peter Erhard Design