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**The dynamics of communication and African-American progress
in the Seventh-day Adventist organization: A historical
descriptive analysis**

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Howard University, 1993

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HOWARD UNIVERSITY

**The Dynamics of Communication
and African-American Progress in
the Seventh-day Adventist Organization:
A Historical Descriptive Analysis**

**A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences**

of

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the requirements for the
degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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by

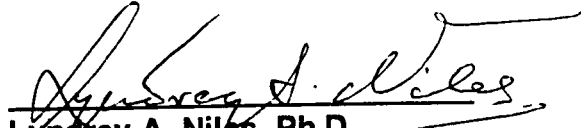
Delbert W. Baker

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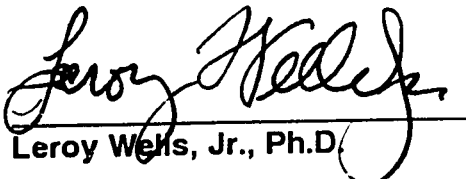
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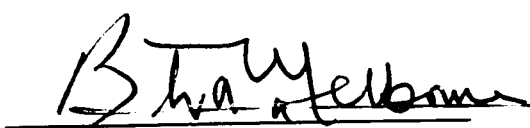
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DEDICATION

To my family:

Susan, David, Benjamin, and Jonathan, my wife and sons.

Your patient support and constant understanding have been a major contribution to the completion of this milestone. May these principles remind you and others of God's care, personal interest and providence.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I examined the dynamics of change, race and communication I have been enriched in many ways. I must thank the numerous people and organizations that facilitated the accomplishment of this work.

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Finally, love to my parents, Paul and Amelia Baker, and my siblings, who have always challenged me to reach higher.

ABSTRACT

The Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church has experienced a phenomenal organizational transformation within this century. It has metamorphosed from a small group of white Protestants from the eastern section of the United States to a global organization of 7 million adherents. Eighty percent of its membership is now nonwhite. Among its nonwhite constituents, African-American SDAs in particular have progressed in every area of the organizational structure, and in organizational participation, per capita growth, financial giving, institutional development and leadership. African-American SDAs in North America have grown from 50 members in 1890 to more than 3,000 in 1910. As of 1990 African-Americans numbered more than 200,000 and represented close to one-third of the North American SDA members. Significantly, it was the dramatic progress of African-American SDAs at the turn of the century that foreshadowed the eventual ethnic transformation of the SDA Church.

How can this progress be explained? What were some contributing factors? To answer these questions, this study examines the 20-year period, 1891-1910, and the variables that influenced and facilitated the subsequent advancement of SDA African-Americans in this century. This study utilizes an organizational communication perspective with particular emphasis given to the dynamics of creating change within a religious organization.

The thesis of this study demonstrates that a significant association exists between the communication activities of Ellen G. White (EGW), cofounder and respected SDA authority, and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization. It further demonstrates that had it not

been for the public communications and influence of EGW on behalf of African-Americans in the SDA organization, the initiatives of the Church might not have been made. These initiatives resulted in the progress witnessed at the turn of the century and subsequent years.

This study examines the subject from a qualitative perspective by subjecting the communication statements of EGW to content analysis. The results present a composite picture of what her message was to the SDA Church and its outreach initiatives in the South relative to African-Americans. Content analysis examines EGW's communications concerning African-Americans--what she said. The findings of content analysis depict a comprehensive strategy utilized by EGW in conveying the needs and methods for successful work among African-Americans in the South.

Historical research was conducted to trace organizational developments relevant to the SDA work among African-Americans during the 20-year period--what impact EGW's communications had. The results of historical research are compared to the findings of content analysis. The historical research findings indicate that a significant number of developments are traced directly to EGW's communication statements. The two methodologies--content analysis and historical research--are utilized to address the question of the relationship between EGW's communication statements and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA Church.

It is the position of this study that EGW's communication statements had significant impact on the motivation and facilitation of progress among African-American SDAs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE	i
COMMITTEE APPROVAL SHEET	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Purpose	4
Scope and Limitations	5
Conceptual Framework	6
Organization and Methodology	7
Definition of Terms	10
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	20
Hypothesis	21
African-Americans and Seventh-day Adventists	26
Ellen G. White and Race Relations	33
Seventh-day Adventists and Race Relations	40
Primary Source Documents	43
Supporting Hypotheses	53
Study Objectives	66
III. CONTEXTS: BIOGRAPHICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL	80
Biographical Context: Ellen G. White	81
Organizational Context: Seventh-day Adventists	96

IV.	CONTEXTS: SOCIAL, RACIAL	115
	Social Context	115
	Racial Context	122
V.	CONTENT ANALYSIS: METHODOLOGY	165
	Design	167
VI.	CONTENT ANALYSIS: FINDINGS	177
	Actional Outreach Blueprint	185
	Communication and Enactment	245
VII.	HISTORICAL RESEARCH: METHODOLOGY	262
	Findings	266
	Pre-1891 Events	279
	Major Developments	293
VIII.	IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION	345
	Implications	345
	Observations	352
	Future Study	353
	APPENDICES	354
	Content Analysis Resources-Major Documents	355
	Our Duty to the Colored People (Exhibit)	359
	The Coder's "How-To" of Content Analysis	372
	Thought Unit (TU) Coding Definitions	374
	Coding Result Form	375
	Frequency Tables (1891-1910)	376
	Chi Square Results	380
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	388

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
2:1 Triangular Model of Impacting Variables	22
2:2 Phases of the Religious History of the Slave	30
2:3 The <i>Gospel Herald</i> : Communication Organ for the South	47
2:4 Merger of Southern Support Organizations	51
2:5 Developmental Phases of the Black Work	61
2:6 Black SDA Membership Statistics	63
2:7 Historical Trends in Black Intellectual Research	65
4:1 Lynchings by Years, 1885-1916	147
6:1 Aggregate TU Frequency: Periods	178
6:2 TU Ranking Comparison Chart: Periods and Categories	179
6:3 Aggregate TU Ranking: Total Categories	182
6:4 TU Ranking: Methods Category	183
6:5 Three Tiered Actional Blueprint	187
6:6 TU Ranking: Perspectives Category	194
6:7 TU Ranking: Appeals Category	194
6:8 Black Work Appeals	196
6:9 TU Ranking: Principles Category	205
6:10 TU Ranking: Confrontation Category	205
6:11 TU Ranking: Race Relations Category	212
6:12 TU Ranking: Education Category	212
6:13 TU Ranking: Institutions Category	215
6:14 TU Ranking: Affirmations Category	218
6:15 TU Ranking: Human Dignity Category	223

6:16	TU Ranking: Problems Category	230
6:17	Social--Spiritual Dynamic	230
6:18	TU Ranking: Health Category	238
6:19	Tu Ranking: Benevolence Category	243
6:20	General Model--A Strategy for Black SDA Progress	247
6:21	Twenty Years: Strategy Ranking (1891-1910)	253
6:22	Period One: Strategy Ranking (1891-1895)	254
6:23	Period Two: Strategy Ranking (1896-1900)	256
6:24	Period Three: Strategy Ranking (1901-1905)	257
6:25	Period Four: Strategy Ranking (1906-1910)	259
7:1	Black Progress Actualization Process	291
7:2	Points Undergirding Progress in the Black Work	293
7:3	Relationship of EGW's Comstats to Black Work Progress	294
7:4	Southern Missionary Society Organization Entities	302
7:5	Organizational Evolution of the Black Work	320
7:6	Organizational Communication Progress Analysis 1891-1910	322

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Seventh-day Adventist Church has experienced a phenomenal organizational metamorphosis. The Church started approximately 150 years ago as a small group of white Protestants from the eastern section of the United States. Today, it is a global organization comprised of nearly 7 million adherents. Remarkably, it is now approximately 80 percent non-white.¹ A significant portion of the non-white membership accessions can be accounted for by membership increases in Africa and South America in the past two decades.² However, it was the dramatic increase in African-American membership at the turn of the century that first foreshadowed the eventual ethnic transformation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (hereafter referred to as SDA).

Church statistical records reveal that between 1894 and 1918, African-American SDAs increased from 50 to 3,500.³ This is especially remarkable when it is realized that this was one of the most turbulent periods of race relations in the history of this country. These years witnessed more than 2,000 lynchings, at least six major race riots, and the establishment of the notorious "Jim Crow" legal system with its centerpiece, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896.⁴

Currently, African-American SDAs are the largest Protestant minority in an interracial denomination in the United States. They comprise nearly 29 percent of the total SDA membership in North America and continue to be one of the church's fastest growing minority groups.⁵ Growth among African-

American Adventists is not confined to membership alone. Contributions in the form of tithe (10 percent of members' income) turned in to the church by African-Americans totaled close to \$70 million in 1990 alone. This amount represents 11 percent of the total world church tithe receipts. Tithe monies from African-Americans are more than the total receipts from each of ten separate divisions (administrative areas; the world is divided into 11 divisions) of the church and more than the total receipts from six of the world divisions combined.⁶

Administratively, African-Americans are represented at every level of the church's five-tier hierarchical structure.⁷ Several Protestant denominations with heavy black representation have split and formed separate organizations. The SDA Church has not. Based on new member acquisitions, the SDA Church continues to be one of the largest interracial Protestant denominations in the world.⁸ Historically, there have been discussions and debates in Adventist circles concerning Adventists and race relations. Often these discussions center on the progress and denominational mobility of African-American Adventists, their status in the organization, and problems and issues that arise from ethnic interaction.⁹ And central to the discussion of African-Americans, race and the SDA Church is Ellen G. White (1827-1915), cofounder and influential church leader.¹⁰

Three important postulates concerning Ellen G. White (hereafter referred to as EGW), her relationship to the SDA organization, and the history of its African-American believers are generally accepted by SDAs: (1) EGW spoke and wrote more extensively on the subject of race and black/white issues than any other Adventist leader of her time; (2) the influence and standing afforded EGW by the SDA Church provided her publicly communicated statements

(hereafter referred to as comstats) on the subject of race great weight and authority; and (3) her influence remains strong and pervasive throughout the SDA organization and her views on ethnic interaction retain ongoing significance.¹¹

This dissertation proposes to study an aspect of the role of communications in the interracial dynamics of the SDA Church organization and to discover and examine the relationship between the EGW comstats to the SDA organization about African-Americans and race relations and the subsequent growth and progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization. In this study, the research task will be approached as an organizational communication question as opposed to a purely biographical or theological one. The rationale for this approach is threefold: (1) EGW was a public leader of the SDA Church and consistently used the communicative organs of the church to articulate positions concerning blacks and the race issue; (2) the organizational response of the denomination provides an opportunity for the study of the effects of internal communication in an evolving religious organization;¹² and (3) though most of EGW's comstats were written nearly 100 years ago, the documents and records are carefully preserved and accessible.

This study does not presume to address all of the issues suggested by EGW comstats concerning blacks and race relations. Nor does it propose to include all of her private correspondence and notes on the subject. Such areas remain for future study. What it does propose is to discover what she said concerning racial issues that could be seen as forming the early roots of the remarkable growth and progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization.

Statement of Purpose

No informed student of SDA organizational history would argue with the assertion that EGW influenced the direction of race relations in the SDA denomination and that she reacted to and was influenced by the social dynamics of interracial conflict. Consequently EGW wrote scores of articles and letters and gave numerous speeches that relate specifically and obliquely to blacks and race relations. She addressed such issues as slavery, Adventist members and their relation to blacks and civil laws, the dignity and rights of blacks, work in the Southern field (included are the states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi North and South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana and Arkansas), etc.¹³ Further, she expressed opinions on how blacks should be viewed and treated individually and organizationally, and what policies the church should pursue in proselytizing blacks. Additionally, EGW's comstats regarding blacks are currently used in support of many racial opinions, beliefs and practices in the denomination.

This study is based on the premise that examination of EGW's communications in the area of race relations can result in a better understanding of four important questions:

1. What did EGW communicate relative to African-Americans?
2. What were the interpersonal motifs of these comstats?
3. What strategies or methods did EGW recommend to accomplish the task of developing a denominational outreach toward blacks in the South?
4. Did and in what way might EGW/s comstats have effected progress in the development of the work among blacks in the SDA organization?

These questions are significant not only because they are currently

important to the church, but also because relatively little research has been done in this area. Significantly, this dissertation will examine EGW's comstats to ascertain how she viewed African-Americans and whether and to what extent she advocated their acceptance as equals in the church organization. The study will document the parallels or correlations between EGW's comstats in reference to evangelization and education and the progress of blacks in the SDA denomination. It is desired that this study will expand knowledge, increase understanding, and motivate further inquiry in this area.

Scope and Limitations

This dissertation will focus on the examination of EGW's public communications (i.e., articles, books, pamphlets). It will, however, also undertake an examination of EGW's scores of private letters to determine the extent to which her public and private communications are thematically consistent. The study theorizes that the public communicative channels of the church were the primary means used by EGW to influence the organization at large. Hence, her public pronouncements that "creat[ed] and disseminat[ed] messages to internal and external publics through various forms of media" will be emphasized.¹⁴

While this study will examine EGW's statements and their possible effects on race relations in the church, it will not focus on the meaning of her counsel to the SDA organization of today. It can be argued, however, that by examining the former, light will be shed on the latter. For the most part, this dissertation will confine itself to an in-depth examination of 130 major documents that EGW submitted to the church for public consideration during

the 20-year period of 1891-1910. EGW did make references to African-Americans and race relations outside the limits of this time frame. However, these dates have been chosen because most of her manuscripts concerning work among blacks were written between the years 1891, when she made her first major appeal for missionary work among blacks,¹⁵ and 1908, when she prepared material for the compilation book *Testimonies for the Church*, volume 9.¹⁶

Comstats written from 1895 onward are especially useful because it was in January of that year that, with her support, her son James Edson White began his pioneering work among blacks in the South.¹⁷ She communicated more exhaustively during this period on issues relative to African-Americans than at any other time in her 70-year ministry.¹⁸

Conceptual Framework

In this dissertation, the writer uses the *contemporary functional perspective* of organizations to conceptualize the SDA Church. While this approach views organizations as objects that can be studied with concepts and methods of traditional social science, it is not based strictly on objectivism. The contemporary functional perspective is concerned with (1) the ways in which members perceive and subjectively view themselves and other members of their organization, and (2) how they experience and relate to organizational communication.¹⁹

The contemporary functional perspective is consistent also with the *systems theory approach*, as developed by Ludwig von Bertalanffy in his book *General System Theory* (1968). The *systems perspective* is useful when

analyzing how the SDA Church interfaced with its environment in reference to blacks, slavery and race relations.²⁰ Also helpful in understanding the communication dynamic between EGW and the SDA Church is Carl Weick's organizational communication relative to communication and the process of organizing.²¹ Of the popular metaphors used to study organizations,²² the writer found that viewing the Adventist organization as a living organism--an organic system that exists in a continuous exchange with its environment--provided the most perceptive insights.²³ This approach helps also to highlight the constant dynamic interaction between the Adventist denomination and African-American society in relation to abolitionist, emancipation and reconstruction issues.

SDAs were seeking to achieve and maintain a state of homeostasis with society concerning the slavery issue. The organization sought a steady-state maintenance between its practices and the national trends concerning the issues of slavery. Therefore EGW's comstats challenged the fledgling church with the principles of equifinality.²⁴ The resulting organizational dissonance and the effect of these comstats will fall under the scope of this dissertation. Organizations change and evolve because of forces of environment, societal needs and internal and external communication.²⁵ This study will illustrate this phenomenon.

Organization and Methodology

The relationship between EGW comstats and black SDA progress is examined by utilizing content analysis and historical research. Following is an overview of the study content and methodology used.

Chapter I examines the rationale for the study and provides justification for the research strategy. Chapter II provides a detailed review of the literature along with further explanation and institution of the methodological approach taken by this study. Chapters III and IV examine the appropriate contexts from which EGW's comstats can be meaningfully viewed. First, a biographical context introduces pertinent elements in EGW's life that contribute to an understanding of her worldview. Second, a sociological context is constructed to highlight a number of extant societal factors that would have prompted, influenced and tempered her thinking during the period under study. Third, an organizational context is established to give a sense of the Adventist culture and mentality during the time she wrote her comstats. Fourth, the historical racial milieu is examined to better understand the racial dynamics operative in her day. Chapter V contains the research design for the content analysis. Chapter VI contains the content analysis findings. This chapter provides a descriptive qualitative content analysis of EGW's communicated views and positions on African-Americans, race issues and the development of the SDA work among blacks in the South.

This study has sought to construct the research design and to utilize a research technique that will make replicable and valid inferences from the data under examination to their context. Fortunately, EGW's data (or units of information) are recorded in a durable medium, are distinguishable from other data, are analyzable by explicit techniques, and are relevant to the particular problem of this dissertation.²⁶ The writer has sought to be as objective and systematic as possible.

The data, or units of information, to be analyzed are taken from one primary source. All of the church's communication organs (e.g., periodicals,

books, etc.) were searched for articles by EGW referring to blacks, race relations and the work in the South. Such documents were considered to comprise primary documents for the purpose of this study if they were (1) written within the 20-year period (1891-1910), (2) published or widely circulated, and (3) thematically complete in that they could be considered a complete article or complete treatment of a topic. The Ellen G. White Estate files and church archives contain 562 documents by EGW that deal with topics germane to the black work. Of the 562, 130 qualify as primary documents, or data.

Comstats relative to the black work in these documents are studied systematically from the earliest presentation to the latest. The comstats are then analyzed qualitatively, divided into thought units (sentences containing integral thoughts, referred to as TUs; see sample Coder's "How-To" of Content Analysis, Coding Result Form, and Thought Unit Coding Definitions, Appendix) and classified according to the following thematic categories:

1. What were EGW's objectives for the black work in the SDA Church?
2. What was EGW's overall strategy concerning the black work as projected by her comstats?
3. How did she recommend that the task be accomplished?
4. What were the results of her comstats?

The 20-year period (1891-1910) under study is divided into four 5-year segments: 1891-95; 1896-1900; 1901-05, and 1906-10. Each segment is analyzed and dominant themes ascertained. Comstats from each document are quantified by being divided into TUs. Included is a statistical ranking system that indicates how often the various TUs are emphasized by EGW. Inferences are derived from analysis of the TUs, articles and segments.

Chapter VI also provides an account of what was done, why this study was undertaken, its accomplishments, and its contribution to existing knowledge.

Chapter VII responds to the inferences in Chapter VI that represent EGW's sentiments on blacks and the black work in the SDA Church. This chapter builds on "what EGW said," "what she repeatedly emphasized" and "what constituted the actional comstats [or recommendations for action] she set forth to the church." Through the means of historical research, this chapter will uncover what subsequent changes or progress occurred in the SDA organization in similar or contiguous areas to those covered in EGW's actional comstats. More directly, this chapter explores the relationship between EGW's comstats and the eventual progress of the work among black SDAs.

Finally in Chapter VIII, some implications and observations are made in relationship to EGW's communication style and general organizational communication principles. These can enhance organizational effectiveness when communicating on the subject of race in the SDA denomination today. They provide sapience as to the role of organizational communication and race relations in a religious context. The chapter ends with recommendations for further study.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions provide clarification for terms, phrases and persons referred to often in this study.

Ellen G. White (1827-1915): Seventh-day Adventists consider Ellen White to be a woman of unique spiritual gifts whose work encompassed the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During her lifetime, she wrote more than 5,000 periodical articles, 26 books, and 55,000 pages of manuscript. Today, including compilations, more than 100 titles are available in English. She is one of the most translated women writers in the entire history of literature, and the most translated American author of either gender. Her writings cover a broad range of subjects: religion, education, health, social relationships, evangelism, prophecy, publishing, nutrition and management. SDAs believe that Ellen White was more than a gifted writer; they believe she was appointed by God as a special messenger to draw the world's attention to the Holy Scriptures and help prepare people for Christ's return to this earth. Since the name of Ellen G. White is used frequently throughout this study, EGW has been substituted, except when she is referred to by her maiden name Ellen Harmon.

James Edson White (1849-1928): The second son of James Springer and Ellen Gould White. At the age of 15, Edson, as he was generally called, was employed at the SDA Church's Review and Herald Publishing Company, of which his father was founder and president. He was a printer, publisher, editor, musician, educator, denominational worker and founder of the Southern Missionary Society. Edson White is best known for his pioneering work among blacks in the South on his missionary boat, the Morning Star.

Review and Herald: This official journal of the SDA Church (issued irregularly at first, then weekly) was formed in 1850 by the merger of the *Present Truth* and the *Advent Review*, two early papers of the SDA Church (known today as the *Adventist Review*). This publication is the main communicative organ of the SDA Church and includes news, doctrinal and devotional articles, church business and the official minutes and actions of the

church in its general business sessions.

Gospel Herald: A missionary magazine concerning work among Blacks (1898-1923) started by James Edson White (son of EGW). *Message* magazine continued the work of this periodical from 1932 to the present. This magazine was the sole SDA publication designed to promote and report (and after to "evangelize") work among "the Negro people in the South." It began as a private project, edited and printed by J. E. White--the first nine issues on board his mission boat, *Morning Star*, anchored at Yazoo City, Mississippi, then later in Battle Creek, Michigan. The *Gospel Herald* carried articles by EGW and other SDA Church leaders concerning Blacks.

Ellen G. White Estate: An organization formed in harmony with a trust created in the last will and testament of EGW (Feb. 9, 1912). Officers of this organization serve as her legal agent and custodians of her writings. The will designated that five men serve as a board of trustees for the purpose of administering and conducting the business of her literary property. A department of the world headquarters of the church (the General Conference of SDAs), the White Estate more generally interfaces with the world church in areas of writing, speaking, research and general representation of issues relative to the teaching ministry of EGW in the SDA Church. The Estate houses all of her writings in handwritten original and first edition printed forms.

Black work: Efforts of the SDA Church to establish humanitarian, educational and evangelistic programs among blacks in the South. Sometimes the term 'Southern field or South' is used interchangeably with 'black work'.

Ethnic reference: Black and African-American will be used interchangeably in this paper, as will white and Caucasian, when necessary.

Consistent with her times, EGW generally used the term *Colored* when referring to persons of African descent. She also used *black*, *Negro*, and even *Southern race* and *Southern people*, just as she used *Southern work* and the *Southern field* for the work to proselytize African-Americans in the South.

Seventh-day Adventist: The descriptive title adopted as a denominational name in 1860 by one branch of Adventists--those specifically who keep the seventh day (Saturday) as the Sabbath and look for a second literal appearance of Jesus Christ. The SDA Church was officially organized in 1863. In this paper, SDA will be used for Seventh-day Adventist(s). Seventh-day Adventists are a worldwide Christian body, evangelical in doctrine, who profess no creed but the Bible (*SDA Encyclopedia*, 1976). Membership worldwide exceeds 7 million.

Southern Missionary Society: An organization founded by James Edson White and incorporated in 1898. The society became an entity of the SDA Church that operated for more than two decades, promoting mission schools and evangelism among blacks in the Southern states. It was composed originally of a group of missionary recruits who accompanied Edson White on his riverboat, the *Morning Star*. In this study SMS will be used for Southern Missionary Society.

Spirit of Prophecy: An expression in Revelation 19:10 commonly used by SDAs with several meanings. The text reads "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." One meaning is that Jesus is witnessing to the church through the medium of prophecy. Another meaning is the spiritual or supernatural influence that causes certain persons to prophesy. By further extension, SDAs apply the term *spirit of prophecy* to the operation of the gift of prophecy, one of the "gifts of the Spirit" (based on their understanding of

1 Cor. 12:4, 7-11, 28; Eph. 4:11-13), and thus to the literary production of EGW, whom SDAs regard as one in a line of persons who have been the recipient of the gift of prophecy in the biblical sense of a duly accredited and authoritative spokesperson for God. Finally, the Spirit of Prophecy is the name of four volumes in which EGW presents a sequence of historical/devotional treatises (1870-1884). This set was the forerunner of her present five-volume Conflict of the Ages series. When referring to the "spirit of prophecy" in this paper, the context should bear out in which sense the term is being used.

Twenty-year period (1891-1910): During this period EGW spoke more about blacks, race relations and work in the Southern field than at any other time in her 70-year ministry. Her first major appeal for missionary work among blacks was in January 1891. During January 1895 her son James Edson White began his pioneer work among black people in Mississippi. This twenty-year period will be used as the span of time that encompassed and defined the early progress of the black work. This period ends with the establishment of the North American Negro Department of the General Conference of SDA.

Comstats: An abbreviation for communication statements. The term, comstats, is coined to refer to the statements communicated by EGW to the laity and/or leadership of the SDA organization regarding the broad field of race relations. These statements are in contrast to EGW's personal communications that are contained in letters, diary notes and interviews. *Actional comstats* (or actional directives) specifically referred to direct counsel given by EGW that identify particular actions that needed to be taken on behalf of the black work.

ENDNOTES

¹See *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976), pp. 1041-1054; "1990 SDA Statistical Report." The SDA Church had its roots in the Millerite Advent movement of 1830-1844, which adhered to an interpretation of prophecy that predicted Christ's return on October 22, 1844. Following a period of disillusionment after Christ's failure to appear on that date, a group coalesced around the belief in the surety of Christ's return (though they refused to set any further dates) and the binding in perpetuity of the seventh-day Sabbath. The church was officially organized and named in the 1860s, during the Civil War period.

²*Ibid.*

³African-Americans were the first racial minority group to be evangelized by the SDA Church. Scattered work among this ethnic group began in the 1870s, but started to flourish in the 1890s. (See *ibid.*, pp. 1191, 1195.)

⁴John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of North America* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 266, 267: "The new century [twentieth] opened tragically with 214 lynchings in the first two years. Clashes between the races occurred almost daily, and the atmosphere of tension in which people of both races lived was conducive to little more than a struggle for mere survival, with a feeble groping in the direction of progress." See also NAACP staff, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the U.S., 1889-1918* (Salem, N.H.: Ayers Co. Publishers, 1970); and Melvin Drimmer, ed., *Black History: A Reappraisal*.

⁵See the "1990 SDA Multicultural Groups Statistics."

⁶See the "1990 Statistical Financial Report," issued by the SDA treasury

department for North America. The ten divisions referred to are Africa-Indian Ocean: \$4,639,616; Eastern Africa: \$4,439,386; Euro-Africa: \$49,646,413; Euro-Asia (recently organized, no report); Far Eastern: \$1,558,427; Inter-American: \$52,671,781; South American: \$33,298,374; South Pacific: \$31,298,923; Southern Asia: \$747,665; and Trans-European: \$29,120,985.

⁷Delbert Baker and DeWitt Williams, eds., *Profiles of Service* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1990).

⁸*Christian Dictionary of Facts.*

⁹See Warren Banfield, "Race Relations: How Far Have Adventists Come?" *Adventist Review*, Jan. 11, 1990. During the twentieth century, the SDA Church has followed the government in its racial and civil rights initiatives. The church has wrestled with the question of race, even as society has. The organization has not been spared the racial tensions that cast a pall on the United States. With the current membership ratios, organizationally, Adventists have strong motivation to build racial and cultural bridges among its many diverse groups.

¹⁰See *Seventh-day Adventists Believe . . .* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1988), pp. 216ff. EGW is the most influential leader in Adventist history. This is true not only because she was one of its founders; it is because--and this is more important--Adventist members believe that EGW was favored with prophetic messages and insights from God. Adventists accept EGW's communications as being normative--second only to the Bible. Therefore, EGW maintains a significant role not only during the formative period of the organization and throughout her 70-year ministry but also today. In the years following her death, there has been constant recourse to EGW's thoughts and positions on just about every issue the SDA Church

has faced. Her writings are read, quoted and discussed by both ministry and laity of the SDA Church to perhaps a greater degree than are the writings of John Wesley in Methodism and the works of Martin Luther in the various Lutheran churches.

¹¹For background data for these assumptions, see "Survey of the E. G. White Writings Concerning the Racial Question," by the late Arthur White, grandson of EGW and former White Estate secretary. Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, Maryland.

¹²Few times in the history of the SDA Church were the negative and positive effects of organizational communication more obvious than during the period concerning the slavery question. Adventists were dependent on the organization's communicative channels to provide direction to its members on various issues.

¹³In 1863, the year the SDA Church was formally organized, nearly all of the members resided in Northern states. The small work among Blacks in the South was initiated in the 1870s.

¹⁴Tom Daniels and Barry Spiker, *Perspectives on Organizational Communication*, 2nd ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1991), pp. 266ff.

¹⁵See EGW, *The Southern Work* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1966), pp. 9-18. Published initially in 1898, it was reissued in 1966. This book is a compilation of certain EGW articles on race relations. All references to this work are to the 1966 edition.

¹⁶See EGW *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1885), vol. 9, pp. 199-226. In SDA parlance, "testimony" refers to a communication of counsel or instruction, either orally or in writing,

to an individual, congregation or the church in general. A compilation of EGW counsels has been published in a nine-volume set, entitled *Testimonies for the Church*.

¹⁷See under "James Edson White," *SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1418.

¹⁸Ron Graybill, *Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1970), p. 9.

¹⁹Falcione and Werner (1978), in Daniels, pp. 16-19.

²⁰See J. March and H. Simons, *Organizations* (New York, N.Y.: Wiley, 1958); and D. Katz and R. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (New York, N.Y.: Wiley, 1966)

²¹Weick, Carl. *The Social Psychology of Organizing* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

²²Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1986), pp. 11-16. He metaphorically approaches organizations from the standpoint of a machine, organism, brain, culture, political system, psychic prison, flux and transformation, and instrument of domination. Although viewing organizations from the viewpoint of an organism is the preferred approach, other metaphors will be used when deemed relevant. Morgan advocates using different metaphors to view organizations from different perspectives. "By using different metaphors to understand the complex and paradoxical character of organizational life, we are able to [understand], manage and design organizations in ways we had not thought possible before" (p. 14).

²³F. Jablin et al., *Handbook of Organizational Communication* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1987), pp. 41-69.

²⁴Stephen, W. Littlejohn, *Theories of Human Communication* 3rd ed.

(Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1989). This concept will be developed later in this study. Consistent with the systems perspective, *equifinality* indicates that an organization's desired state or results may be accomplished in different ways or from different starting points. EGW sought to influence the Seventh-day Adventist organization to target objectives, then to be adaptable in how to achieve them. Goals could be reached in a variety of ways, from different starting points.

²⁵Morgan, pp. 11-17.

²⁶Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1980), p. 21.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The neglect of the work and contributions of African-American SDAs in historical church literature is similar to the neglect of African-Americans in the secular histories of the nation. Black historical representation has often been the victim of misrepresentation and a lack of emphasis, and has, as black SDA church historian Louis Reynolds, in *We Have Tomorrow*, put it, "noticeable gaps in the record of the denomination's considerable black following."¹ In most church history accounts, African-Americans are either barely mentioned, referred to in a negative manner or left out completely.² As a result, Adventists tend to be poorly informed about the significant part that African-American SDAs have undertaken in the history of the SDA organization. In fact, white SDAs generally have little knowledge of the history and contributions of African-American SDAs unless they engage in independent research.³

Because African-American SDAs are not portrayed as having filled a pivotal role in the organization, expansion and development of the organization, the church is limited in its understanding of black SDAs and their connection to the movement at large. This is unfortunate. W.E.B. Du Bois' comment about the need to give a balanced ethnic picture of history is relevant here. He reasons that if history is going to be scientific, accurate and faithful, thus allowing it to be a measuring rod and a guidepost for the future, it must be inclusive and balanced in its portrayal of the roles and contributions of all peoples. If not, the entire body will suffer and experience needless

problems.⁴ Though Du Bois applies this principle primarily to the United States, it is equally true in the portrayal of SDA Church history.

Hypothesis

In spite of the "noticeable gaps" in African-American SDA history, during the past decade, there has been a gradual improvement in denominational historical accounts portraying the role of *contemporary* African-Americans in the SDA Church has been apparent.⁵ Unfortunately, however, there remains a paucity of research material on the role and function of blacks in the *early* history of Adventism.

Whether research is undertaken of contemporary or early blacks in SDA history, a key to understanding the history of black SDAs is found in examining the triangular relationship between the EGW comstats, the SDA organization and society at large (Figure 2:1). These constitute primary variables that impacted the status and progress of blacks in the SDA Church and thereby must be included in any research project. Chapters III and IV will further develop the relationship among these variables. Later, Chapter VI will specifically address the thesis developed from these variables.

The triangular model (Figure 2:1) provides the key variables that impacted the education, evangelization and advocacy for blacks in the SDA Church. Two references that outline a history of blacks in the SDA Church are Louis Reynold's *We Have Tomorrow* (1984) and Richard Schwarz's *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (1979). These works identify either explicitly or implicitly these three variables as influencing elements in the progression of black SDAs. They are important because in this study black SDAs are

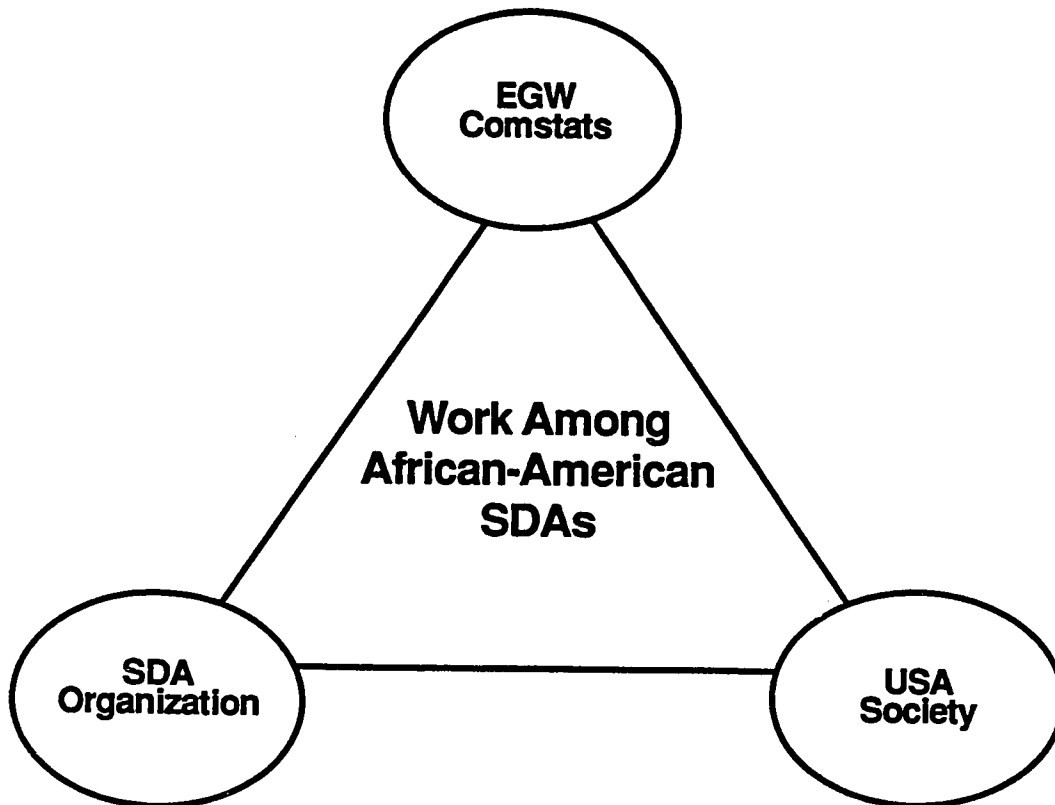


Figure 2:1 Triangular Model of Impacting Variables

examined in the organizational environment of the SDA denomination. The SDA organization operated within, and was affected by, the larger societal environment. And EGW's comstats are conspicuous elements in the area of race relations in the SDA denomination and indirectly, via the church, in society at large. These three variables--the SDA organization, society and EGW's comstats--create a triangular relationship that defined race relations in the SDA Church.

An important hypothesis of this study is that a definite relationship exists between EGW's comstats and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization. In fact, the composite picture suggests that had it not been for the personal communicative influence of EGW, the initiatives of the SDA Church on behalf of blacks would not have resulted in the progress witnessed at the turn of the century and in subsequent years.

Persistence

The church and societal environments were so unresponsive to the type of progressive thinking and ambitious enterprise encouraged by EGW on behalf of blacks that had it not been for the persistent and confrontational nature of her comstats the SDA organization would have been entirely without substantial plans or initiatives for a progressive black work. As was noted in Chapter I, the time during which EGW encouraged work among African-Americans, 1891 to 1910, was an extremely dangerous period for individuals or organizations to espouse racial integration. Rayford Logan called this period "the Negro's betrayal." In *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*,

C. Van Woodward says:

"The acquiescence of Northern liberalism in the Compromise of 1877 defined the beginning, but not the ultimate extent, of the liberal retreat on the race issue. The Compromise merely left the freedman to the custody of the conservative redeemers upon their pledges that they would protect him and his constitutional rights. But as these pledges were forgotten or violated and the South veered toward proscription and extremism, Northern opinion shifted to the right, keeping pace with the South, conceding point after point, so that at no time were the sections very far apart on race policy."⁶

Du Bois was more direct in his assessment of this period: "The Northern peoples, after freeing the Negro and giving him the right of suffrage,

left him high and dry."⁷ Commenting on this same period, one writer, in the *New York Age*, observed: "There seems to be a growing conviction in the North that the solution of the race problem should be left to the South. Attending this settling conviction are the commercial and cowardly shrinkings of the North of her responsibility as to how that problem is solved."⁸ In spite of these conditions, EGW persistently challenged the church to act aggressively on behalf of blacks.

Confrontation

In 1895, at a time when SDAs were saying little about the state of affairs surrounding black people, EGW wrote a confrontational letter from Australia addressed to "Brethren in responsible positions in America":

"The Colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now tenfold harder than it would have been then. . . . The nation of slaves who were treated as though they had no souls, but were under the control of their masters, were emancipated at immense cost of life on both sides, the North seeking to restrict, the South to perpetuate and extend slavery. After the war, if the Northern people had made the South a real missionary field, if they had not left the Negroes to ruin through poverty and ignorance, thousands of souls would have been brought to Christ. But it was an unpromising field, and the Catholics have been more active in it than any other class."⁹

Five years later, after chiding the church leadership by saying that the Lord was "grieved at the indifference manifested" by SDAs toward black people, she observed: "If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin."¹⁰ She communicated clearly that SDA

leaders could and should have made a significant difference in evangelization, education and assimilation of blacks into society.

Opportunity

EGW stressed repeatedly that the time just after slavery--the period of Reconstruction--was when the most could have been accomplished for blacks: "When freedom was proclaimed to the captives, a favorable time was given in which to establish schools and to teach the people to take care of themselves. Much of this kind of work was done by various denominations, and God honored their work."¹¹

In 1908, reflecting back on the church's and society's failures in this regard, EGW said: "Much might have been accomplished by the people of America if adequate efforts in behalf of the freedmen had been put forth by the government and by the Christian churches immediately after the emancipation of the slaves. Money should have been used freely to care for and educate them at the time they were so greatly in need of help. But the government, after a little effort, left the Negro to struggle, unaided, with his burden of difficulties." Further reference will be made to how EGW's sentiments fitted with the current thinking. The point is that EGW was advocating action that the church was not taking and in many cases was not appreciative of hearing.¹²

In an effort to spur the church to action, EGW made a major address, entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People" (see Appendix). The speech was presented on March 21, 1891, at the General Conference session (a world convocation of church administrators and delegates that met at various intervals but now convenes every five years) in Battle Creek, Michigan. In

this speech she recognized the unpopularity of the role she was assuming in speaking on behalf of blacks: "I know that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet, for the conflict has seemed to be continuous of late years; but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward, leaving my work undone. I must follow in my Master's footsteps."¹³

African-Americans and Seventh-day Adventists

The *SDA Encyclopedia* traces the earliest African-American SDAs to the Millerite movement, which predated the founding of the SDA organization. The Millerite movement was initiated by William Miller, a farmer-turned-Baptist-preacher who determined, by a study of the books of Daniel and Revelation, that Christ was to return to this earth in 1843 (later revised to 1844). Thousands from many different denominations embraced Millerism by the 1840s. What is now the SDA Church coalesced from groups of Millerite Adventists following a period of disappointment over Christ's failure to appear. They, as a result of Bible study and conviction, felt God would use the disappointment to lead them into greater truth.

Attraction

Though many blacks could not read, they obtained a sufficient grasp of the pertinent Adventist doctrines to embrace them.¹⁴ The Adventist belief concerning the soon appearing of Christ to rescue His people from pain, injustice and oppression especially appealed to black people, who were typically the victims of oppression. The biblical teaching that mandated a weekly day of Sabbath rest also had appeal to many blacks, who were often

grossly overworked. Then the evolving health and temperance teachings of the SDA Church also provided a dramatic key to help address the physical needs of blacks just out of slavery. The SDA Church was also attractive to African-Americans because its leaders, at least in the beginning, had vigorously espoused antislavery sentiments. In fact, some early Adventists had actively aided blacks in the struggle against slavery.¹⁵ John P. Kellogg (charter member of the SDA Church and father of famous Adventist physician Dr. John Harvey Kellogg and W. K. Kellogg of Kellogg's Cornflakes fame) and John Byington (SDA pioneer who later became the first president of the church) operated stations of the Underground Railroad on their farms in Michigan and New York, respectively.

Louis Reynolds maintains that SDAs were well positioned to accomplish an exceptional work among African-Americans in the South because of the heavy black presence in the Millerite movement. Based on the attraction of the Advent message to blacks and their acquaintance with the Advent teachings, Reynolds states: "One is not surprised that later, when Seventh-day Adventist churches were formally organized throughout New England, congregations that were largely white included Americans of African descent."¹⁶

The notion of why certain doctrines may be more attractive to African-Americans than others is explored in religious critic Harold Bloom's provocative book *The American Religion* (1992). He reasons that though African-Americans were introduced to the teachings of Christianity while in slavery, the slave or former slave possessed an intense apprehension of the dynamism of time that made the teachings of the Second Coming compellingly relevant to them. New Testament eschatology (i.e., the Second

Coming, the millennium) "was pastored to something of its original force by African-Americans, by whom the Second Coming of Jesus could not be regarded as a far-off event."¹⁷ African-Americans, in fact, were inclined to embrace such teachings.

Contributions

The slaves, according to Bloom, in a larger religious context, made an indispensable contribution to the essence of the spirit of the "American religion," which was born around 1800: "African-American religion was a crucial element in this origin."¹⁸ Buttressing this point, Mechal Sobel, in *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (1979), intimates that what became the religion of the Southern Baptists relied unknowingly upon African spiritual formulations. Bloom endorses Sobel's view and goes on to say that Sobel's suggestions are the only rational evidence of the unique characteristics of the Southern Baptists' religion that distinguish it from other Baptist beliefs found around the world.¹⁹ A further examination of the socioreligious contributions of African-Americans to Protestantism would take us beyond the scope of this study. This, however, bears out the readiness of the slaves to embrace the teachings of Protestantism in general and of Adventism in particular.

Another observation on this point is that it can be argued that African-Americans contributed to the Adventist religious experience even as they did to Protestantism in general. It is often queried, "Was slave religion formed inwardly by remnants of authentic African faiths, or did it arise only from the imposition of Christianity upon the desperate slaves?" Jon Butler develops a complex but compelling scenario in his *Awash in a Sea of Faith* (1990), in

which he synthesizes a three-part model for the religious history of the slave in America (Figure 2:2):

1. 1680-1760: A systematic devastation was carried out by the English colonies (with the acquiescence of the Anglican Church) of all the inherited African religious systems among the slaves, without quite expunging particular rituals.

2. 1760-1800: A rebirth of family life among the slaves allowed for the development of a Christianized collective religious life on the English model.

3. 1800 onward: African-American distinctive religion develops in conjunction with what Butler calls the "spiritual hothouse of pre-Civil War nineteenth-century America."²⁰

Bloom concurs with Butler and stresses the importance and relevancy of African-Americans' contribution to the religions of America, especially from the 1800s onward.²¹

This position is consistent also with the convincing approach taken in *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* (1990), by C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence A. Mamiya. They contend that any study of religion and black/white relations must consider this issue of the contributions of African-Americans to Christianity in a balanced manner. "Religion, seriously considered, is perhaps the best prism to cultural understanding, not as a comparative index, but as a refractive element through which one social cosmos may look meaningfully at another and adjust its presuppositions accordingly."²²

Lincoln and Mamiya study the black church from the perspective of seven major historic black Protestant denominations that constitute 80

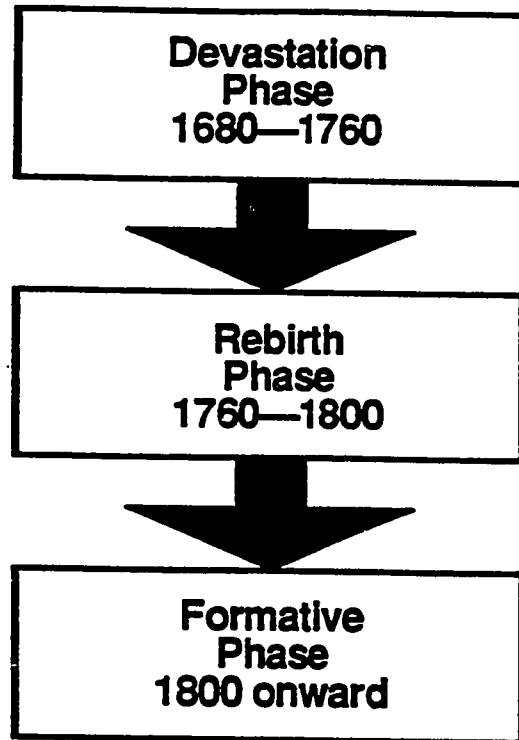


Figure 2:2 Phases of the Religious History of the Slave in America

percent of the 30 to 35 black religious affiliates in the United States.²³ Comprising the seven are the African Methodist Episcopal Church; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.; the National Baptist Convention of America; the Progressive National Baptist Convention; and the Church of God in Christ. What about the other 15-20 percent? Lincoln and Mamiya assert that they are "scattered among numerous small black sects, the Roman Catholic Church, and the mainline white Protestant denominations." They interestingly add that "the overwhelming majority of the latter are in

predominately black congregations, despite denominational affiliation with white communions."²⁴

Organizational Ideology

Bull and Lockhart, in their study of Adventism, entitled *Seeking a Sanctuary* (1989), insist that Adventist pioneers, at least after they became SDAs, had very little personal contact with black people and were hesitant to associate with them. They argue that even when SDAs first began evangelization in the South in the 1870s it was not on behalf of blacks. SDAs, according to Bull and Lockhart, did not set out to evangelize the black community. "Blacks . . . found the church after turning up at Adventist meetings without being directly invited."²⁵

SDAs, according to Bull and Lockhart, were generally passive and accommodating in regard to racial issues. They concede that while Adventists may not have endorsed segregation, they did accept it as part of life in the South. Significance is placed on the fact that the first view Adventists had of blacks after slavery was in a segregated setting. They go on to say: "It was an appropriate beginning to Adventist dealings in race relations, for from that time to the present day, Adventists have never relinquished the idea that good relations between the races are best served by some kind of segregationist policy." They argue that racial segregation in the SDA Church was initiated and perpetuated "first by expediency, then by choice." Bull and Lockhart are not SDAs and view the history and current state of race relations in the SDA Church differently than some SDA historians. Yet their reasoning has several compelling aspects.²⁶

Taking the opposite view, Roy Branson (church scholar and editor of

Spectrum magazine, an independent journal that offers news and commentary on the SDA Church), in an article entitled *Slavery and Prophecy* (published by the *Review and Herald* in 1970), argued that it is inaccurate to say that SDAs merely adopted "the outlook on national problems they found around them; that their religion had little to do with the views on social and moral issues." He insists that had anyone told the founding fathers of Adventism that their attitudes on race had nothing to do with their theology, "they would have shaken their heads in disbelief."

"Early Adventists," Branson insists, "believed proper attitudes toward race relations were influenced by and inseparable from a true understanding of the Bible and its views on equality and justice." Arguably, in spite of the fact that the majority of churches and conferences in North America are predominantly white or black, there are SDAs--black and white--who would argue that the state of separateness found in the SDA Church today is based on personal preference versus some implicit or explicit segregationist position. Countering this view are other SDAs who argue that there is more truth to the Bull and Lockhart position than leaders and laity may be willing to acknowledge.²⁷

This ideological standoff brings us back to the variables in this study. As stated before, the relationship between the positions taken by EGW in her comstats on the evangelization, integration and progress of African-Americans in the SDA Church are crucial to the study of black/white relations in the SDA organization. This is true for several reasons: (1) as stated earlier, EGW was and is an authoritative voice in the SDA Church; (2) Adventists would tend to reason in this fashion: "If EGW took such and such a position on the race question, so should I"; (3) many Adventists would assume that EGW's

position in some way approximated a spiritually or morally correct posture. An examination of this question sheds light on the organizational communication practices of the SDA Church as it relates to race. It also explains EGW's writings on this subject hermeneutically.

Ellen G. White and Race Relations

The hypothesis taken in this study--that there was a relationship between EGW's comstats and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization--is unique and fills a gap in SDA Church history. No Adventist literature develops and supports the above hypothesis or seeks to refute it. The subject is treated obliquely by Roy Branson. In his three-part series of articles on EGW and race relations, the first of which is entitled "*Ellen G. White--Racist or Champion of Equality?*", Branson raised the issue during the apex of the civil rights struggle in the 1960s. He doesn't specifically address EGW and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA Church. However, he does discuss the issue of EGW's influence and position on race relations during slavery and the Reconstruction period, and how her contemporaries might have viewed her.

Racial Perspectives

Throughout the series, Branson denies that EGW would have ever appeared as a racist to her contemporaries. In fact, according to Branson, she would have been considered a radical on race relations, a champion of equality. The following 12 tenets sum up Branson's premise. EGW was a champion of equality because she (1) held and advocated antislavery views

and denounced slavery as a sin against God and man; (2) advocated disobedience to the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, which required American citizens to deliver fleeing slaves to their masters; (3) recommended that SDA members who advocate proslavery views be disfellowshipped (names removed from church membership); (4) used the Bible as the basis for civil disobedience to inhumane slavery laws; (5) deplored Northerners' deception in initially projecting the Civil War as a means "to exterminate slavery"; (6) explained the slow progress of the Northern cause in the Civil War as a result of confusion and divisiveness on the slavery issue; (7) viewed slavery and oppression as signs of the wickedness of the times; (8) viewed prejudice and superiority as twin embodiments of evil; (9) advocated the equality of blacks and whites; (10) believed Christianity required adherents to speak against the evils of slavery; (11) advocated reason and moderation in the implementation of equality principles for the good of blacks and whites; (12) consistently supported her son James Edson in his work for blacks in the South and personally contributed resources to help build the Southern work.²⁸

Branson's position was tacitly accepted by Kenneth Wood, then editor of the *Review and Herald*, albeit with an explanation. Wood addressed the issue in an editorial, "A Plea for Objectivity," published in the same issue as the first of the three Branson articles: "We want it clear that this series of three articles is no condemnation of today's Southern whites. Nor is it an indictment of one particular party and an endorsement of another. It is merely an attempt to review certain essential facts in order to understand better the position of Ellen G. White on race relations." Wood went on to state: "People living today do not share in the guilt of the evils of the Civil War era--in either the North or the South--except as they themselves retain

the characteristics and attitudes of their forebears of a century ago."²⁹

Bull and Lockhart (1989) counter that SDA pioneers may have possessed a pre-Adventist commitment to abolition, but they did not transpose that commitment to Adventism itself because of the church's passivity in the social reform area. Bull and Lockhart disparage EGW's stand on the slavery issue because they consider it a case of too little too late. Further, they consider that while SDAs may previously have been supportive, even outspoken, on race relations, it was motivated generally through their view of the end of the world rather than through a desire to liberate and treat African-Americans on a basis of equality.

Adventist literature bearing on the theme of this study includes a monograph developed by this writer for the E. G. White Estate (1984), entitled "Ellen G. White's Use of the Term *Race War*, and Related Insights." In it, an examination is made of two peculiar statements by EGW (in a 1907 interview) in which she spoke of a resurgence of race wars and the appearance of a new type of slavery that would be more conducive to whites.³⁰

This monograph concluded that EGW (1) deplored the inhumanity of whites toward blacks; (2) recognized that relations between the races would remain an ongoing problem and that the tense situation could erupt into an all-out race war; (3) advocated the evangelization and education of blacks before conditions worsened in the South, making such efforts virtually impossible; (4) understood that the SDA Church was ideally suited to help blacks to help themselves and their people, and that blacks could help the SDA Church; (5) advocated education as the answer to the social problems of blacks; (6) believed that blacks were best suited to help blacks because of

the social conditions of the times; (7) insisted that blacks and whites be given the same opportunities; (8) felt the SDA Church should have moved faster to enter the Southern states after the Civil War; (9) believed that no one who insisted on prejudice and bigotry would make it to heaven, where God sees blacks and whites as equals; (10) compared the liberation of the slaves to the providential liberation of the Israelites during the Exodus.³¹

This monograph developed a sociological context for EGW statements that portray her as a leader who viewed the predicament of blacks with compassion. It also expressed the dualism that characterized EGW's concerns in that she advocated activism on behalf of blacks in the South while urging whites engaged in the work to be cautious. That EGW's approach incorporated the principles of equifinality is evident in this monograph. Her basic premise was (1) that blacks should be helped; (2) that if at all possible, they should be helped with the least possible harm to everyone involved; and (3) that it remained the responsibility of the church to discover the most effective way to accomplish the above.³²

Contextualization

Another influential SDA study on EGW and race relations, referred to earlier, is Graybill's *Ellen G. White and Race Relations* (1970). Ron Graybill, a white educator and former researcher of the Ellen G. White Estate, did pioneering study in the area of EGW and SDA interracial relations. His book was the first of its kind in the SDA Church. However, Graybill expressed his hope that his research was just a beginning. Much remains to be done in this area. He also noted his hope for "a history of Negro Seventh-day Adventists" that would "contribute to racial harmony and communication within the

church."³³ (*We Have Tomorrow*, a text designed to fill the need for a history of African-Americans in the SDA organization, was written by black historian and former *Message* magazine editor Louis B. Reynolds [1984]).

Essentially, Graybill's book is an apology. Written in research style, it is a systematic defense of the race views of EGW. There is little question about Graybill's presuppositions from start to finish. He argues that EGW's problematic statements that appear to support segregated church services are explainable in context and that (a position supported in this writer's monograph) she made them only when the safety of members or workers was at issue. His premise: EGW was balanced in her racial views. The times and circumstances, Graybill stresses, provide sufficient justification for statements that seem parochial today.

Ellen G. White and Race Relations covers a period approximately contemporary to that of this study (i.e., 1895-1910). Therefore, it does not purport to be an exhaustive examination of all her writings on slavery and race. Graybill focuses on race relations primarily in light of the interest generated on the subject during the civil rights struggle of the 1960s. One major contribution of Graybill's research is that he places EGW in a social-historical context. In this context, he argues persuasively in favor of her belief in the equality of blacks and her advocacy of courageous action on behalf of racial minorities. Graybill makes extensive use of correspondence between James Edson White and his mother to explain the circumstances that surround many of EGW's comstats.³⁴

It can be argued that Graybill's portrayal of EGW's support of blacks leaves little room for the natural evolution and growth of her views on the subject of race equality and that she at times was ambivalent as to which

position was most judicious. Bull and Lockhart cite the issue of congregational integration versus segregation as an example of EGW's ambivalence. In the 1890s, EGW urged the integration of the SDA Church and told white SDAs they had no right to exclude blacks from their places of worship. She argued that men who believed separation of the races to be the best way of meeting the prejudice of white people "have not the spirit of Christ" (1891). Bull and Lockhart then claim that in a 1908 pamphlet entitled *Proclaiming the Truth Where There Is Race Antagonism*, "Mrs. White bowed to the white racism she had earlier tried to resist." They then quote this statement from the pamphlet and argue in the following manner: "Among the white people in many places there exists a strong prejudice against the Colored race. We may desire to ignore this prejudice, but we cannot do it. If we were to act as if this prejudice did not exist, we could not get the light before the white people." EGW argued for separate white and black churches in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hindrance. This, cite Bull and Lockhart, "was the view that determined SDA policy [toward race] as the church moved into the new century."³⁵

Graybill, by utilizing the correspondence of Edson White, reasons that conditions extant in the South--where black and white SDAs had been shot, beaten, attacked, threatened by such "secret organizations as the Ku Klux Klan"³⁶ and run out of town for promoting integration and assistance for blacks--had elicited this response from EGW. "Ellen White's counsel concerning the separation of the races," states Graybill, "was motivated not merely by a desire to reach white people, but more important, by a desire to maintain the work among Negroes."³⁷

Even without agitating the color line, race prejudice had served, along

with religious prejudice, to actually close some of the work in Mississippi. Therefore, Graybill insists that EGW wanted to prevent unfortunate occurrences, that it was "a time of dire emergency," and "that Ellen White put it clearly when she said 'The powers of hell are working with all of their ingenuity to prevent the proclamation of the last message of mercy among the Colored people.'"³⁸

In short, Graybill maintains that EGW favored separate churches, not on the grounds of natural law or an erroneous view of white superiority, but where integration was "demanded by custom or where greater efficiency [was] to be gained."³⁹ Even then it was to be temporary and provisional, and should be changed at the first opportunity.⁴⁰

Perhaps the following quotation, located toward the end of Graybill's book, best summarizes his argument concerning EGW and race relations: "The evidence which thus far has come to light tends to indicate that Ellen White believed that, inherently, the Negro was fully and totally equal to the Caucasian, and that the differences she may have observed were the result of environmental influences, and where these differences reflect backwardness, she laid the blame, not on the Negro, but on his white oppressors."⁴¹

Graybill concludes his treatise by identifying helpful hermeneutical principles when reading EGW on race relations (1) note the times and circumstances of each statement; (2) note her expressed belief in the inherent equality of blacks; (3) be aware that her priorities included the avoidance of needless agitation on the race question; (4) be aware of EGW's efforts to be flexible--understand her reluctance to lay down a definite line to be followed in every place for all time; (5) like EGW, avoid latching on to and advocating

the various race theories that propose to be an elixir to the problems of race.⁴²

It would have been helpful if Graybill had extended the parameters of his research to include the organized work of black Adventists. However, the most significant contribution of Graybill's research is that it gave the first scholarly examination of EGW and race relations, and documented the importance of her opinions. His work conceptualized the issues and codified arguments relative to EGW and the black work.

Seventh-day Adventists and Race Relations

One source that helps to discern the attitudes and views of white SDAs at the turn of the century is a pamphlet entitled *An Agitation and an Opportunity*. Published by the church's Pacific Press Publishing Association in 1907, it is a collection of reprints from editorials and articles in Southern newspapers, submitted by prominent men from the North and the South, that indicates, according to the pamphlet's author, that "God . . . is staying the progress of [reactionary movements] for a time, and is making it possible for His people to finish their work of proclaiming the third angel's message to the Negroes of the South. . . . The winds of racial strife are being held in a way wondrous to behold." The purpose of this pamphlet was to bring to the attention of SDAs some of the "moral forces at work in the South."⁴³

EGW never referred to this pamphlet, nor did it carry any of her statements. In fact, the pamphlet would have been labeled racist by readers in our time as well as by many during the time it was written. Apparently, the author expected that the Adventist work in the South would be curtailed

by what was referred to as a "reactionary movement." It states: "For several years, it has been recognized by observant men both in the North and in the South that a 'reactionary movement' has been gradually developing and gaining strength. This movement tends toward the more or less complete control of the Negro in education and religious as well as civil matters."⁴⁴ The author of this statement believed the Southern field would not remain open for unrestricted effort on behalf of blacks because of worsening racial conditions in which whites would seek to dominate and control blacks.

The introduction to the pamphlet cites an article by Carl Schurz, in *McClure's Magazine* (Jan., 1904), that supports its evaluation of degenerating conditions for evangelization of blacks in the South. According to Schurz, it could not be denied that there existed "strenuous advocates of the establishment of some sort of semislavery." He stated further that articles in Southern newspapers and speeches of Southern men at the time bore "a striking resemblance to the proslavery arguments." Yet, on the other hand, Schurz observed that there were still "moral forces at work" in the South.⁴⁵

Although the author of the pamphlet viewed the materials he was bringing to light as "favorable," he included statements such as the following: Dr. Ira A. Landrith, of Nashville, Tennessee, when speaking to the annual assembly of Northern Presbyterians, asserted that the remedy to racial ills lay in segregated schools and churches, and that the "best among Negroes" want it that way. The editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* declared the separation of the races to be "an irrevocable premise upon which the plans of both races must be based. But he also indicates the solemn duty of the *ruling race*."⁴⁶

An *Atlanta Constitution* reader wrote in and, after agreeing with Landrith, added: "One of the greatest obstacles is that conscientious white

men and women, taking this view, are exposed, by the nonthinking, to accusations of 'Negro-loving,' and that sort of very undesirable and unjust notoriety."⁴⁷ Reaction to his editorial drove the editor to beg his readers to ignore the "thoughtless fallacy" that those who were striving to propose a solution to the race problem through religion were seeking to "coddle" the Negro. "Anglo-Saxon supremacy," he reiterated, "is established for all time in America." And those who dream about "social equality" deal with dead issues.⁴⁸

This pamphlet is referred to here because it shows clearly that not everyone in the SDA Church shared the views of EGW about equality and brotherhood. Though the pamphlet did not carry a name, it represented the thinking of some, if not many, leaders and laypersons in the SDA organization.⁴⁹ On one hand, the pamphlet advocated the need to work among blacks while there was still time. On the other hand, it apparently approved a stance of ongoing segregation and white supremacy. Today such thoughts would be considered racist. The author was suggesting that God was withholding a period of apocalyptic strife so that His work could be finished in the South. At the time, the prevailing feeling was that the black race was benefited by such attitudes.

In 1904, EGW observed that it was indeed becoming more difficult for whites to work among blacks in the South: "The work in the Southern field should be fifteen years in advance of what it now is. Warning after warning has been given, saying that the time to work the Southern field was fast passing, and that soon this field would be much more difficult to work. It will be more difficult in the future than it is today."⁵⁰ Years before this pamphlet was published, EGW was aware of prejudice endemic in the South.

Articles in the Oakwood College Clarence Crisler scrapbook collection, seven scrapbooks entitled "The Negro Problem,"⁵¹ and in *Agitation and an Opportunity* project a sense of black ambivalence. One gets the feeling that blacks were passive during the Civil War, the Reconstruction period and beyond. This attitude was very much like the negative, often-quoted statement in W. E. Woodward's biography of Ulysses S. Grant (1928), in which he states that "the American Negroes are the only people in the history of the world, so far as I know, that ever became free without any effort of their own. . . . [The Civil War] was not their business. They had not started the war nor ended it. They twanged banjos around the railroad stations, sang melodious spirituals, and believed that some Yankee would soon come along and give each of them forty acres of land and a mule." James M. McPherson's *The Negro's War--How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (1991) corrects this misperception about blacks during the 1800s. By producing original documents written by blacks, he makes a convincing case that blacks were not passive, docile recipients of freedom. Instead, the 4 1/2 million blacks in America played a vital part in achieving their freedom by contributing extensively to the winning effort.⁵²

Primary Source Documents

Original documents are studied in the process of uncovering a probable relation between EGW's comstats and the progress of black SDAs. The writer has had access to the documents and files of the E. G. White Estate and the General Conference Archives, and has researched materials for this project for the past two years. Five main sources are examined in this study

and subjected to content analysis in Chapter V.

Southern Work

During the two decades 1891-1910, the church was slow to enter the South and work for blacks, despite numerous appeals by EGW. Gradually, however, in the mid-1890s the work began to gain some momentum. Although some isolated efforts toward evangelization among blacks had started earlier, EGW's son James Edson White was the person credited with ushering in the most effective initiatives in the 1890s and beyond. Edson White traced his interest in the black work to a "testimony" presented by EGW to church leaders, entitled "Our Duty to the Colored People" (Mar. 21, 1891). This document was circulated in manuscript form and then printed in a pamphlet. Church historians generally refer to this document as being among the most influential in eliciting a response from the leadership of the church.⁵³ Following a careful perusal of this document, Edson White individually raised funds for the *Morning Star* missionary ship initiative and subsequently began work in Vicksburg, Mississippi, in January, 1895. The story of his experience in the South is related in Ron Graybill's *Mission to Black America* (1971).⁵⁴

EGW wrote ten watershed articles for the *Review and Herald* to supplement her basic appeal of 1891. These articles motivated leaders and provided a blueprint for evangelization among blacks. Published during 1895 and 1896 (while EGW was living in Australia), these articles constituted the longest series devoted to blacks and race relations in the *Review and Herald* and received the widest possible exposure in the denomination.⁵⁵

(A note about the *Review and Herald*: It is important to emphasize that during the period under study, as well as throughout Adventist history, the *Review* was the church's principal and authoritative communication organ. It was edited at the time of the EGW race relations series by author and church leader Uriah Smith [editors during the 20-year period under study were Uriah Smith, 1881-97; A. T. Jones, 1897-1901; Uriah Smith, 1881-97 and 1901-03; W. W. Prescott, 1903-09; and W. A. Spicer, 1909-11.] The *Review* was used to inform, persuade and unify the rapidly growing organization on all matters of denominational policy. In 1895 the SDA membership was 50,000 and the *Review* circulation was estimated to be approximately 10,000.⁵⁶)

In the summer of 1898, these articles, along with other statements concerning race relations communicated by EGW, were compiled by Edson White and published in an inexpensive booklet entitled *The Southern Work*. Because of the growing work in the South and the need for instruction of new workers, Edson White used this booklet as a means for education and training. The pocket-sized booklet, approximately 115 pages, was stapled and bound in linen cloth. In 1901 supplements were added by Edson White to bring the total to 147 pages.⁵⁷

The Southern Work was the most read and discussed SDA publication on the evangelization and status of black SDAs from its inception to well into the 1900s. It was by far the most influential publication on the work in the South during that period. The E. G. White Estate reissued *The Southern Work* (long out of print) in 1966 with this explanation: "Here reprinted, it now makes available a body of Spirit of Prophecy counsels of particular historical interest. This was the material that stirred the church to an understanding of its duty, clearly enunciated great basic principles, and led to the beginning of

a work that was to grow and prosper. These counsels should be reread with an awareness of the conditions existing in the 1890s--the time of writing. The nation was separated from slavery by only 25 or 30 years. The plight of the Negro was deplorable. The church needed at that time to be chastened for its neglect of this important part of the Lord's great vineyard. And it was these matters that were clearly depicted in the articles that comprise this historic document, *The Southern Work*.⁵⁸

The Gospel Herald

Major articles by EGW from the *Gospel Herald*,⁵⁹ edited and published by Edson White, are also included in this study. EGW comments in this publication are unique because they were directed to black, as well as white, readers for the purpose of "reporting and promoting the Negro mission work in the South." The first nine issues of the *Gospel Herald* were first privately printed by Edson White aboard the *Morning Star*. Beginning with the first number of volume 4 (Jan., 1901), the *Gospel Herald* was issued in Nashville, Tennessee, where Edson White had moved his Gospel Herald Publishing Company (1901).⁶⁰

The *Gospel Herald* (precursor to *Message* magazine), started in 1898, was the major communication organ for reporting and promoting missionary work among blacks in the South (Figure 2:3). For approximately one year (1902), the *Gospel Herald* became the evangelistic journal for blacks and whites in all the Southern states. Reports of the work among blacks was offered as a separate supplement, optional to readers during this period. Briefly during 1903-04, the *Gospel Herald* was substituted by the *Southern Missionary* (1903-04), another journal for reporting and promoting the work

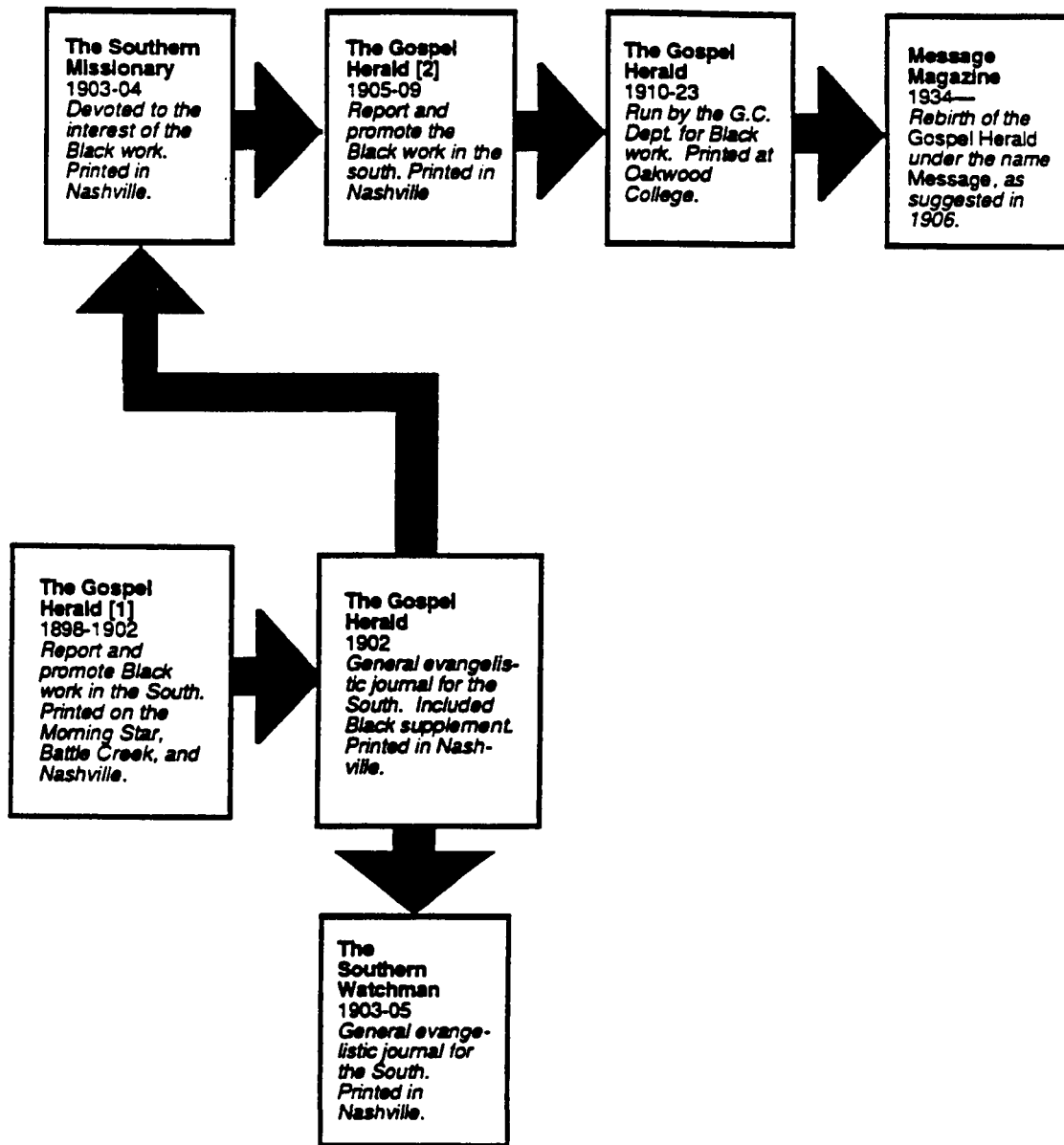


Figure 2:3 The *Gospel Herald*: Communication Organ for the South

among blacks in the South (also edited by Edson White).

In 1904, Edson White reinstated the name *Gospel Herald* for the communication organ for the black work in the South. In 1910, the *Gospel Herald* became the organ of the newly formed Negro Department of the General Conference, and the printing was taken over by the Oakwood College Press. (Oakwood College is the church's black institution of higher learning, located in Huntsville, Alabama.) From then on, it became primarily a news journal for the Negro churches in North America until its last issue in 1923. It was suggested in the December, 1906, issue of the *Gospel Herald* that the journal be renamed *The Message*. However, the new name was not instituted until 11 years later, in 1934, when the magazine resumed publication. It was then a general evangelistic journal of the SDA Church, targeted to black SDA and non-SDA readers. Louis B. Reynolds, its fourth editor, was the first black to hold that position.

The *Gospel Herald* contains a wealth of valuable information for this study. Its 25-year history under that title provided reliable information as to the actions, personalities and policies of SDA leaders toward the black work in the South. It recorded the origin of churches, educational advances, racial issues and the general pulse of the black work. In fact, much of the history of the black SDA work can be traced through this communicative organ. Virtually every major development in the black work is either reported on, referred to or intimated in the pages of the *Gospel Herald*.

In the first issue of the *Gospel Herald* (May, 1898), Edson White, in his first editorial, explained that the object of the magazine was to "awaken an interest in the South." He identified his two editorial objectives as (1) the securing of missionary effort and support for "both educational and

evangelistic work"; and (2) the encouragement of SDA families to move to the South to take advantage of the "unparalleled opportunities" to start ventures in the "business and farming lines." Edson White believed that the strength of the black work, and the Southern work in general, was dependent on securing committed SDAs who would live in the South, witness to Adventist teachings and either directly or indirectly build the work among blacks and whites. His initial target was the black population living in the Mississippi and Yazoo valleys.

Vital to meeting the objectives of the *Gospel Herald* was the work of the Southern Missionary Society. This organization, founded by Edson White in January, 1895, in Vicksburg, Mississippi, was committed to the development of schools, churches and economic projects for blacks in the South. First started as a volunteer project supported by contributions and the sale of publications, the Southern Missionary Society was later merged with the Southern Union Conference. Organized in 1901, the Southern Union Conference was formerly General District No. 2, which comprised the Southern states south of and including Kentucky and east of the Mississippi River. Noteworthy work was established in Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina, Kentucky and Louisiana. Here, too, EGW exerted considerable influence in encouraging and supporting the organization of the Southern Missionary Society and the subsequent merger with the Southern Union Conference. She expressed her views and supported such action in the *Gospel Herald* throughout the 1890s.

Prior to the formation of the Southern Union Conference, the Southern Missionary Society was the only SDA organization in the South. It was composed originally of the missionary recruits who staffed the *Morning Star*

boat under the direction of Edson White. The principal communication organ of the society was the *Gospel Herald*, and the boat was used as its primary base, though it purchased land for children's homes, industrial arts schools and church buildings.

In the May, 1898, issue of the *Gospel Herald*, an editorial note concerning the Southern Missionary Society stated: "We believe in organization, and in counsel in all important lines of work. Here the Southern Missionary Society has been recently reorganized and put in efficient working order. Regular meetings are held daily to consider plans for work and methods of labor, and to seek aid and counsel from God. All missionary enterprises mentioned in the *Gospel Herald* are under the direct supervision of this society."

In the December, 1899, issue of the *Gospel Herald*, EGW expressed approval of both concept, objectives and organization of the society. She had earlier counseled Edson White to organize the society for efficient work and place it under the management of Christian leaders who understood business and the unique "necessities" of the South (Figure 2:4).

Testimonies for the Church

EGW's comstats on race problems published in Volumes 7 and 8 of the compilation *Testimonies for the Church*^{61, 62} identified the needs of the Southern field and suggested approaches to work most effectively there. Many of the comstats in these volumes were to raise awareness and motivate the church to actively engage in the objectives EGW so desired. These sections are less well-known than those in the often-quoted volume 9 of the *Testimonies*.

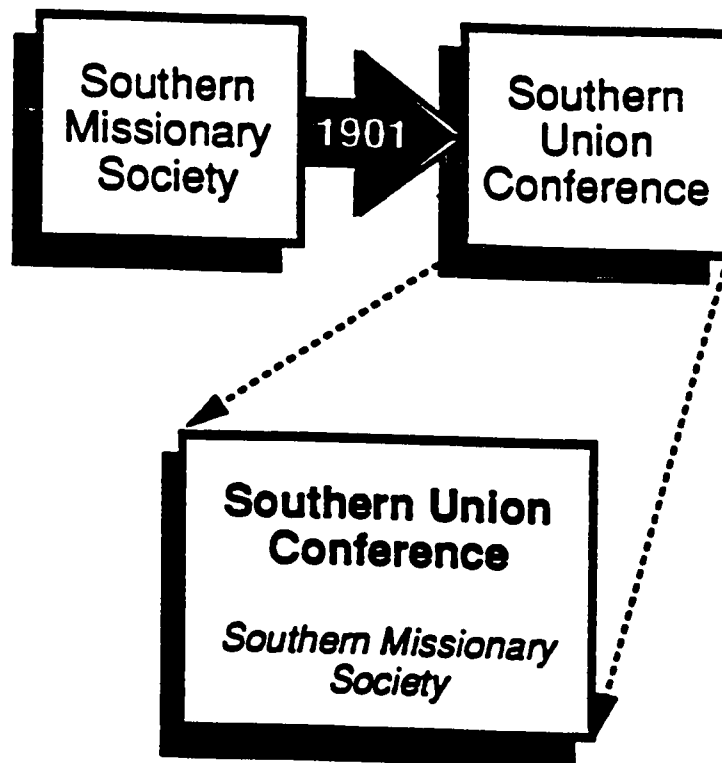


Figure 2:4 Merger of Southern Support Organizations

In volume 9, statements speaking to the subject of integration, etc., are among the most controversial of EGW's comstats on the subject of race. Graybill calls these EGW's "best known but by no means her most comprehensive statements pertaining to race relations."⁶³ This is because the section entitled "Among the Colored People" (1909) has been widely distributed in recent times via the nine volumes in the *Testimonies for the Church* set. Concerns generally voiced about the content of volume 9 and the questions it raises about EGW's racial views are addressed by Graybill in *Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations*.

The intent of the counsel in volume 9 was to educate the church

regarding "the procedures on the conduct of the work in the South," and to emphasize that "all mankind were bond together in close brotherhood." Here, too, EGW articulated the often-debated opinion that if the church was to be successful in reaching all peoples and classes, great sensitivity must be exercised, that in certain areas existing customs and prejudices must be factored in when planning methods and approaches.⁶⁴

Further in this volume, reference is also made to the comstats EGW made in volume 1 and *Early Writings* concerning the subjects of slavery, the Fugitive Slave Law, the Civil War, etc. These references are outside of the 20-year focus of this study, however, they are included because of the valuable historical background they provide concerning EGW's thinking and positions. With the inclusion of these additional references, this study includes all of the recorded public comstats made by EGW during her 71-year ministry (see Appendix).

EGW Biography

The most comprehensive work on the life of EGW was written by her grandson and former White Estate secretary (1937-1978), Arthur L. White (1907-1991). After reading the more than 3,000 pages of this six-volume set (published 1981-1986), the writer came away with three reactions that are germane to this study: First, it is clear that EGW's ministry was characterized by an impressive sense of leadership and mission that rightly earned a place for her in SDA Church history. Second, EGW was the most influential leader in the formation of the SDA Church. Third, there is an obvious lack of emphasis given to EGW's role and work on behalf of blacks in this biographical set. Brief mention is made of a visit EGW made with a black

family, a tour of the South and Edson White's work, and brief reference to Oakwood College.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, there are vital gaps in the set concerning EGW's counsel concerning evangelization of blacks in the South, the slavery question, race relations, Oakwood College and Edson White's work on the *Morning Star*.⁶⁶ This oversight is a weakness in an otherwise noteworthy reference set that provides valuable background material.

Letters and Miscellaneous Documents

As explained earlier, the focus of this study is the comstats directed to the leadership and laity of the church via its communication organs. However, selected reference and analysis is given to letters and documents that provide insights that would be otherwise unavailable.⁶⁷

Supporting Hypothesis

The reviewed literature was used by the writer to develop the major hypothesis that *EGW's comstats are associated with the progress of blacks in the SDA organization*. The three supporting hypotheses that flow from this are described as follows:

1. Organizational Agenda Item

EGW's comstats prioritized the need for aggressive work among blacks, thus raising the issue to SDA organizational agenda status. By so doing her comstats were effective in bringing the issue to the attention of the general church body.

The *General Conference Bulletin* (GCB), in which are recorded the agenda items and discussions of the business sessions of the church's highest body of authority, indicates that prior to EGW's 1891 major appeal on behalf of blacks there was little work done and little mention made of the needs of

the Southern field. The records of the GCB rather dramatically bear this point out.⁶⁸ The SDA Church, like many denominations, rejoiced that the slaves were freed. SDAs understood the issue to be a spiritual and moral imperative,⁶⁹ but then neglected to mobilize to meet the great and apparent needs of blacks in the South. The church was reluctant to shoulder its responsibilities in the habilitation effort. This neglect was to have profound and far-reaching consequences. Ironically, as the needs of the Southern field became increasingly obvious, the SDA Church was looking increasingly outside of North America for evangelistic possibilities. EGW was later to say to church leaders that men and women are sent to far-off lands "to labor at great expense, and often at the sacrifice of their lives, but neglect the black people in the South who are at our very door."⁷⁰

Roy Graham, in his doctoral dissertation "Ellen G. White: Cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (1985), confirms the passivity of the church in this area by commenting that the efforts to enter the South "were largely of an individual nature and originally initiated by white ministers of Southern origin."⁷¹

Prior to 1887, the GCB contained occasional references to the issue of whether the churches should be segregated or not.⁷² Entries in the GCB of 1887 cite that the delegates had engaged in animated discussion on a resolution that the church recognize no color line. The discussion resulted in an amended resolution that stressed "no discrimination whatever" should be "made between the two races in church relations."⁷³ In addition, the session established a three-person committee "to consider the matter carefully, and recommend proper action to the conference." A week later, the committee reported that they saw "no occasion for this conference to legislate upon the

subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken."⁷⁴ This left the question to the discretion of individual ministers and teachers. In one of Arthur White's rare comments on the subject of blacks and race, in reference to the 1887 General Conference session, he noted that "the question of racial color line was introduced, but when it was found that the work of the church in the Southern states could be carried on discreetly without pressing this matter, it was dropped without official record or action."⁷⁵ This observation is consistent with the position of Schwarz and others, who state that there was no substantial evangelization in the South for whites or blacks until the 1890s.⁷⁶

The supporting theses suggest that EGW's articles and testimonies were eventually effective in arousing the interest of the SDA organization. Throughout a twenty-year period, both when abroad and at home, EGW persistently stressed the theme of the need for evangelization among blacks. Howard Bloom, in profiling EGW, noted: "Her leading characteristic is persistence."⁷⁷ Persistence and repetition were communication tools she used. Constantly, in speeches, in articles, in letters and in person--both with money and encouragement--she drove home the need for a developed Southern work.

Bloom's assessment has merit. EGW repeatedly emphasized the needs of the Southern field. She had so successfully impressed the church leadership and laity with this concern that it had become an understood organizational priority by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. This point is illustrated by the comments of W. A. Westworth, a delegate from the Southeastern Union at the 1909 General Conference session, who made several observations when the delegation was discussing the constitutional provision for creating a North American Negro Department of

the General Conference. The historic Resolution 31 provided the following working basis for the new department:

a. That the work for the Colored people in the Southern, Southeastern, and Southwestern union conferences be organized on a mission basis in each union.

b. That, as the work for the Colored people develops, local missions may be organized on a mission basis in each union.

c. That a strong effort be made to quickly place the truths of the message before the Colored people of the South in the most effective ways, especially by the use of suitable literature, evangelistic work, and mission schools.

In response to this resolution, Westworth commented:

I think we should not let this pass without a statement or two. While the needs of the work for the Colored people have been presented to us over and over again, a great many of our people have come to think that the call from the South is an old, old song. Nevertheless, with us it is a very live issue. This morning when the servant of the Lord said, in emphatic tones, "God has not forgotten the South," I could not but say, "Amen." A great many have thought that it was pretty near time when the South was left out of the count. As I said in my report, while we would not turn away one penny or one man from the great foreign mission fields, I hope that the people of this denomination will wake up to the fact that we still have a great mission field at our very doors. I believe this department would be a great help to our work in the South, and I want to see it organized.

Graham makes several perceptive observations concerning this pre-1890 period:

1. The small Southern work did not enjoy strong support from the Northern headquarters, "where a rapidly developing overseas mission programme, together with increasing doctrinal and institutional tensions, were consuming the time of the leaders."

2. The question as to whether to integrate or not depended on where the church was established, "whether the initiating evangelists were of Northern or Southern origin," and on the "degree of local prejudice and pressure."

3. In other parts of the United States, "the acceptance of whites and blacks into church fellowship was on the basis of equality in the faith."⁷⁸

4. EGW emphasized sharing the gospel everywhere possible, but said little (except her remarks concerning slavery and the Civil War) about the subject of race and blacks during this pre-1890 period, although she voiced concern about what she referred to as the "haphazard approaches" in the Southern region.⁷⁹

Gradually, following 1890, church leadership began to respond by sending workers and resources to the South. Schwarz states: "It took an earnest admonition from Ellen White to jolt Adventists into realizing their duty to share their faith with Afro-Americans. Even then the jolt was a delayed one." Referring to her first major appeal on March 21, 1891, Schwarz adds: "Mrs. White read a 'testimony' before a group of thirty top Seventh-day Adventist leaders assembled for the biannual General Conference session. Although recognizing that her message would cause controversy, Ellen White felt impelled to speak frankly on the subject of church race relations." Schwarz interpreted her speech as implying "that the preceding General Conference [sessions] had erred by capitulating to whites' prejudice against integrated churches and church services."⁸⁰

In this aggressive, even confrontational, presentation, EGW affirmed that "the color of skin does not determine character in [the] heavenly courts." Blacks were to have "just as much respect as any of God's children." Pressing the point further, she stated that Jesus makes no difference between whites and blacks "except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others." To slight a black brother because of his color was the same as to slight Christ. Raising the appeal to

the level of action, she called for more missionary work among all classes in the South, indicating that this applied particularly to blacks. Nearing the end of her speech, she declared: "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the Colored people."⁸¹

Never before had the church been confronted so directly about the race issue. It would be naive to state that positive results were immediate. They were not. EGW's 1891 appeal was overlooked by the church at large. Her efforts generated much talk and plans, but it was nearly three years before anything definite was done.⁸² EGW first appealed for the black work at the twenty-ninth General Conference session, held in Battle Creek, Michigan, during the presidency of O. A. Olsen (1888-97). The other two presidents who served during the twenty-year period were G. A. Irwin (1897-1901) and A. G. Daniells (1901-1922).

As Ron Graybill's *Mission to Black America* portrays, one of the main catalysts for aggressive effort on behalf of blacks was James Edson White and his *Morning Star* evangelistic initiative.⁸³ Part of the work of the *Morning Star* staff was directed toward establishing night schools and chapels that became models for similar SDA structures and institutions throughout the South. The methods utilized were elemental and included rudimentary education, training in becoming self-supporting, basic principles in thrift and business and health instruction.⁸⁴

Essentially, Edson White, with EGW's comstats and financial and moral support, created a foundational model for virtually all of the later efforts that took place in the South for blacks or whites. Edson White also trained workers--black and white--who eventually spread throughout the South and

raised up SDA centers in various places. Edson White's pioneering efforts were effective in raising interest and creating results. Then he--along with other blacks and whites--was instrumental in setting into motion a work that later became self-sustaining. This perhaps is one of his most significant contributions. This is consistent with the research of Jacob Justiss, a black SDA historian, who also notes the value of Edson White's work and traced the major activity on behalf of blacks as beginning during this period.⁸⁵

What of the response of the church leadership to Edson White's initiatives? According to Schwarz, it was easier for Edson White, at least initially, to build the *Morning Star* on his own than to obtain support from the General Conference. After considerable misgivings, the SDA leadership agreed to issue missionary credentials and promised \$8 per week to Edson White and his associate Will Palmer (this amount was considerably less than the average denominational worker's compensation), providing that quantifiable work was done.⁸⁶

Though R. M. Kilgore was superintendent of the Southern Field (District 2) during the 1890s, the General Conference leaders eventually appointed Henry Shaw to be special agent to specifically superintend and foster the educational work among the "Colored people."⁸⁷ In 1893 the church leaders recommended that "local schools for . . . Colored students be established at such places in the South, and on such a plan, as may be deemed best by the General Conference committee after careful investigation of all the circumstances."⁸⁸ Within three years of this action, Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama, was opened.⁸⁹

Following this period, one of the most significant developments that provided ongoing impetus to the black work during the twentieth century was

the development of the Negro Department in the General Conference. Voted in 1909 and implemented a year later, the Negro Department officially linked the development of the black work to the church's headquarters. Thereby the black work was given official status and had representation at the highest level of church governance.

A. J. Haysmer, a white former missionary to the Caribbean, was the first director of the Negro Department (1909-13). Haysmer was succeeded by C. B. Stephenson (1914-18). W. H. Green, formerly a lawyer in the District of Columbia, was the first black to hold that position (1918-28). In 1910, in the March issue of the *Gospel Herald*, Haysmer wrote an article, "The North American Negro Department," in which he noted that the department was finally organized, though there had "been considerable delay in getting the department into working order." In light of the overwhelming needs of the black work, he said, "The Spirit of Prophecy speaks the truth when it says that this people have been neglected." He went on to optimistically say, "Surely the time has fully come when we should arise, and put forth well-organized and systematic efforts to carry this complete gospel message to the ten millions of Colored people in this country." The development of the Negro Department marked a turning point for the better in the organization and prioritization of the black work. From that point on, the black work and its objectives were structural realities in the SDA organization (Figure 2:5).

In summary, the beginning of the black work in the South appears to have progressed in four developmental phases. First, from 1870 onward, isolated white and black ministers held evangelistic meetings sporadically in various parts of the South with little apparent results. Second, EGW made

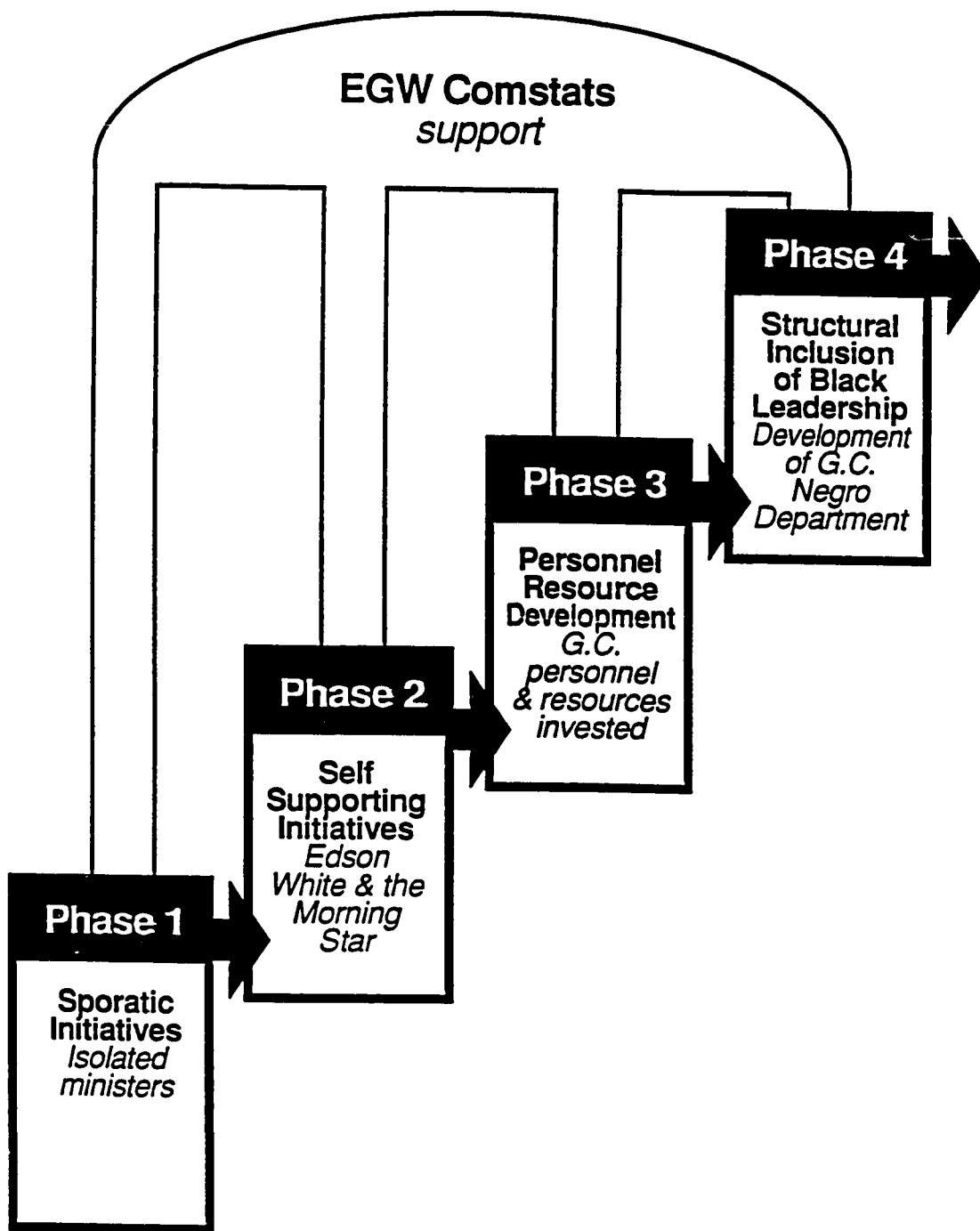


Figure 2:5 EGW's Comstats and the Developmental Phases of the Black Work

her first major appeal to the General Conference on behalf of the black work in 1891. Following this, the aggressive phase was ushered in by Edson White as a result of the work of the *Morning Star* staff and the Southern Missionary Society. Phase three was initiated by an action of the General Conference in assigning personnel to superintend the general Southern field and to oversee the black segment of the Southern work in particular. Finally, the work by Edson White and other workers in the South was augmented by other General Conference actions and ministerial and educational initiatives. Then the creation of the North American Negro Department in the church structure prioritized the black work and made it an organizational reality. The work of this department was enhanced when it was later directed by black leaders. EGW's comstats had direct or indirect influence on each of these four developmental phases.

2. Education, Evangelization and Inclusion

As a result of EGW's comstats and personal influence, the SDA organization began to invest funds, expertise and workers. This commenced a period of organizational activism on behalf of blacks in the areas of evangelization, education and inclusion.

The aim of Edson White's educational program was to train and staff African-American schools with African-American teachers, but the demand so outgrew the supply that in a number of cases white teachers from the North were employed. Following the year 1891, the work in the South grew so exponentially that within "ten years after the initial effort there were nearly fifty small schools in six states, and the establishment of higher schools for the advancing students had to be effected."⁹⁰

Church membership among blacks increased from 50 (although official records report 50, there are other indications that black SDA membership was higher than that number) to 3,500 within the next two decades (Figure 2:6).

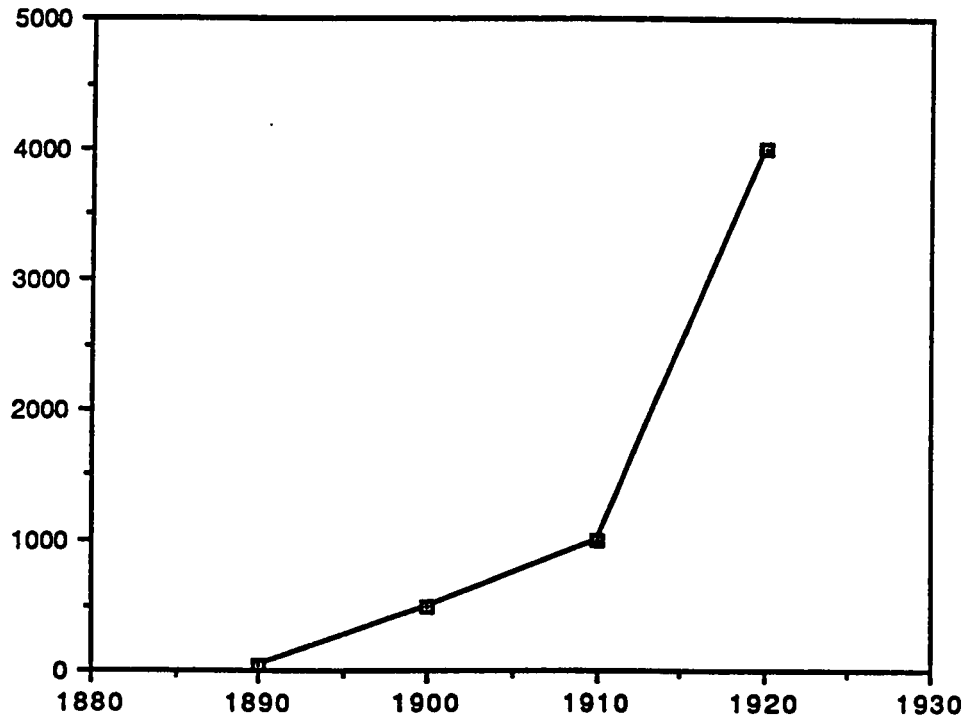


Figure 2:6 Black SDA Membership Statistics

Graham describes the SDA work in the South by labeling these "foreground" initiatives the "Edson White Program." Initial success in the venture was effective in arousing the attention and conscience of the church, but it was eventually destined to experience problems resulting from the sometimes erratic leadership of Edson White.⁹¹ The work conducted in the "background" was referred to as the "official program of the church organization."

Finally the church was beginning to exert itself in behalf of blacks, but not without hesitation, problems and hold-ups. Slowly, tentatively, both programs, with EGW's encouragement, began to move forward. As a result,

this period saw the beginning of schools, evangelization and the training of black workers unseen to that point.⁹² These beginning initiatives on behalf of blacks by the SDA organization during 1891-1910 do not in themselves constitute ultimate progress. They were the seeds of progress, its genesis.

3. Race Relations

EGW's comstats demonstrated a positive view of black people--mentally, physically and spiritually--that confronted negative stereotypes. Such views resulted in SDAs being exposed to a healthy and balanced view of blacks.

One section of Chapter VI utilizes content analysis to ascertain what image of black people EGW's writings and speeches projected to the SDA membership. This object is tested by comparing representative samples of EGW's evaluative comstats about the status and standing of blacks to historical trends used to understand black intelligence as introduced by black psychologists Joseph White and Thomas Parham in their book *The Psychology of Black--An African-American Perspective* (1990). By combining the *thought unit categories* to the *historical trends groups*, a composite picture emerges that facilitates a better understanding of how EGW viewed blacks and how others might view them from her writings as well. White and Parham point out that, historically, research on the standing and status of blacks can be grouped into several general themes, or models (Figure 2:7):

a. **The inferiority model.** This model generally maintains that blacks are inferior to whites. Based on the studies of genetics and heredity, this model theorizes that the human species is defined by heredity and views this process of development as "in the blood" or "encoded in the genes." This is the scientific version of the "natural order" view, popular during the 1800s, that assumes whites to be intellectually superior to blacks.⁹³ These assertions,

Trends	Inferiority	Deficit/Deficiency	Multicultural
Definition	Blacks are intellectually, physically, and mentally inferior to Whites.	Black deficient with respect to intelligence, cognitive styles, family structure.	All culturally distinct groups have strengths and limitations.
Etiology of Problem	Genetics/heredity, individual.	Lack of proper environmental stimulation; racism and oppressive conditions, individual.	Differences viewed as different; lack of skills needed to assimilate.
Relevant Theories	Genetic inferiority, eugenics.	Cultural deprivation, cultural enrichment.	
Research Examples	White (1799) Jensen (1969)	Moynihan (1965) Kardiner and Ovessey (1951)	J. White (1972) Nobles (1972, 1981)

Figure 2:7 Historical Trends in Black Intellectual Research

popularly held into the mid-1800s and beyond, were considered nominal and unassailable in EGW's day. Similar views were implicitly and explicitly presented in the SDA pamphlet *An Agitation and an Opportunity*.

b. The deprivation/deficiency model. The inferiority model was largely displaced in the early 1900s (this view reached prominence in the 1950s and 1960s) by the deprivation/deficiency model, which holds that blacks are deficient with respect to intelligence, perceptual skills, cognitive skills, family structure and other factors, but not because of hereditary factors. Rather, the culprit is the environment. Proposed by liberal-minded psychologists and educators, this model was set forth in opposition to the inferiority model.

Society, not black people themselves, was responsible for the presumed mental and intellectual deficiencies. Years of racism and discrimination had deprived most black people of the strengths to develop healthy self-esteem as well as legitimate family structures. White and Parham observe that the "cultural deprivation" hypothesis, a derivative of the deficit model, presumes "that due to the inadequate exposure to Euro-American values, norms, customs and lifestyles, blacks were indeed 'culturally deprived' and required cultural enrichment."⁹⁴

c. **The multicultural model.** This model, a modern and reflective outgrowth of the new emphasis on ethnic pluralism, argues that behavior, lifestyles, languages, etc., can be judged only as appropriate or inappropriate within a specific cultural content. "The multicultural model assumes and recognizes that each culture has strengths and limitations, and rather than being viewed as deficient, differences between ethnic groups are viewed as simply different."⁹⁵ According to White and Parham, while the multicultural model is culture-specific and therefore more reflective of a diverse environment--and is a more positive approach to research of culturally distinct groups--"it is not immune from the conceptual and methodological flaws that have plagued psychological research efforts both past and present."⁹⁶

Study Objectives

The objective of this study is not to prove something--it is to answer the research question by posing a hypothesis that allows "the nature of things to dictate the answer." Locke, Spirduso and Silverman said it well: "The business of the researcher [is] striving to understand."⁹⁷ Therefore, the intent

of this researcher to better understand and to convey that understanding. Both EGW and African-Americans are vital and meaningful elements in the past success of the SDA organization. They are dynamic components in accomplishing present tasks and ultimate mission of the SDA Church.

To better understand the relation of these important variables and how this relationship was effected through the powerful means of communication is the reward of this study. Therefore, this dissertation is written "with respect for the complexity of things and with modesty for what can be accomplished".⁹⁸ It is the goal of the writer to strive for objectivity born from a commitment and willingness to examine plausible facts, alternative interpretations and considerations.

If the goals, then, of this study are realized, there will be (1) an improved understanding of gaps in the body of knowledge concerning EGW and African-American SDAs; (2) an appreciation of the unparalleled support EGW invested in the development and nurture of black work in the SDA Church; (3) a better understanding and recognition of African-Americans in the past, present and future success of the SDA organization; (4) a demonstration of dynamic change brought about by communication in a religious organizational context; and (5) a practical illustration of how the development of the black work in the South can serve as a model for similar objectives.

Here is where the SDA organization can profit from reflecting on its past. Many important organizational race-relations decisions and trends were set in motion during the 20-year period under study. Many of them continue to affect the SDA organization today. By reflecting back, by observing and analyzing, perhaps we can better understand where we are and need to be.

ENDNOTES

¹Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists With an African Heritage* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1984), pp. 12, 27. Reynolds parallels the race issues faced by blacks in the SDA Church with those faced by blacks in society. Black SDAs, he argues, struggle with race discrimination, "particularly in the effort to place nonwhite members in leadership functions." He intimates that EGW helped to facilitate the church's mission to the black community in spite of the "corrosive effect of acts by members who came to the church from areas where segregation was a way of life."

²Little mention is made of African-Americans in such general church histories as C. Mervyn Maxwell's *Tell It to the World: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1976); M. Ellsworth Olsen's *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1925); and J. N. Loughborough's *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Pub. Assn., 1905). Relatively little space is devoted to African-Americans in A. W. Spalding's *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1961-62). Perhaps the two most credible treatments of the history of African-Americans in SDA denomination by white historians are R. W. Schwarz's *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1979) and Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart's *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (San Francisco, Calif.: Harper & Row, 1989).

³The neglect of black Adventists is illustrated in the treatment of William Ellis Foy, a significant black pioneer in early Advent history. Though this man was a key historical figure, more than a century passed before the church recognized his important contribution, documented in D. Baker's *The Unknown Prophet* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987). "Little research, comparatively speaking, has been done on Foy's life. In church school curricula and denominational history books, Foy's experience is often presented in a confused manner or omitted. Probably one of the reasons for this was that little was known about him. And what was known was often misinterpreted. At the beginning of my study of Foy's life (1978), there were no research or position papers available in Seventh-day Adventist libraries and archives. Fortunately, this situation has subsequently changed" (p. 15).

⁴W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (New York, N.Y.: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1992) pp. 713-715.

⁵See Reynolds and Baker. See also Schwarz and Bull's notes in footnote 2.

⁶C. Vann Woodward, *The Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 69, 70.

⁷*New York Age*, Feb. 28, 1907, Sec. 1, p. 20.

⁸*Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1909, Sec. 3, p. 68.

⁹EGW letter 5, July 24, 1895.

¹⁰EGW letter 37 1/2, 1900 (to "Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office," Feb. 26, 1900).

¹¹Ellen White, *The Southern Work* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1966), pp. 43, 44.

¹²-----, *Testimonies* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1885), vol. 9, p. 205.

¹³See *The Southern Work*, p. 10.

¹⁴It is recognized that some blacks were connected with the Millerite movement. Black preachers Charles Bowles and others made contributions.

¹⁵Reynolds states that many famous blacks in the 1800s, such as Frederick Douglass, were intimately acquainted with Adventist teachings. Further, Reynolds maintains that renowned antislavery advocate Sojourner Truth was a baptized SDA (pp. 22-27).

¹⁶Reynolds, p. 22.

¹⁷Harold Bloom, *The American Religion* (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1992), p. 244.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 238, 239.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 238.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 238, 239.

²²C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* (Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 1990), p. xi.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. xii.

²⁵Bull and Lockhart, p. 194.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁷There are nine North American "regional conferences, most of them organized in 1945 or 1946, which have a leadership and constituency largely black or nonwhite. These conferences are called regional because of their

distinctive geographical arrangement." "Each regional conference is organized within the existing administrative structure of a union conference, and covers not merely one portion of the union area, but all the Negro churches in the whole region of the union." This arrangement is true, with some exceptions (*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* [Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976], p. 1191).

²⁸See Roy Branson, "Ellen G. White: Racist or Champion of Equality?" *Review and Herald*, Apr. 9, 1970; "Slavery and Prophecy," *Review and Herald*, Apr. 16, 1970; "The Crisis of the Nineties," *Review and Herald*, Apr. 23, 1970.

²⁹Kenneth Wood, "A Plea for Objectivity," *Review and Herald*, Apr. 9, 1970.

³⁰Delbert Baker, "Ellen G. White's Use of the Term Race War, and Related Insights" (monograph for the E. G. White Estate), Aug. 1984.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*

³³Ron Graybill, *Ellen G. White and Race Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1970), p. 11.

³⁴Ron Graybill, formerly a research assistant with the Ellen G. White Estate, also wrote a narrative depicting the work of James Edson White on the riverboat *Morning Star* and how he pioneered SDA evangelization among blacks living along the Mississippi around the turn of the century. This account is helpful in that it provides on-site background for many of the comstats issued by EGW during this period. It is also valuable in that it provides the context for many of the letters EGW wrote to her son James Edson (see Ron Graybill, *Mission to Black America: The True Story of James*

Edson White and the Riverboat Morning Star [Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1971]).

³⁵Bull and Lockhart, pp. 195, 196.

³⁶On the subject of secret organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, EGW cautioned: "Those who oppose the truth will not work openly, but through secret organizations, and they will seek to hinder the work in every possible way. Our laborers must move in a quiet way, striving to do everything possible to present the truth to the people, remembering that the love of Christ will melt down the opposition" (*The Southern Work*, p. 68, 1895).

³⁷In 1909 EGW spoke of a dual priority. "As this work is continued, we will find prejudice arise and this will be manifested in various ways; but we must have wisdom to labor in such a way that we shall not lose the interest of either party, the white or the Colored."

³⁸*Race Relations*, p. 87.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 116-118.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 108-118.

⁴³*An Agitation and an Opportunity*, EGW Publications, Office Document File, No. 42.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁵Carl Schurz, "Can the South Solve the Negro Problem?" *McClure's Magazine* (Jan. 1904), pp. 270-272.

⁴⁶*An Agitation and an Opportunity*, p. 7.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁹While the authorship is uncertain, Ron Graybill suggests that it might have been compiled by Clarence Crisler. In the scrapbooks he was collecting, one finds similar material cited in this pamphlet, and in some cases there are identical quotations used (*Race Relations*, p. 43).

⁵⁰Ellen G. White letter 99, 1904 (to James Edson White, Feb. 23, 1904).

⁵¹This collection, a helpful resource for this study, is located in the Oakwood College Library in Huntsville, Alabama. (Oakwood College is a black liberal arts college owned and operated by the SDA Church.) The scrapbooks contain newspaper clippings collected during the years 1903-1912 by Clarence Crisler, one of EGW's secretaries. He appeared to have been collecting in anticipation of a book about the SDA work among blacks.

See also A. W. Spalding's "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt," presumably written for that same purpose but never published (written c. 1924, E. G. White Estate, Office Document File, No. 376). While this book is helpful for limited historical purposes, it clearly does not represent a progressive perspective on race relations.

⁵²James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, 1982), p. xv. "Free Negroes and emancipated slaves played an active and vital part in the Northern war effort. Approximately 500,000 slaves came within Union lines during the war. Most of these freedmen went to work as laborers or soldiers for the North. More than 200,000 Negroes fought in the Union Army and Navy. Without their help, the North could not have won the war as soon as it did, and perhaps it could not have won at all. The Negro was crucial to the whole Union war effort" (p. xvii).

⁵³See *The Southern Work*, pp. 9-18. This watershed appeal was read by EGW to thirty leaders of the church at the General Conference session in Battle Creek, Michigan.

⁵⁴This account is a narrative of the experiences of James Edson White and the crew of the *Morning Star*. Graybill documents EGW's support and interest in the enterprise and the entire Southern work initiative. The book is written for the average SDA reader.

⁵⁵*The Southern Work*, p. 5.

⁵⁶See *SDA Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976), p. 1209; cf. Schwarz, p. 267.

⁵⁷*The Southern Work*, p. 6.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

⁵⁹Arthur W. Spalding, in *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 346, directly links *The Gospel Herald* to its successor, *Message* magazine.

⁶⁰*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 525; cf. Spalding, p. 346.

⁶¹See *Testimonies*, vol. 7, pp. 220-245.

⁶²See *Testimonies*, vol. 8, pp. 34, 59-61, 91, 137, 150, 205.

⁶³*Race Relations*, p. 8.

⁶⁴*The Southern Work*, p. 6.

⁶⁵See the *SDA Encyclopedia*, pp. 1017, 1018. Oakwood College is an accredited coeducational liberal arts college located in Huntsville, Alabama. It is operated by the General Conference primarily to serve the black constituency of the denomination. "Its beginning may be traced to 1895, when the General Conference Association sent a three-man educational committee to the South to select and purchase property (not exceeding \$8,000) for a school for black youth."

⁶⁶Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: The Human Interest Story* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1972). See vol. 1, p. 398; vol. 5, pp. 340, 382.

⁶⁷Generally, these references will refer to private letters and manuscripts not generally distributed or distributed to a limited number of people.

⁶⁸In 1865, the General Conference did recognize that "a field is now opened in the South for labor among the Colored people and should be entered upon according to our ability" (*Review and Herald*, May 23, 1865, p. 197). This tacit recognition, however, resulted in little effort on the part of the denomination. (See also Schwarz, 1979; Reynolds, 1984; Spalding, 1962).

⁶⁹In a well-publicized editorial entitled "The Nation," James White, EGW's husband and then editor of the *Review and Herald*, made clear again, as he had before, his strong antislavery views and his feeling about SDAs and the Civil War (*Review and Herald*, Apr. 12, 1862, p. 84).

⁷⁰EGW letter to "My Brethren in Responsible Positions in America," July 24, 1895.

⁷¹Roy E. Graham, *Ellen G. White: Cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Cooperstown, N. Dak.: Long Publishers, 1985), p. 229, footnote 22. Graham cites Spalding's unpublished book manuscript "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt" as the basis for this statement. The writer of this dissertation concurs with Graham and Graybill that the Spalding manuscript is a valuable source for facts of SDA African-American history, but "its interpretation of that history, and its coverage of Negro history generally, is open to debate." Further, it should be added that Spalding makes

statements that have exposed him to the criticism of being biased toward Eurocentric thinking.

⁷²See the General Conference Bulletin, Nov. 14, 21, 1887; Oct. 19, 1888; Oct. 18, 1889. These references primarily regard the question of whether and how to deal with church integration.

⁷³See *ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1887, pp. 2, 3. The full text of the resolution reads: "Whereas, the Bible says that there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, but that all are one in Christ Jesus, therefore

"Resolved, that it is the decided opinion of this conference, that when the Colored people of the South accept the third angel's message they should be received into the church on an equality with the white members, no discrimination whatever being made between the two races in church relations."

⁷⁴See the General Conference Bulletin, Nov. 21, 1887, pp. 2, 3. The full text is as follows: "Your committee, to whom was referred the question known as 'the color line' to the best methods to be pursued in the presentation of the truth in the South, where persons of African descent are most numerous, and as no one of the committee has had any personal experience in that work, we have deemed it proper to confer with those whose fields of labor have been in that section of the country. As the result of these interviews we find those who are present who have labored in the South unanimous in the opinion that it is easy to pursue a course which will create no disturbance, and do no injustice to the Colored people. This being the case, your committee can see no occasion for this conference to legislate upon the subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken and that all reference to the question be omitted from the minutes."

⁷⁵Arthur White, vol. 3, p. 376.

⁷⁶See Schwarz, p. 233. Schwarz concurs that at the end of slavery, Adventists might have joined other Evangelical churches during the late 1860s and 70s in sending teachers south to open schools for the freedmen. He explained the lack of response on the grounds that during those years the ability of the organization "was not very great." And that "both ministers and funds were in short supply." He goes on to explain that they were also reluctant to go south for fear that (1) their "abolitionist beliefs might cause them problems," and (2) "early Seventh-day Adventists followed the general American trend of migrating westward from their first bases in New England and New York." (An interesting argument could be developed that the urgent emphasis by EGW to start a work among blacks actually accelerated the work among Southern whites.)

⁷⁷Bloom, p. 151.

⁷⁸The first black SDA church was organized at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, in 1886 (see the *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, p. 1062). The first black SDA minister, Charles M. Kinney (1855-1951), was ordained in 1889. *The Review and Herald*, Oct. 27, 1885, p. 668.

⁷⁹Graham, p. 231.

⁸⁰Schwarz, p. 236.

⁸¹*The Southern Work*, pp. 9-18.

⁸²A. W. Spalding, in *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, directly links the inauguration of the elementary school system to the influence of EGW's articles contained in *The Southern Work* (p. 344). It was noted that "in 1892 the superintendent of the Southern field, R. M. Kilgore,

reported that there were no more than 50 Colored Sabbathkeepers in the South" p. 343.

⁸³See Ron Graybill, *Mission to Black America*. This account is not a biography of Edson White. It focuses on his experience on the *Morning Star* and his efforts to establish a work in the South among blacks.

⁸⁴Spalding, p. 348 (see also *Mission to Black America* and Schwarz).

⁸⁵See J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975); *North American Informant*, Nov.-Dec. 1971.

⁸⁶Schwarz, p. 237.

⁸⁷Spalding notes that Shaw, a white man, was "earnest, consecrated, and cheerful; and the upward swing in the Adventist Negro work was in no small part due to his labors." He further adds: "At the beginning of his superintendency there was one Colored minister, C. M. Kinney, and two licentiates, A. Barry and T. B. Buckner, both of whom were soon ordained" (p. 343). See also *SDA Yearbook, 1893* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn.), p. 62.

⁸⁸See *ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸⁹*SDA Encyclopedia*, pp. 1017-1019.

⁹⁰*ibid.*

⁹¹Spalding contends that "it is doubtful that any other combination of qualities than those in Edson White could ever have carried it through to success." He referred to Edson White as resourceful, energetic, inventive and having "executive ability," but that "he was sometimes flighty and erratic." It's been suggested that had it not been for the encouraging messages from his mother, EGW, he would have given up in despair. (See Spalding, pp. 344, 346, 347.)

⁹²Graham, p. 239.

⁹³Joseph White and Thomas Parham, *The Psychology of Blacks: An African-American Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990), p. 7.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹⁷Lawrence Locke, et al., *Proposals That Work* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1987), p. 81.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

CONTEXTS: BIOGRAPHICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL

Almost 80 years have passed since EGW died. In the area of race relations alone, the world, the United States and the SDA organization have experienced immense changes. The late twentieth century social scene is very different from the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world in which EGW lived and wrote. However, EGW's world wasn't static. According to SDA historian Gary Land, America "changed in more fundamental ways between the time she [EGW] was born [in 1827] and the time of her death [in 1915] than it has since."¹ It is important, then, that a context of relevant factors be established to facilitate a better understanding of which social factors contributed to EGW's worldview.

EGW's views and presuppositions did not develop in a vacuum. She, like other historical figures, was a product of her times. It is essential, then, to understand how she was influenced by her environment. Therefore, this chapter offers four contexts that provide historical perspective about EGW and the 20-year period under study. The intent is to better understand why EGW believed in, advocated and acted upon certain positions relative to black/white relations and how these positions compared with the popular thinking of her day.

The first section in this chapter is a biographical overview of some of the molding influences in EGW's life. Second, the major organizational issues that faced the SDA denomination during this 20-year period are highlighted in

order to develop an awareness of other concerns that competed with the desire to develop an aggressive work among blacks. Third, the societal changes through which EGW lived are examined, thereby allowing her comstats to be viewed in relation to public sentiment and thinking of the time. And fourth, the race, slavery and Reconstruction period is overviewed. The events and conditions in this section specifically relate to the time and content of EGW's comstats.

Biographical Context: Ellen G. White (1827-1915)

In 1891, at the outset of the 20-year period, EGW was 64 years old, stood 5 feet 2 inches tall and weighed about 140 pounds. Her complexion was rather dark, her eyes gray and her hair, brown in her youth, was mostly gray. What kind of person was EGW, and what were some of the factors that helped to form her worldview? In his book *Ellen G. White and Her Critics*, Francis Nichols, onetime editor of the *Review and Herald*, asked concerning EGW: Who was this woman "who early came into a position of leadership though she never held an office in the church"? Nichols answered by directing attention to her scores of books, which have appealed to countless thousands of Adventists and non-Adventists; the power of her speaking, her tireless traveling, her extensive correspondence and her vast denominational influence that helped to mold the SDA organization from its inception to the present time.²

EGW did not possess "a magnetic personality and charm." She was not strong physically; she was so frail as a girl, because of a grave injury incurred when she was nine years old, that her plans for education had to be virtually

abandoned. In fact, according to Nichols, her formal schooling was limited to a few grades. Her life was often despaired of. She lived to an advanced age, but never became robust. Though she was of benevolent countenance, there was nothing particularly prepossessing about her appearance.³

Considered among the foremost nineteenth-century religious figures, EGW is credited with having helped establish "one of the nation's largest indigenous denominations, created a string of sanitariums and hospitals stretching from Scandinavia to the South Pacific, and inspired an educational system without peer in the Protestant world today."⁴

Beginning

Ellen Gould Harmon was born November 26, 1827, in a farm home north of the village of Gorham, Maine, just west of the city of Portland. Her parents, Robert Harmon (1786-1866), farmer and hat maker, and Eunice Gould Harmon (1787-1863), were frugal Methodists with little means. Ellen and her twin sister, Elizabeth (not identical, 1827-1891) were the youngest of four sisters and two brothers.⁵ The Harmon family moved to Portland while Ellen was still young. Since Portland was to be Ellen's home for more than 20 years and no doubt had a molding influence on her during her formative years, the city deserves closer attention.

In the mid-1800s, Portland, the largest city in Maine, was a busy and growing international commercial seaport in which trade was carried on with Canada, Europe, the West Indies and other countries. With a population of 12,601 in 1830, it was an important city of medium size, exceeding in population such cities as New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut, and Savannah, Georgia. Nevertheless, as a result of regular newspaper

advertisements concerning lost, stolen or strayed livestock, one historian referred to Portland as "a city beautifully situated, but essentially an overgrown country town."

Maine joined the United States in 1820 as a free state under the terms of the controversial Missouri Compromise. To preserve the national balance, Missouri was admitted as a slave state and Maine as a free state. The debate about slavery and statehood for Maine and Missouri was so rancorous and vindictive that to Thomas Jefferson it seemed "like a fire bell in the night" of troubles to come. Maine, however, was proud of its free state status, and while it had its problems with the race question it was considered to be one of the more favorable states for blacks. According to the 1840 census, Maine had "a significant Negro population, numbering 1,355 (with more than half designated 'mulatto')." ⁶

Free public schooling was provided for Portland's sizeable black population, "principally in a single, segregated Colored primary school. Integrated educational opportunities [were] offered to blacks who qualified for further schooling." Heavy coverage of the abolition movement was provided in the local newspaper. Speakers for and against slavery often arrived in the city prepared to lecture on the subject. The Portland community was firmly opposed to slavery, "but not necessarily supportive of abolitionists," who, Portlanders felt, were often unprincipled in their attacks on the government. A number of leading abolitionists visited Portland, including William Lloyd Garrison, editor of *The Liberator*, and Frederick Douglass. ⁷

A quick scan of Portland's newspapers for the years of Ellen's childhood and youth confirm that religion constituted an important element in its life. There were references in 1846 to an impressive number and variety of

churches, from Baptist, Methodist and Congregational churches to Roman Catholic and black Abyssinian churches, and even a Second Advent congregation of Millerites. Of all the religious topics reported by Portland's press during the years 1837 to 1846, Millerism received the most extensive coverage. The religious and civil world to which Ellen was exposed was typically adult white male. No women or blacks ever appeared in newspaper lists of city officials, either elected or appointed. However, from 1820, when Maine separated from Massachusetts, black men who were citizens and residents were granted local suffrage.

This, then, was the environment that molded the early intellectual development of EGW. Liberal in some respects but in others traditional and staid, it was the type of environment that would either "break" or "toughen" the character of those who lived in it. Down-Easterners tended to possess "religious fervor, a passionate search for truth, stubborn independence, Spartan toughness, resourcefulness, frugality, sturdy individualism, and a propensity to adopt and fight for unpopular causes."⁸ EGW certainly fit the mold.

Formative Incidents

Ellen was "a cheerful, buoyant, active child."⁹ Unfortunately, at nine years of age, when coming home from school, she was struck on the nose with a stone thrown by a classmate. Her nose was broken, and she evidently suffered a concussion, for she was, according to reports, unconscious for three weeks. She later recalled: "Every feature of my face seemed changed. The sight was more than I could bear. The bone of my nose proved to be broken. The idea of carrying my misfortune through life was insupportable.

I could see no pleasure in my life. I did not wish to live, and I dared not die, for I was not prepared." Her general health was seriously affected: "The experience left her disfigured, ill and debilitated, so much so that her own father could scarcely recognize her."¹⁰

This experience was one of the key factors in her childhood years. Her injuries plagued her for years. She wasn't able to attend school on a regular basis. Frayed nerves affected her ability to read and write. Her hands shook badly when she would try to control her slate marks. Words became blurs. She became dizzy and couldn't concentrate when she tried to read. Ellen again attempted to attend school, at the Westbrook Seminary and Female College in Portland, but this too was unsuccessful. Her efforts to obtain an education ended in disappointment and despair. She later lamented: "It was the hardest struggle of my young life to yield to my feebleness and decide that I must leave my studies." Her health was failing, and doctors gave her little hope of recovery.¹¹

The girl who was responsible for the accident tried to make amends by tutoring Ellen, but that too failed. Teachers virtually gave up hope for her. Ellen essentially became a semi-invalid, occasionally helping her father by making hat crowns and knitting stockings. Reflecting on those days, Ellen recalled: "Friends often visited my parents and looked with pity upon me, and advised them to prosecute the father of the girl who had, as they said, ruined me. But my mother was for peace. She said that if such a course could bring me back my health and natural looks there would be something gained, but as this was impossible, it was best not to make enemies by following such advice."¹²

While Ellen's parents were supportive in every way possible, they didn't

let sympathy overwhelm their rationality. They did what they could for Ellen's rehabilitation, not letting her grow up idle and unproductive. Her mother gave her thorough, practical training. Ellen spent much time in a park not far from her home, where she "found comfort and companionship in the scenes of nature." "Her later education came from reading and from contact with others." Less calm and philosophical than her parents, Ellen's own reaction to the accident was more bitter and despairing. She especially grieved over the loss of educational opportunities. "My ambition to become a scholar had been very great, and when I pondered over my disappointed hopes, and the thought that I was to be an invalid for life, despair seized me."

From this despair rose an increased spiritual awareness. "When Christian friends visited the family, they would ask my mother if she had talked to me about dying. I overheard this and it roused me. I desired to become a Christian and prayed earnestly for the forgiveness of my sins. I felt a peace of mind . . . and loved everyone, feeling desirous that all should have their sins forgiven and love Jesus as I did."

Though the trauma of her childhood accident overshadowed all of her attempts at normal living, the experience broadened her ability to relate to those in need. In later life she viewed her accident and resultant suffering differently. "A misfortune, which occurred when I was about nine years old ruined my health. I looked upon this as a great calamity, and murmured because of it. In a few years, I viewed the matter quite differently. I then looked upon it in the light of blessing. I regard it thus now."

The battle to return to a normal state of health helped to prepare her for later responsibilities. Rejection and disappointment encountered along the way severely shook her self-esteem and confidence. However, this apparently

developed a broad sense of compassion and a particular capacity to empathize with the oppressed and afflicted. Doubtless, this experience prepared her for a deeper spiritual and humanitarian ministry.

Some time after her accident, Ellen picked up a ragged brochure that introduced William Miller and his prediction that the end of the world was eminent.¹³ This, the "scrap of paper," was the second great incident of her youth. She became greatly concerned, because, as Miller emphasized, "the time seemed so short for the conversion and salvation of the world." In March, 1840, Ellen and other members of her family heard William Miller in person. The Baptist-farmer-turned-preacher and now foremost New England leader of the Second Advent movement was lecturing in Portland on the return of Christ to this earth. This experience had a deep and lasting influence on Ellen Harmon. (Several years later they accepted his views on the imminent second advent of Christ.)

The summer of 1840 she attended a Methodist camp meeting at Buxton, Maine, where she found her initial conversion experience. Her determination is shown by the fact that she insisted on baptism by immersion as her mode of entrance into the Methodist Church. Sincerely believing in the shortness of time before Christ would come, Ellen worked earnestly for the conversion of her friends. In September, 1843, because of their publicly avowed views on the Second Advent, she and her parents were disfellowshipped from the Pine Street Methodist Church.¹⁴ When Christ didn't come on the final determined-upon date, October 22, 1844, Ellen and the approximately 50,000 other Millerites were profoundly disappointed. "As the sun sank in the west" on that fateful day, "their hopes sank with it."

According to church historian Roger Coon, following the disappointment

the discouraged Advent believers who didn't return to their former churches divided into four main categories: (1) those who from personal embarrassment, frustration and anger at God gave up *all* religious experience; (2) a fringe that veered off into tangents of successive date-setting; (3) Sundaykeeping Adventists who continued to observe the first day of the week while accepting an imminent Advent (principally the Advent Christian Church); and (4) a very small group (initially only a few dozen) that began to coalesce around the leadership of James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates. This group accepted the biblical Saturday Sabbath of the Seventh Day Baptists, and in 1860-1863 formed the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.¹⁵ Shortly after this disappointment, EGW began her ministry to the SDA Church, which she continued for more than 70 years.

Ministry Phases

EGW biographer Arthur White divides her life into six periods. These periods are outlined in this study because they provide useful reference points for the work of EGW and provide a context for all of her comstats. Throughout each of the six phases, EGW maintained an active writing and speaking ministry.

1. *The Early Years (1827-1862) cover her birth to 35 years of age.* This period began with her birth and childhood in Portland, through the Millerite disappointment and continued to the official formation of the SDA Church. On August 30, 1846, she married James White, began their family and instructed fellow Advent believers by preaching, visiting and publishing. There were four sons born to the Whites: Henry Nichols (1847-63); James Edson (1849-1928); William Clarence (1854-1937); John Herbert (1860-61).

This was the beginning period for the communicative initiative of the SDA organization. After 11 irregular issues of *The Present Truth*, EGW and her husband launched the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (later the *Review and Herald*) in Paris, Maine, in 1850. The worldwide publishing venture of the SDA Church, with its current 58 publishing houses and almost 8,000 publishing representatives working in more than 750 languages in 184 countries around the world, began as a simple eight-page semimonthly publication based on guidelines set down by EGW in 1848. "I have a message for you," she said to her husband early in November of that year. "You must begin to print a little paper and send it out to the people. Let it be small at first; but as the people read, they will send you means with which to print, and it will be a success from the first. From this small beginning it was shown me to be like streams of light that went clear around the world."¹⁶ The venture was officially launched the summer of the following year, with the first press run of 1,000 copies to be paid for when the money became available.

2. *The Progressive Years (1863-1875) cover the period when EGW was 36 to 47 years of age.* This period saw the church through its official organization phase to later status as a stable and growing institution. The organization weathered the stormy slavery period, the Civil War and the beginning of Reconstruction. This period also witnessed the development of the church's unique health emphasis. EGW's appeals to the church began to inspire an understanding of the importance of healthful living in the Christian life. In response to her counsel given during Christmas of 1865, the church established the Western Health Reform Institute, forerunner of a worldwide hospital system. The institute was later renamed Battle Creek Sanitarium.

3. *The Lonely Years (1876-1891), during which time EGW was 48 to 62 years of age.* By this time, the Whites and the SDA organizational structure had moved from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek, Michigan (1855), where headquarters were established. This is a period of concentrated writing and speaking. EGW attended and addressed as many as 28 camp meetings in a single year. She divided her time between Battle Creek and California, where the church was beginning to thrive.

After years of physical decline, James White was hospitalized and died August, 1881, after 35 years of marriage. EGW's grief and loneliness were acute. "The shock of my husband's death--so sudden, so unexpected--fell upon me with crushing weight. In my feeble condition [EGW herself was dangerously ill prior to and following her husband's death] I had summoned strength to remain at his bedside to the last; but when I saw his eyes closed in death, exhausted nature gave way, and I was completely prostrated. For some time I seemed balanced between life and death. . . . Only by the blessing of God and the unremitting care and watchfulness of physician and attendant was my life preserved." A few days later she spoke of "the great loss which the cause . . . which I sustain in being deprived of his society and assistance in my work." She said she covenanted "that I would not become discouraged under the burden, but would labor more earnestly and devotedly than ever before to present the truth both by pen and voice."¹⁷ (She was to survive her husband by 34 years.) EGW resided in California for some four years, until in August, 1885, she moved to Basle, Switzerland, for two years. Returning to the States in 1887, she left for a nine-year stint in Australia (1891-1900).

4. *The Australian Years (1891-1900); EGW is 63 to 71 years of age.*

Responding to a request of the General Conference, EGW moved to Australia in 1891 to aid in establishing an educational system there. Though she was ill with inflammatory rheumatism and desired to attend to her writing in the States, she accepted the invitation, howbeit reluctantly. After her arrival in Australia in December, 1891, EGW was confined to bed some eight months. During her nine years in Australia, she continued to write, fill public speaking engagements and aid in the establishment of churches, schools and other institutions.

In March of 1891, shortly before going to Australia, EGW delivered her controversial "Our Duty to the Colored People" address to the SDA leaders at the General Conference session at Battle Creek, Michigan. Though EGW was ill, preoccupied with writing a book on the life of Christ and living in a foreign country, she found time to back up her March appeal by writing a ten-article series on the needs of the black work in the South. She also sent scores of letters and manuscripts counseling her son James Edson (who by this time had begun his work among blacks in the South) and church leaders on race relations and promoting the work among blacks. Though she was on the other side of the world, and in spite of prejudice, apathy and opposition, EGW continued to feel a particular burden that the work among blacks should progress. She returned to the United States in August of 1900.

5, 6. *The Early and Later Elmshaven Years (1900-1905 and 1905-1915); EGW is 72 to 87 years of age.* After returning to the United States EGW settled in Elmshaven, a home she built near St. Helena, California. She traveled, spoke and did a prolific amount of writing during this period. Around the turn of the century, the church experienced a number of crises--theological

and personality clashes, financial problems and major reorganizations in 1901 and 1903--all of which required her calm and wise guidance.

In 1904, less than four years after returning to the United States, EGW undertook a tour of the South (partially via the *Morning Star*¹⁸) to visit her son and to review firsthand the Southern work among blacks. Accompanied by Edson White, she addressed the teachers and students at the newly opened Oakwood Industrial School (which she had a part in establishing). In 1909 she made another trip through the South and again visited Oakwood.¹⁹ EGW died July 16, 1915, at her home Elmshaven in St. Helena, California, at the age of 88 after more than 70 years in ministry to the SDA Church. She is buried in the White family plot in Oak Hill Cemetery, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Recurring Events

Poverty, sickness and death were recurring events in EGW's ministry. For newly married James and Ellen, poverty was a reality of life. The Whites initially lived with Ellen's parents and then in the home of Advent believers. She later recalled: "We entered our work penniless, with few friends, and broken in health." She goes on to describe how her husband, though he was of a strong constitution, ran himself down through incessant study, traveling and speaking. The ill health she had experienced from a child was still a factor, and "in this condition, without means, with very few who sympathized with us in our views, without a paper, and without books, we entered upon our work." Six years later, in 1852, she again refers to their privation by describing how they were "crippled by poverty" and had to exercise economy and self-denial.

In the White home, poverty was often compounded with illness. In

August of 1865, James White was stricken with paralysis following the first of three strokes he was to suffer over the next 16 years. EGW nursed him back to health. But she herself suffered from ill health as well. She often faced uncertainty and hardship and one constant in Ellen White's life was poor health. It is said that from childhood to middle age she enjoyed few periods without some physical or mental suffering. The story of her life fairly abounds with one sickness after another.

EGW was to experience the early death of two of her sons. Her youngest son died as an infant, and her oldest at the age of 16. Death struck again when her husband died in 1881. For 35 years James and Ellen had worked as a team. Despite the heavy church responsibilities, EGW had been a loyal, affectionate wife and a concerned and caring mother. Following her husband's death, she continued her ministry through writing, speaking, and giving counsel.

Influences

At this juncture it is important to note EGW's profound influence on the leadership and laity of the entire SDA Church. There was no person who compared with her authority and influence. For not only was EGW a cofounder of the church and one who lived a godly and consistent Christian life, but as stated before the church believed her to be the recipients of special message from God. This increased her stature and influence immeasurably. This emphasis on EGW's influence is an important one in this paper because it is the position of this study that a SDA leader or member with lesser influence could not have motivated the SDA Church to develop an aggressive black work. Only a person of EGW's standing and authority could have

accomplished the task. And even still it was one of the most challenging aspects of her public ministry.

EGW's authority lacked the constitutional backing of the SDA organization because she held no church office. However, it didn't affect her ability to disagree with, confront or oppose church leaders, even General Conference presidents.

It has been suggested that EGW's influence and authority was independent and in some respects superior to that of the General Conference president. In fact, SDA history will bear out, though EGW didn't flaunt her influence, she was able to affect who became General Conference president.

Yet, in spite of her vast influence, EGW submitted to the authority of the General Conference. In 1891, the church's leaders, the General Conference asked her to go to Australia to assist in developing the SDA work there. She did. Clearly, this was a difficult period for her. She hoped for no invitation for her to leave America. She desired rest and quietude. Suspecting, perhaps correctly, that some of the leaders may have wanted her to be away for a while and having "not one ray of light" that it was God's will she go to Australia, she went. She did so in deference to the church leadership and in submission to the voice of the General Conference, which she recognized as an authority. She was supposed to stay two years, she stayed nine.

Actually, this withdrawal from the United States may have better facilitated EGW's work on behalf of the black work. Clearly, her positions as articulated in her 1891 address, (the same General Conference that voted her to go to Australia), "Our Duty to the Colored People," put her at odds with some church leaders. She intimated this reality when she said in the same

address, that she knew that her words would bring her into conflict.

From her distant location she dispatched directives to church leaders and articles for church periodicals uninfluenced by the pressures that may have been had she been in the United States.

In terms of the needs of the black work EGW sent a stream of letters to Edson White, other Southern workers, church leaders, and church members in general via articles, books, etc. The counsel was direct, specific and often uncomfortably confrontive. And with EGW being located in Australia, church leaders had no opportunities to seek to influence her or to try and explain extenuating circumstances when they were reprovved or admonished.²⁰

Lifework

Although this study focuses on the counsel EGW gave the SDA Church in regard to the work among blacks, her influence impacted all aspects of the church's program. "Through the years she initiated plans for a publishing work, the development of health institutions, the establishment of colleges to train ministers, teachers, and doctors, a parochial school system, evangelistic centers and missions, especially in the cities, and in 1901 and again in 1909 she was influential in major reorganizations of the SDA administrative structure. Theologically, she steered her church away from Arianism, crass legalism, and pantheism."²¹

In the opinion of many, EGW was relatively free from many of the excesses so often associated with the "prophets" and founders of some of America's indigenous religions. While she has been the target for criticism, it is most conceded that she exemplified in her life what she wrote and spoke about.

According to Edith Deen, EGW's life was marked by "humility, simplicity, austerity, divine learning and devotion."²² The *American Biographical History* (1878) records this interesting statement: "Mrs. White is a woman of singularly well-balanced mental organization. Benevolence, spirituality, conscientiousness, and ideality are the predominating traits. Her personal qualities are such to win for her the warmest friendship of all with whom she comes in contact, and to inspire them with the utmost confidence. . . . Notwithstanding her many years of public labor, she has retained all the simplicity and honesty which characterized her early life."²³

Organizational Context: Seventh-day Adventists (1891-1910)

In two decades the SDA organization grew from 5,440 (in 1870) to 29,711 (in 1890).²⁴ By the end of the first three decades of its existence, the church was able to achieve general agreement on its basic doctrines and organization.²⁵ Geographically, the young church was limited largely to the Northeast. However, that would change. The church gradually expanded westward into the settlements of the Great Plains, California and the Northwest, appealing basically to people previously uprooted from home, family and church. Almost simultaneously, European immigrant SDAs took the Advent message overseas, and shortly the denomination was drawn into a world mission work.²⁶

Much of the growth involved culture sharing. People hearing about SDA teachings that they found appealing or helpful shared with their friends. Theoretically, this sharing could have taken place among blacks, except that slavery and prejudice presented many obstacles that prevented natural

association and communication among African-Americans. The problem was compounded by a lack of free exchange between blacks and whites. Because of the slave structure, the transmission of SDA teachings to blacks en masse required extra motivation, cooperation and a definite plan of attack. Prior to the 1880s, however, the SDA organization lacked such motivation and showed little inclination to start such an initiative.

Prior to the official organization of the church in the 1860s, the social alienation experienced by SDAs expressed itself in negative denunciation of the mores of the existing social order. In the 1870s and 1880s, the tone of SDAs began to take on more positive dimensions. SDAs increasingly viewed themselves as reformers in the areas of diet, dress, medicine and education. Thereby, they commenced development of ideas, techniques and institutions to carry out what they saw as their "God-given mission." P. Gerald Damsteegt describes the process by which SDAs came to understand their role and function: "At first the mission of restoration was seen as a mission to restore certain spiritual principles. Later the restoration aspect began to be interpreted in the context of man's spiritual and physical restoration as necessary preparation for the kingdom. Finally, it led to the realization that their mission was to proclaim a message of the complete restoration of the principles that are the foundation of the 'kingdom of God' with the ultimate goal of restoring in man the image of God."²⁷

By the 1890s, however, organizational trends had become rather apparent. Development of institutions and mission activities consumed increasing amounts of time and finances. Equally problematic was the inadequacy of the initial organizational structure to handle the growing church. The organization was experiencing growing pains, and so was SDA theology.

According to Richard Schwarz, "Adventists had tended to emphasize their distinctive beliefs, which, shaped by a theological rationalism, resulted in an increasingly legalistic religion. Rumbblings of a theological earthquake were heard in the early 1800s, and before the decade ended, Seventh-day Adventists were trying to absorb the doctrine of 'righteousness by faith' and understand what it meant for their theological identity."²⁸

There were problems in the health and medical branch as well. John Harvey Kellogg, M.D., director of the church's Battle Creek Sanitarium, was having increasing problems with church leadership and some aspects of the church's theology. Personality conflicts escalated these differences. As denominational leaders attempted to work through these problems, EGW played a pivotal role by giving pertinent counsel and direction. When her husband and other pioneers with whom she had cofounded the church deceased, EGW emerged as the central influence on SDA thinking. Still, EGW is not responsible for the origination of any SDA cardinal tenets. "Although she held no office and was abroad for part of the time, her 'testimonies' on personal, theological, and organizational matters deeply impressed the church leaders."²⁹

In 1901 and 1903, when the church reorganized its denominational structure and addressed theological, policy and personnel issues, they did so under EGW's guidance. "By providing what was regarded as divinely inspired counsel, she gave the leadership an authoritative basis" on which they were able to work through the crises.³⁰

From about 1890 to 1910, the SDA organization faced a variety of issues that can be summarized into seven areas:

1. *Theology*: It was feared that seventh-day Sabbath civil liberties

might be contained, a schism threatened to erupt over righteousness by faith--what was the true basis of one's salvation, Dr. Kellogg began to advocate a form of pantheism, and questions rose on the role and authority of the gift of prophecy in the church.

2. *Organization:* How was the church to divide and delegate the responsibilities of its growing territory, and how should the growing educational and medical institutions be administered?

3. *Interpersonal/Pastoral:* Leaders were concerned about the quality of the pastors and teachers in the denomination, how to increase the overall calibre of the ministerial force in the church, and how to go about solving the many theological and ideological rifts that had developed on an interpersonal level.

4. *Evangelism:* The cities required workers with a certain level of sophistication that the SDA ministerial force just did not possess, primarily because up to that point their work had been done in rural and small-town America, and the overseas mission work offered them an immediate appeal and opportunity for advance.

5. *Logistics:* Because of an overconcentration of SDAs in Battle Creek, church leaders voted to move the General Conference headquarters to Washington, D.C., in 1903--this proved traumatic and divisive.

6. *Finances:* The most persistent and troubling problem the church faced was how to satisfactorily finance a growing work during a time (the 1890s) when the United States was experiencing a severe depression.

7. *Race Relations:* The church appeared unable to take its message to blacks and the Southern states, and to deal with the vexing question of race relations.³¹

Another problem at the turn of the century was how to manage the growing publishing work of the church. As the denomination expanded, its chief means of communication became printed materials. Church publications educated, instructed, unified, informed, motivated and inspired the members. EGW's counsel and experience, once validated by the members, became a vital component, the "raw material," on which the church publishing industry was based. "The financial and technological development of Adventist publishing may not have influenced Mrs. White's experience, but it certainly determined the extent and form in which that experience could be communicated."³²

The SDA organization was challenged, perhaps overwhelmed, by a plethora of issues that demanded its attention. The organization was still young and had small numbers and little resources. Therefore, the denomination couldn't join the educational and evangelistic thrusts sponsored in the South by Catholic, Congregationalist, and other major Protestant bodies in the postwar period.³³ However, this did not fully explain the apathy of the SDA Church in moving tentatively into the Southern field. During the same period much attention, energy and resources were devoted to overseas missions. EGW pointed up this anomaly in 1891 when she said: "We should take into consideration the fact that efforts are being made at a great expense to send the gospel to the darkened regions of the world, to enlighten the savage inhabitants of the islands of the sea, to bring instruction to the ignorant and idolatrous; yet here in the very midst of us are millions of people . . . (who) have souls to save or to lose, and yet they are set aside and passed by as was the wounded man by the priest and the Levite."³⁴ EGW left the church little room to excuse its lack of effort in this area.

From 1885 onward, SDA mission activities expanded dramatically. Under the innovative work of pastors, evangelists, literature evangelists and Bible workers, the Adventist message caught fire, and in 15 years, took root in England (1880s), Scandinavia (1880), central Europe (1884), Russia (1870s), Germany (1894), southeastern Europe (1888), the Near East (1890s), Australia (1800s), the Pacific islands (1886) and South Africa (1880s). Dutch-speaking South Africans appealed to the SDA Church for a minister to instruct them in the tenets of Adventism. "When this 'Macedonian call' was read at the 1886 General Conference [session], the audience was so moved that it spontaneously rose and sang the doxology." Impressively, "the next July a missionary party of seven . . . arrived at Cape Town."³⁵ Other mission overtures were made in Rhodesia (1890s), Mexico (1891), Argentina (1890), Brazil (1893), Chile (1895), India (1890s) and the Far East (1896). When adequately inspired, the church had the ability to respond to a need.

The above list outlines the major mission advances of the SDA Church during the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. However, EGW contended it should have concentrated equally on the mission field in the South. Had the church acted on her advice, much good might have been accomplished. It was a "window of opportunity"--after the Civil War and during the Reconstruction period, Southern blacks and whites had the greatest needs and appeared to be most amenable to the assistance that SDAs had to offer. Instead, EGW was virtually the only church leader who appealed for SDAs to increase their efforts in the South. She even went so far as to say that "sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the Colored people."³⁶

Yet for years her words had little effect. When in 1893 James Edson

White, inspired by a printed version of his mother's 1891 appeal, left private business in Chicago and, with his wife, engaged in self-supporting educational and evangelistic work for blacks in the South,³⁷ the time of opportunity was well past. The North had retreated into a cruel post-Reconstruction racist backlash. Work in the South among blacks was increasingly difficult and dangerous. EGW wrote in 1895: "The Colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now tenfold harder than it would have been."³⁸

The potential for good was profound. Fortunately, some good was done. EGW noted that "after the war, if the Northern people had made the South a real missionary field, if they had not left the Negroes to ruin through poverty and ignorance, thousands of souls would have been brought to Christ. But it was an unpromising field and the Catholics have been more active in it than any other class."³⁹

Years later (1970), Calvin Rock, a prominent SDA leader, expressed the same sentiment in principle: "Our white church leaders are ignorant on the residual effects on the black man both of slavery and of the nitty-gritty problems of survival in the black community." And "many a black young person has left the church because both black leaders and white leaders were more concerned about foreign missions by proxy than they were about the poor at hand."⁴⁰ EGW wouldn't let the issue rest. Throughout the 1890s and after the turn of the century, she continued to make statements: "The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by His professed followers toward . . . the oppressed Colored people. If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin."⁴¹

As to resources, "money should have been used freely to care for and educate them at the time they were so greatly in need of help. But the government, after a little effort, left the Negro to struggle, unaided, with his burden of difficulties." And more directly: "Some of the strong Christian churches began a good work, but sadly failed to reach more than a comparatively few; and the Seventh-day Adventist Church has failed to act its part."⁴²

In 1895, EGW addressed the church via the *Review and Herald*: "I have a most earnest interest in the work to be done among the Colored people. This is a branch that has been strangely neglected." Four years later (1899), in his presidential address to the General Conference session, G. A. Irwin, referring directly to the black work in the South and indirectly to the needs of the Oakwood School, said: "We regret exceedingly that we cannot report more progress among this people [blacks]. Many causes combine to make this a difficult field. Education lies at the foundation of this work; but owing to the extreme poverty and destitution of the majority, it must of necessity be largely gratuitous for the present."⁴³ Essentially, Irwin was rationalizing the church's lack of activity on behalf of blacks on the basis that the majority of blacks didn't have adequate education and money to help themselves. Therefore, the black work was dependent on outside efforts, and the present level of gifts and support just wasn't adequate to make much of a difference.

Of course, the circumstances existing in the South meant working for blacks would be difficult. And recognizing the nature of slave education, societal enculturation and lack of resources for self-help, it was unreasonable to expect much at that stage. EGW's plan was that "those who had more would help those who had less."⁴⁴ A few years earlier (1896), an effort had

been put forth by the church to assist the struggling work in the South. Financial pressures in the area prompted EGW to make an appeal on behalf of Southern missionary workers via the *Review and Herald*. As a result, "the Sabbath school [corresponding to Protestant Sunday schools] raised nearly \$11,000 in the first half of 1896 to forward the work in the South." The money, however, was appropriated by the General Conference officers and applied to other areas in the church budget; none of it ever reached the work in the South!⁴⁵

In a letter to her nephew F. E. Belden, EGW confided her continuing belief that her nation and church had "been guilty of a great wrong." She deplored the selfishness exhibited, and in regard to blacks, noted: "After being deprived of their rights, and for generations treated like cattle, they have been deprived of the means of bettering their condition." With almost prophetic overtones, she added: Their color has closed to them almost every possible avenue to improvement."⁴⁶

Determined to see the work progress, EGW sent her own money to assist the work in the South and donated proceeds from the sale of one of her books to benefit Southern workers. After receiving no encouraging signs from the denomination, she wrote again to church leaders: "We have been eating of the large loaf, and have left the suffering, distressed people of the Southern regions starving for education, starving for spiritual advantages. By your actions you have said, 'Am I my brother's keeper.'"⁴⁷ Perhaps the scope of the problem is clear now. The church was made fully aware of crying needs in the South, but didn't respond to those needs. Nevertheless, EGW kept the issue before the church. She, James Edson and a small but growing constituency supported the Southern work in every way possible. In the

middle and late 1890s and early 1900s, the church wheels were beginning to turn.

Why was the SDA Church neglectful or slow in becoming involved in work for blacks? According to EGW, the reasons were prejudice,⁴⁸ callousness and indifference,⁴⁹ governmental neglect,⁵⁰ implications of racial guilt--what whites have done to make the problem what it is⁵¹ --not enough blacks helping blacks,⁵² the difficulty and perplexity of the work,⁵³ dependence on machinery instead of personal effort,⁵⁴ the need for education as well as evangelization,⁵⁵ unpromising aspects of the work,⁵⁶ danger,⁵⁷ and the lack of Christian love.⁵⁸

ENDNOTES

¹Gary Land, ed., *The World of Ellen G. White* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987), p. 9.

²Francis D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1951), p. 24.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 35, 35. Nichol explains the SDA perception of EGW: "Here is, indeed, a singular phenomenon, which calls for an explanation. Mrs. White explained it by declaring that God gave to her visions that enlightened her mind as to what the Advent people should do. And in this explanation all Seventh-day Adventists concur. Using the inspired rule, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' we affirm in unison that the visions give clear evidence of a divine origin. And we firmly insist that the pattern and the progress of the Advent movement are largely due to those visions. Note that we do not say that the visions explain the primary possession by Adventists of certain distinctive beliefs. The record is clear that the doctrinal beliefs grew out of extended Bible study on the part of the pioneers--the doctrinal foundation of the Advent movement is the Bible" (p. 25).

⁴Ronald Numbers, *Prophetess of Health* (New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1976), p. ix. Numbers, in this critical analysis of the health views of EGW, notes: "Ellen G. White, Seventh-day Adventist prophetess, ranks with the Mormons' Joseph Smith, the Christian Scientists' Mary Baker Eddy, and Charles Taze Russell of the Jehovah's Witnesses as one of the four nineteenth-century founders of a major American religious sect."

⁵Artemas C. Harmon, *The Harmon Genealogy*, p. 41.

⁶Land, pp. 13-31.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁹Numbers, p. 1.

¹⁰EGW elaborates on the incident: "We were doing this running towards home, but the girl was following us with a stone in her hand. I turned to see how far she was behind me, and as I turned, the stone hit me on my nose. I fell senseless. When I revived I found myself in a merchant's store, the blood streaming from my nose, my garments covered with blood, and a large stream of blood on the floor" (*Spiritual Gifts* [Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1944], p. 7).

¹¹Roger Coon, in *The Great Visions of Ellen G. White* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1992), described Ellen's condition as follows: "Ellen Harmon had been a near-total invalid for the previous eight years [before 1844] because of a tragic rock-throwing incident. The accident had left her physically disfigured, her central nervous system shattered, and her formal education permanently terminated in the third (or, possibly, fourth) grade of elementary school. Hers was virtually a medical basket case. One physician observed that her right lung was decayed, her left lung was considerably diseased, and her heart action impaired. His diagnosis: dropsical consumption (a form of tuberculosis); his prognosis: at best her life expectancy was very short; at worst she was liable to drop away at any time. In order to breathe at night Ellen had to be propped up into a near-sitting position, and frequent coughing spasms and lung hemorrhages had almost totally sapped her physical strength" (p. 17).

¹²Quotations in this section are taken from the following sources: *Spiritual Gifts: My Christian Experience, Views, and Labors* (Battle Creek, Mich.: James White, 1860); and *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain

View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1915). Other references used are *Ellen G. White Biography*, Arthur White (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1981-1986); *Life Sketches; Christian Experience and Extensive Labors of Elder James White, and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek, Mich.: SDA Pub. Assn., 1880); *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976), pp. 1584-1592; *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, Edward T. James, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), Vol. III, pp. 585-588. Additional details were furnished by the Ellen G. White Estate.

¹³Referring to this event that took place around 1836, EGW recalled: "On my way to school, I picked up a scrap of paper containing an account of a man in England who was preaching that this earth would be consumed in about 30 years from that time. I took this paper home and read it to the family" (*Life Sketches*, p. 137).

¹⁴EGW later recounted a theological incident that led to her being disfellowshipped: "I felt compelled to confess the truth, that it was not through Methodism that my heart had received its new blessing, but by the stirring truths concerning the personal appearing of Jesus. Through them I had found peace, joy and perfect love. Thus my testimony closed, the last that I was to bear in class with my Methodist brethren" (*Testimonies for the Church* [Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1885], vol. 1, p. 37).

¹⁵Coon, p. 18.

¹⁶*Life Sketches*, p. 125.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 252, 269.

¹⁸In 1901, shortly after returning to the United States, EGW had been aboard the *Morning Star* when passing through Vicksburg, Mississippi, but she

had not traveled on the boat. This trip she was to spend a full week traveling on the boat with Edson and his wife (Arthur White, vol. 5, p. 341).

¹⁹Arthur White gives an account of this trip: *1904 South Itinerary*: "Their travels took them west by train to Huntsville, Alabama, to visit the Oakwood school, which had been established for blacks ten years before. They arrived there Monday afternoon at 1:00 p.m. After looking over the farm, she spoke to the few students who were there for the summer. She told them she wanted 100 students in the school the next year, and urged them to appeal to their friends to come to Oakwood. She told these students how pleased she was that they were training for service. She said she wanted to encourage them because she knew they had a battle to fight and strong prejudice to work against. She pointed out that the church needed them to work in places where racial hostility prevented whites from working. She assured them of God's help and told them if she never saw them again on this earth she hoped to see them in the kingdom of heaven" (vol. 5, p. 347).

1909 South Itinerary: EGW, at 82 years of age, made another trip through the South in 1909 from California en route to the General Conference session in Washington, D.C. Sunday, April 25, she spoke to black SDAs in Nashville at their church on Winter Street. She expressed her encouragement about the progress of the black work. "I am glad that the message of Christ's Second Advent has reached so many of the Colored people. I want to say to you, the Lord is no respecter of persons. He makes no difference . . . because of the color of your skin. He understands all your circumstances. We have one Saviour for all" (vol. 6, pp. 191, 192). From Nashville, EGW visited and spoke at the Madison School, a self-supporting training school about ten miles out of Nashville, where she addressed workers at a teachers'

institute and appealed to them "not to neglect any field of missionary endeavor, and spoke of their duty to work for the black race" (*ibid.*, p. 192). In spite of problems with her eye and frequent stops on the train in the stifling heat, she visited Oakwood School and again took a tour of the campus and talked with the students. She spoke at a black church in Asheville, North Carolina, Sunday afternoon and left by train for Washington, D.C., that afternoon (*ibid.*).

²⁰EGW conceptualized her role as "the Lord's messenger" and she was no stranger to trials (*Review and Herald*, July 26, 1906), confident that He would give her strength to meet her responsibilities. In fact, she viewed sickness as instrumental in keeping her focused and dependent on God. (See *Life Sketches*, p. 72, for more on this point. See also "Proclaiming the Truth Where There Is Race Antagonism," *Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 205-212; Arthur White, vol. 4, pp. 13-17; W. P. Bradley, "When God Overrides," *Adventist Review*, Apr. 1, 1892; EGW to A. A. Daniells et al., Sept. 20, 1896, letter 27, 1896; EGW to J. E. White, Aug. 9, 1896, letter 124, 1896; *The Southern Work*, p. 10.)

²¹Roy Graham, *Ellen G. White: Cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Cooperstown, N. Dak.: Long Publishers, 1985), p. 32.

²²Edith Deen, *Great Women of Faith* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1959), p. 231.

²³*American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men of the State of Michigan, Third Congressional District, 1878.*

²⁴See SDA Membership Appendix.

²⁵See SDA Beliefs Appendix.

²⁶Gary Land, ed., *Adventism in America* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1986), p. 66. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to this book are from Chapter 4, "The Perils of Growth," pp. 95-138.

²⁷Gerald Damsteegt, *Foundations of the SDA Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1977), p. 296.

²⁸Land, p. 95.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 95-138.

³²Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary* (San Francisco, Calif.: Harper & Row, 1989), pp. 20, 21.

³³Land, pp. 113-116.

³⁴*The Southern Work*, p. 20.

³⁵Land, pp. 113-116.

³⁶*The Southern Work*, p. 15.

³⁷See Ron Graybill, *Mission to Black America* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1971).

³⁸EGW letter 5, 1895 (July 24): "To Brethren in Responsible Positions."

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Calvin Rock, "A Better Way," *Spectrum*, spring, 1970. This article was written in connection with efforts by black SDA leaders to establish black unions, the third tier in the organization's structure. (The organizational ladder, in ascending order, is churches, conferences, unions, divisions, the General Conference.)

⁴¹EGW letter 37 1/2, 1900 (Feb. 26): "To Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office."

⁴²*Testimonies*, vol. 9., p. 205 (1908).

⁴³General Conference Bulletin, 1899, p. 6 (see also p. 16).

⁴⁴EGW's plan involved sharing. The organization and able white SDAs were to help build the black work. This was the basic principle of the gospel and the premise of love on which the church is based. Her vision is illustrated in a manuscript she wrote in 1904, entitled "Our Duty Toward the Huntsville School." It was written while visiting the Oakwood School in Huntsville and the Graysville School (now Southern College) in Collegedale, Tennessee, which included a new sanitarium and hospital: "My visit to our school for the Colored people, at Huntsville, Alabama, brought me great sorrow of heart. I had known that this institution was in pressing need of substantial help, but I had not understood fully the real condition of the school. That which I saw staggered me. I asked myself, 'How can the brethren in the South, who have seen the needs of this school, remain silent? In what light does God regard their failure to bestir themselves in an effort to place this school on vantage ground?'

"The equipment of the Huntsville school is very incomplete. Even some of the most common necessities are lacking. . . . Those who attend this school have been getting along with crude makeshifts, hoping that in time some of the necessities would be supplied.

"That which to me seemed the greatest mystery of all was the striking contrast between Graysville and Huntsville. At Graysville the school and the sanitarium have been built up substantially by friends both in the North and in the South. The Graysville brethren and sisters have given much toward the erection and equipment of good buildings. The Graysville community has an appearance of thrift and prosperity. This is as it should be. But I could not

understand how those there, who have known of the destitution of a sister institution at Huntsville, have been content to continue building up their home institutions, without doing something for the training school for Colored people.

"How neighborly, how Christlike, it would have been for those at Graysville to say: 'We have been prospered in our efforts to establish institutions in this place. And while we are not planning the Graysville work unwisely, nor building too substantially, yet, in consideration of the more urgent need of the institution at Huntsville, let us send on to our fellow workers there some of the means now flowing in to us.' What an encouragement this would have been to the struggling teachers and students at Huntsville! How pleased the Lord would have been to see the needed facilities thus provided for!" (EGW, 1904, manuscript release No. 100).

⁴⁵Richard W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1979), p. 241.

⁴⁶EGW letter 165, 1899 (October 22).

⁴⁷EGW letter 5, 1895.

⁴⁸*The Southern Work*, p. 19.

⁴⁹EGW letter 136, 1898 (to J. E. White, Aug. 14, 1898).

⁵⁰EGW letter 37 1/2, 1900.

⁵¹*The Southern Work*, p. 14.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 9, 115.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 207, 208.

⁵⁸*The Southern Work*, p. 22.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEXTS: SOCIAL, RACIAL

Social Context: United States

When EGW was born in Gorham, Maine, John Quincy Adams was the country's sixth president. When she died, Woodrow Wilson was the twenty-eighth president of the United States. Besides living through 22 presidential administrations, EGW witnessed upheavals resulting from the change from a largely agrarian society to an industrial one. She saw the country expand in land size and double repeatedly in population, and endure periods during which hundreds of thousands of citizens died on fields of battle at home and abroad.

Social Reform

Political and economical expansionism was the watchword. And with that, inevitably was raised the question of slavery and the rights of the individual. Nagging the national consciousness was the question "Should a democracy based on the inalienable rights of individuals tolerate the existence of human slavery in its midst, or should the institution be limited or abolished?" Abolitionists equated their cause with guarantees of basic human rights of free speech and concomitant freedoms.

Styled as an "era of good feeling," the early 1800s were more accurately years of change and social reform. Besides abolition, there was the temperance movement, which focused on the liquor traffic and its attendant

social problems. By 1833, there were some 5,000 temperance societies. With its West Indies rum import trade, Portland, where Ellen grew up, had its temperance crusades and was known as a hotbed of health reform activity. As with any cause, traveling lecturers made use of books, tracts, petitions and the arts to galvanize support. In 1851, Maine passed the first statewide prohibition law in the United States as the result of Portland's famous New Deal.¹

The Millerite movement brought together revivalism and temperance, because its leader, William Miller, recognized God's hand in the temperance movement as a way to help prepare the people to meet Him. People who used alcohol were considered "wholly unprepared" for the Second Coming. As a young Millerite preacher, James White had nothing to do with alcohol, tobacco, tea or coffee, and Ellen, a teenager at the time, was of this mind-set as well.²

An intricate part of the temperance scene was Sylvester Graham, popular and controversial Presbyterian minister, who preached the virtues of morality, temperance and vegetarianism. The women's movement was closely associated with the temperance crusade. Prominent female reformers, such as Margaret Fuller and Lucy Stone, were also active in the temperance crusade. EGW's later fame outside of the SDA Church came largely as a result of her work as a temperance reformer, which peaked in the 1870s.³

Regina Morantz has recently shown that health reform had particular significance for the American woman: "In a society in which women were expected to play an increasingly complex role in the nurture of children and the organization of family life, health reform brought to the bewildered

housewife not just sympathy and compassion, but a structured regimen, a way of life. In an era characterized by weakening ties between relatives and neighbors, health reform lectures, journals, and domestic tracts provided once again the friendly advice and companionship of the now remote kinswoman. Women were promised a way to end their isolation and make contact with others of their sex. At lectures, study groups and even through letters to the various journals, they shared their common experiences with other women. A deep sense of sisterhood was evidenced by the frequent use of the term. No longer must woman bear her burden alone."⁴

Religious Sphere

Major developments were also taking place in the religious sphere. The 1800s were dominated by the strong revival spirit coming out of Second Great Awakening camp meetings in the South and particularly the "new means" evangelism of Charles Finney and other evangelists who used psychological techniques and high-pressure confrontation to influence hearers to turn to Christ. Precursors of this period included such preachers and evangelists as Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), Charles Wesley (1707-88), and George Whitefield (1714-70). The 1800s featured Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844), Ashbel Green (1762-1848), Charles Finney (1792-1875), Theodore Weld (1803-95), and Charles Spurgeon (1834-92), all contemporaries with EGW.⁵

This period witnessed the Advent movement under William Miller (1782-1849); the rise of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) under Joseph Smith (1805-1844); the early origins of the Disciples of Christ and the Churches of Christ under Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) and Presbyterian minister Barton Stone (1772-1844); strong anti-Roman Catholic sentiments; and new

theories and ideas rising out of biblical studies known as "higher criticism." Then, too, there were the various groups that focused on the manifestations of psychic phenomena--such as Mother Ann Lee (1736-84) and the Shakers, and Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819) and her Public Universal Friends. Especially significant was the spectacular rise of spiritism, or spiritualism, organized as a religion in Hydesville, New York, in 1848, as a result of the experiences of John D. Fox, his wife and his daughters, Margaret and Katie. The 1800s were a time of moral and social exploration and discovery, and a climate receptive to new ideas.⁶

Political Sphere

The historical backdrop of EGW's life can be divided into three broad periods: *development*, *division* and *diversity*. Events that took place in each period had direct impact on the SDA organization and in providing initiatives for work among blacks. These events also impacted EGW's thinking and comstats.

Development (1800-1860): After the inconclusive War of 1812, the United States entered a period marked by discussion and debate about what form the government would take. By the mid-1800s, the United States population was more than 23 million, eight times the population in 1798. With its recent land acquisitions, it had emerged as one of the largest countries in the world; its economy was transforming itself with startling speed, and commerce was expanding rapidly at home and abroad. The Industrial Revolution (1860s-1910s) made manufacturing a major element in the country's life and changed the way people thought and worked. Citizens in the United States credited their growth to providence, industriousness and

resourcefulness. However, there was a dark side. Ruthless exploitation of people, land and resources characterized America's rise. The Indians were virtually displaced from the eastern United States and greatly limited in the West and Midwest. Blacks were exploited in the South, forced to provide a labor force for the growth of rice, tobacco and cotton. The plight of blacks was dramatized by Harriet Beecher Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. In 1857 the Supreme Court, ruling on the Dred Scott case, held that slaves are not citizens. By the mid-1800s slavery had declined or disappeared in many nations, but in the United States it was gaining strength. Slavery was not only a moral question; it was becoming a threat to national unity.

Division (1861-1870s): Opinions on the slavery issue hardened in the North and the South; compromise seemed impossible. The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 dashed hopes for a peaceful resolution to the slavery issue and precipitated the immediate dissolution of the Union. As Lincoln had predicted in an 1858 debate, the "house divided against itself" was not going to stand. War broke out in April 15, 1861, when the forces of the newly formed Confederate States of America opened fire on Fort Sumter in South Carolina.

War, if it came, had been expected to be brief and limited. Instead, it proved to be the bloodiest conflict in the nation's history. More than 600,000 Americans died in the Civil War, more than died in all of the country's subsequent conflicts combined. Large areas of the South were utterly ruined-physically and economically. The wounded and crippled would be seen in the North and South for years. It was the first American war to employ devastating new military technologies and tactics that made massive slaughter an integral part of fighting. Although Lincoln's original intent wasn't to free

the slaves, on January 1, 1863, the president issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in the Confederate states.⁷ The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, passed and ratified by Congress in early 1864, finally brought legalized slavery to an end. On April 9, 1865, Confederate general Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union commander in chief Ulysses S. Grant.

Eliminating slavery, however, was only the first step. For some 12 years, during the period known as Reconstruction (1865-1877), the government sought to protect rights of the freed slaves and help them settle and start new lives. Southern whites viewed Reconstruction as an unfair, vicious, destructive period when Northern "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags" joined with blacks to take unfair political advantage of them. Northerners saw Reconstruction as a way to prevent unrepentant Southern whites from rebuilding their antebellum society and reinstating slavery in slightly altered form. This suspicion was strengthened by the eventual passage of a series of draconian laws known as the "Black Codes," designed to reduce newly freed slaves to a new form of bondage almost indistinguishable from slavery.

Unfortunately, Reconstruction provided "too little for not long enough." Northerners made only a limited commitment to the objectives of Reconstruction. And long before, the Compromise of 1877, when the last Reconstruction governments fell and were replaced with new regimes dominated by conservative white Southerners, Northerners had returned most political power to Southern whites and had abandoned most of their efforts to assist emancipated slaves in achieving equality. Historians reason that the end of Reconstruction came as something of a relief to many white Northerners. It marked the restoration of a more "normal" relationship

between the sections of the country.⁸

To black Americans in both the South and the North, Reconstruction was significant because it represented the first systematic effort in the history of the United States to provide them with the basic rights of citizenship. The Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equal treatment under the law. The Fifteenth Amendment promised them the right to vote. And Reconstruction government, they believed, would ensure that those rights be protected. "The withdrawal of federal support for black efforts in the South consigned the former slaves to a new form of political and economic bondage. Most blacks became sharecroppers and tenant farmers for white landowners, consigned to a system of debt peonage that left them economically enslaved. In the meantime, white Southern leaders began a process that by the end of the century would strip black citizens of many of their rights (including the right to vote) and would produce a system of legalized segregation which, while very different from slavery, guaranteed the survival of white supremacy."⁹

While the Civil War and Reconstruction had provided blacks with at least some level of liberty, regrettably it had not made them fully free. The nation's racial problems continued with segregation, discrimination, lynchings and sharecropping, "a new form of slavery." This period was the "open window of opportunity" about which EGW spoke; this was when SDAs could make a difference. They didn't, at least not to a notable level, until some 25 years after the Civil War, some 15 years after the end of Reconstruction. Determined to rectify this apathy, EGW directly confronted the SDA Church leaders about it in 1891. Eventually, progress was made, but because of complacency and deteriorated social conditions, the work was "ten times" more difficult.

Diversity (1880s-1900s): This was a time of dramatic social transformation. America, viewed by the world community as the land of opportunity, absorbed some 25 million immigrants between 1870 and 1920. The Industrial Revolution was in full swing, and technology and development were at an all-time high. Historians Charles and Mary Beard wrote: "The conquering hosts of business enterprise swept over the continent; 25 years after the death of Lincoln, America had become, in the quantity and value of her products, the first manufacturing nation of the world. What England had accomplished in 100 years, the United States had achieved in half the time."¹⁰

Turbulence and crisis also characterized this period. With the migration of immigrants, rural Americans and blacks to the cities, the public services were overwhelmed. "Roads, sewers, transportation systems, housing, social services, government bureaucracies, [and] public health systems were in a state of chaos..."¹¹ The 1890s to 1910s experienced strikes, reforms, protests, and an economic depression starting in 1893 and lasting more than four years. This also was the time when legalized segregation became a way of life in the South. Finally, with the new leadership role it assumed in the world community, the United States acquired overseas possessions as a result of the 1898 Spanish-American War. EGW lived and ministered during one of the most turbulent and dramatic periods in this nation's history.

Racial Context: Slavery, Emancipation and Reconstruction

In his best-seller *Two Nations*, sociologist Andrew Hacker quotes Benjamin Disraeli about the rich and poor in Victorian England and then applies

the quotation to the two major races in America today: "Two nations, between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets."¹² This continuing duality in modern United States society, and the lack of understanding on either side, can be traced back to racial trends and practices established in the 1800s. The nineteenth century, with the institution of slavery, the abolitionist movement, the Civil War, Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction, was the crucible that tested the dynamics of race relations and racial problems in the twentieth century.¹³

The SDA organization came into existence in the mid-1800s and thereby was drawn inexorably into the maelstrom of slavery and race-relation issues. This was especially true of the SDA Church because a part of its mission was to minister to the oppressed and downtrodden. Key to this mission were such scriptural commands as "Preach the gospel to the world," "Undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free," and "Heal the brokenhearted, preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, . . . set at liberty them that are bruised."¹⁴ Adventists were involved in race issues also because those early Advent believers who were former Millerites were convinced that they had a responsibility as citizens to address society's injustices from a moral standpoint. This thinking can be traced back to their Millerite connections.¹⁵

The explosive and turbulent nineteenth century was the setting in which EGW made her race-relations comstats. This section purposes to examine

seven of the major areas that formed the historical and societal context for EGW and the SDA organization relative to blacks and race. Naturally, the thinking and actions of EGW and SDAs were influenced by, and reactive to, the environment in which they lived.

A careful examination will be made of the principal societal variables relative to blacks, whites and race relations in the 1800s. EGW's comstats during the years 1891 to 1910 cannot be properly understood or appreciated without a meticulous examination of these relevant societal variables.

Slavery

By the end of the eighteenth century, slavery was virtually nonexistent in the North, with the exception of the states of New York and New Jersey. With the pressure of free trade, abolition and new state constitutions and legislatures outlawing slavery, the institution ceased to be viable in the North. Yet for blacks, freedom in the North was limited. In the South, blacks were slaves, the property of their masters, brought and sold at will, with no rights, liberties or opportunities. In the North, free blacks were often victims of segregation and discrimination. Whites generally considered themselves superior to blacks. Few Northern whites, even abolitionists, would associate with blacks. "The belief that blacks were subhuman, or at best inferior, was almost universal, even among the most enlightened people of the day."¹⁶

However, as a result of the invention of the cotton gin (1793), life was forever changed in the South. Cotton became the dominant product. Large plantations became profitable, and the backbone of the plantation was the field slave. Slaves were procured externally and internally. The external slave trade, the bringing in of slaves from outside the U.S., was declared illegal by

the government in 1808, but not enforced. In fact, nearly 2 million African slaves were brought to the American shores between 1810 and 1870.¹⁷ The internal trade of slaves already in the U.S. became the main method of the slave trade. Because the soil in the Southeast was worn out through intensive tobacco farming, surplus slaves from that region could be sold to the cotton producers in the South at great profit. "Soon then the Southeast found itself literally breeding slaves for the market. The selling of slaves became a major item in Virginia's economy, and the sight of a hundred or more slaves chained together, walking from upper to lower South, was not uncommon."¹⁸

James McPherson documents how slavery formed the foundation of the South's social order from the seventeenth century onward. In fact, the entire agricultural production system rested on slavery. In the 1850s, 10 percent of the slave labor force worked in mining, transportation, construction, lumbering and industry. Fifteen percent were domestic servants or performed nonagricultural tasks. More than 75 percent worked in agriculture, with 55 percent picking cotton, 10 percent harvesting tobacco and the remaining 10 percent working in the sugar, rice or hemp industries. Therefore, slave labor produced the major portion of the South's crops. A remarkable one third of the South's white families owned slaves, thus resulting in a widespread distribution of the institution. McPherson notes: "By contrast, only 2 percent of American families in 1950 owned corporation stocks comparable in value to one slave a century earlier. Nearly half of all owners in the 1850s held fewer than five slaves, but more than half of all slaves belonged to the 12 percent of owners who possessed 20 or more--the number that officially distinguished a plantation from a farm."¹⁹

The system of slavery catered to the nonslaveholder as well as to the

slaveowner. In this system, whites always came out on top, regardless of their status in society. According to McPherson, there were three distinct nonslaveholding groups. One group consisted of "hill country" residents who lived in the Appalachian highlands and valleys and owned few slaves. This group, because of their antagonism to the plantation lords, came the closest to being identified as antislavery.

The second group of nonslaveholders lived in the "piney woods" or "wiregrass" regions of southern Georgia, Alabama, eastern Mississippi and numerous other areas. This group is sometimes referred to as poor whites. The third and largest group of nonslaveholders were key players in the slave economy. They lived in the less fertile areas of the Tidewater region. They were linked to the plantation system because they were either employed within it, aspired to become slaveholders themselves or were connected to plantation owners by marriage.²⁰ However, it is significant to note that the bond between whites was not economic or social status, but racial! "Not all Southern whites owned slaves, but they all owned white skins. And slavery was not only a system of labor exploitation; it was a method of racial control. However much some slaveholders may have disliked slavery, few of them could see any alternative means of preserving white supremacy."²¹

Frederick Olsted records that an Alabama farmer told him that he believed slavery to be wrong but did not believe emancipation to be right. "Now suppose they were free, you see they'd all think themselves just as good as we. . . . How would you like to hev a nigger feelin' just as good as a white man? How'd you like to hev a nigger steppin' up to you darter?"²² Olmsted concluded that "from childhood, the one thing in their condition which has made life valuable to the mass of whites has been that the niggers

are yet their inferiors."²³ John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the South's leading proslavery spokesman, echoed the same sentiments: "With us," said Calhoun in 1848, "the two great divisions of society are not the rich and the poor, but white and black; and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belongs to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals... and hence have a position and pride of character of which neither poverty nor misfortune can deprive them."²⁴

Sociologist Pierre L. van den Berghe describes this rationalization for slavery and white supremacy as "herrenvolk democracy," which means there is equal superiority for all who belong to the herrenvolk, or the master race, over all who do not. Thus, in such reasoning all whites are above and superior to any blacks.²⁵ Developing this thought further, William L. Yancey, Alabama champion of Southern rights said: "Your fathers and my fathers built this government on two ideas. The first is that the white race is the citizen, and the master race, and the white man is the equal of every other white man. The second idea is that the Negro is the inferior race."²⁶

Accordingly, the herrenvolk ideology helped attract the various classes of whites--skilled or unskilled--to the Democratic Party. Why? Because under this approach, whites, no matter how poor they might be, were still better than blacks. Therefore, a great fear of emancipation to whites was that it would render their whiteness meaningless. Few issues were more volatile and sensitive to whites in the 1800s.²⁷

The slave virtually had no rights. Slavery gave the master almost unlimited power over his slave. The slave could be bought, sold, punished without sanction of the courts, separated from his family, exploited sexually, even killed, with the master fearing no legal responsibility. Slaves could not

legally marry or own property. They could not be taught to read or write in most states. Owners could allow them to have a family, earn money or even buy their freedom, but until they were free, money, spouse and children could be taken away at any moment. "Several states permitted manumission only on the condition that the manumitted slave leave the state. Of the 250,000 free blacks in the slave states in 1860, only 35,000 lived in the eight lower Southern cotton states, where they suffered galling restrictions that made life for many of them little better than slavery."²⁸

Perhaps most tragic of all was the breakup of the slave family. "Even a master who himself refused to sell family members apart from each other could not prevent such sales to settle debts after his death. Several studies of slavery have found that one fifth to one third of slave marriages were broken by owners--generally by selling one or both of the partners separately. The percentage of children sold apart from their parents or siblings cannot even be estimated."²⁹

It is important to note that most slaves were merely victims. As a result of forced bondage, many slaves found creative ways to foil the system that enslaved them. There were basically four ways that slaves searched for freedom and self-expression, thereby foiling the system.

The *first* and obvious way was to escape. Large numbers of slaves obtained their freedom this way. Some escaped to the North, some joined Indian tribes and some formed bands that remained in the South and terrorized white settlers. Many died in their attempt to escape. By 1855 some 60,000 slaves had fled North. By that time, the Underground Railroad, conducted primarily by blacks with stations manned by whites, was in operation. Its objective was to aid slaves who sought to escape from the South, but also to

thwart the enforcement of the fugitive slave laws in the free states. This law EGW admonished all true believers to disobey.³⁰

The *second* way by which the slaves sought deliverance was through organized rebellion or insurrection. This was the worst fear of the slave-owning population.³¹ Perhaps the three most widely publicized slave rebellions in the United States were those led by Gabriel Prosser in Richmond, Virginia, in 1800; by Denmark Vesey in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822; and by Nat Turner, near Southampton, Virginia, in 1831. As a result of these uprisings, laws dictating the level of freedom of slaves and free blacks in the South were made even more oppressive and restrictive.³²

A *third* way of seeking deliverance was through passive resistance, to refuse to comply with the system. Slaves just stopped working, or at least working energetically. They "soon earned a reputation for being lazy, refusing to work hard; clumsy, breaking tools and other equipment; and dishonest, stealing food and valuables."³³ These characteristics were often cited as evidence of the inferiority of the slave. And much of the writing referring to the uncivilized nature of blacks is based on the testimony of slave owners, who were considered to be experts on blacks. In reality, by such deliberate gestures, the slaves were able to indicate their hostility to the system.

The *fourth* way was the ultimate means of deliverance--through Christian faith. Prior to the period of the Second Great Awakening, little attempt was made to convert Southern slaves to Christianity. But after this period, Baptists and Methodists made great headway among blacks. When blacks became Christians, they made the religion their own. They saw in the Old Testament Israelites, a reflection of themselves a captive people.

Slaves believed that as God freed the Israelites in the Old Testament,

so He would free them from the chains of slavery. The slave religion was reflected in the subtle and often dual meanings of their spirituals. Running through slave literature and song are the themes of dissatisfaction with the conditions of slavery, faith in ultimate deliverance by a righteous God and anticipation of a better world "over there." "Over there" referred both to freedom in this world and freedom in the world to come.³⁴

The system of slavery didn't go unnoticed by EGW. She spoke about the wickedness of the slave trade and called upon the church to oppose it. Perhaps this is why there were, at least at first, so few white Adventists in the South. As explained before, SDAs such as Joseph Bates and John Byington were known to have abolitionist sentiments, and perhaps more important, EGW spoke out against the "evils of slavery" often during the 1860s.³⁵

In 1862, EGW's husband, James, then editor of the *Review*, linked the practice of slavery to the eventual punishments of God on the nation. In an editorial entitled "The Nation," he said: "For the past ten years the *Review* has taught that the United States of America was a subject of prophecy, and that slavery is pointed out in the prophetic word as the darkest and most damning sin upon this nation. It has taught that Heaven has wrath in store for the nation, which it would drink to the very dregs, as due punishment for the sin of slavery."³⁶

In 1863, less than a year later, EGW, in reaction to opposition to the "The Nation" editorial and in response to questions concerning slavery and the Civil War, wrote: "The time has come for our true sentiments in relation to slavery and the Rebellion to be made known." After cautioning the members for calmness and entreating them to remain unified, she said: "There are a few

in the ranks of Sabbathkeepers who sympathize with the slaveholder. When they embraced the truth, they did not leave behind them all the errors they should have left." She went on to elaborate: "Some have brought along with them their old political prejudices, which are not in harmony with the principles of the truth. They maintain that the slave is the property of the master, and should not be taken from him."³⁷

EGW stated that some SDAs held the same views of white superiority as were in vogue at that time. "They [some SDAs] rank these slaves as cattle and say that it is wronging the owner just as much to deprive him of his slaves as to take away his cattle."³⁸ Perhaps more clearly than ever before that time, EGW set forth her understanding of how God wanted SDAs to view the slavery issue. "I was shown that it mattered not how much the master had paid for human flesh and the souls of men; God gave him no title to human souls, and he has no right to hold them as his property. Christ died for the whole human family, whether white or black." Moreover, she noted that "the institution of slavery does away with [the slave's right to be a free moral agent] and permits man to exercise over his fellowman a power which God has never granted him, and which belongs alone to God."³⁹

EGW placed the responsibility for the system of slavery and its concomitant negative results squarely on the slavemaster and those who countenance the system. "The slavemaster has dared assume the responsibility of God over his slave, and accordingly he will be accountable for the sins, ignorance, and vice of the slave. He will be called to an account for the power which he exercises over the slave." Reiterating, she said: "The Colored [people] are God's property. Their Maker alone is their master, and those who have dared chain down the body and the soul of the slave, to keep

him in degradation like the brutes, will have their retribution."⁴⁰

Later in the same chapter, EGW chastened believers for being so "indiscreet as to talk out their proslavery principles"--principles that she said proceeded "from the dominion of Satan." In reference to the nationwide conflict, she said: "God was not with the South" in the war, and "He would punish them dreadfully in the end [of the Civil War]." She also condemned the North for allowing slavery to last so long.⁴¹

Understanding the system of slavery and its horrendous aspects is fundamental to understanding and interpreting EGW's position and comstats on race. She advocated that (1) SDAs oppose any form of slavery--subtle or blatant; (2) slavery was a sin; (3) SDAs and all Christians should assist slaves and former slaves "to improve their condition"; and (4) all races are equal and deserve equal treatment.

Abolition

In the years before the Civil War, the nation separated into two camps, one antislavery and the other proslavery. From 1830 to 1860, the lines were drawn more clearly concerning the slavery issue than at any other time, finally erupting into civil war. Herbert Aptheker called the abolition movement "one of the most profound revolutionary movements in the world's history." He described three major schools of thought: one "insisted that the only proper and efficacious instrument for change was moral suasion; another held that moral suasion had to be buttressed by political action; and the third expressed a belief in the necessity for resistance in a physical sense, in direct military action."⁴² Generally, advocates of the military approach adopted the moral and political positions as well.

It is helpful to note on what grounds slavery was defended or opposed. Such proslavery proponents as Thornton Stringfellow and Thomas Dew defended slavery from a theological basis, declaring that black people should be slaves because their black skin was the mark of Cain. Blacks, they said, were intellectually and morally inferior.⁴³

Abolitionists James Birney (in *Letters to Ministers and Elders* [1834]) and Theodore Weld (in *The Bible Against Slavery*) rejected slavery by declaring that the institution was opposed to the teaching of Christ concerning the universal brotherhood of mankind and that a cardinal principle of Christianity was that all men are created in the image of God. They reasoned that slavery was contrary to the fundamental principles of life, that freedom is an inalienable right of the individual. Further, they contended that slavery was unsound because the workers could not be expected to be efficient, and therefore, the system was a waste of physical and human resources, that the plantation system was counterproductive and destructive to the slave and the slaveowner as well.⁴⁴ Finally, abolitionists condemned slavery because they saw it as a menace to the peace and safety of society. They argued that the South was becoming an armed camp where whites lived in constant fear of a widespread uprising of slaves. This fear, they contended, generated violence, distrust and bloodshed.⁴⁵

Perhaps the most vocal abolitionists were David Walker and William Lloyd Garrison. Walker, a North Carolina free black who moved to Boston, wrote one of the most vigorous denunciations of slavery ever printed in America. It carried the title "Walker's Appeal in Four Articles Together With a Preamble to the Colored Citizens of the World, But in Particular and Very Expressly to Those of the United States of America." In unmistakable

language, Walker called upon blacks to rise up and throw off the yoke of slavery.⁴⁶ Walker ended his appeal by affirming that the Declaration of Independence gave blacks justification in resisting with force, if necessary.

In January, 1831, Garrison's *The Liberator* appeared. In this paper he argued that the black man was as much entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the white man." He called for "immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery."⁴⁷ Garrison became the most articulate spokesman of militant abolitionism.

Garrison differed from most abolitionists in that he associated socially with blacks, and he was criticized for it. Most whites, even many of those who vehemently opposed slavery, were racially prejudiced. "Many were very overt about it. Most whites of the times believed that though blacks should be free that they were still inferior and should not be associated with."⁴⁸ Abraham Lincoln opposed the expansion of slavery, but apparently didn't feel that blacks should be socially equal to whites. So even in the antislavery camp there was much to be desired. As a result of examining EGW's comstats, it will become obvious how these compared with the antislavery thinking of her day.

Millerism and Abolitionism

As mentioned earlier, several SDA leaders and some members, when part of the Millerite movement, were also active in the abolitionist movement and traced many of their antislavery views to their Millerite and pre-Millerite days. William Lloyd Garrison considered Millerites to be "deluded people" who were misled by an "absurd theory." Yet, he admitted that "a considerable number of worthy abolitionists," as well as "multitudes who were formerly

engaged in the various moral enterprises of the age," were involved in the Advent movement.⁴⁹ Garrison refused to rail against the Millerites, as he was known to do against his enemies. However, he felt reformers were of little use to the abolitionist cause once they began to espouse Advent teachings. Graybill, in *The Disappointed*, a book on the rise and influence of Millerism, concurs that it does seem that the reform zeal of abolitionists appeared to lessen as they converted to Millerism.⁵⁰

Yet, this criticism by Garrison is moderated by the fact that many of the Millerite leaders were active in the cause of immediate abolition and other causes. In 1843, Garrison recognized William Miller as an "outspoken friend" of "the cause[s] of temperance, of antislavery, of moral reform, of nonresistance."⁵¹ Miller once noted ironically to a proslavery friend, who was critical of radical abolitionists, that blacks "walk on two legs, as we do, they have arms and heads, as we have, they have skulls--but dare you think they have brains, my brother, as we have? If I thought they had, I should be tempted to think they had feelings, and hearts, and souls, like us. And I should begin to think God designed we should love them as ourselves."⁵² No records indicate Miller's active participation in an antislavery society, "but he nevertheless had a reputation as a reliable and practical abolitionist."⁵³ Graybill also cites an account that occurred two weeks after the disappointment when a friend sent Miller a fugitive slave to help in his escape to freedom.

Miller, however, like many other antislavery proponents, was disgusted by the factional squabbling among abolitionists. He observed, after attending an antislavery society meeting in New York in 1840, that "they are in trouble, divided, split in two, scattered, and weakened by their uneasy designing and master spirits. The poor slave has but little chance to be liberated by these

two parties. . . . The slaveholder may call in his piquets, he may need no additional guards, his citadel is safe. While the pretended friends of the slave are expending all their ammunition on each other, the release of the captive will be little thought of."⁵⁴ Miller saw the black man's hope as only in the coming of Christ. He noted that "God can and will release the captive. And to Him alone we must look for redress."⁵⁵

Many other Millerites were also connected with the abolitionist movement. Joshua V. Himes, second in influence only to Miller in the period from 1840 onward, was a close acquaintance of Garrison. "At a very early period," Garrison said, Himes had "avowed himself an abolitionist, and has been a faithful supporter of the antislavery movement."⁵⁶ As early as 1833, Himes made contributions to the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Frederick Douglass observed, when attending the convention of the Evangelical Alliance in London in 1846, that Himes spoke vigorously in favor of a resolution to refuse to seat slaveholders.⁵⁷

Charles Fitch, the third most important Millerite leader, was well known in abolitionist circles for his tract *"Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance of Truth, and Its Comparative Guilt Illustrated"*. In this tract, Fitch declared slavery to be as bad or worse than the liquor traffic, theft, robbery, murder and treason. He urged fellow Christians, "Up, my friends, and do your duty, to deliver the spoils out of the hands of the oppressed, lest the fire of God's fury kindle ere long upon you."⁵⁸ There were other Millerite preachers with abolitionist backgrounds. George Storrs, Orange Scott and LeRoy Sunderland "led the fight to capture the Methodist Church for the antislavery cause." Also active were Elon Galusha of the Baptist Missionary Convention and Luther Boutelle of the Advent Christian Church. Boutelle's home served as a

haven for temperance and antislavery reformers."⁵⁹

Perhaps most important to SDAs was Joseph Bates's connection to, and interest in, the freedom and betterment of slaves, both prior to and during his association with Millerism. Bates, formerly a sea captain, later became one of the founders of the SDA Church. Bates helped found the Fairhaven Anti-Slavery Society after converting from the doctrine of colonization to immediate abolition. Bates preached "the Advent message to both slaves and plantation owners on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1843." Aware of Bates' abolitionist background, one planter asked if the sea-captain-turned-preacher had come to get his slaves. "Yes," Bates replied with humor, "I have come to get your slaves, and you too."⁶⁰ However, when Bates began to espouse Adventism, he changed his focus. His intention was to prepare the slaves for the second advent of Christ, not to change their earthly status.

Perhaps the most famous abolitionist to join the Millerites was Angelina Grimke, born to a slaveholding family in South Carolina. Angelina and her sister, Sarah Moore, after migrating to Philadelphia, lectured on abolitionism at antislavery meetings. They later added women's rights to the causes they supported. Angelina Grimke married Theodore Dwight Weld, a leading abolitionist, and retired to a farm in New Jersey. Formerly a Quaker, in 1843 Angelina accepted the Advent teachings and became a Millerite.

It seems reasonable to assume that the Advent teachings of Millerism were consistent with the "commonsense practicality" of the abolition and reform movements. Graybill observes that "to reformers, sickened and disappointed by factionalism among abolitionists, the Advent movement offered a thriving, growing, unified alternative. Far from seeming impractical, to many of them [reformers] it seemed to offer a very tangible and dramatic

definition for the word 'immediate' in 'immediate abolition.'⁶¹

Yet, like the SDA Church, one of its successor organizations, "Millerism as a movement did little to advance the cause of reform. Indeed, the movement distracted many from active labor in the reform movements."⁶² This was in part because Millerites in general believed that the soon appearance of Christ would offer a lasting solution to the slavery issue. It is fair to conclude, then, "that while Millerism was not hostile to social reform, it was too single-minded to give any great support to abolitionism and other reforms." Clearly, "Miller appealed to values that many reformers held dear. As groups increasingly alienated from established organizations, Millerites and reformers felt a sympathy for each that also facilitated Adventist [Millerite] conversions."⁶³

The Millerite environment of reform, abolition sympathy and individual conviction was the context from which EGW emerged. Therefore, her sympathy with the conditions of the slaves and her antipathy to proslavery sentiment are congruous in light of her background.

Civil War

When the Civil War began, blacks had two main objectives. One was to work toward freedom for all black people. The second was to help make that goal a reality by joining the Union Army. When Lincoln issued a call for troops, black men willingly offered themselves for military service. However, they were turned away because the War Department didn't want to use blacks. As the war drew on, the need for additional manpower became apparent, and the valor and loyalty of blacks was soon put to the test.⁶⁴ In July, 1862, Congress passed a bill authorizing the use of black troops and

openly began recruiting.⁶⁵ Many historians feel the decision to use blacks in the war was crucial to the final Union victory.

Though the SDA Church was not yet officially organized, EGW was not silent on the Civil War. In August, 1861, she declared that "God is punishing this nation for the high crime of slavery. He has the destiny of the nation in His hands. He will punish the South for the sin of slavery, and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence."⁶⁶ During the time when people thought the war would be short and simple, EGW went on record in 1861, stating that the war would be protracted and that there would be heavy casualties on both sides. She went on to state that (1) slavery was a sin "in direct opposition to the teaching of Christ"; (2) that God is using the Civil War to punish both the North and South for practicing and allowing the sin of slavery; (3) that the North would not quickly "strike a [decisive] blow and end the controversy; (4) that both the North and South were deceived concerning each other (on the one hand, the South was better prepared for the war than expected; on the other, the North excelled in valor and power of endurance); (5) that had the North taken "active measures" when hostilities first broke out, the conflict might have been shortened; (6) that proslavery men and traitors in the North supposedly in favor of the Union were influential in decision-making circles and took some actions in favor of the South.⁶⁷ From the very beginning of the conflict, EGW made the freedom of slaves a moral issue in the SDA organization.

Reconstruction

The Union victory ensured legal freedom and the end of slavery, but what of the future for these new freedmen? Blacks were disenfranchised in

both the North and the South. Competition for jobs was growing increasingly fierce. What would happen to a freedman who had agricultural skills but no land on which to exercise them? This was not the problem of educated blacks in the North--they were interested mainly in obtaining political and civil rights. This was the problem of the rural freedman from the South--the farm was what he knew, and his future was tied up in obtaining land necessary to allow some economic independence.⁶⁸

Several proposals were introduced, seeking to provide each freedman with "forty acres and a mule" so that he might make a real start toward an independent livelihood. Ultimately, virtually all of these plans fell through. Before the assassination of Lincoln, there was a possibility that land might be secured for newly freed blacks. But for the most part, those so-called land policies, even before the end of the war, resulted in another form of slavery. In place of giving freedmen their own land, they were required to sign labor contracts with Northern adventurers to whom the former plantations had been leased in order to provide support for federal troops.

After the war, conditions grew steadily worse. During the Andrew Johnson administration, many freedmen lost hope. The president went out of his way to put Southerners at ease by returning their land and plantations to them. Unfortunately, blacks during the Reconstruction paid the price of such a policy. Black farmers who didn't leave the South often became sharecroppers in a system that drove them deeper into debt. "By the end of the century they had fallen into a condition that approached serfdom."⁶⁹

In December, 1866, Frederick Douglass, in an article entitled "Reconstruction" (published in *Atlantic Monthly*), argued that whether or not the ex-slave was granted a fair chance based on "loyalty, liberty and equality

was due to the government." He said: "The arm of the Federal government is long, but it is far too short to protect the rights of the individuals in the interior of distant states [the South]. They must have the power to protect themselves, or they will go unprotected. "He envisioned that protection as being the right to vote.

Douglass elaborated on this point and described the plight of the ex-slave and the dilemma of reconstruction:

"Slavery, like all other great systems of wrong, founded in the depths of human selfishness, and existing for ages, has not neglected its own conservation. It has steadily exerted an influence upon all around it favorable to its own continuance. And today it is so strong that it could exist, not only without law, but even against law. Custom, manners, morals, religion, are all on its side everywhere in the South; and when you add the ignorance and servility of the ex-slave to the intelligence and accustomed authority of the master, you have the conditions, not out of which slavery will again grow, but under which it is impossible for the federal government to wholly destroy it, unless the federal government be armed with despotic power, to blot out State authority, and to station a federal officer at every crossroad. This, of course, cannot be done, and ought not even if it could. The true way and the easiest way is to make our government entirely consistent with itself, and give to every loyal citizen the elective franchise--a right and power which will be ever present, and will form a wall of fire for his protection."⁷⁰

The needs of the South, of both blacks and whites, were great. The United States was seeking to rebuild itself--socially, politically and economically--after the devastation that began in 1861. Unlike any other period before or since, blacks and whites needed the help and support of the

North. This was the period that EGW said the SDA Church had the greatest opportunity to help ex-slaves and disillusioned whites. Central, however, to all of the issues in the Reconstruction period was the question of the freedman. As Du Bois observed: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line."⁷¹ Conflict arose over who would assist the black race, what was the difference between the black man and white man, and when should his status be determined.

John Franklin noted that the greatest barrier to the solution of the postwar troubles "was the legacy of hate that was inherited from a generation of bitter intersectional strife." This was a period during which people were hungering for solutions on how to deal with the deep racial and sectional animosity in the hearts of blacks and whites, Northerners and Southerners. Franklin discerned that "there was no hope of solving any problem [dealing with the race question] until a new spirit of conciliation and goodwill could be created."⁷² EGW perceived the same, but stated that the only way the walls of separation and prejudice could be eliminated was by the teachings of the Word of God.⁷³ It was EGW's view that SDAs and other Christians could have provided a service of reconciliation, education and evangelization unlike during any other period.⁷⁴ In 1900, when opposition and violence closed Edson White's work among blacks in Mississippi, he came out with a special issue of the *Gospel Herald* and voiced the same concern: "But the fields are closing, and what will be our record when presented with our failure to move out in this work while yet we can?"⁷⁵

Thus, Reconstruction was essentially a national problem. In retrospect, it is clear that few crises in the history of the United States have so urgently needed national attention and action; at no other time in United States' history

has the welfare and direction of an entire race depended on the decisions of the government and its people as much as during the aftermath of the Civil War. The problem of Reconstruction was inherently the dilemma of how to move the nation toward greater economic and political democracy.⁷⁶

To be sure, some progress was made during Reconstruction. Many blacks participated in elective politics for the first time in American history. Some 17 black men served in Congress (two in the Senate) during this period; of these, 13 were former slaves. Equally important were the black members of the various state constitutional conventions and legislatures. Under their influence, the new state constitutions called for an extension of the franchise, free public education, and significant reforms in such areas as state penal and judicial systems. It is ironic to note that these various reforms, enacted under the influence of blacks, contributed in a major way to the renaissance of the white South.⁷⁷

Post-Reconstruction

During the period after the Civil War, white Southerners were determined to guide their own destiny and control the black race. When the Radical Reconstruction apparently threatened this objective, they struck with fury. The establishment of the Ku Klux Klan and other renegade groups seemed to inspire a kind of guerrilla warfare carried on against both blacks and whites who represented the Washington government in the South. The head of the Freedman's Bureau in Georgia complained that bands of men calling themselves Regulators, Jayhawkers and the Black Horse Calvary were committing the "most fiendish and diabolical outrages on the freedman," with the sympathy of the white populace, and the reconstructed government.

These secret white protective societies sprang up throughout the South. "The struggle between the organized Southern whites on the one hand and the Union League, Freedmen's Bureau, federal troops, and Negroes on the other was essentially a struggle for political control of the South."⁷⁸ A struggle that white Southerners eventually won. Whites gained the ascendancy primarily through disenfranchisement. Until whites again regained power of the legislature, they controlled blacks' participation in politics by resorting to intimidation on a massive scale. Besides violence, blacks were controlled through the installation of the "Black codes," the crop lien system (sharecropping), peonage, the convict lease system, the poll tax, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses. These led to the establishment of the Jim Crow laws in Tennessee in 1875.⁷⁹ During the latter part of the 1870s, the rest of the South rapidly fell in line.

During the post-Reconstruction period (from 1877 to 1900), victimization of blacks was renewed. The protection blacks had received following the Civil War was removed in 1877 under President Rutherford B. Hayes. The white South was then at liberty to deal with blacks as they saw fit. Abandoned by the federal government and bereft of Northern support, the blacks of the South gave in to the series of laws and legal traps mentioned earlier. As tools to keep blacks "in line," outright violence and intimidation were joined by legal exclusion from the political process. Mississippi, in 1890, was the first state to implement new suffrage restrictions in its constitution, provisions that were clearly intended to eliminate black people from the voting process.

Along with legal disenfranchisement came legal segregation. Many

blacks and whites in the South were willing to live with the voluntary separation of races that characterized much of the Reconstruction period. However, during the post-Reconstruction period, fear of a possible breakdown in racial customs led whites to impose legal restrictions on the activities of blacks.⁸⁰ The first segregation laws were applied in the field of public education. Segregation in transportation came next. By the time of the First World War, segregation was legally maintained in almost every area of social contact.

With the restriction of political and social rights, black people began losing the economic advantages they had enjoyed earlier. "An influx of white labor, skilled and unskilled, began to edge the blacks out of even the jobs that had traditionally been theirs. When the Civil War ended, five of every six artisans in the South were black; by 1900, only one of every 20 was black."⁸¹ When Reconstruction ended, black people looked to the federal government for legal aid. At that time, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 provided some protection against segregation in transportation and public accommodations. Blacks had every reason to expect federal support. The Supreme Court, however, dealt the struggle for equal rights a near death blow.

In 1883, the Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional on the grounds that the Fourteenth Amendment did not prohibit discrimination by individuals. Later, in 1896, in the notorious *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the Court ruled that "separate but equal" facilities were permissible and that states could use police power to enforce segregation laws. Shortly thereafter, the Court ruled that states could limit the franchise in any way that was not explicitly based on race, color, or

previous condition of servitude. At that point the reversal of the rights of black Americans in the South was virtually complete.⁸²

The South and its institutions were to suffer dearly for their discriminatory practices. The educational development of Southern blacks was curtailed. All issues in society were soon dominated by the color issue. Avenues of free discussion and exchange between the races were severed; the two-party system was done away with for fear that blacks might decide between the opposing factions. The cost of maintaining a double system of schools and countless other areas in society drained the economy, and distrust, suspicion and deterioration of race relations were everywhere present.⁸³ EGW issued most of her comstats against a backdrop of racial disharmony and oppression in the South and the United States in general. The following table (Figure 4:1) demonstrates the increasing level of barbarism that occurred around the turn of the century.

"Peace had not yet come to the South. The new century opened tragically with 214 lynchings in the first two years. Clashes between the races occurred almost daily, and the atmosphere of tension in which people of both races lived was conducive to little more than a struggle for mere survival, with a feeble groping in the direction of progress. The law, the courts, the schools, and almost every institution in the South favored the white man. This was white supremacy."⁸⁴

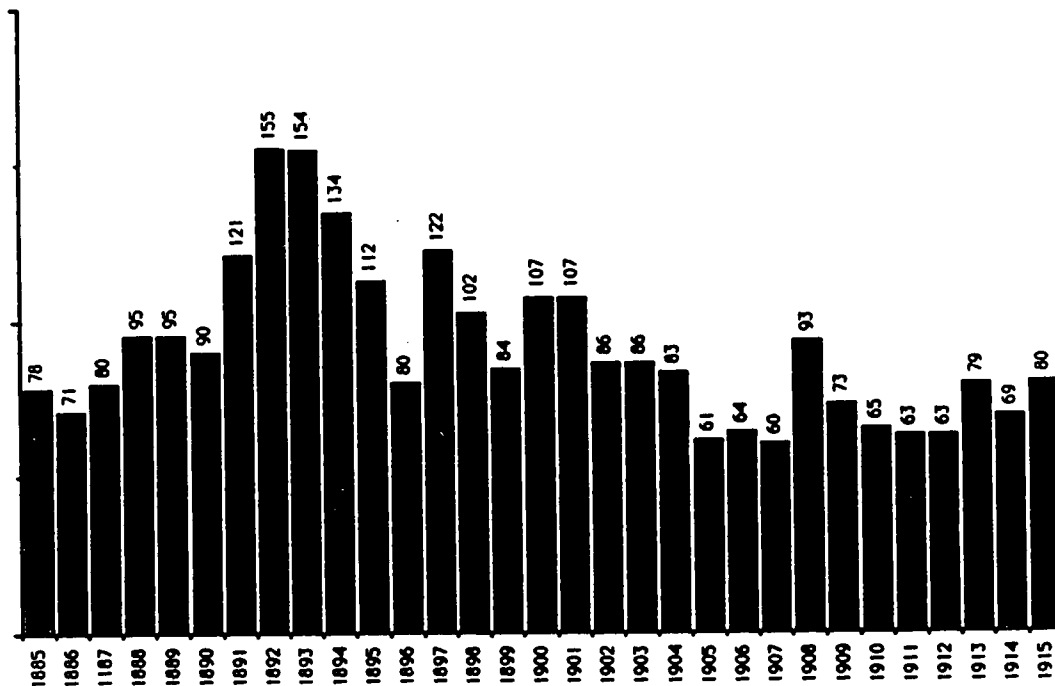


Figure 4:1 Lynchings by Years, 1885-1916

Protest

EGW's repeated call to SDAs to move into the South and address the issues of equality and education for blacks was by no means an isolated influence on the SDA Church. All around the church were voices of protest and appeal that sought to better the conditions of blacks. EGW may have been the primary voice within the realm of Adventism, but she was only one of many outside its ranks. Two of the most insistent forums for change and progress were the black church and black leadership.

The Black Church: Christianity gave the black man a liberating ideology.

Many of the leaders of black protest with influence during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were clergymen who saw principles of freedom and justice in the pages of the Bible. They, like EGW, used its imagery to call for a world in which men were equal before each other and God. Although some, like Frederick Douglass, rejected the idea of separate religious organizations for blacks, the establishment of all-black churches became the norm in the 1800s.

The black church became the forum for black people to receive inspiration, to voice dreams and aspirations, and to lay plans for protesting the injustice around them. "The end of the war led to the expansion of independent churches among Negroes. There were no longer Southern laws to silence Negro preachers and proscribe their separate organizations. Negroes began to withdraw from white churches once they had secured their freedom, and consequently the Negro church grew rapidly after the war."⁸⁵ As the Freedman's Bureau was forced into withdrawal, the only outside assistance for blacks was that offered by churches, especially black churches. In 1856, the African Methodist Episcopal Church had only 20,000 members, ten years later it had 75,000. In 1876, its membership exceeded 200,000, and its influence and assets had increased proportionately.

The Baptists likewise enjoyed phenomenal growth. Local churches sprang up overnight under the ministry of unlettered but inspired preachers. The first state convention of black Baptists was organized in North Carolina in 1866. Within a few years, every Southern state had a large black Baptist organization. Total membership increased from 150,000 in 1850 to 500,000 in 1870.⁸⁶

Because of the aforementioned reluctance to work in the South, black Adventists never caught up numerically with mainstream black Baptist and

Methodist denominations in the South.⁸⁷

More than any other institution, black churches also gave recently freed blacks an opportunity to develop schools, educate its membership and develop black leadership. "It is no coincidence that many outstanding black Reconstruction leaders were ministers who gained much of their experience in the Negro church."⁸⁸ Further, the black church originated the convention movement, one of the most important means of organized protest among black people. The first convention was held in 1830 to protest the suggestion that free blacks move to Africa or some other country to eliminate the race problem in the North. Conventions and meetings were held from time to time during the rest of the century.

Conventions held during the antebellum period emphasized the necessity of alleviating the oppression of free blacks and addressing problems relating to education, suffrage and job training. These conventions dealt also with issues of the enslaved blacks in the South. Resolutions were often passed expressing support for the emancipation of the slaves.

The black church and its conventions recognized that resolutions were not enough. Therefore, many blacks in the North were active in the Underground Railroad and began to form vigilance committees to help protect fugitive slaves from recapture and to find them jobs and housing. Blacks from these protest organizations were also involved in the abolitionist movement. Black churches and conventions often provided platforms for abolitionist rallies and planning meetings.

Black Leadership: Central to any discussion of black leaders in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction period is Booker T. Washington. In

fact, virtually the entire period under study in this dissertation is known as the "age of Booker T. Washington." Lerone Bennett, Jr., said of the same period: "In the critical years from 1895 to 1915, Booker T. Washington was the most prominent Negro in America."⁸⁹ The age started in earnest around 1895, the year James Edson White landed in Vicksburg to begin his work among blacks in the South. Edson White and Booker T. Washington shared some common views. Edson referred to Washington on a number of occasions in the *Gospel Herald* and advocated a number of his views. The men also knew each other personally and shared correspondence. The age ended in 1915, when both Washington and EGW died.

Born into slavery about 1856, Washington was a man of driving ambition and obvious ability. Referred to as the most powerful black man ever to operate on the American scene, Washington dominated the black social and political scene from 1895 to 1915. Washington's claim to leadership came in 1895 when he made his famous address at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, September 18.⁹⁰

Rayford Logan said of this speech: "The national fame that Washington achieved overnight by his Atlanta speech constitutes an excellent yardstick for measuring the victory of 'The New South,' since he accepted a subordinate place for Negroes in American life."⁹¹ As a result of analyzing the positive reception of Washington's speech in Southern newspapers, Logan notes that the most quoted portion of Washington's speech was his assertion that "in all things that are purely social we [the races] can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Logan observed that "this sentence aroused more frantic applause from the crowd than any other."⁹²

Washington clarified his views concerning social equality by elaborating: "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing."⁹³ Essentially, Washington believed that blacks would succeed best by starting at the bottom of the societal ladder and getting an "industrial education," thus providing a skilled labor force for the rapidly industrializing South. He virtually gave up aspirations for political, social and even civil rights in favor of economic advancement on the assumption that "there is something in human nature that compels respect for success regardless of color."⁹⁴

Du Bois stated it more bluntly: "Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things--first, political power, second, insistence on civil rights, third, higher education of Negro youth--and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South."⁹⁵ Du Bois goes on to say that as a result of "this tender of the palm branch," Washington had contributed to the more "speedier accomplishments of" (1) the disenfranchisement of the Negro; (2) the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro; and (3) the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.⁹⁶ Countermanding Washington, Du Bois stated that the heretofore "other class of Negroes" were asking the nation for "(1) the right to vote, (2) civic equality, and (3) the education of youth according to ability."⁹⁷

In spite of the voices of other blacks, Washington, from his base as principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama, virtually

directed the affairs of blacks in America for at least a decade and a half. It is argued that Washington never really came to grips with the plight of poor blacks in the rural South. "He was more interested in organizing the growing black middle class, and to that end he founded, with the financial backing of Andrew Carnegie, the National Negro Business League to preach the virtues of black business development in black communities."⁹⁸ It should be pointed out that Washington's approach was based on expediency--he did look forward to a time when blacks would reach total acceptance and integration into American society. Further, though his public posture was accommodative, he was privately engaged in an effort to reduce the discrimination suffered by blacks. He quietly invested large amounts of money and effort trying to halt disenfranchisement and segregation. "In retrospect, it appears that his greatest failing was his desire for personal power and prestige. He made every effort possible to stifle criticism of himself and his policies by blacks who felt that other voices should be heard, even when they supported his policies."⁹⁹

By 1903, it was clear that Washington's greatest opposition for leadership in the black community would come from William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. W. E. B. Du Bois, the first black to receive a Ph.D. degree from Harvard University, had as his original ambition to make a complete study of the history and condition of black people in America. Du Bois worked with Washington on several projects in the first years of the century, but found his inflexibility and inability to accept criticism a barrier to their future cooperation.¹⁰⁰

In 1905, Du Bois, with the support of other black intellectuals, founded the Niagara Movement to protest increasing discrimination in the United

States. In partial reaction to the control exerted by Washington, the Niagara Movement also adopted as a goal the immediate reestablishment of black people's right to vote and the elimination of race and color distinction. The most important contribution of the movement was as a prototype for future black protest organizations. The Niagara Movement was seriously undermined by Washington, who used all of his power and influence to thwart it. His opposition was detrimental to the growth of the movement.¹⁰¹

A new organization gained prominence as the Niagara Movement lost ground. Certain white Northern philanthropists and social activists desired to offer an alternative to Washington's approach to racial progress. In 1909, a call was issued for a National Negro Conference to be held in New York City. Du Bois and many of the members of the Niagara Movement, along with liberal whites who called themselves progressives, attended. The next year (1910), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded to carry out the program formulated at the National Negro Conference.¹⁰²

The Springfield, Illinois riots of 1908 were partially responsible for the formation of the NAACP. In August 1908, two months prior to EGW's published cautions regarding race relations,¹⁰³ Springfield erupted into the second riot in four years. The city was turned into a racial battleground as white mobs armed with guns, axes and other weapons destroyed black businesses, drove blacks from their homes and lynched two blacks, one a barber and the other an 84-year-old man who had been married to a white woman for more than 30 years. "It seemed to them [blacks] a perverse manner in which to approach the centennial of the birth of Lincoln. Negroes were actually lynched within half a mile of the only home Lincoln ever owned.

Their cup was filled, and they hardly had the voice to cry out against this most recent outrage. It was time for drastic action."¹⁰⁴ The NAACP resulted.

It was during this most volatile period of racial tension that EGW penned her most controversial counsel on race relations.¹⁰⁵ The country was looking for solutions. Washington's teaching of industrial self-help was widely viewed as the answer. The peonage system--a subtle form of slavery, civil and economic bondage--was in place. Also considered was expatriation to Africa or some other country, as well as domestic colonization, systematic distribution and separate but equal facilities.

What did EGW have to say relative to the problems of this period? In 1908, she addressed the entire race relations gamut by saying to SDAs: "We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future regarding the relation to be maintained between white and Colored people."¹⁰⁶ More to the point, she stated: "Men may advance theories, but I assure you that it will not do for us to follow human theories."¹⁰⁷ EGW lived through this period and was aware of the various theories and solutions being presented, but she advised caution and in fact discouraged the SDA organization from latching on to "human theories" as the way to bring about positive race relations. While she advanced no theory of her own, she did take a decided position. EGW saw no lasting solution for peace between the races outside of the grace of Christ. She advocated other actions and counsels to be used in the establishment of the black work in the South. But these were set forth as temporary guidelines to be used "until the Lord shows us a better way."¹⁰⁸

ENDNOTES

¹Unless otherwise indicated, historical data is derived from John W. Kirshon, ed., *Chronicles of America* (Mount Kisco, N.Y.: Chronicle Publications, 1989); Jerome Burne, ed., *Chronicles of the World* (New York, N.Y.: Ecam Publications, 1989); Clifton Daniel, ed., *Chronicles of the 20th Century* (Mount Kisco, N.Y.: Chronicle Publications, 1987); David Burner, Eugene Genovese, and Forrest McDonald, *The American People, Vols. I, II* (St. James, N.Y.: Revisionary Press, 1980); John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York, N.Y.: Alfred Knopf, 1980); Thomas Frazier, ed., *Afro-American History--Primary Sources* (Chicago, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1988).

²Ellen White, *Life Sketches* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1915), p. 5.

³*The Spirit of Prophecy Treasure Chest*, p. 177. An example of EGW's exposure as a national temperance speaker was the Graceland, Massachusetts, camp meeting, held in 1876, where EGW gave a temperance address. During the era when SDA camp meetings drew large crowds, broad plans were made for the meeting. A temporary railroad siding was built near the camp, and special trains were run to the campground on Sunday. Five hundred believers stayed on the site, but on Sunday 20,000 people poured onto the campground, coming from surrounding cities.

⁴Regina Markell Morantz, "Nineteenth-Century Health Reform and Women: An Ideology of Self-Help" (paper read at symposium on Medicine Without Doctors, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Apr. 14, 1975), quoted in Ronald Numbers, *Prophetess of Health* (New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 58.

⁵See J. D. Douglass, ed., *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1978); -----, ed., *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1991).

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷From the very beginning of the war, Abraham Lincoln and his cabinet were committed to the preservation of the Union, not the elimination of slavery. Lincoln was opposed to slavery in principle, but he was also opposed to notions of social or political equality, as well. Lincoln would have preferred to eliminate the slavery issue through a program of gradual, compensated emancipation and colonization via migration to other countries. See John Franklin; Thomas Frazier.

⁸John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 251-258.

⁹Clifton Daniel, *Chronicle of the Twentieth Century* (Collegeville, Pa.: Ph Enterprises, 1988), p. 337.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations* (New York, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992), p. ix.

¹³W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York, N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1989), pp. 10, 11. Du Bois reasoned in his essay "Of the Dawn of Freedom" that the problem of color, "the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men," is the problem of the twentieth century that found its origins in the 1800s.

¹⁴See Matt. 28:19; 10:7, 27; Isa. 58:6, 7; Luke 4:17. These texts

were central to the mission and motivation of early SDAs.

¹⁵After the disappointment, they believed it was their mission to take the newly discovered truth to all groups of people (Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* [Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1979], pp. 62, 62). It was also consistent that blacks should be included in their evangelization efforts. The Millerites had a particular burden to warn blacks of the coming advent. The only hindrance was that Millerites weren't welcomed in the South because of their abolitionist beliefs (*ibid.*, p. 45). Since most early SDAs were former Millerites, they too were interested in preaching to blacks. However, as this study bears out, working among blacks was not made a priority until the last decade of the twentieth century.

¹⁶Gary Land, *The World of Ellen G. White* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987), p. 48.

¹⁷John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 42. Hope quotes these figures from researcher Philip Curtin (1969). Based on his extensive research of records of slaves, slave importations and slave populations in the New World, Curtin estimates that there were 241,400 slaves imported in the sixteenth century, 1,341,100 in the seventeenth, 6,051,700 between 1701 and 1810, and 1,898,400 between 1810 and 1870. He estimates the total number of slaves imported into the New World between 1451 and 1870 to be 9,566,100. "In view of the great numbers that must have been killed while resisting capture, the additional numbers that died during the middle passage, and the millions that were successfully brought to the Americas, the aggregate approaches staggering proportions."

¹⁸Thomas Frazier, ed., *Afro-American History: Primary Sources* (Belmont,

Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1988), p. 49.

¹⁹James M. McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1992), p. 31.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Frederick Law Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom* (New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1983), pp. 106.

²³-----, *Slave States Before the Civil War* (New York, N.Y.: Putnam Publishing Group, 1959), p. 251.

²⁴Richard K. Cralle, ed., *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (Fenwick, W.V.: Russell Publishing, 1968) vol. 4, pp. 505, 506.

²⁵Pierre van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective* (New York, N.Y.: Wiley Publishers, 1967); George M. Frederickson, in *The Black Image in the White Mind* (New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1971) effectively applies this concept to antebellum race relations.

²⁶Quoted in Frederickson, pp. 61, 62.

²⁷McPherson, p. 33.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 34.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

³⁰See Ellen White, *Testimonies* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1885) vol. 1, p. 202. As early as 1859, EGW admonished SDA believers to disobey the Fugitive Slave Act: "When the laws of men conflict with the word and law of God, we are to obey the latter, whatever the consequences may be. The law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating this law. The slave is not the property of any man. God is his

rightful Master, and man has no right to take God's workmanship into his hands, and claim him as his own."

³¹A graphic illustration of white fears of black uprising during the 1830s is seen in the remarks of several whites of Mississippi (1859) to Frederick L. Olmsted, in *A Journey in the Back Country* (New York, N.Y.: B. Franklin, 1860): First the husband: "Where I used to live (Alabama) I remember when I was a boy--must ha' been about 20 years ago--folks was dreadful frightened about the niggers. I remember they built pens in the woods where they could hide and Christmastime they went and got into the pens, fraid the niggers was risin'." The speaker's wife added her recollection to this comment: "I remember the same time when we was in South Carolina, we had all our things put up in bags so we could tote 'em if we heard they was comin' our way." According to Joanne Grant's *Black Protest, History, Documents and Analysis--1619 to the Present* (New York, N.Y.: CBS Publications, 1968), while the struggle of the black for freedom was "an ever-recurrent battle waged everywhere with desperate courage against the bonds of his master," the antebellum society of the South "suffered from a larger degree of domestic insecurity than the conventional view would indicate" (p. 45). The point being that blacks were far from the romantic picture of being contented in slavery.

³²See H. M. Henry, *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, (Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1914) and John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Studies in the Social Sciences, 1899). The laws regulating manumission were made increasingly stringent for fear of creating a dangerous class of free blacks.

³³Frazier, p. 50.

³⁴Two examples are "Go Down Moses," in which one stanza reads: "Go down, Moses, Way down in Egypt land, Tell ole Pharaoh, to Let my people go." And "Steal Away to Jesus," in which one stanza reads: "Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus! Steal away, steal away home. I ain't got long to stay here."

³⁵See *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 202.

³⁶James White, "The Nation," *Review*, Aug. 12, 1862.

³⁷*Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 356-359.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Herbert Aptheker, *To Be Free* (New York, N.Y.: Citadel Publishers, 1992), p. 41. Aptheker shares an interesting footnote on the view of Lydia Maria Child a pacifist and nonpolitical abolitionist. This view seems to most closely approximate the view of early Advent believers with abolitionist leanings. In a letter to Ellis Gray Loring, dated January 25, 1841, Lydia Child asserted that a belief in the propriety of political action would lead, inevitably, to the justification of militant action. According to Mrs. Child: "Politics and military force not only *seem* allied together, when looked at through nonresistance spectacles, but they really *are* allied together. . . . Both are founded in want of faith in spiritual weapons; both seek to shape the inward by the outward; both aim at controlling and coercing, rather than regenerating. . . . The time will come when you and Wendell Phillips . . . will confess that I looked at this subject with candid discrimination, and not through the

'peeping-stone' of nonresistance merely" (Lydia Maria Child, New York Public Library).

⁴³Land, pp. 49, 50.

⁴⁴*From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 182, 183.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴⁶The following is typical of the fiery language used by Walker in his appeal: "Are we men! I ask you . . . are we MEN? Did our Creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves? Are they not dying worms as well as we? . . . How we could be so *submissive* to a gang of men, whom we cannot tell whether they are as good as ourselves or not, I never conceive. . . . America is more our country than it is the whites--we have enriched it with our *blood and tears*. The greatest riches in all America have arisen from our blood and tears: And they will drive us from our property and homes, which we have earned with our blood" ("An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World," *David Walker's Appeal* [New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1965]). In the *Appeal*, Walker noted that if anyone wished to enslave or murder him for the truth, "know ye, that I am in the hand of God, and at your disposal." "I count my life not dear unto me," he wrote, "but I am ready to be offered at any moment." Walker was found dead in the doorway of his shop on June 28, 1830, shortly after the appearance of the third edition of the "Appeal."

⁴⁷In typical style Garrison dramatically laid down his challenge to slavery in the first issue of the *Liberator* (January, 1831).

⁴⁸Land, p. 50.

⁴⁹Gary Land, *The Disappointed*, p. 139.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶⁰ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography of Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Pub. Assn., 1868), pp. 262, 268-269.

⁶¹ *The Disappointed*, p. 145.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁶⁴ Black women participated in the war also. They primarily worked in hospitals or military camps by assisting the wounded. They also helped escaping slaves find jobs and homes. Others moved into the liberated areas of the South and set up schools to help freedmen develop the skills for living in free society (Frazier, pp. 113, 129-137).

⁶⁵ By the end of the war, 180,000 black soldiers served in the Union, making up 10 percent of the total federal troops (*ibid.*, p. 112).

⁶⁶ *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 264.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-268. See also Coon, pp. 83-89.

⁶⁸ Frazier, p. 113.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁷⁰Joanne Grant, *Black Protest: History, Documents and Analyses, 1619 to the Present* (New York, N.Y.: CBS Publications, 1968), p. 134.

⁷¹Du Bois, p. 138.

⁷²*Reconstruction After the Civil War*, p. 230.

⁷³EGW, *Review*, Dec. 17, 1895.

⁷⁴EGW letter 99, 1904.

⁷⁵James Edson White, "The Southern Field Closing to the Message," *Gospel Herald*, Oct., 1900.

⁷⁶*Reconstruction After the Civil War*, p. 230.

⁷⁷Frazier, p. 114.

⁷⁸*Reconstruction After the Civil War*, p. 254.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹Frazier, p. 163.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁸³*Reconstruction After the Civil War*, p. 266.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 266, 267.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 237, 238.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 269. Franklin observed that many "church organizations appeared, undoubtedly incorrectly, to be interested primarily in strengthening their denominations instead of improving the status of blacks" (p. 269).

⁸⁸*Reconstruction After the Civil War*, p. 274.

⁸⁹Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower* (Chicago, Ill.: Johnson Pub. Co., Inc., 1966), p. 276.

⁹⁰Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (Champaign,

Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1986) vol. 1, "The Autobiographical Writings," pp. 73-76.

⁹¹Rayford Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro* (New York, N.Y.: Dial Press, 1954), p. 276.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁹³Harlan, p. 76.

⁹⁴Crosier Collection, *New York Age*, Aug. 22, 1907, p. 2.

⁹⁵Du Bois, p. 37.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*

⁹⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁸Frazier, p. 190.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.

¹⁰⁰Du Bois, pp. 30-42.

¹⁰¹Logan, pp. 342, 343.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 343. See also "The Task for the Future--A Program for 1919," Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the Years 1917 and 1918, pp. 76-80.

¹⁰³See *Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 204-212.

¹⁰⁴*Reconstruction After the Civil War*, pp. 317, 318.

¹⁰⁵See Delbert Baker, "Race Wars," a monograph for the Ellen G. White Estate.

¹⁰⁶*Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 209, 210.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 215.

CHAPTER V

CONTENT ANALYSIS: METHODOLOGY

The thesis of this study is that a relationship exists between EGW's comstats and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA denomination. Content analysis is a vital component in researching the thesis. Content analysis is used to examine what EGW said about the black work, to outline the themes of her comstats and to provide a coordinating framework on how the comstats fit together. This chapter contains the content analysis procedure used in this study--what was done and why it was done. Therefore, the methodological procedure will be explained in this chapter and the content analysis results will be presented in Chapter VI. Chapter VII will show developments and results that have relevance to the content analysis findings. The research results of the content analysis are part of a historical couplet that demonstrates the content of EGW's comstats that were directed to the SDA organization during the 20-year period under study. The other part of the couplet is the historical research that demonstrates the significant developments that took place following these comstats and the apparent relationship between them. Church historians (as was developed in Chapter II) have recognized the years 1891 to 1910 as the period during which the foundation was laid for the black work.

Content analysis is particularly suited to this study. Because of an innate sensitivity to the symbolic-representational nature of human exchanges, content analysis aids in demonstrating that EGW's comstats were responsive

content analysis aids in demonstrating that EGW's comstats were responsive to the internal conditions of the church and the external conditions of society. Content analysis bears out the message EGW conveyed to the SDA organization via its various communication channels. It also highlights EGW's effectiveness in using and creating communication channels to convey her ideas. When analyzed together, EGW's comstats during the 20-year period provide a composite picture of what her strategy and objectives were for blacks in the SDA organization.

Content analysis research indicates that EGW was sensitive to interpersonal dependencies, social relations, structures and stratification surreptitiously created by the exchange of information in the SDA organization. Whether consciously or unconsciously, she used this awareness to initiate change in an organization that clearly had other priorities than those she advocated. Content analysis research bears out that EGW set forth her plan for the black work before the church--sometimes gently, sometimes forcefully, but persistently. Evident also was EGW's intuitive awareness of the idea of systems in an organization. Her comstats imply an awareness of how organizations must function in a uniquely dynamic interdependency.

The documents seem to indicate that, in spite of the resistant attitudes of church leaders, EGW never felt that she would be able to accomplish or promote the black work sufficiently by herself. Thus, she was constantly appealing to the leadership and laypersons for commitment and involvement. Her goal was to urge the organization forward, not to leave it behind.

Design

SDA Church historical studies are generally silent on what or who initiated and motivated the denominational progress of African-American SDAs. However, recent investigation has increasingly pointed to the influential role that EGW played in the development of the black work. Exposure to her prolific literature on the subject of blacks and race relations only deepens this impression. These and other observations and studies contribute to the hypothesis that EGW was the major pioneer in the development of the black work and that she primarily accomplished it through an innate sense of how to communicate effectively and persuasively in an organization environment. Content analysis was chosen as the appropriate research means to examine this phenomena.

Utilization

The first task when developing the research design for this study was identifying and selecting the type of analysis units to use in content-analyzing EGW's comstats on the black work. The *sampling unit* approach was selected because of its independence. Independence here is synonymous with "unrelated, unbonded, unordered, or free, so that the inclusion or exclusion of any one sampling unit as a datum in an analysis has neither logical nor empirical implications from choices among other units." Because of the number of books, articles and manuscripts that contain EGW's comstats on the black work, *physical units* was the category chosen to define, delineate and identify the particular sampling unit preferred for content analysis.¹

Each of the physical units, or documents, were content-analyzed and broken down into thematic units, or what are referred to as *thought units* (TUs) in this study. The TUs were identified by their correspondence to a particular structural definition of the content of explanations or interpretations. The TUs are distinguished from each other on conceptual grounds. They are selected and contrasted with the remaining position of irrelevant material because they possessed the desired structural properties.

Samplings

After settling on the type of unit preferred for analysis, the task was to develop a sampling plan. Thousands of pages of documents were researched in the EGW Estate files and the church archives for topics germane to the black work. Research was done via a CD ROM program that contains all of EGW's published works. The unpublished files were researched by hand. More than 2,000 references were identified. Many were made in contexts devoted to topics other than the black work. From this grouping, 562 documents were identified that are specifically germane to the black work.

After reviewing all available documents and information in the EGW Estate and the General Conference Archives, the criteria were established in the sampling plan to further identify those physical units most relevant to the topic under study. Primary documents were selected if they were: (1) written within the 20-year period (1891-1910); (2) published or widely circulated; and (3) thematically complete in that they could be considered a complete article or complete treatment of a topic. Of the 562 physical units, 130 qualify as primary documents, or data, for this study (see Appendix). Each of the 130 documents was content-analyzed.

Recording

The next methodological task was to create a reliable and valid recording system. "Recording is required whenever the phenomena of interest are either unstructured relative to the methods that are available or symbolic in the sense that they carry information about phenomena outside their physical manifestations."²

The following steps were taken to develop a recording system:

1. Seven coders were selected who were (a) generally familiar with the nature of the material to be coded; (b) capable of handling the categories and terms of the data language reliably; (c) of types found frequently in the population (e.g., white and black, male and female, variety in age and education).

2. The coders were (a) trained with a standardized method and acquainted with the peculiarities of the recording task; (b) provided with written recording instructions to ensure that data are reliably recorded and that their meaning is explicated (see Appendix); (c) provided with coding sheets and documents.

3. Coding (or data) sheets were developed and repeatedly refined to be "exhaustive" and "mutually exclusive." That is, the coding sheets were designed to represent all recording units, without exception, and make clear distinctions among the phenomena to be recorded (see Appendix). Effort was made that "the semantics of a data language partition the universe of possible recording units into *distinct classes* and that the members of each class are represented by *different data* so that the distinctions made in the world are unambiguously represented in the data."³ Coding sheets also contained the necessary administrative information and are designed to record

the data--the *raison d'être* of the whole recording process.

4. The coding categorization utilized an extension list method. Themes for a data language were indicated on the coding sheet by 13 categories: Principles (P), Perspectives (V), Human Dignity (D), Affirmations (A), Confrontations (C), Appeals (AP), Problems (PS), Race Relations (R), Methods (S), Institutions (IN), Education (E), Health (H), and Benevolence (BE) (see Appendix).

Data Reduction

As a means of analyzing the content analysis a chi square distribution was applied. The findings were significant, especially in the third period. However, explicating the hypothesis of this study was better suited to utilizing a statistical ranking system that graphically demonstrated the thematic content of EGW's comstats about race and the work among blacks in the South. This methodology is complimented by historical research in Chapter VII. See Appendix for the chi square results.

After tabulation was completed on the 130 documents, the content analysis was categorized and ranked according to the period and category frequency. The ranking method was utilized to analyze the frequency of thought units and themes relative to the black work. The problem of operationalizing the categories of analysis was the principal focus of recording. It was the intent to make the data language free of ambiguities and inconsistencies, and able to supply the demands made by an analytical technique to be applied and to possess the descriptive capacity to provide sufficient information to be conclusive.

The 13 variables were set up on a nominal scale with a one-point rating system. These were assigned to four groupings or strategy components according to their similarities and common values. Component One, "foundational," includes Principles and Perspectives. Component Two, "relational," includes Race Relations, Human Dignity, Appeals and Benevolence. Component Three, "actional," includes the Methods, Education, Institutions and Health categories. Component Four, "motivational," includes Confrontation and Affirmation. The Problems category was considered an "other" category and not included in a strategy component group. The coders were not privy to the strategy, its components and conceptual rationale.

Inferences

In the process of analyzing content, context sensitivity was made a priority. When processing data, effort was made to protect the symbolic qualities of the document. In developing inferences from the data, a series of *if-then* scenarios were developed. Relative frequencies of the observed contextual dependencies, confidence in the validity of the analytical construct and the appropriateness of the construct in a given situation were the building blocks upon which inferences were developed. The sources of certainty for the inferences drawn are corroborating findings of the historical research, relevant theories and research done by others, the contextual experience of the researcher and confidence in the analysis of representative coders.

Finally, the *systems* approach to content analysis was utilized in terms of the extrapolation of trends, patterns and differences. Trend inferences involve the observation of one or more variables at different times and the extrapolation of these variables to the different time periods.⁴

Analysis

Frequency is the method of representation used most in this study, serving primarily as the summarizing function of analysis. In particular, *absolute frequency*, as used, focuses on the number of incidents found in the sample, and *relative frequency* is used to determine the percentages of sample size.

After the inferences were made and it was known what the data indicates, the data were (1) summarized so that they can be better comprehended and interpreted; (2) analyzed to reveal patterns and relationships to test relational hypotheses that may not be so easily recognized; (3) related to historical research in Chapter VI so as to validate the methods involved and provide missing information.

Quality Criteria

"Reliability" and "validity" assessments were made in the analysis to enhance stability, reproducibility and accuracy, and to ensure that the findings represented real phenomena.

1. *Reliability*: In the words of Kaplan and Goldsen, "The importance of reliability rests on the assurance it provides that data are obtained independent of the measuring event, instrument or person. Reliable data, by definition, are data that remain constant throughout variations in the measuring process."⁵ To assure reliability of the findings, the data collected were verified for accuracy with the original source document and the analysis of the coders, and the tabulations were checked and rechecked. Some consistency checking was done to enhance reliability via a double-coding procedure to assess the degree of agreement among the coders. To verify the

understanding and grasp of coding instructions periodically a coder was asked to code a set of data twice at different points in time. These reliability processes were implemented in light of the content analysis rule of thumb that "the ultimate aim of testing reliability is to establish whether data obtained in the course of research can provide a trustworthy basis for drawing inferences, making recommendations, supporting decisions or accepting something as fact."⁶

2. *Validity*: Reliability should yield the same results from the same data regardless of the circumstances of application. Validity, on the other hand, tests the results of a procedure--in this case content analysis--to know whether it is true and valid to the extent of its inferences and whether these results are upheld in the face of independently obtained evidence.⁷

The validity of this study lies in the assurance that it provides research findings that have to be incorporated and taken seriously when constructing theories or making decisions on practical issues relative to the black work in the SDA Church. In this case, the combination of content analysis research *and* historical research reduces the risk involved in acting on misleading research as if it were true.⁸

The major obstacle to overcome in validating the results of this study was *conceptual*. The conceptual obstacle stemmed primarily from (1) a target for inferences from the data, and (2) ambiguities regarding independent evidence that could corroborate the results. The first concern is addressed by focusing the inferences from the data to speak to the hypothetical relationship between EGW's communicated objectives concerning blacks and the black work. All inferences are constricted to this limited and specific target.

The second concern is addressed by discovering an objective means of proving or disproving the hypothesis that there is a relationship between EGW's comstats and the progress of the black work. This was accomplished by historical research. That is, historical facts must be provided that provide linkage between what EGW said and what actually happened. Yet further still, can these historical occurrences be directly or indirectly linked to EGW's comstats? This concern is addressed in Chapter VI.

A methodological obstacle to validation stems primarily from a narrow interpretation of validity. This takes place when the researcher knows nothing about the subject about which he/she is inferring and can say nothing about the validity of his/her findings. Or, on the other hand, when he/she knows a lot about the subject about which he/she is inferring and imposes his/her presuppositions on the subject under study the results are biased. This dilemma was addressed in this study by complimenting the content analysis with evidence in a form similar but not identical to the findings. This validation approach again relates to relevant historical research findings that speak to the phenomena of interest.

Finally, the following methodological safeguards were taken. First, *sampling validity* assessed whether the data analyzed were comprised of unbiased samples in that all of the major documents were studied from the universe of interest. No major document on record was excluded. The samples under examination in this study are valid to the extent that their composition corresponds to the universe of communication documents for which they are intended to represent. Second, the inferences draw from content analysis, in terms of EGW's objectives and strategies, are compared to the historic realities that took place. Support for the hypothesis of this

study and the content analysis is also substantiated when persons connected with relevant historical events and developments point to EGW's comstats as their source of inspiration and motivation.

Research Value

There is a dearth of SDA Church historical research concerning: (1) the origin and history of black SDAs; (2) EGW's relationship to blacks and the black movement within the SDA Church; (3) how the church initiated, developed and nurtured a new branch of the organization; (4) topics relating to race relations; (5) ways the church has historically responded to conflict, especially race conflict; (6) the posture and response of church pioneers to minorities in its midst; and (7) how its leaders used the tools of communication to convey objectives and goals to SDA constituencies. This study directly examines points 1, 2, 3, and 7. It indirectly addresses points 4, 5 and 6. This chapter also demonstrates how the principles of content analysis research can be applied to a variety of topics that are studied from a historical document standpoint--especially topics from the writings of EGW.

ENDNOTES

¹Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1980), p. 57.

²*Ibid.*, p. 71.

³*Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁵A. Kaplan and J. M. Goldsen, "The Reliability of Context Analysis Categories," in H. D. Lasswell et al., *Language of Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968), pp. 83-112.

⁶Krippendorff, pp. 133-146.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 129-155.

⁸-----, "Theories and Analytical Constructs," in G. Gerbner et al., *The Analysis of Communication Content* (Melbourne, Fla.: Krieger, 1978). Krippendorff, in an earlier work, offers an insightful comment on the roles of *validation* and *vindication*. In this context, *validation* is a mode of justification according to which the acceptability of a particular analytical procedure is established by showing it to be derivable from general principles or theories that are accepted quite independently of the procedure to be justified. On the other hand, *vindication* may render an analytical method acceptable on the grounds that it leads to accurate predictions (to a degree better than chance) regardless of the details of that method. The rules of induction and deduction are essential to validation, while the relation between means and particular ends provides the basis for vindication. "Theories and Analytical Constructs: Introduction," p. 12, in G. Gerbner.

CHAPTER VI

CONTENT ANALYSIS: FINDINGS

The research findings will be presented in three sections. The first section, *Aggregate TU Frequency: Period Analysis*, will present findings and explanations concerning the total frequency of the TUs, how they were tabulated and how they were distributed over the four periods. The second, *Aggregate TU Ranking: Category Analysis*, will present findings and explanations concerning how each of the 13 categories were ranked in order of their frequency and their percentage in relation to the total. Samples will be provided with each category. The final section, *A Strategic Assessment: Period Analysis*, investigates the categories according to a theoretical organizational communication strategy model for the black work during the 20-year period under study, that was derived from grouping the categories into four compatible component groups.

Aggregate TU Frequency: Period Analysis

For the 20-year period a total of 1,784 TUs were tabulated from the 130 documents (Figure 6:1). Periods 1 (1891-95) and 2 (1896-1900) have the same basic frequency, with a variation of 1 percent, or 13 TUs. Period 4 (1906-10) is about the same as 1 and 2, with a slight variance of approximately 3 to 4 percent, or approximately 12 points difference in frequency.

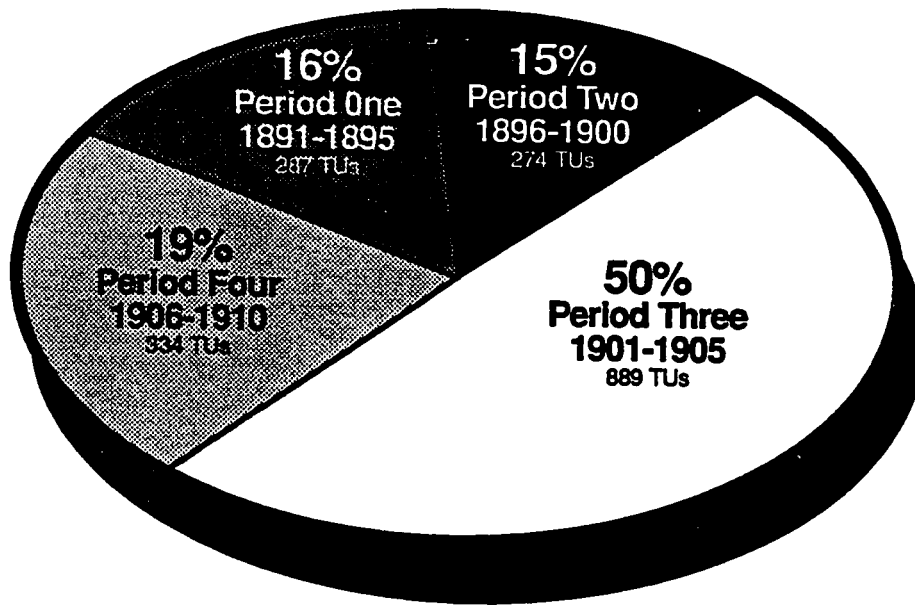


Figure 6:1 Aggregate TU Frequency: Periods

Period 3 (1901-05), however, exhibits a greater frequency: three times the frequency value of periods 1 and 2, and 2.5 times of the value of period 4. Periods 1, 2 and 4 had similar frequency rates, with minor variations. The 20-year TU frequency variations can be seen in the *TU Ranking Comparison Chart* (Figure 6:2).

With an average set of TU frequency in periods 1, 2 and 4, what happened in period 3 that caused EGW to speak out so much during this period? In fact, EGW penned or voiced a little more than half of her documents during this period. Examination reveals that the three top ranking

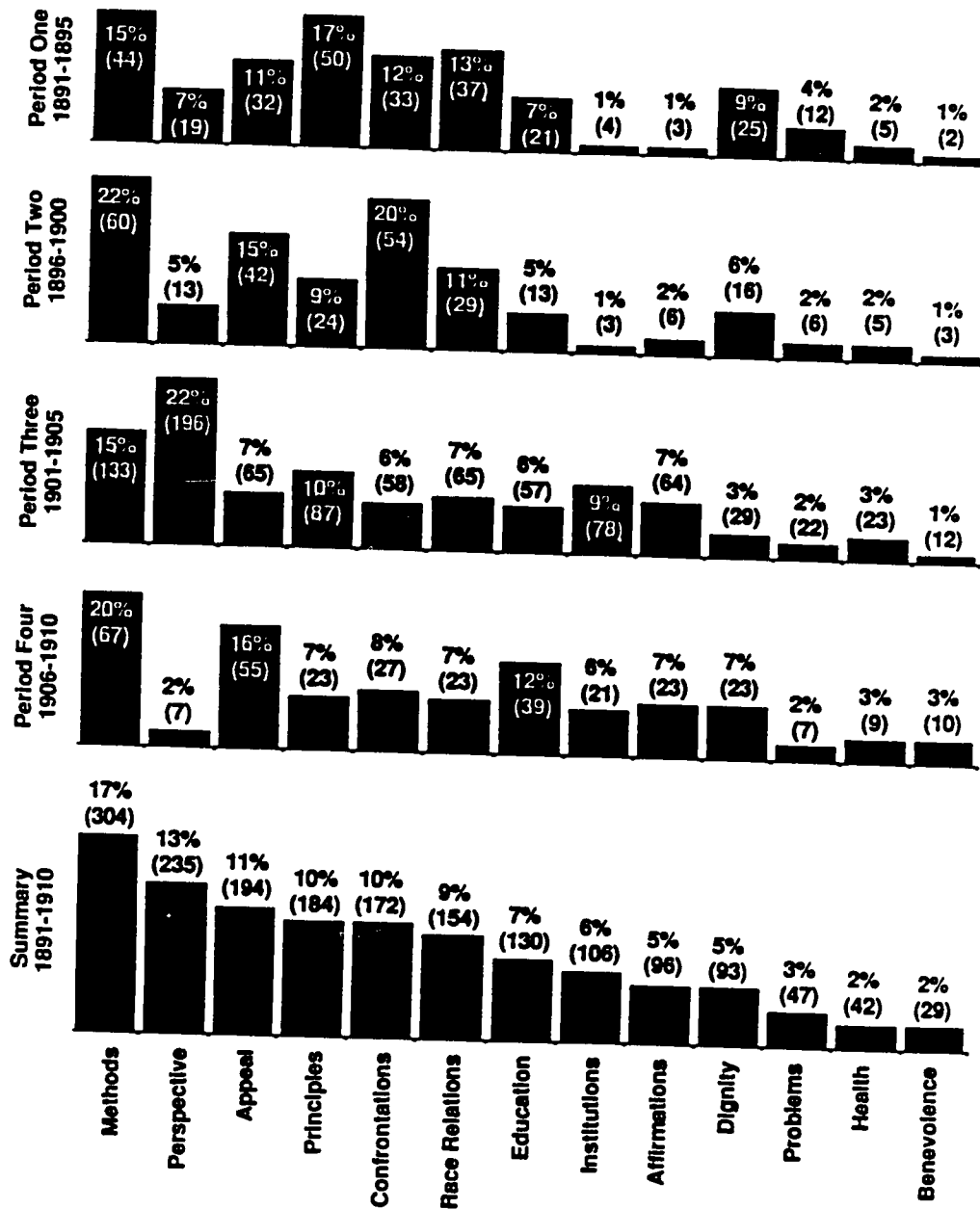


Figure 6:2 TU Ranking Comparison Chart: Periods and Categories

categories in period 3 were Perspectives (22 percent), Methods (15 percent), and Principles (10 percent).

The emphasis and frequency of EGW's TUs were radically different during 1901-05. This was the case for four reasons. First, the black work, after being cultivated for five years by Edson White and other workers in the South, was beginning to experience significant growth in terms of erection of schools and churches, and acquisition of new members and other resources-EGW had much to say about the burgeoning work. Second, a number of new institutions had been established in the Southern field (Oakwood College, Nashville Publishing House, etc.), and EGW had a stream of counsel for them. Third, this was a period of transition: the Southern Missionary Society, the organization initiated by Edson White to coordinate the black work, was being absorbed into the recently formed Southern Union Conference, which took the place of the former loosely organized District 2. But the fourth and most important reason for the increased TUs during that period was the racial disturbances that began in Mississippi.

Behind most of EGW's comstats were real historical events that elicited a response from her. In this case, racial problems started in 1898, in Yazoo City, Mississippi, when F. R. Rogers, SDA teacher, was threatened with bodily harm by a mob and ordered to leave Yazoo City. The same group was said to be looking for the *Morning Star* to sink it, but could not find it.

After receiving word of the danger, Edson White commented on the event: "On receiving these communications we all felt that great caution and much heavenly wisdom were required to enable us to take the proper course in this matter. The *Testimonies* instruct us that great caution must be exercised so that these evilly disposed persons shall not be aroused and the

work closed up as a result. . . . I am planning now to issue an extra of the *Gospel Herald*. . . . It will explain that we have nothing whatever to do with politics, that we have not come down to invade the customs of the country, but only to make better men, better citizens, better Christians out of the people. The general impression is that we have some kind of a hocus pocus religion that we cannot get the white people to accept, and so have come down to try to get it off on the Negroes. They want to know why we do not take it to the white people and not make a business of working among the Negroes. This extra will show that we are taking it to all classes and races."

In a letter to Rogers in Yazoo City the same day, Edson said: "Of course we are willing to trust all these matters to the Lord, and yet He requires us to be very cautious; and the *Testimonies* point out to us the necessity of such extreme care that prejudice shall not be aroused among this class of people down here, for, if it is, it will shut us off from the work entirely."

New and more violent problems arose the next year, 1899, when a mob made up of white planters looted the church and burned books, maps, charts and other belongings. They whipped one of the workers and would have killed another had they not been stopped by a stranger. Edson conveyed all these events to EGW. EGW responded by stating (1899): "The Colored people should not urge that they be placed at an equality with white people. The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing problem. So far as possible, everything that would stir up the race prejudice of the white people should be avoided. There is danger of closing the door so that our white laborers will not be able to work in some places in the South."

At this time the South was experiencing a hostile backlash to Reconstruction, and anything that even appeared to challenge the racial customs of the day was dealt with swiftly and in an often deadly fashion. Following this period of intense racial disturbance, EGW's comstats once again, in period 4, dropped off to about the level they were before period 3.

Aggregate TU Ranking: Category Analysis

This section ranks each of the 13 categories in terms of the frequency of TUs (Figure 6:3). Included are graphs that demonstrate where EGW put the most emphasis when communicating to the church on the black work. Each

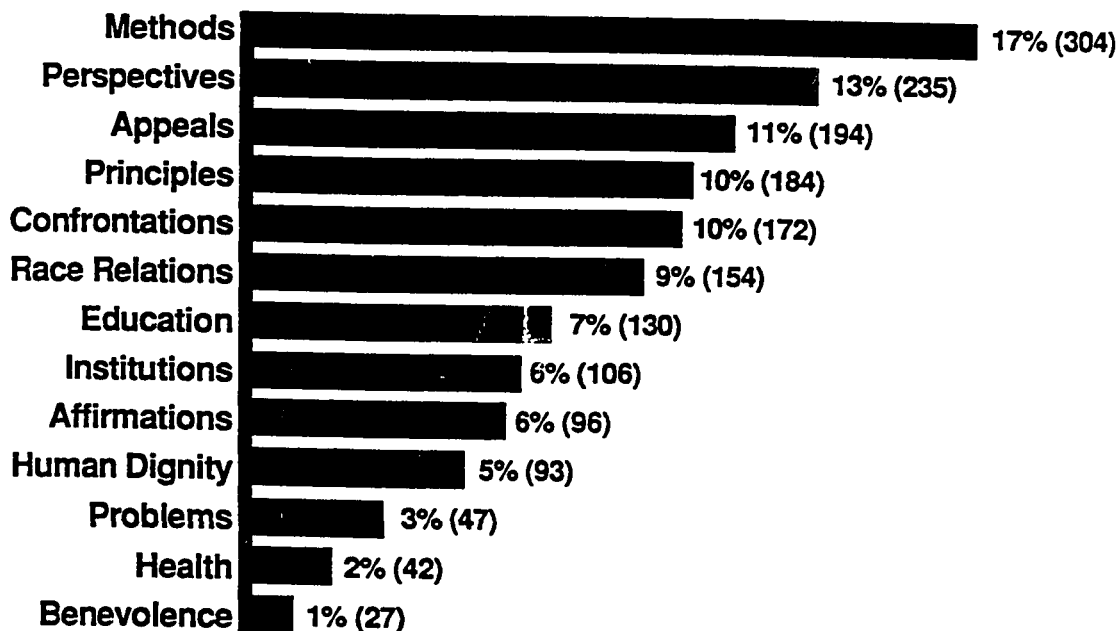


Figure 6:3 Aggregate TU Ranking: Total Categories

category examines the frequency and percentage that forms the ranking base. When necessary, explanatory comments and/or summaries are provided with each category. Samples of the types of TUs for each given category are provided.

First Ranking Category: Methods. Of the 13 units tabulated, ranked and categorized, The *Methods* category (i.e., techniques and ways to resolve problems and achieve black progress) was listed with a 304-point frequency of the 1,784 total (Figure 6:4). This equals 17 percent of the total. The Methods category of EGW's comstats focused on where and how the church and its constituencies could cooperate in building and sustaining the work

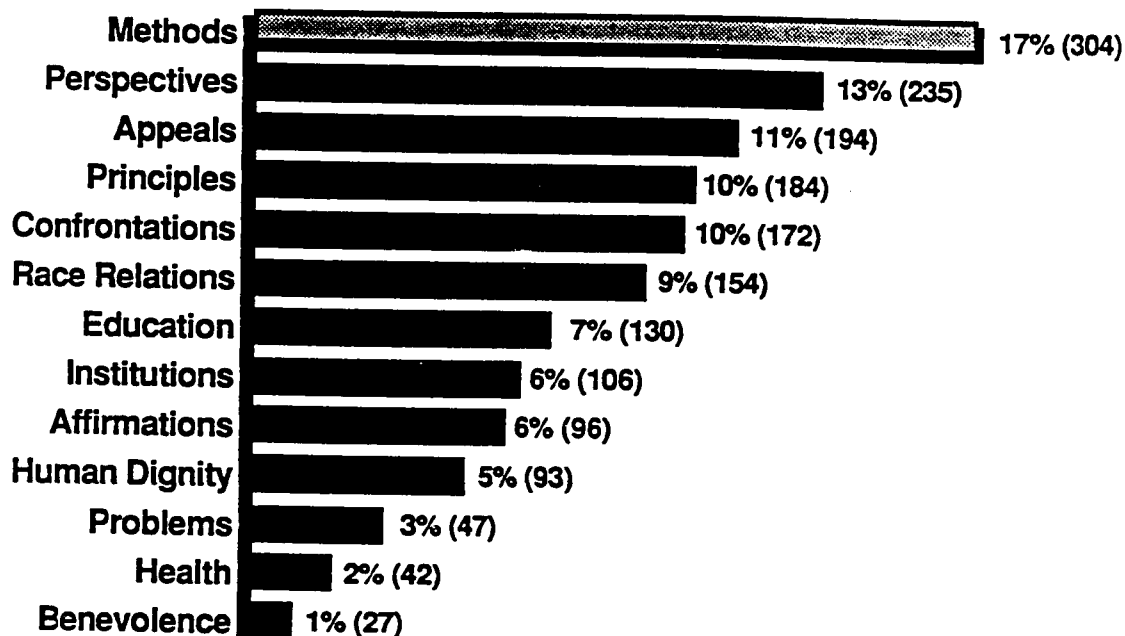


Figure 6:4 TU Ranking: Methods Category

among blacks. Methods represents the highest of all categories. EGW spent more time explaining, educating and instructing the SDA membership concerning proper plans and ideas on how the black work should be initiated and maintained than she did in any other area. Proper methods, she felt, were essential to the success of the program. As a result, EGW wrote hundreds of pages to her son Edson, whose ministry represented the church's first systematic effort to evangelize blacks in the South.

The success of this initiative is not solely the result of EGW's vigorous support and constant counsel. Nor was it primarily the result of the efforts of Edson in the South. Prior to Edson's trip to the South and following his departure, EGW continued promoting the needs of the black work. However, the initial breakthrough resulted from a mutually compatible synthesis of EGW's counsel and Edson's implementation. For the five years Edson labored in the South, EGW and Edson experimented with and developed a basic blueprint for the black work. All succeeding progress was built on the foundation laid during this five-year period (1895-1901), in particular, and the 20 years of EGW's emphasis, in general.

EGW's numerous comstats on Methods were combed for patterns and themes that offered consistency and were, in fact, implemented. The following 21 programmatic elements comprise the methodological blueprint. These programs fall under three tiers impacting the black work, each advancing tier (Figure 6:5).

Actional Blueprint for Black Development in the South

Tier One: Programs for General Supporters (SDA Members, Etc.)

1. **Support system:** Willing SDAs and non-SDAs provide ongoing financial and spiritual support for the black work (i.e., missionary Enterprises, self-denial boxes, etc.)
2. **Evangelistic emphasis:** Share the distinctive teaching of the SDA Church as the way to create lifestyle changes that will improve temporal life and ensure eternal life.
3. **Family relocation:** Move SDA families South to model positive lifestyle and family principles for all people.

Tier Two: Programs for Southern Workers (White and Black)

4. **Education pattern:** Start small missionary schools (designed to become self-supporting) throughout the South to educate black youth and adults.
5. **Conciliation design:** Make effort to avoid arousing antagonism. Compromise and be conciliatory except where spiritual principle is involved. Avoid arousing cultural resistance that could retard the work.
6. **Instructional plan:** Develop suitable materials for blacks in the South, designed to meet their needs.
7. **Wholeness initiative:** Everything--teaching, community assistance, preaching, modeling--repetitiously emphasize the wholeness concept of the mental, physical, social and spiritual. All workers and members are encouraged to become effective medical missionaries.
8. **Self-supporting goal:** Every phrase of the Southern work has "self-support" as its ultimate goal.
9. **Infiltration technique:** Enter, start small, grow, divide at certain point and multiply through the South as numbers, means and circumstances allow.
10. **Apprentice program:** Create programs in which indigenous workers can learn a skill or trade that can provide livelihood.

11. **Literature outreach:** Provide a program in which SDAs can produce and sell literature to non-SDAs to both provide a witness to the recipient and a livelihood to the seller (i.e., Southern Publishing Association, etc.).
12. **Mentoring model:** Select exceptional persons and provide training so that they can have accelerated learning opportunities. Such persons are designed to be future leaders.

Tier Three: Program for the SDA Organization Leadership

13. **Multipurpose churches:** Functional churches provide facility for schools during the week and church services during the weekend.
14. **Regional bases:** Establish location where a major center for the South could be set up (i.e., Nashville). Other cities could serve as satellite centers throughout the South (i.e., Yazoo City and Vicksburg, Mississippi).
15. **Resource centers:** Development of major institutions that cater to the needs of blacks and perpetuate mental, physical and spiritual care (i.e., Oakwood College, etc.).
16. **Communication media:** Begin a communication organ to keep supporters and interested persons informed of the progress and the needs of the black work (i.e., *Gospel Herald*).
17. **Health systems:** Health centers such as sanitariums, hospitals, and health-care facilities throughout the South are to precede the religious emphasis.
18. **Homeless care:** Establish orphanages throughout the South to care for and train black homeless children.
19. **Mutual support:** All entities of the SDA organization assist and support other entities that are in need. Such support includes, resources expertise, prayers.
20. **Organizational witness:** Establish and model an aggressive organizational witness as an example to society.
21. **Expansion scheme:** Develop plan to map out how the South will be entered on a short- and long-term basis.

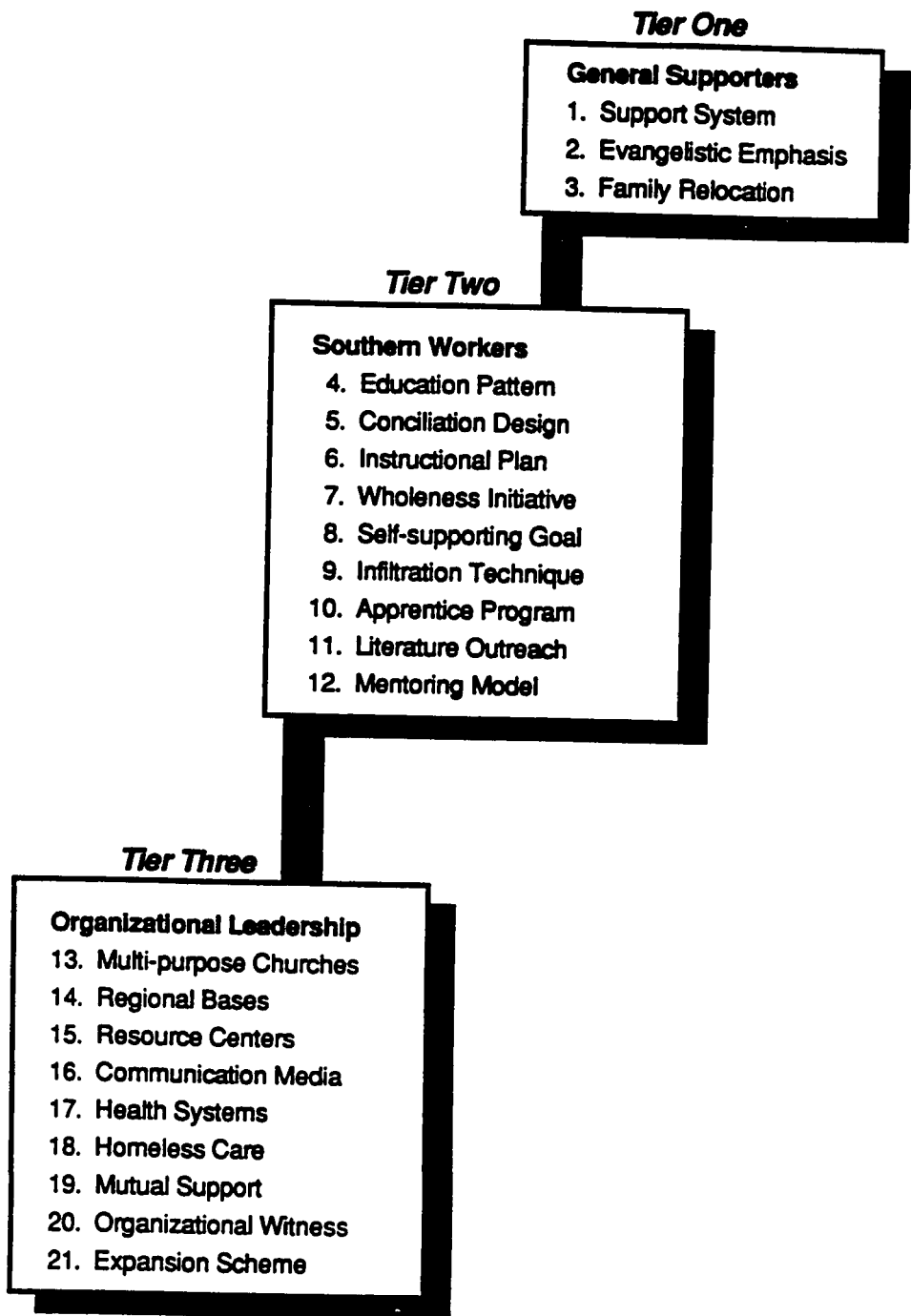


Figure 6:5 Three Tier Actional Blueprint

Following are typical Methods TUs (Each quotation or summary is followed by the year of the TU and the document number in parenthesis. A complete list of the 130 documents is found in Appendix.):

Personal effort by SDAs in the North should be put forth to help Southerners (especially black people) in every way possible--in spiritual and secular lines. White men and women should train themselves to educate and equip black people to face the challenges of life (1891:01).

Nothing said or done should encourage "any phase of oppression or injustice" (1891:01).

SDAs should leave large centers where the organization is built up and go live in places where nothing or next to nothing has been done. They should teach through word and example (1892:03).

Avoid conflict and antagonism over doctrines wherever possible (1895:06).

Teaching the truth involves great liabilities. It is essential, then, that families should settle in the South, and as missionary workers they can, by precept and example, be a living power. There cannot be much preaching. The least notice possible should be given to the point of what is to be done; for it will create suspicion and jealousy in the minds of men, who, with their fathers and grandfathers, have been slaveholders. There has been so little done for the Colored people that they are in moral degradation, and are looked upon as slaves to the white population still, although they have been emancipated at terrible cost (1895:07).

"The medical missionary workers, cooperating with families who shall make their home in the South, need not think that God will condemn them if they do not work on Sunday; for the Lord understands that every effort must be made *not* to create prejudice, if the truth finds standing place in the South" (1895:07).

Train black people how to work in church institutions (1896:14).

"Wherever by self-sacrifice and urgent labor the work necessary for the establishment and advancement of the cause has been done and facilities provided, and the Lord has prospered."

"Those living where the work has been established on a good foundation should feel themselves bound to help those in need, by transferring even at great self-sacrifice and self-denial a portion or all of the means which in former years was invested by those living at a distance in behalf of the work in their locality. Thus, the Lord designs that the work shall increase."

"This is the law of restitution on right lines. One portion of the Lord's vineyard is worked and brings in fruit. Then another portion is taken up, and it is the Lord's plan that the new, unworked part shall receive help from the part that has been worked. Thus, the work in every part becomes a success. The help thus rendered should be given with cheerfulness"(1899:21).

Be careful about what you write, say or do in the South. Be cautious and avoid needlessly arousing opposition (1899:23, 25).

Black people need leaders who will go and plan and organize with them rather than tell them what to do (1901:36).

"Let our institutions cooperate intelligently with God, lest they be left barren of resources. If they do not strive earnestly to plant the standard of truth in the cities and countries which have never heard the message of warning, God will find another way of accomplishing His purpose" (1901:41).

Those who have should sacrifice and deny themselves to help the oppressed and unfortunate (1902:68).

The Lord has instructed me to say to them, [Publishing Institutions] Bind about your supposed wants until you have done your duty toward the Southern field. Do not add to your already abundant facilities until you have done what God has signified should be done for this field. Take up the work interestedly, nobly, and faithfully. Act the part God expects you to act in the establishment of the work in the South" (1904:41).

The church leadership should establish plans to assist blacks in a permanent fashion (1904:84).

"Parents, these self-denial boxes are a precious reminder in your home. Therefore, deny yourselves in order to be able to put money into them, just as long as there are needs to be supplied. Watch and guard the Lord's plan" (1904:93).

"A primary school should be fitted up in Huntsville for the education of Colored children. Provision should also be made for those who can be prepared to minister to their own race. For this work wise teachers are needed. And gifts of money are needed. Do not suppose that small offerings will not be appreciated. Larger gifts will also be needed. Self-sacrifice is called for at every step. It is a great work to prepare Colored youth to teach their own race" (1904:93).

"Many enterprises that promise good results have to wait, when means are scarce. At such times we must choose those lines of work where small expenditures will accomplish much" (1905:98).

Let building and everything that is established in the South be done so as to be a lesson of order and organization (1907:118).

"The Lord would have our people in the South, young and old, obtain the precious experience that is to be gained in selling this book. In His wisdom Christ has given you this work to do, and by its performance you will obtain most valuable lessons in Christian experience, and will bring means in for the relief of our schools. Let us study this matter faithfully, to see if we have done all that we could in our vicinity to circulate *Christ's Object Lessons*" (1907:112).

Trained black people should first feel a burden to educate and help their own people (1909:130).

EGW emphasized Methods throughout the 20-year period. In each of the four periods it ranked in first or second place. In periods 2 and 4 it ranked first, and in periods 1 and 3 it ranked second. In these instances Methods came behind Principles and Perspectives respectively.

Second Ranking Category: Perspectives. Following Methods is the *Perspectives* category (i.e., appeals to logic and a sharing of personal opinions). Perspectives had a frequency of 235, which comprised 13 percent of the total TUs (Figure 6:6). Unlike Methods, which remained in the top two positions on the ranking list throughout the four periods, Perspectives tended to fluctuate.

In periods 1 and 2 Perspectives ranked in eighth place. It moved to first place in period 3, but dropped to last place in period 4. Taken in a historical context, this phenomenon apparently has significance. When EGW first began to present the needs of the black work to the church, she did so largely from a biblical admonishment standpoint. Most of the documents were saturated with biblical texts and statements implying spiritual authority. In the 1890s, many of the positions rationalizing the church's responsibility toward the black race were based on such biblical illustrations as the good Samaritan, Christ's message of deliverance of the oppressed, the parable of Lazarus, Moses' experience before Pharaoh and his deliverance of Israel, and the Exodus movement. EGW clearly saw the freeing of the blacks from slavery as being a type of what happened to the Jewish nation.

From 1898 to 1902, the work in the South grew increasingly traumatic. The problem required careful reasoning that was situation specific and thus her perspectives increased. EGW still relied heavily upon and used scriptural references and what she saw as her spiritual authority. But during this period she spoke directly to the situation and gave counsel as to how workers should relate to danger and racism. Many of the statements she made during this period were reactions to social conditions of the time and should not be considered to be binding or applicable for all times.

The following are typical Perspectives TUs:

Who is responsible for servitude, ignorance and the disorganized state of the black family, and the black race? Who disgraced the black race and ruined its habits? White people. Therefore, it is incumbent on them to do something to turn the situation around (1891:01).

Persecution is not general now, but if Southern prejudices and their "excitable dispositions" are aroused, and the whole cause of truth will suffer and that great missionary field would be closed (1895:07).

Blacks and whites are equals and should be treated so, but to intermarry would cause problems for the couple and children (1896:17).

The Southern field has great potential for the SDA work but it is the prejudice of whites against blacks that makes it so difficult. Though Southern whites lost the war, they didn't lose the spirit that caused them to oppress the blacks (1899:24).

If there are any people in the world who can't help themselves, it is the people of the South--the black people--but also a portion of poor whites (1901-36).

There is untold suffering and wickedness in the Southern field, and we have not done "one-thousandth part of the work that should be done" (1901-40).

Many enterprises may promise good results, but those should be chosen "where small expenditures will accomplish much" (1905:98).

All black people who are blessed with "opportunities and advantages" owe it to themselves and their race to help their own people (1909:130).

EGW adjusted her communication content and approach to meet the situation internally in the SDA organization and externally in the wider society.

Third Ranking Category: Appeals. Appeals (i.e., requests for funds, workers) is the third category listed. After ranking fifth in period 1, Appeals

moved to third in period 2, dropped to sixth place in period 3 (its lowest), and moved to the second spot in period 4 (Figure 6:7).

While EGW never stressed money and other appeals as her number one emphasis, it was always high on her priority. She knew that the church had to be educated as to the needs in the South, but that it also had to give for the work to even begin to move. In fact, as people give, so their interest is aroused to that which they give. Resources were always a problem in the black work. Interestingly, as the work grew, so the need for funds grew.

Most of the 130 documents, whether explicitly or implicitly stated, were in some way an appeal. EGW's comstats had one main objective--change. She wanted them to change a way of thinking and acting--she wanted the SDA Church to start doing or stop doing something. All this had as its goal the forward movement of the black work.

It is illuminating to note the basis on which she appealed to the church when communicating about the black work. That is, each implicit or explicit appeal came from a particular perspective. EGW utilized at least seven types of appeal approaches (Figure 6:8). First, there was the *Biblical approach*: EGW appealed on the basis of religious duty. God had given a commission to the SDA Church to take the gospel to all the world. A part of that world included the black people in the South. Therefore, if the SDA members were to be true to their commission they had to go to the black people and the South. Second, there was the *moral approach* when EGW appealed on the basis of what was conscientious and right. Including the blacks in the outreach of the church was the principled and ethical thing to do. They were going to all of the other cultural groups in the nation and world so why not blacks. How could a world church rationalize a gross neglect of such

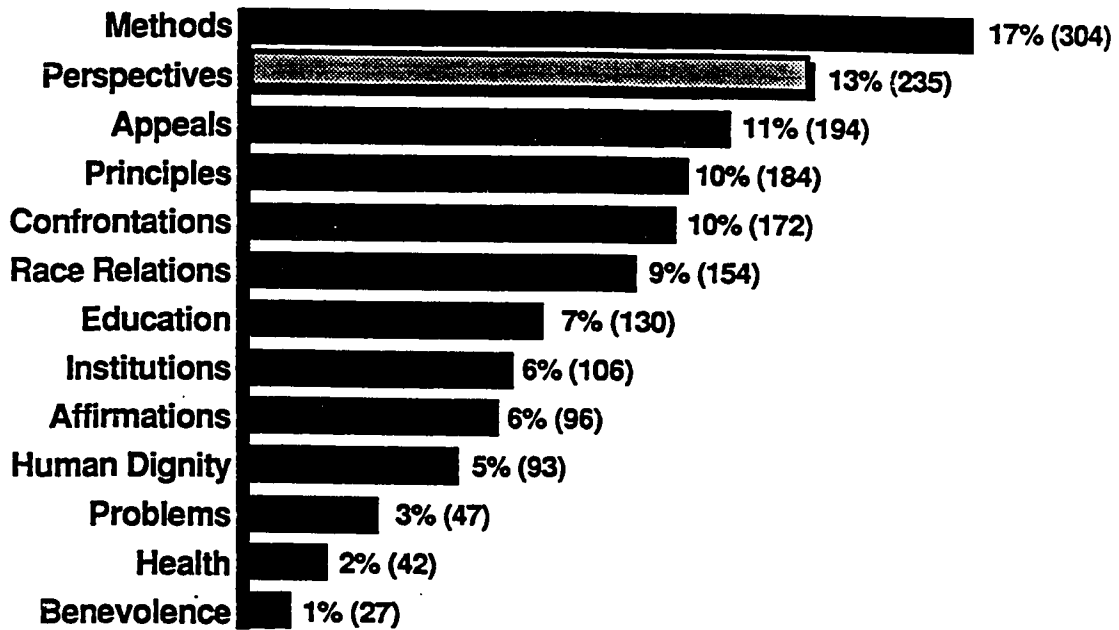


Figure 6:6 TU Ranking: Perspectives Category

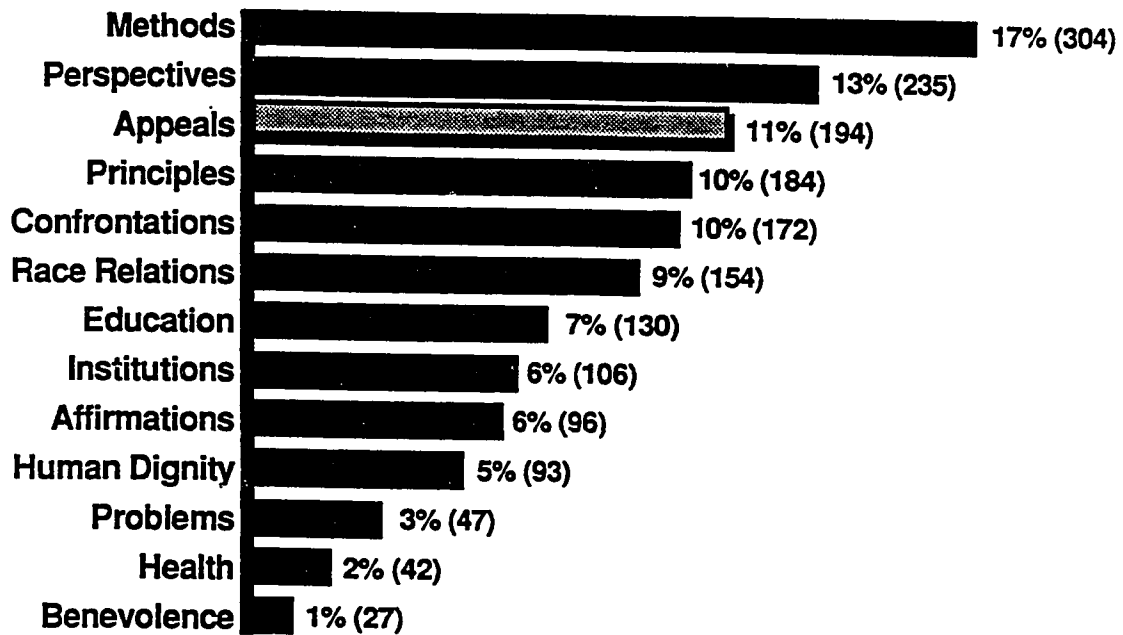


Figure 6:7 TU Ranking: Appeals Category

a magnitude? Third, there was the *humanitarian approach* when EGW appealed on the basis of decency and human welfare. There was no justifiable way the church could evangelize overseas and ignore the black race "at their doorstep." All decent people, reasoned EGW, who saw the suffering, oppression, and need within their own nation were compelled, as compassionate human beings to provide help. To do otherwise would bespeak a hardness incompatible with Christianity and decency.

Fourth, EGW utilized an *empathetic approach* when she emphasized fairness and understanding. True, whites were not in the same state of need as the black race, but they could understand what it must be like. They could appreciate what it must have been like to be in bondage and to be deprived of education and domestic and civil freedoms, to be abused and ignored, to be treated as a "thing" instead of a "person." It was not sufficient to be set free and to have no provision or assistance in merging into society adequately prepared.

In many appeals she sought to create or awaken an identification with, and understanding of, blacks' situation and feelings. On a more confrontative and direct note, a fifth appeal EGW used was the *restitution approach*. Here she strongly emphasized that the black race had given and given and received nothing in return. SDAs, like the whole country, had benefited from the life, energy and labor of black people, and it was time to restore something to them as a race. It was time to make restitution for the decades of loss, damage and injury. EGW believed that God had blessed the SDA Church to be in a position to assist in making good the debt owed the black race. This was perhaps one of her most strident appeals. She made her case without apology and left no room for a person to refuse and not be accountable.

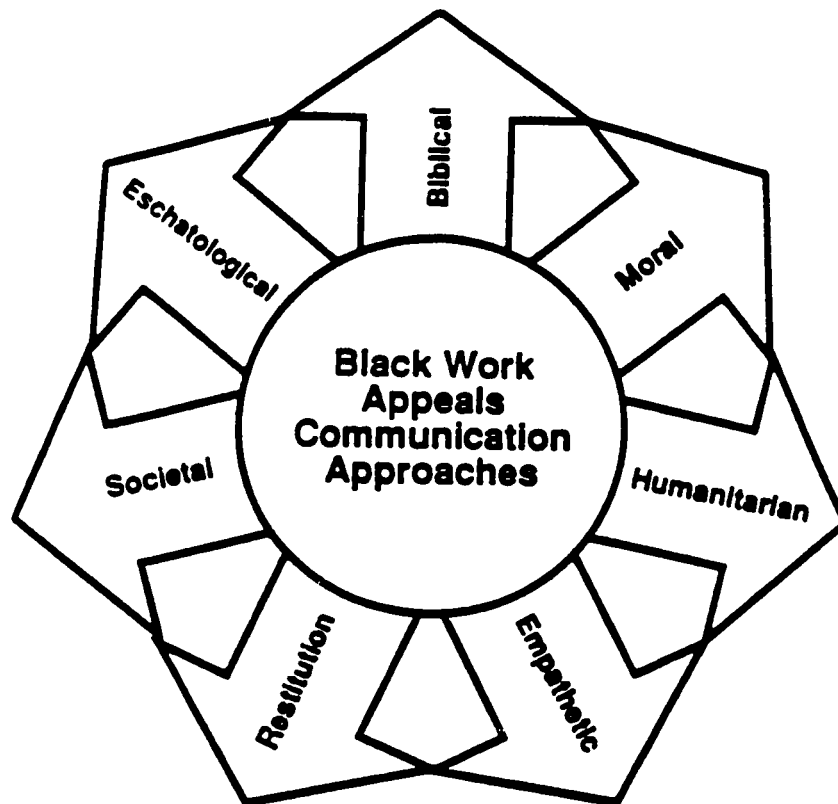


Figure 6:8 Black Work Appeals

A sixth appeal EGW used when communicating to the SDA Church was the *societal approach*. This was the most secular and least used of the approaches. With this approach, EGW spoke to her hearers or readers as a social group with common goals and interests. Her point was that if one part of society is weak or needy, then it weakens the whole of society. If the U.S. or the SDA Church ignores the needs of black people, eventually the entire society will begin to feel the weight. But if the black race can be strengthened, then the entire society will be strengthened as a result. So indirectly by assisting the black race, the SDA Church is benefiting society

and their own families and progeny. It just made good sense to help those who need help--everyone benefited.

The seventh and final appeal deduced from EGW's comstats was the *eschatological approach*. Referring to the last events to happen before Jesus second coming, EGW highlighted the judgment, or final reckoning of God. This would be a time, according to EGW's understanding of the Bible, when all people must answer to God before the judgment bar for their deeds done or undone. In SDA theology this is one of the most solemn and important times in existence. In fact, SDAs believe that this life is a preparation for the judgment and eternity to follow. EGW tied in the church members' relationship to the black work. She was convinced that if white SDAs practice racial prejudice, if they ignore the black race and do nothing to ameliorate the deplorable conditions in which they exist, that they would answer for it in the judgment. While this approach wasn't often explicitly used, it was more often implied.

One senses from reading the collection of appeal comstats that EGW didn't have a checklist of which approach to use in which situation. Nor does one sense that these approaches formed a mechanical or manipulative outlook. Rather, these approaches emerged from her comstats after seeing the large picture and studying the reactions to appeals in different settings.

One further example will help illuminate EGW's mind-set concerning her appeals. The comstats under study, as explained earlier, are documents exposed to the SDA Church public. Besides public comstats, EGW issued scores of private letters and interactions concerning the subject of support for the black work.

In a letter to A. G. Daniells, dated January 23, 1903, EGW referred to

a telegraphed request she had just received from Dr. J. H. Kellogg, prominent SDA physician and director of the then-famous SDA sanitarium in Battle Creek, Michigan. Kellogg asked EGW would she assist him by writing an appeal to the church to raise funds "for the purchase of a sanitarium property in England."

EGW explained to Daniells that when she first received the request she said to herself: "No, I have done enough begging and besides, I do not feel well enough to write now." But after being impressed of the legitimacy of the need, she went ahead and "wrote an urgent appeal for means to establish a medical institution in England." She went on to say that she also, again, wrote another appeal on behalf of the South and the cities in America that "have been passed by and neglected."

EGW then, frankly and unstintingly, wrote to Daniells: "I have not admired your wisdom nor the wisdom of those who have so little burden to take up the work that the Lord has for years been keeping before me--the work of giving the message of present truth in the Southern states. Few have felt that upon them rested the responsibility of taking hold of this work. Our people have failed to enter new territory and to work the cities in the South. Over and over again the Lord has presented the needs of this field, without any special results. And when I passed through my recent experiences in connection with the Southern work, I felt as if I could no longer bear the burden of this work. I thought that if men would continue to do as they had done, I would let matters drift, and let those who have so much confidence in their own plans go on as they chose to go. I intended merely to pray that the Lord would have mercy upon the ignorant and those who are out of the way. But the Lord has a controversy with our ministers

and people, and I must speak, placing upon them the burden of the Southern work, and of the cities of our land."

It would seem that as more blacks joined the SDAs Church, so would the means increase. Not so. Blacks who joined the church were poor and in need. It was to be some years before the black work would become self-supporting. That is one of the reasons the Appeals category ranks so high in the fourth period. This is the time a number of institutions had been created. They were all in need of funds. Thus, the need for resources increased exponentially.

Following are typical Appeals TUs:

Money should be taken from places where there is much and given to places where there is little (1895:5).

We need sanitariums in the South so that blacks can be trained as medical missionaries (1895:7).

We desperately need workers in the Southern field (1895:09).

Let farmers, financiers, builders and those who are skilled go south, improve the land and build humble homes there (1896:15).

Money is needed to build schools, support workers and generally support the work (1901:36).

"Judiciously" solicit donations from the "wealthy men of the world." Let the goal be to give until the work is able to be self-sustaining (1901:37).

The necessities of the field call for immediate action. I call upon all who can to help in the establishment of the work in Nashville. Be God's helping hand. Help where help is needed. Take hold with us in assisting the workers in the South (1901:41).

O when will Seventh-day Adventists arise and build up the work in the Southern field? How

long and how hard shall we have to labor that our people may see what needs to be done and do it? Let no obstruction be placed in the way of those who are willing to work. Let no one refuse to make straight in the desert--the dark places of the earth--a highway for our God. Plough the field. Remove the stones (1901:41).

Give to the needy places in the U.S. as well as abroad. Don't neglect home for overseas (1903:74).

I have a message for you: It is the duty of those in all parts of America to have a special regard for the men who are giving the powers of heart, mind and soul to the work in the Southern field. This field is a responsibility that does not rest upon the men and women only who are engaged in the work there. None should feel that they have no burden to carry in reference to this field. The wrongs that have existed in the past must not be repeated. Not one word of discouragement should be spoken to any one engaged in the work. This field must be worked. Every grace is needed (1904:93).

The work for the Colored people needs liberal offerings, and parents as well as children may do much by self-denial and sacrifice to aid this work (1904:93).

Let your neighbors and friends know what these little boxes mean. Invite them to try the same method, and to practice liberality. Your efforts may be the saving of souls. Tell them of the needs of the Colored children in the South (1904:93).

"Now we appeal to you, brethren, to stand nobly by the work for which the Southern Missionary Society has stood for the past ten years. . . . We appeal to you, brethren, to come to the relief of this work in a substantial manner. We ask this, not only of those who have stood by the work in the past, but of our people generally. This work cannot be maintained by a single effort made once a year, but must be carried forward by the systematic liberality of our people, so the streams may be constantly flowing in this direction" (1906:106).

There is an urgent need for workers and funds to send workers in the South (1909:130).

EGW knew that the real test of the SDA members' commitment was the amount of resources they were willing to invest in the South. She along with Edson White gave regularly to the Southern work. The church gave in spurts and even at times withheld money from the South. This, EGW stressed, was not acceptable and must change. Gradually the church took more responsibility for the black work, until the Southern Union Conference, an administrative entity of the SDA Church, incorporated the Southern Missionary Society into the organized structure of the SDA Church (1901). A further structural inclusion took place in 1910, when the Negro Department was formed at the General Conference.

Regardless of its status relative to the organizational structure, the black work was always in need of resources. This emphasis remained a topic of interest to EGW to the end of her life.

Fourth Ranking Category: Principles. The category Principles (i.e., universal truths of either a spiritual or secular nature) made up an integral component of EGW's comstats. Having a frequency of 184, Principles has a percentage value of 10 (Figure 6:9). EGW freely used principles because she viewed the race issue as something that not confined to the area of religion. She viewed race as a moral and humanitarian issue, as well.

Principles was an interesting variable in that consistently it was the highest category in the foundational sections in all the periods with the exception of period 3 when it ranked second. Principles also ranked highest across the 20-years in the third period. It seems logical that an important emphasis of EGW was on Principles in the third period due to the intense racial climate in the South during that time. Again, caution was her counsel

during this dangerous time. According to EGW understanding, respect and acceptance were the universal antidote against racism and prejudice.

Perhaps most noteworthy is the fact that EGW included the black work in her will (1912). She allotted a portion of the net profit of her estate "for the support of mission schools, under the Negro Department of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference," and again another provision "shall be applied to the maintenance of the mission school for Negroes now conducted by the Negro Department of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference.

EGW regularly shared principles concerning the universal importance and value of all humans and the mutual responsibilities of each person to the other.

Following are typical Principles TUs:

"He [Christ] puts a stern rebuke upon those who attach so much importance to color or caste. . . . Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they have the same spirit He had" (1891:1).

There is not enough thought and prayer given to how to effectively conduct the black work. . . . Talk about Christ and His love as an opener to hearts in the South (1895:7).

God does not value man by his wealth, talent or education. He values him according to his mercy and love (1895:10).

We are to communicate with people sincerely, clearly and without partiality (1896:14).

Institutions should reflect character and principles. But if unfaithful and selfish men run them they will soon reflect the negative traits of the leaders.

Position, class and color doesn't make a man--character does (1902:55).

Stronger institutions, like more able individuals, are to help build the black work (1903:75).

All in the human family are brothers and sisters. One is not better than the other (1905:99).

SDAs should be balanced and broad in their thinking. The needy part of the work should receive equal emphasis as the more prosperous part. The South and the black work is to be included in all consideration (190:113).

The Negro was neglected after the Civil War. Some work was done. But the government, churches, societies and individuals overlooked the needs of the race (1908:125).

Principles and Perspectives were foundational to EGW's strategy for the development of the black work. Throughout her comstats are interlaced principles she used to buttress the relational and actional components.

Fifth Ranking Category: Confrontations This category (i.e., criticizing whites and blacks for failure to take necessary actions) formulated one of EGW's most odious communication tasks. While confrontation was something she wished to avoid, it was a necessity if the church was to be roused to its responsibilities. Prior to EGW's messages on the subject of the black work, the SDA Church was doing virtually nothing. Confrontation always ranked in the top four emphases and had a frequency of 172, representing 10 percent of the total TUs (Figure 6:10).

Confrontation was highest in period 2, after EGW had introduced the subject in 1891. Essentially, the church did nothing of significance to initiate a respectable response to her concerns. In the middle and late 1890s, Confrontations was an integral part of her communications. However, the category dropped in the third period. Apparently, EGW felt that during this

period of racial strife and societal problems, confrontation was not the best communication approach. The third period was the only time Confrontations dropped below Affirmations.

Following are typical Confrontations TUs:

"Is there not much more due the black people than the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not earnest effort be made to lift them up?" (1891:1).

Unless you lose your "unlovely traits of character," [prejudice] you are slaves of sin and Satan (1891:1).

"Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the Colored people" (1891:1).

"The reason that this large class of human beings who have souls to save or to lose have been so long neglected is the prejudice that the white people have felt and manifested against mingling with them in religious worship. . . . What should be done for the Colored race has long been a vexed question, because professed Christians have not had the spirit of Christ. They have been called by His name, but they have not imitated His example" (1895:2).

"A long-neglected field [the South] stands out in plain view before God to shame the people [SDAs]. . . . The Lord is not pleased with your treatment of the Southern field" (1897:19).

"The neglect of our people to respond to the light God has given has closed some openings which it will now be very difficult for them to enter. . . . That which might have been done years ago in the South can not now be done" (1899:20).

"That field bears testimony to the neglect of a people who should have been wide awake to work for the Master, but who have done scarcely anything in this field" (1901:40).

"At a time like this shall the work in Nashville be allowed to come to a standstill? I call upon our people everywhere to do something to advance this enterprise. This work is not in a far country; it is at

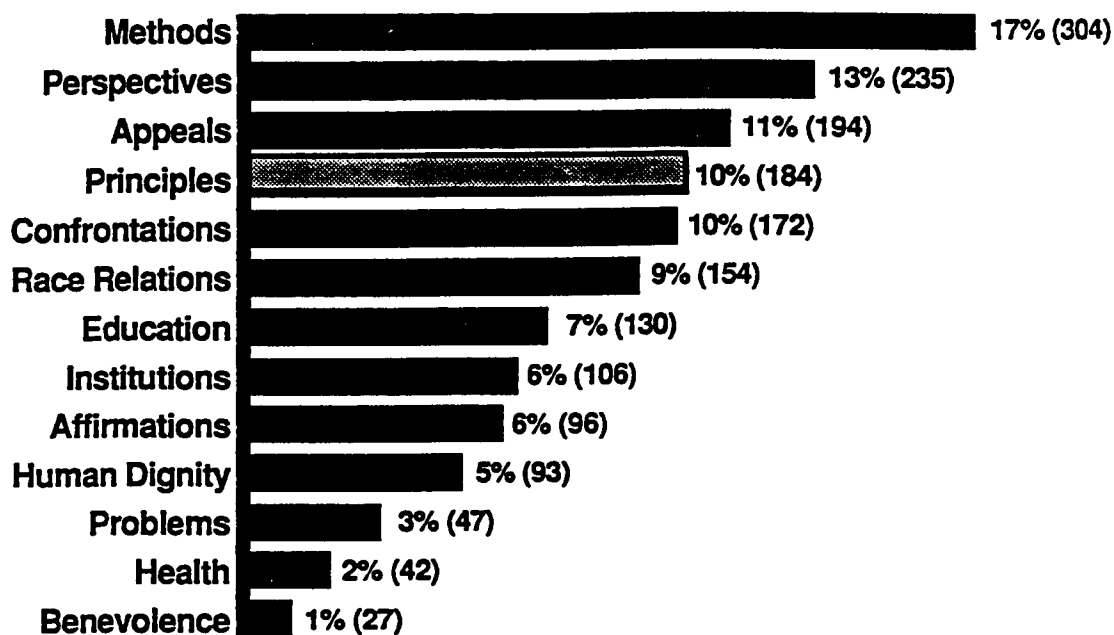


Figure 6:9 TU Ranking: Principles Category

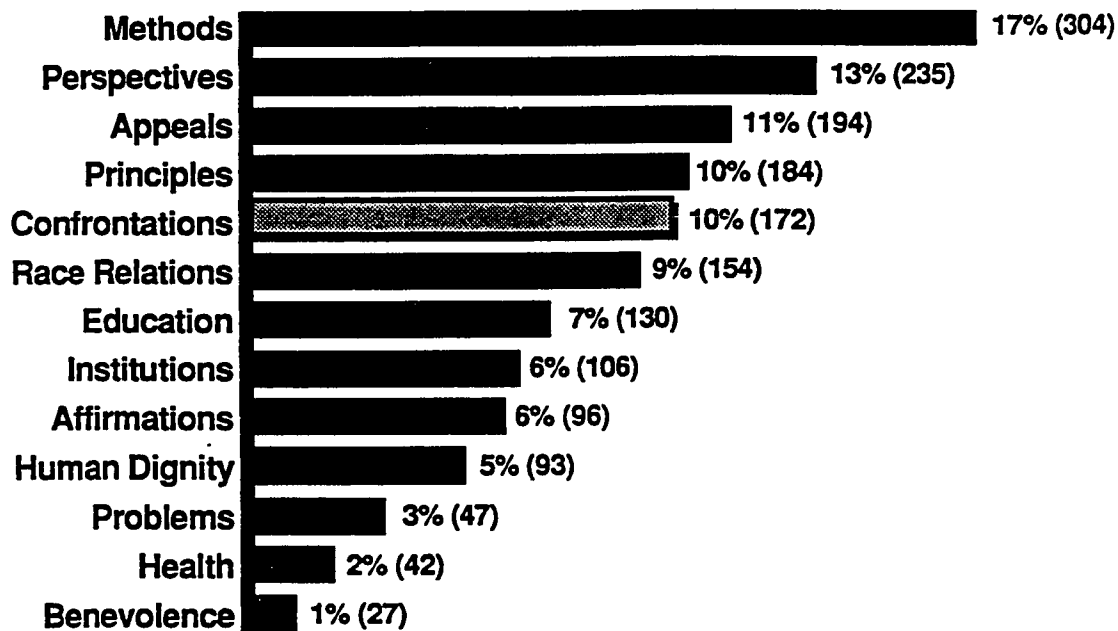


Figure 6:10 TU Ranking: Confrontations Category

your own door, and in it God desires His people to help earnestly and generously. God abhors the indifference with which this home missionary field has been treated. The selfishness which for years has hindered the work must be repented of. Let us do something to help, and do it now"(1901:41).

Each believer in Christ has a personal responsibility to fulfil. No one is excused from doing his duty. God lays upon those in His service the responsibility of cooperating with Him in advancing His work. In the place of seeking to bar the way against entering new fields, every soul should try to answer the calls. . . . (1901:41).

"Had our brethren and sisters in America been awakened by the appeals that long ago were made to them to do something for the Colored people in the Southern States, years would not have passed into eternity with so little done. What do we see now? Among other things, we see a work begun in Nashville. But in the visions of the night the Southern field has passed in review before me, and it is still destitute. Our brethren in positions of trust are not to neglect this field, and send to foreign fields nearly all the monies raised for advance work" (1902:62).

"Had this work been done for the Colored work immediately after the proclamation of freedom, how different would be the conditions of the Southern states today" (1903:75).

"The present showing of neglect of the Colored people must be changed. . . A more decided interest must be manifested in the work of helping the Colored people (1905:97).

"The South is calling to God for temporal and spiritual food, but it has been so long neglected that hearts have become hard as stone. God's people need now to arouse and redeem their sinful neglect and indifference of the past. These obligations now rest heavily upon the churches, and God will graciously pour out His Spirit upon those who take up their God-given work" (1906:106).

"The neglected South is to be especially favored now, because of the neglect of the past. The atonement for the failure of the past to meet the needs of this field, should be full and ample" (1907:109).

"My brethren, I ask you in the name of the Lord, that you be careful how you handle the donations that are made to the Southern field. Not one dollar is to be turned aside to any other field. I entreat you to be very careful" (1907:118).

"Upon the white people of the United States the Lord has laid the burden of uplifting this race. But as yet SDAs have done comparatively little to help them" (1908:124).

In spite of the burden of having to confront leaders and church members, EGW to the end sought to convey the importance of the black work to the church. It would be inappropriate to focus on Confrontations alone. This was only one part of EGW's strategy, and a fifth-ranking category at that. Nevertheless, EGW did what she felt she had to. While she affirmed, apparently there was also a need to confront.

Sixth Ranking Category: Race Relations. Instruction in this category (i.e., having to do with interaction and association with whites and blacks) was central to EGW's strategy for preparing the church to comprehend and face the challenge of a commission to work for the evangelization and advancement of blacks. Race Relations had a 154 frequency and a rating of 9 percent (Figure 6:11). EGW dealt pedagogically with Race Relations.

In the first period Race Relations ranked third and dropped to the eighth position in the fourth period. EGW's comstats indicate that while Race Relations was always emphasized, it was dealt with more practically during the last three periods. In fact, Race Relations principles were implied in every other category. In periods 1 and 2, Race Relations were explicitly stressed; in periods 3 and 4, it was implicitly stressed.

Following are typical Race Relations TUs:

"It will always be a difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the white people in the South and do missionary work for the Colored race" (1891:1).

"You have no license to exclude the Colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them. At the same time we must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question" (1891:1).

It is not right to make great efforts to develop the work in foreign fields and neglect the blacks in the South. Associating and working with blacks must be a priority (1895:02).

The same methods cannot be used in the South when working with blacks as in other areas. Different approaches must be used in order to be successful (1895:07).

"It was never God's purpose that society should be separated into classes, that there should be alienation between the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned. But the practice of separating society into distinct circles is becoming more and more decided" (1895:10).

It was difficult to educate these people in correct ideas, because they had been compelled to do according to the word of their human masters. They had been subject to human passions, their minds and bodies had been abused, and it was very hard to efface the education of these people and to lead them to change their practices. But these missionaries persevered in their work. They knew that the black man had not chosen his color or his condition and that Christ had died for him as verily as He had died for his white brother. To show sympathy for the released slaves was to expose one's self to ridicule, hatred, and persecution. Old-time prejudice still exists, and those who labor . . . will have to encounter difficulties (1895:11).

"Walls of separation have been built up between the whites and the blacks. These walls of

prejudice will tumble down of themselves, as did the walls of Jericho, when Christians obey the Word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their Master and impartial love to their neighbors. For Christ's sake, let us do something now. Let every church whose members claim to believe the truth for this time look at this neglected, downtrodden race, that, as a result of slavery, have been deprived of the privilege of thinking and abating for themselves. They have been kept at work in the cotton fields, have been driven before the lash like brute beasts, and their children have received no enviable heritage. Many of the slaves had noble minds, but the fact that their skin was dark was sufficient reason for the whites to treat them as though they were beasts" (1895:11).

"If the greatest caution is not exercised, bitterness and hatred will be aroused in the white people of the South who are yearning for power to oppress the Colored race as they have in the past" (1899:23).

The workers who are most effective with black people in the South are those who decide to go rather than having to be sent" (1899:25).

Workers should be careful not to say and do things that will cause cultural or racial contention (1899:28).

"Let no person lead you to believe that the work can be carried on as if there were no distinction to be made. White and Colored children are not to be associated promiscuously in the Southern states. You cannot more effectually spoil the Colored children of the South than by leading them to think that they are to be placed in every respect on a social equality with the white race. Untold evils will be the outcome. Our way will be hedged up, our work be place in jeopardy. *Lives will be sacrificed without gaining the least advantage.* . . . The age in which we live calls for decided reformatory action; but wisdom must be exercised" (1899:31, emphasis supplied).

"If we move quietly and judiciously, laboring in the way that God has marked out, both white and Colored people will be benefited by our labors" (1902:73).

Workers working for other races must be kind, courteous, willing to help and adaptable. They should not be critical (1904:87).

"Human prejudice is not of God" (1904:89).

"In our own Southern field, we find conditions becoming more difficult for carrying on labor successfully for the Colored people. That peculiar type of race feeling known as the color line is becoming stronger constantly and everything that strengthens it makes it more difficult to work for and reach the Colored people" (1906:106).

Selflessness and conversions are keys to dealing with race prejudice (1907:121).

Institutions training black people should have skilled and unselfish workers who want to help the black race (1909:128).

These and other comstats provide a basis for providing helpful counsel and guidance for the black work. Some of these statements have proved to be perplexing and problematic to church leaders and members today. Some statements cause readers to raise questions about EGW's personal racial philosophy. Some statements have been used by Whites to promote questionable racial practices. As referred to before, real understanding and appreciation for EGW's comstats can be achieved only when the statements are read in their historical and sociological contexts.

Seventh Ranking Category: Education. An educational (i.e., comstats promoting educational opportunities for blacks) emphasis was the ongoing burden of EGW. She believed this was the path to self-help and betterment. From the very first, though she provided much general counsel, education was either explicitly or implicitly stated in all of her comstats. Education has a frequency of 130, which represents 7 percent of the total (Figure 6:12).

However, the interesting aspect of this category is that entire articles, especially in the third and fourth periods, were devoted to the erection and maintenance of schools, including Oakwood College, and the constant need of financial support for the education of black people.

In the *Gospel Herald*, Edson White emphasized that one of the major objectives of the Southern Missionary Society was the creation schools for black children and adults. This became a centerpiece of his initiative in the South. From the beginning of his work the establishment of schools throughout the South was one of his primary goals. He understood this to be one of the major objectives that EGW envisioned for the South. Content analysis, therefore, was limited in how accurately it could measure the vast educational emphasis. Therefore, it should be underscored that education was and remained primary with EGW.

The educational emphasis is obvious when viewing period 4. This was the period when EGW, back from Australia, had visited the South and Oakwood College twice. During this period she wrote a great deal about the college, transmitting specific counsel to church leaders about its needs.

Following are typical Education TUs:

Development of schools throughout the South is the best way to help black people without causing the white people to rise in opposition (1899:24).

It is the duty of leadership to help Oakwood College by raising money to erect adequate buildings. Appeal to the people--white and black, rich and poor--to help develop Oakwood (1899:24).

"Schools and sanitariums must be established in the South. No time should be wasted" (1901:37).

"Oakwood College was established in the order of God. They are to become self-supporting. Various industries are to be established" (1902:53).

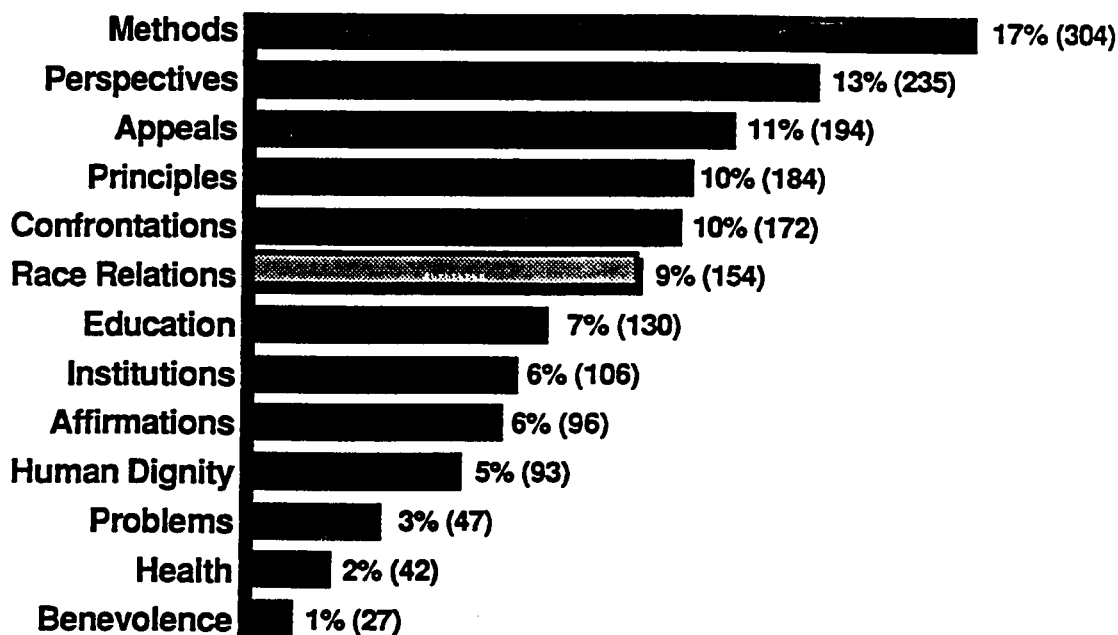


Figure 6:11 TU Ranking: Race Relations Category

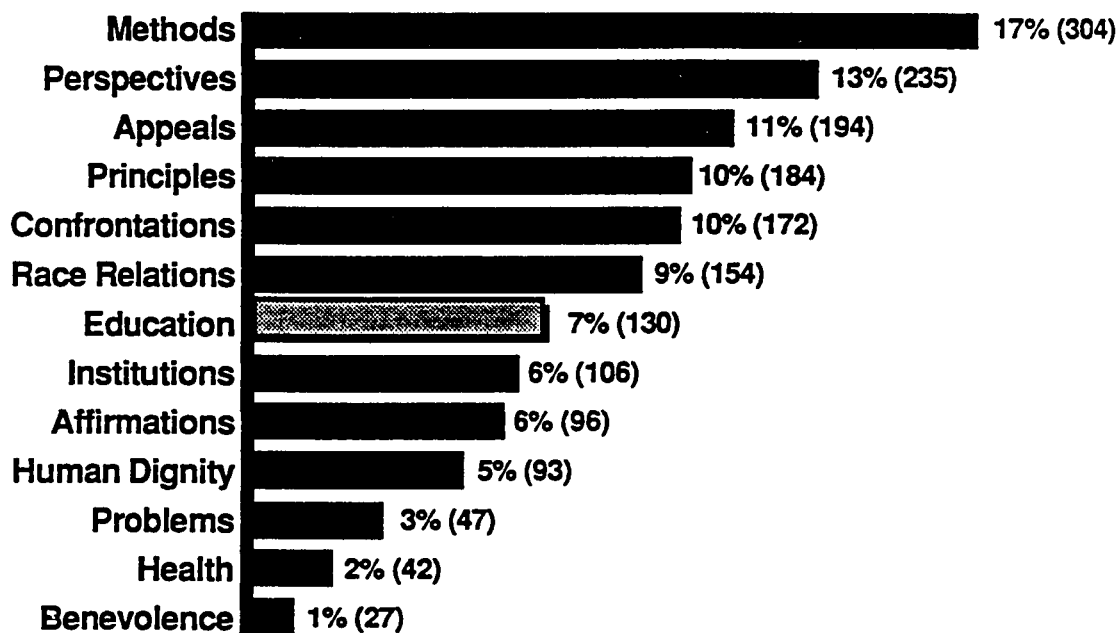


Figure 6:12 TU Ranking: Education Category

"Eternity alone will reveal the work accomplished for the colored people by the small schools at Vicksburg, Yazoo City, and other points in the South. In this field we need many more schools. . . . Let means be gathered for the establishment of such schools" (1902:69).

"Schools for Colored children and youth are to be established in many places in the Southern field. I am deeply interested in the maintenance of these schools. I have often spoken on the importance of this work. I desire to do my part in helping this branch of the Lord's cause in the Southern field. And I am calling upon my brethren and sisters in America to do their part. I am pleading with them. . . ." (1907:116).

"Hundreds of mission schools must be established; for there is no method of giving the truth to these people so effectually and economically as small schools. This line of work has been specially presented before me" (1908:124).

"This school [Oakwood College] is destined to become more and more an important factor in giving the message to the millions of Colored people in the South" (1908:127).

The inspiration and motivation for the establishment of schools in the South, including Oakwood College, proved to be one of EGW's greatest legacies to the black work. For it was the educational system that provided the needed workers, expertise and resources that nurtured the black work. In 1908, EGW published a booklet, *The Oakwood Manual Training School--An Appeal for Encouragement and Financial Aid*, that portrayed her support for Oakwood and the education of the blacks. The booklet covered such topics as "The Work Among the Colored People," "The Huntsville School," "The Needs of the Huntsville School" and "Encouragement to Teachers."

Eighth Ranking Category: Institutions. These comstats (i.e., those promoting the development of institutions that benefit blacks) comprised 6

percent of the TUs, with a frequency of 106 (Figure 6:13). Institutions were a priority with EGW, but only to the extent they promoted the welfare of blacks and the SDA Church.

Content analysis of this area presented some challenges with coding because the subject matter sometimes overlapped with the Education and Health categories. In period 1, Institutions was third from the bottom. The ranking in period 2 was last. A quick perusal of the early documents will reveal that during periods 1 and 2, EGW was generally educating the church about the race question and the proper Christian relationship to black people and the South. During those periods she wasn't stressing institutions such as publishing houses, sanitariums and orphanages. That was to come later, after basic instruction of the church was completed.

In period 3, Institutions realized a significant increase. By this time other avenues had begun to develop--schools, churches, etc. General education of the church was done in the 1890s. Principles and Methods had been repeatedly stressed. Leadership and laity had been confronted with the need to address race relations from a Christian standpoint. The basic foundation for a growing work had been established in the South.

Increasingly, EGW saw the need of institutions of all kind to train and support black workers, to improve living conditions and to help their own race. Institutions established the black work on a firmer basis. Many of these institutions are still in existence today, as Chapter VI bears out.

Following are typical Institutions TUs:

Institutions in established areas for the SDA Church should help those areas that are undeveloped Before sophisticated institutions are established, the black people in "neglected fields" need to learn the ABCs, the basics (1895:03, 07).

In planning for the South and other places, don't multiply money and resources in developed areas and leave the others neglected (1895:10).

"An orphanage is greatly needed by the Colored believers in the South. We have decided that this orphanage must be established. But in order for this to be done, money must be raised. . . . An effort must now be made to secure means for an orphan asylum. Its establishment has long been talked of, but it takes more than words to build an institution, and put it in running order" (1901).

Schools and sanitariums must be established in the South. No time should be wasted before this work is taken up" (1901:37).

"There is need of a well-equipped printing press, that books may be published for the use of the workers in the South. I have been instructed that the publication of books suitable for use in this field is essential. Something in this line must be done without delay" (1901:37).

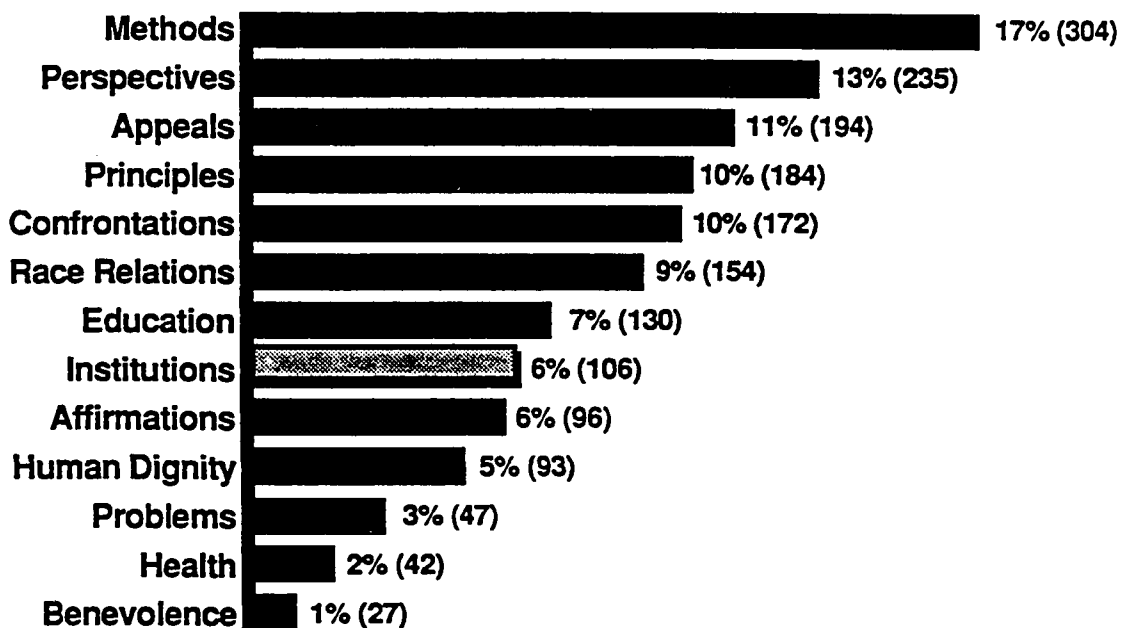


Figure 6:13 TU Ranking: Institutions Category

"Churches of believers are to be developed. Meeting houses are to be built. Facilities for caring for the sick are to be provided. Small books especially prepared for meeting the needs of the [Colored] people are to be given a wide circulation (1901:37).

"There must be established in Nashville a school for the Colored people and a school for the whites and a sanitarium for the care of the sick. In these institutions laborers are to be trained for work in other parts of the South" (1901:44).

"I hired \$400 at five percent interest, and sent it to [the printing institution] to be used till other means could be sent. To prevent loss of time, I shall hire more if I can, for this purpose, until my brethren and sisters throughout the field awoken to their duty, and act their part in raising the means necessary for the advancement of this work" (1901:41).

The publishing house in Nashville will need to be sustained for a time by gifts and offerings, just as the publishing work in Battle Creek . . . and Oakland were sustained when they were first established (1902:51).

"Churches should be raised up; houses of worship should be built; small schools and sanitariums should be established; and the publishing interest should be strengthened" (1902:52).

"There is no place in the South better suited than Nashville for the carrying forward of the publishing work. It is the best place in which to do the work started there" (1902:53).

"When a publishing plant is established in a new field, it must receive help and encouragement from the various plants already in operation, in order that it may develop into a strong influential institution. Every new institution is to be regarded as a sister helper" (1902:53).

"Long before I visited Huntsville, the Oakwood School Farm was presented to me, both as it then was and as it might be in the future if wisely managed and properly cared for. The presentation of what the place ought to be included an orphanage and a sanitarium" (1909:128).

The latter part of the time EGW actively promoted the black work was spent promoting institutions. The publishing house in Nashville, Oakwood College, and the orphanage and sanitarium connected to Oakwood College were some of the areas she actively emphasized. Institutions are a means to an end. In this case, the goal was service to humanity and sanctification to God. EGW also seemed to sense that an active, vibrant, growing institution is a lasting monument to progress.

Ninth Ranking Category: Affirmations. This category (i.e., complimenting blacks and whites for positive action) was in the lower half of the percentages. It was fifth from the bottom, with a 96 frequency and 6 percent (Figure 6:14). EGW didn't offer many affirming statements to the SDA Church concerning the black work mainly because in 1891 there was no black work. For the next three to four years the church still did little deserving of affirmation.

EGW confronted far more than she affirmed. While Affirmations was fifth from the bottom, Confrontations was fifth from the top. The church was lethargic when it concerned blacks and the South. As developed in Chapter IV, the church was far more involved in foreign missions than it was in the black work. EGW spoke to this reality. Edson White and his team were the major onsite initiators of the black work in the South, and he conducted his operation virtually on a volunteer contribution basis. Besides a couple of ministerial appointments and actions, the church had done little to aggressively promote the black work. EGW knew this and repeatedly spoke to the issue. However, her Affirmations steadily increased in emphasis from

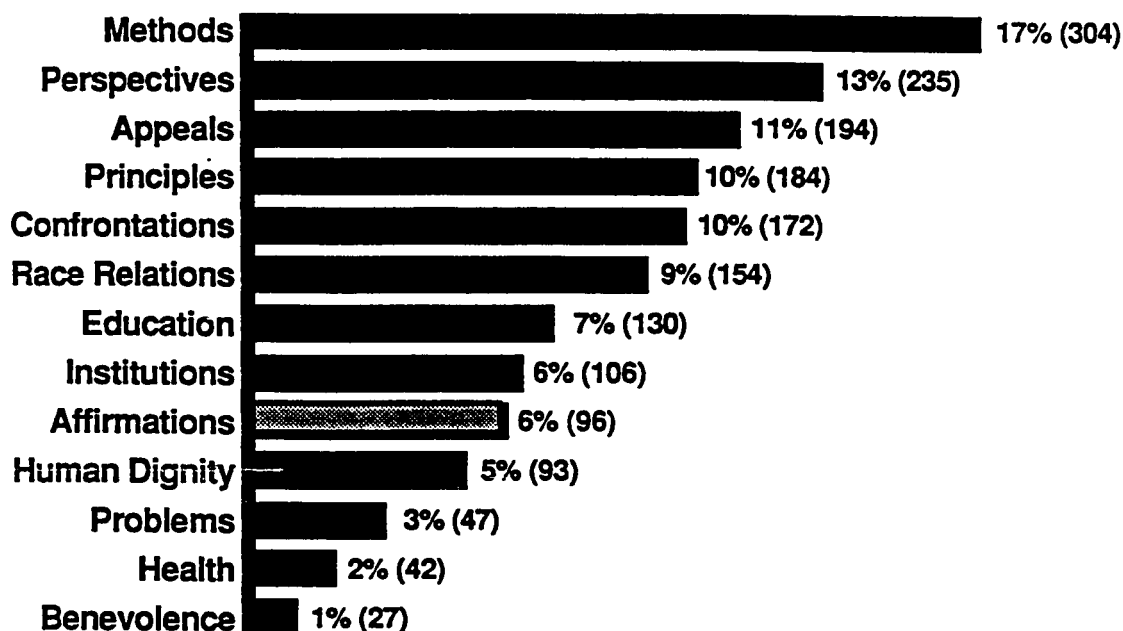


Figure 6:14 TU Ranking: Affirmations Category

the first period, where the category was ranked twelfth, to period 2 where it was tenth, to period 3 where it was seventh, to period 4 where it ranked fifth. As the work developed, there were more Affirmations. The character of the Southern workers, the progress made and the institutions established were some of the areas about which EGW spoke positively.

Following are typical Affirmations TUs:

"When freedom was proclaimed to the captives, a favorable time was given in which to establish schools and to teach the people to take care of themselves. Much of this kind of work was done by various denominations, and God honored their work. Those who attempted to work for the

black race had to suffer persecution, and many were martyrs to the cause" (1895:11).

When God's principles are followed, the work in the South moves forward "with solidity and double strength" (1899:21).

"We acknowledge with gratitude the donations so willingly made to the work in Nashville by our friends in College View, Denver, Boulder, Whitsburg, Portland, and Oakland. We thank you for your help. It has greatly aided the work" (1901:41).

"A little work has been done there [South]: We have touched the field with the tip ends of our fingers" (1901:46).

"I am pleased with the *Gospel Herald* and should be glad to see it have a large circulation" (1902:49).

"My brethren in the South, there is no reason for discouragement. The good seed is sown. God will watch over it, causing it to spring up and bring forth an abundant harvest. Remember that many of the enterprises for soul saving which have proved so successful, have, at the beginning, been carried forward amidst great difficulty" (1902:50).

"God helped the workers in a special manner by arousing the interest of some of their brethren. Brother Smouse's interest was awakened, and his help was indeed a godsend. The gifts, great and small, that have been made to the work in the South are all recorded in the books of heaven" (1902:51).

"As the work advanced [among blacks], churches were organized and schools established. A church was organized in Vicksburg, and a mission home and church building were erected. These are neat commodious buildings. The basement of the church is utilized as a schoolroom in which church school work is carried on" (1902:51).

"In these institutions there are those who are doing a notable work for the people of the South" (1902:51).

"There is not in Nashville the bitter opposition to the work for the uplifting of the down-trodden Colored race that exists in many other cities

of the South. Much work is being done there to uplift the Colored people; and the sentiment in favor of these efforts will be a security to our people in their work" (1902:53).

"His [Edson White] great desire is to help those whom others neglect, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to make the heavy burdens lighter if possible. This is well; for there is little enough of this kind of work done" (1902:54).

"While in Australia, I kept track of the work done in the South and of the little encouragement given the workers among the Colored people by their ministering brethren. Encouragement was withheld by the brethren in the North because they knew that encouragement would sooner or later mean the raising of means to support the workers in this new field. I called for means for the southern work before there was much of a showing in this field. I knew that unless means were sent, new territory could not be added" (1902:62).

The work that has begun in Nashville is established in the right place. . . . Because some men complain and criticize, shall the workers there become discouraged? I answer, No, no! We had no ordinary experience in Australia. It was no easy matter to obtain means to work this new field. The soil had to be broken up, the ground prepared, and the seeds of truth sown. Ours was an aggressive work, carried forward, too, while grumblers were constantly trying to discourage us. But notwithstanding the voices of opposition, the message I received from the Lord was, 'Add new territory; use the plow in breaking new soil.' And this is the message that I sent across the waters to my son, Edson White, who was working among the Colored people in the South. 'God says to you,' I wrote to him, 'Do not fail nor be discouraged.'

"My son wrote to me, saying, 'What shall I do? Colored men are accepting the truth, but they have no decent clothing to wear when attending meetings.' I myself was living in a missionary field, where poverty abounded, and I needed every penny to help the destitute there, and to advance various lines of work in that field; but I requested the office of publications to send to my son some money that was coming to me, and to charge the same to my account; which money was to be used to supply destitute Colored people with clothing, in order that

they might be presentable in appearance when gathered together to worship God" (1902:62).

"I know about that work [the Southern work]; for I have kept pace with it and with the planning and devising of the workers. I have known of the struggles and makeshifts, the self-denial and self-sacrifice, that they have bravely borne. I have helped the workers as much as I could, sharing their work and encouraging them by sending gifts of money and of books" (1902:62).

"From the many remarkable and interesting experiences that Edson and his associates have had on the *Morning Star* and because of the part it has acted in an important and blessed work . . . I spoke advisedly when I said that the Lord had made the *Morning Star* a means of bringing souls to the knowledge of the truth" (1905:98).

"Several of the conferences in the South have done some work for the Colored people, but not all of them together have done as much as the Southern Missionary Society alone. All of the Colored work in the South does not equal the importance of the Southern Missionary Society" (1906:106).

"Although much remains to be done for the Colored people, we have cause for rejoicing over the good beginning that has been made" (1907:115).

It is cheering to know that in the Southern states of America a few faithful laborers have made a beginning here and there in giving the third angel's message to the Colored race. It is also cheering to know that among our brethren and sisters in the more favored fields of America, there are warm hearts beating in sympathy with the hearts of those who have bravely borne a burden of labor for the Colored people. The Lord has been working with and for the tried laborers in the South. There has been laid a foundation that will be as enduring as eternity. And yet, all of the work that has been done is only a beginning as it were (1909:129).

The Confrontations category reveals what needed to be done in the black work. Affirmations category simply responds to what had already been

done in the black work. EGW was quick to support progress, but equally quick to confront inactivity.

Tenth Ranking Category: Human Dignity. Similar to Race Relations, the Human Dignity (i.e., comstats that help promote and increase self-esteem and self-respect in and about blacks) category focuses on comstats that emphasize equality of blacks and whites, confidence in the power of God to overcome the debilitating effects of slavery, hope in the value and worth of black people, and assurance that God loves and accepts blacks as much as whites. Ellen White advocated that SDAs and Christians in general should accept the principle that all men, black and white are equal. Her position was that the church should adhere to this principle at all times, and in her words, not be a coward in the face of those who would promote racially divisive positions. Human Dignity has a 93 frequency and equal 5 percent of the total TUs (Figure 6:15). This appeared low to me, but upon closer examination one can see many statements that could be considered in the Human Dignity category were coded in other areas. In fact, the entire thrust of the black work implied the worth, value and human dignity of the black race. EGW believed in and stressed equality and the equal value of all people. It was this very understanding that caused her to initiate and support causes to improve the condition and opportunities of black people.

Following are typical Human Dignity TUs:

"Jesus came to our world to save . . . all nationalities. He died as much for the Colored people as for the white race." "Jesus, the Master, was poor, and He sympathizes with the poor, the discarded, and the oppressed, and declares that every insult shown to them is as if shown to Himself." "The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts" (1891:01).

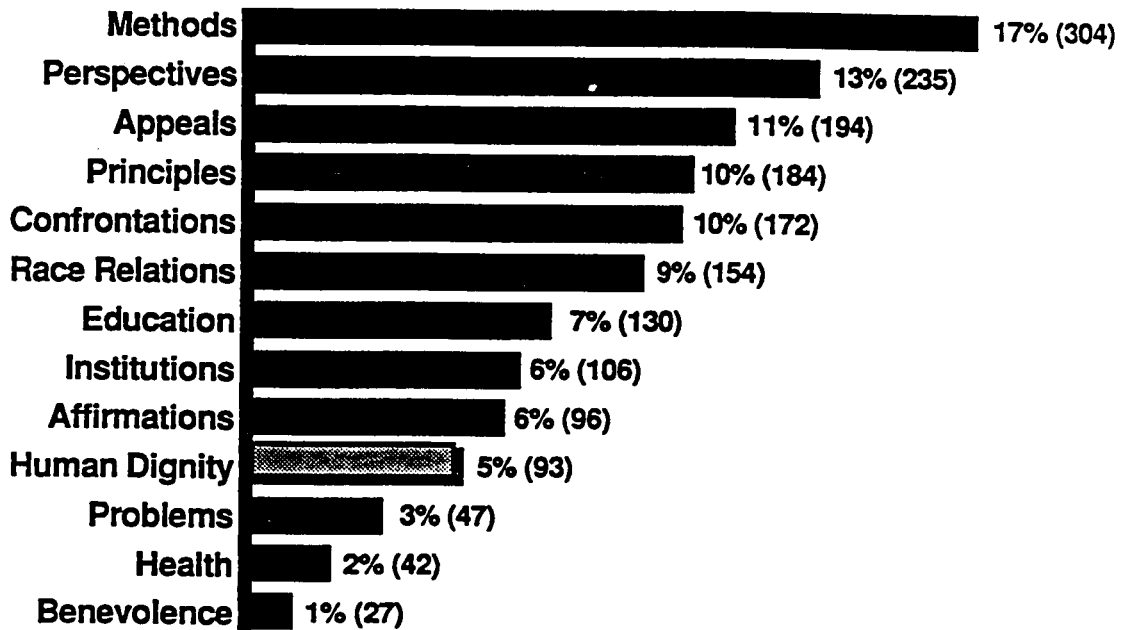


Figure 6:15 TU Ranking: Human Dignity Category

"Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ, whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family. The ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the heathen and the slave, white or black--Jesus paid the purchase money for their souls. If they believe on Him, His cleansing blood is applied to them. The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. If a red man, a Chinaman, or an African gives his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for his color. He calls him His well-beloved brother. The day is coming when the kings and the lordly men of the earth would be glad to exchange places with the humblest African who has laid hold on the hope of the gospel" (1891:01).

"Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He had. If a Colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God. If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the Colored man who has the same Saviour abiding in his heart. When these unchristian prejudices are broken down, more earnest effort will be put forth to do missionary work among the Colored race" (1891:01).

"God has children among the Colored people all over the land. They need to be enlightened. There are unpromising ones, it is true, but you will find similar degradation among the white people; but even among the lower classes there are souls who will embrace the truth. Some will not be steadfast. Feelings and habits that have been confirmed by lifelong practices will be hard to correct; it will not be easy to implant ideas of purity and holiness, refinement and elevation. But God regards the capacity of every man. He marks the surroundings, and sees how these have formed the character, and He pities these souls" (1891:01).

Successful workers are those who live out the principles of Christ when working for blacks--they are workers who have "faith and hope and love" (1895:04).

"Man is of value with God in proportion as he permits the divine image to be retraced in his soul. However misshapen has been his character, although he has been counted as an outcast among men, the man who permits the grace of Christ to enter his soul will be reformed in character and will be raised up from his condition of guilt, degradation, and wretchedness" (1895:09).

"God has made every provision in order that the lost one may become His child. The frailest human being may be elevated, ennobled, refined, and sanctified by the grace of God. This is the reason God values men; and those who are workers together with God, who are filled with divine compassion, will see and estimate men in the same way that God sees and estimates them" (1895:09).

"They [Colored people] have been strangely neglected. Poverty and want are common among them, and very little has been done to relieve their distress. We cannot be surprised that such neglect should result in hardness of heart and in the practice of vice, but God cares for this neglected class" (1895:09).

"The most unfortunate may bear the image of God, and they are of value to God" (1895-10).

"God spoke concerning the captivity of the Colored people as verily as He did concerning the Hebrew captives, and said: 'I have surely seen the affliction of my people. . . , and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them.' The Lord wrought in freeing the Southern slaves; but He designed to work still further for them as He did for the children of Israel, whom He took forth to educate, to refine, and ennoble. Christ Himself wrought with His appointed leaders, and directed them as to what they should do for His people" (1895:11).

The neglect of the Colored race by the American nation is charged against them. Those who claim to be Christians have a work to do in teaching them to read and to follow various trades and engage in different business enterprises. Many among this race have noble traits of character and keen perception of mind. If they had an opportunity to develop, they would stand equal with the whites. The Hebrews were educated during their journeying through the wilderness. They engaged in physical and mental labor. They used their muscles in various lines of work. The history of the wilderness life of God's chosen people was chronicled for the benefit of the Israel of God till the close of time (1985:11).

"The Bible is the hope of both the white and the Colored race. The idea is disseminated that common people should not study the Bible for themselves, but that the minister or teacher should decide all the matters of doctrine for them. This is the doctrine that is taught to the Colored people; but the Bible is the poor man's book, and all classes of people are to search the Scriptures for themselves. God has given reasoning powers to men [black and white], and by bringing our mental faculties into connection with the Word of God . . . the spiritual

powers are awakened, and common people . . . may understand the will of God" (1895:12).

"Through the study of the Word of God, a great work may be done for the Southern people. The Colored people, though emancipated from physical slavery, are still in the slavery of ignorance. They are led to believe that they should do just what their ministers tell them to do. Unless they are directed to the Bible, they will not realize the benefits of the truth and can easily be misled. The goal in working with blacks is to first educate them so they can discover truth on their own.

"There is much talent among the Colored people. Their minds must be aroused, their intellects quickened unto activity. As elevating truths are repeated, their minds will expand, and their ability increased to take in and comprehend the subjects with which they become more familiar" (1895:12).

There is to be no special heaven for the white man and another heaven for the black man. We are all to be saved through the same grace, all to enter the same heaven at last. Then why not act like rational beings, and overcome our unlikeness to Christ? The same God that blesses us as His sons and daughters blesses the Colored race. Those who have the faith that works by love and purifies the soul will look with compassion and love upon the Colored people. Many of those who have had every advantage, who have regarded themselves as superior to the Colored people because their skin was white, will find that many of the Colored race will go into heaven before them.

"There are thousands who are capable of instruction, cultivation, and elevation. With proper, persevering labor, many who have been considered hopeless cases will become educators of their race. The Colored people deserve much more from the hands of the white people than they have received. The Colored people may be compared to a mine that is to be worked, in which is valuable ore of most precious material. Christ has given these people souls capable of winning and enjoying immortal life in the kingdom of God. One tenth of the advantages that their more favored brethren have received and failed to improve, would cause them to become mediums of light through which the brightness of the righteousness of Christ might shine forth" (1899:24).

"The work in this field [the South] is just as important as the work in any other locality" (1901:41).

"The religion of the Bible recognizes no caste or color. It ignores rank, wealth, worldly honor. God estimates men as men. With Him, character decides their worth. And we are to recognize the spirit of Christ in whoever it is revealed, be he a white man or a black man" (1902:59).

"He [God] delivered the Colored people from slavery, and then He placed upon the people of this nation the responsibility of uplifting them, of placing them in a position where they could help themselves" (1903:77).

"Let Colored laborers do what they can to keep abreast, working earnestly for their own people. I thank God that among the Colored believers there are men of talent who can work efficiently for their own people, presenting the truth in clear lines. There are many Colored people of precious talent who will be converted to the truth if our colored ministers are wise in devising ways of training teachers for the schools and other laborers for the field" (1903:79).

"Students [Oakwood College] remember that Christ loves you" (1904:85).

"Everything possible should be done to encourage the students who need the class of instruction that can be given at these schools, that they might go forth properly instructed to do a work for others who need the same education and training they have received" (1907:109).

"The salvation made sure to the human race through the sacrifice of Christ was intended alike for all races and nationalities" (1908:123).

"God can take 'obscure men' and do a special work in them if they are willing to be used" (1909:129).

An interesting observation concerning these statements by EGW relating to Human Dignity is that they were ahead of the times. They were also ahead of the ideological positions of the SDA Church. There appeared

to be a very wide gap between where EGW was and where stood the society she lived in and the church of which she was a member. While there were others in society who believed and promulgated beliefs similar to hers, there was no one in the SDA Church who spoke so forcibly as she did.

Eleventh Ranking Category: Problems. Comstats under the category of Problems (i.e., statements that could be problematic to whites or blacks) have a 47 frequency and represent 3 per the total comstats (Figure 6:16).

Problems category ranked fifth from the bottom in periods 1 and 2. It dropped to second from the bottom in periods 3 and 4, and was ranked third from the bottom in the total ranking for the four periods. These comstats have exerted tremendous influence through the years in the SDA Church. Historically, these comstats have been used to support positions of segregation, separatism, superiority and the theories of natural selection. In such instances, whites have used such statements to support the practice of separate churches, etc.

Blacks, on the other hand, have felt that whites misused EGW's comstats by taking them out of context. These statements, they hold, could be understood only within their time frame and social circumstances, and, in fact, should be presented only in their context to be properly understood. Other black people have felt betrayed by EGW and assume that she held views that were not consistent with the Christian principles of equality that she taught in other places. Ron Graybill thoroughly addressed the issue of context and EGW's race relations statements in his 1970 masters thesis, the basis of his book *E. G. White and Church Race Relations*. This study contends, as does Graybill, that all of EGW's comstats must be understood

in context, or a proper picture will not emerge.

After examination of all of EGW's comstats on the subject of black people, the work in the South and race relations, seven methodological and philosophical approaches preferred by EGW appear to emerge from her writings (Figure 6:17).

1. Organizational Prioritized: EGW saw the SDA Church's primary role as being an agent to help people in need--physically, mentally and spiritually. Black people in the South were in great need, and she considered the SDA Church (and society in general) to be under an immediate obligation to assist them in relieving the need. Because the SDA Church had a definite religious obligation and looked forward to certain spiritual rewards (eternal life, etc.) as part of the ultimate goal, all other factors were means to, or at least supportive of, this end. However, EGW offered and promoted help for black people whether or not they accepted and followed SDA teachings. Her presupposition was that God wanted Christian SDAs to help simply because a need existed.

2. Role Defined: EGW did not believe that the church should be involved in political issues unless those issues violated moral or humanitarian principles. She deliberately avoided getting the church involved in the political "hot potatoes" of her day. She felt individuals and social groups should pursue those issues as they felt convinced, but not the church. When, however, society or government asked or required church members to violate a moral principle, such as in the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, she discouraged the church members from supporting such a law. To EGW the role of the SDA Church was the helping of people, sharing the gospel, seeking to discover people's needs and then to go about relieving those needs.

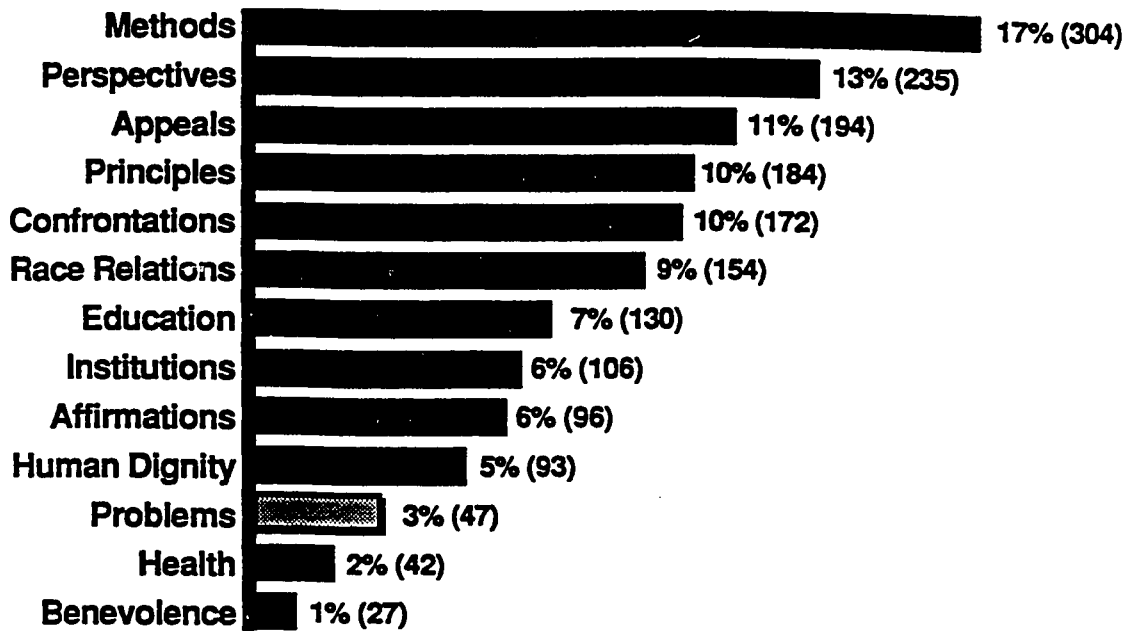


Figure 6:16 TU Ranking: Problems Category

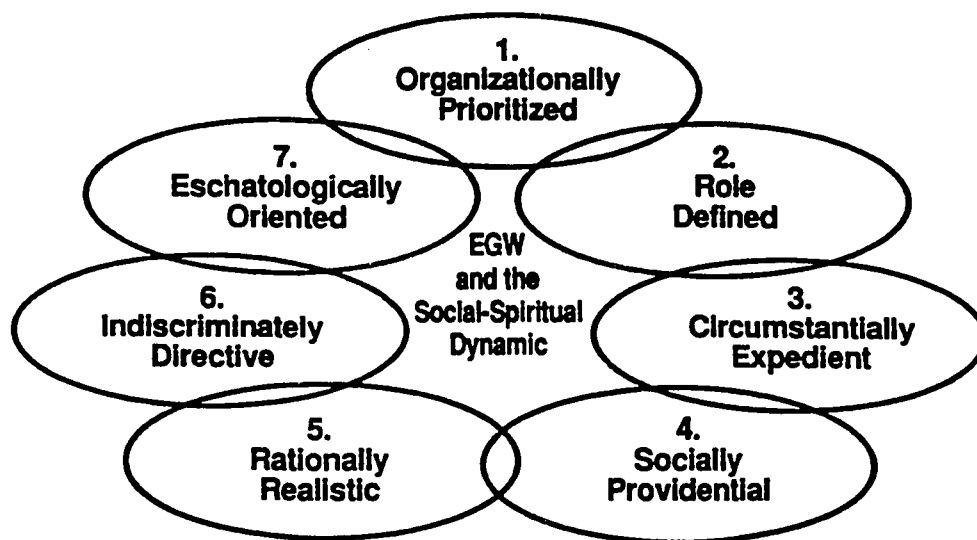


Figure 6:17 Social-Spiritual Dynamic

3. Circumstantial Expedient: EGW was willing to do or allow whatever was acceptable in the light of the Bible and basic morality to accomplish the twofold objective of the church--helping people and sharing Christ. She believed that all issues were subordinate to these objectives. So if it required special methods--moderation, conciliation and/or gradualism--to see that the black work developed in the South, she would undertake them. She felt these were temporary accommodations that would facilitate lasting progress. Further, she did not believe that God was calling the SDA workers in the South to endanger their witness, work and welfare by *needlessly* getting involved in social political issues or by unnecessarily agitating the "color question." This, she believed, was compromising the greater good.

4. Social Providential: EGW appeared to have a strong sense of a divine multidimensional approach to addressing social problems. She didn't endorse or excuse social injustices, but these were not her primary focus unless, as mentioned before, the twofold objectives of the church were being obstructed. EGW believed that God was going to correct social issues within the social context in His own way and time. Further, He would do this through means that were best suited to the accomplishment of the task. For example, she strongly believed that God allowed, even facilitated, the Civil War for the freeing of the slaves and the punishment of the nation for allowing slavery. In this case, there were clear nationalistic and political issues that God used to His ultimate purpose. Therefore, every institution and group has its goals and objectives, primarily the church and society. God, she held will accomplish His ends through society just as He accomplishes His ends through the church.

5. Rationally Realistic: There is throughout EGW's writings a pragmatic

approach to problem solving that has a certain rationale. Most of her counsel and advice were based upon logical and reasonable bases and appeals to common sense. Her counsel was not typically erudite and esoteric, but basic and reasonable. It is interesting to note that, even when she would refer to "it was shown to me," "it was presented to me," or "I have been directed to tell you," she still appealed to one's practical nature. Generally, the church didn't balk at the correctness or the reasonableness of her views as much as it did to the difficulty or undesirableness of the challenge.

6. Indiscriminate Directives: EGW's counsel favored the right or the principled position as she saw it. Her counsel didn't cater to one group over another. In regards to the black work, though she had to challenge and confront whites in the SDA Church, she also confronted blacks and their relation to the church and other members of their race. Her comstats are apparently context specific, not politically motivated. EGW made no apologies for her positions. In fact, she utilized a disarming sense of authority in an area that was fraught with intrigue, misunderstanding and danger. She was quick to refer readers to the larger picture, and she always referred to God, the gospel and prudence as foundational.

7. Eschatologically Oriented: One will miss the underlying basis of EGW's comstats if the innate last-day focus isn't taken into account. EGW believed that a SDA should be a full citizen in society, aware, in tune, in touch and with the needs and issues of the day. However, she didn't feel these issues should consume or obviate the ultimate end of things--the second coming of Jesus Christ. This was a dominant focus in all she did. This life, to EGW, was a preparation for the world to come. She saw only partial justice and equity as possibilities in a world of sin and selfishness.

Ultimate and final justice and equity would be realized only in the world to come. At this time all wrongs would be righted and the scale of human justice would forever be put in balance. She felt and often reminded her readers and hearers that any wrongs done to black people or the oppressed were being noted by God and the perpetrators would have to answer for it one day. Essentially, she advocated any and all societal improvements that are within the realm of principle and morality.

This section on Problems comstats will highlight some of the typical TUs that historically have been the basis for discussion and debate. Effort was taken to provide additional context where helpful:

"Let none of those who name the name of Christ be cowards in His cause [in the context of beginning a work for blacks]: (1891:01).

Are we not under even greater obligation to labor for the Colored people than for those who have been more highly favored? Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them, forcing them to disregard the law of marriage, breaking up the family relation, tearing wife from husband, and husband from wife? If the race is degraded, if they are repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? (1891:01)

"Christ's followers are to learn all about the woes of the poor in their immediate vicinity and in their own country. The poor, friendless, untaught Colored people need our assistance because they are ignorant and friendless. Those who have a dark, disagreeable life are the very ones whom we should bid to hope because Christ is their Saviour. God has jewels in the rough. . . ." (1895:05).

As the Colored people have not been educated to read and have not been uplifted, their religion is more of bodily exercise than inward piety. There cannot be anything like the kind of labor pursued toward them that is bestowed upon the

people whose religion is not outward workings. The Lord will look upon this poor, neglected, downtrodden race with great compassion. Everything of a character to set them in a position of opposition to authorities, as working on Sunday, would cause the Colored people great suffering and cut off the possibility of white laborers going among them; for the workers who intended to do them good would be charged with raising insurrections (1895:07).

Punishment for any offense would be visited unsparingly and unmercifully upon the Colored people. Here is a neglected field, rank with corruption, needing to be taught everything; here is a field where medical missionary work can be one of the greatest blessings. In this lie the truth may be introduced, but the very first principles of Christianity are to be taught in the ABCs. Schools are to be established, having not only children, but fathers and mothers learning to read (1895:07).

"The light that the Lord has given me at different times has been that the Southern field, where the greatest share of the population of the Colored race is, cannot be worked after the same methods as other fields. They are excitable, and outward actions in bodily exercise more than inward piety, compose their religion. Should the Colored people in the Southern states be educated, as they receive the truth, that they should work on Sunday, there would be excited a most unreasonable and unjust prejudice. Judges and jurors, lawyers and citizens, would, if they had a chance, bring decisions which would bind them rites which would cause much suffering, not only to the ones whom they term guilty of breaking the laws of their State, but all the Colored people everywhere would be placed in a position of surveillance, and under cruel treatment by the white people, that would be no less than slavery. They have been treated as chattels, regarded as not much above the dumb animals, to do just as their masters told them to do. This has degraded all their powers, and a different method of labor altogether must be pursued toward them than where the Colored people have had greater advantages of schooling and have learned to read" (1895:07).

"Was it God's purpose that the Colored people should have so much guilt and woe in their lives? No. Men who have had greater advantages

than they have had have taught them immorality, both by precept and example. Debasing practices have been forced upon them, and they have received low conceptions of life, and even their conceptions of the Christian life are of a depraved order. But the people who have been more favorably situated, who have had light and liberty, who have had an opportunity to know God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent, are responsible for the moral darkness that enshrouds their Colored brethren" (1895:07).

Let every church whose members claim to believe the truth for this time look at this neglected, downtrodden race, that, as a result of slavery, have been deprived of the privilege of thinking and acting for themselves. They have been kept at work in the cotton fields, have been driven before the lash like brute beasts, and their children have received no enviable heritage. Many of the slaves had noble minds, but the fact that their skin was dark was sufficient reason for the whites to treat them as though they were beasts (1895:11).

Those who attempted to work for the black race had to suffer persecution, and many were martyrs to the cause. It was difficult to educate these people in correct ideas, because they had been compelled to do according to the word of their human masters. They had been subject to human passions, their minds and bodies had been abused, and it was very hard to efface the education of these people and to lead them to change their practices. But these missionaries persevered in their work. They knew that the black man had not chosen his color or his condition and that Christ had died for him as verily as He had died for his white brother. To show sympathy for the released slaves was to expose one's self to ridicule, hatred, and persecution. Old-time prejudice still exists, and those who labor in behalf of the Colored race will have to encounter difficulties (1895:11).

The neglect of the Colored race by the American nation is charged against them. Those who claim to be Christians have a work to do in teaching them to read and to follow various trades and engage in different business enterprises. Many among this race have noble traits of character and keen perception of mind. If they had an opportunity to develop, they would stand upon an equality with the whites (1895:11).

We are one brotherhood. No matter what the gain or the loss, we must act nobly and courageously in the sight of God and our Saviour. Let us as Christians who accept the principle that all men, white and black, are free and equal, adhere to this principle, and not be cowards in the face of the world, and in the face of the heavenly intelligences. We should treat the Colored man just as respectfully as we would treat the white man. And we can now, by precept and example, win others to this course.

But there is an objection to the marriage of the white race with the black. All should consider that they have no right to entail upon their offspring that which will place them at a disadvantage; they have no right to give them as a birthright a condition which would subject them to a life of humiliation. The children of these mixed marriages have a feeling of bitterness toward the parents who have given them this lifelong inheritance. For this reason, if there were no other, there should be no intermarriage between the white and the Colored race (1897:19).

"We should be kind and courteous to all, but especially are we to be pitiful and tender toward the unfortunate, as were the African race" (1899:31).

"The Lord has a great work to be done in the Southern states of America--the most neglected and the most sinful part of His vineyard" (1902:53).

"The Colored youth will be far more difficult to manage than the white youth, because they have not been taught from their childhood to make the best use of their time. There are very many of them who have had no opportunity to learn how to take care of themselves" (1902:61).

"If the Colored people prefer to meet by themselves for worship, if they think that thus they would have more liberty and freedom, let them do so. If they desire to assemble with their brethren and sisters [white], be they few or many, who shall forbid them" (1903-78).

"A resolution saying that the Colored should not be allowed to assemble with the white people should never be passed" (1903:78).

EGW's Problems category offers an opportunity to study the various nuances of EGW's racial views in comparison to those prevalent in the society of her day. They also offer an opportunity to analyze her organization communication approach relative to items of race and cultural sensitivity.

Twelfth Ranking Category: Health. The Health category (i.e., comstats promoting medical work and health education of blacks) comstats were never highly stressed. They had a total frequency of 42 and rated 2 percent (Figure 6:18). With a ranking of twelfth one might assume that this wasn't a high priority with EGW. It was, in fact, stressed as much as Education. However, the Health category received a consistent emphasis throughout the years. The health emphasis within the black work was normally coupled with other emphases, such as education. In light of EGW's great emphasis on health, an explanation on why she didn't stress health concepts in total throughout her 70-year ministry was that they were already extant in another form. During this same period (1890s), EGW had published a number of major health works and had recommended them to blacks and others in the South. EGW had published *Christ and Temperance* (1890) and replaced it with her groundbreaking *The Ministry of Healing* (1905). This was a general presentation of the principles of healthful living, written for SDAs and the general public.

Essentially, EGW saw health elements in the black work from at least three perspectives. First, she stressed the need for training blacks in personal health care and habits of temperance. Second, she emphasized that blacks would learn health principles, combine them with the gospel and share them with others to relieve suffering and improve quality of life. She called people

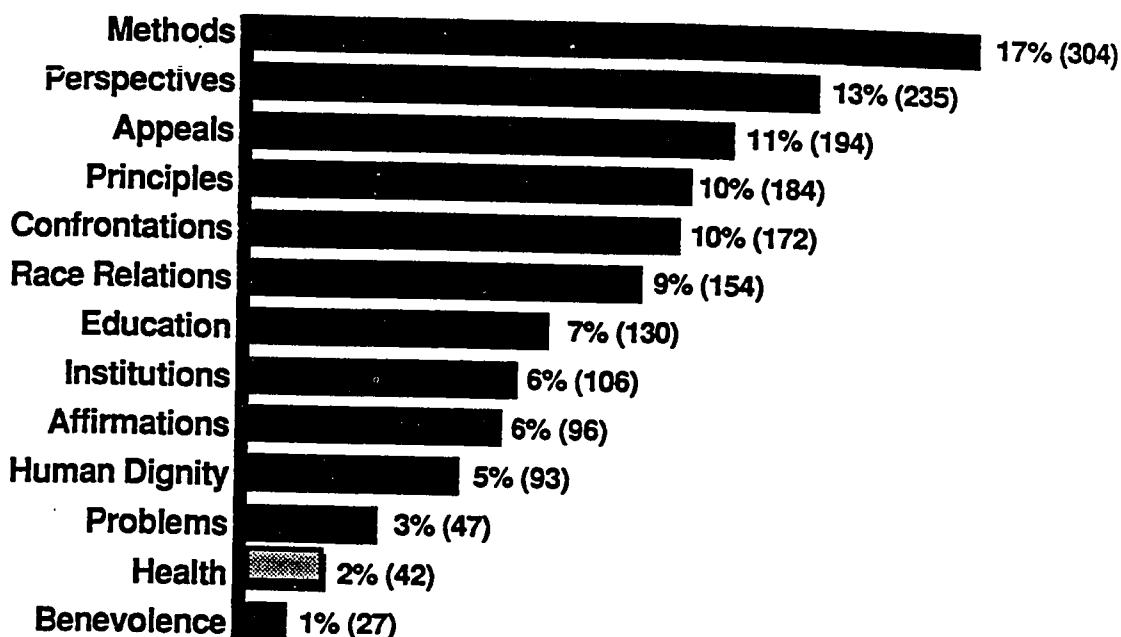


Figure 6:18 TU Ranking: Health Category

who actively shared the gospel/health package *medical missionaries*. Third, EGW encouraged the establishment of small sanitariums or health treatment centers throughout major Southern cities. She especially advised that they be connected with Oakwood College and other Southern schools to serve to relieve suffering and to provide training for students.

EGW's working concept was that the health aspect would be the means to open doors and disarm prejudice in the South. She believed the

great need in the South was for a balanced view of Bible religion, and in her view, as developed in *The Ministry of Healing*, health was the "right arm" of the gospel.

Following are typical Health TUs:

"Here is a field where medical missionary work can be one of the greatest blessings" (1895:07).

In such places as the Southern field there should be established sanitariums. There should be those who believe the truth--Colored servants of God--under training to do work as medical missionaries under the supervision of white managers; for this combination will be much more successful" (1895:11).

The health reform work is an "entering wedge" in the cities and can reach people like no other branch of the church. This aspect should be used for the advantage of blacks (1899:22).

For some time a small sanitarium for Colored people has been conducted in the city of Nashville. This institution has done much good, and is a great blessing to the Colored people of the city; but its facilities are limited, and it is in great need of help (1901).

"Are there not some nurses and doctors who will go to the Southern states and devote their energies to helping those who are so greatly in need of help?" (1901:42).

"In all the large cities in the South there ought to be places where the sick can be cared for, where the people can be taught to care for themselves" (1901:46).

"Medical missionary work is to be carried forward in the Southern field. This work is more needed in this field than in any other part of America. A sanitarium has been opened in Nashville. This must be given support. Medical missionary work is indeed the helping hand of the gospel ministry. It opens the way for the entrance of the truth" (1902:51).

"The health food work and other industries connected with it, will provide employment for Sabbathkeepers, both black and white, and will bring a means for the carrying forward of the work. The development of this line of work will take time and thought" (1902:54).

God has given our sanitariums an opportunity to set in operation a work that would be as a stone instinct with life, growing as it is rolled by an invisible hand. Let this mystic stone be set in motion. If ever a place needed medical missionary work, it is the Southern field. Had this work been done for the Colored people immediately after the proclamation of freedom, how different would be the condition of the Southern states today. Medical missionary work has not yet been done as God requires it to be done in this needy field. Sanitariums should have been established in many places. This would have opened doors for the entrance of Bible truth. It would have removed much of the prejudice existing against those who look upon the Colored people as not having souls as do the white people (1902:53).

"With our larger schools should be connected small sanitariums that the students may have opportunity to gain a knowledge of medical missionary work. This line of work is to be brought into our schools as part of the regular instruction. Small sanitariums should be established in connection with the schools at Graysville and Huntsville" (1902:69).

"Medical missionary work--Christlike ministry for the suffering--this is the work that will remove the mist of ignorance and superstition which for so long has hung over the Southern field" (1904:44).

In your work [in the Southern field] you may find some who are sick. Do what you can to relieve them. As you minister to their physical needs, and at the same time break to them the bread of life, your efforts in their behalf will make more impression upon them than many ordinary sermons would. In your ministry for these sin-sick souls, apply the remedy found in your Bible. When opportunity is presented, describe the willingness of Christ to hear the prayers offered to Him in sincerity and faith (1904:104).

"The conditions under which many of the Colored people live are most unwholesome, both physically and morally, and lessons of both physical and moral cleanliness must be judiciously taught" (1905:100).

"The establishment of medical institutions in the South will make the work more expensive; but the importance of this line of effort can not be overestimated" (1905:101).

These institutions, conducted in accordance with the will of God, would remove prejudice and call our work into favorable notice. The highest aim of the workers is to be the spiritual health of the patients. Medical missionary work gives opportunity for carrying forward successful evangelistic work. It is as these lines of effort are united that we may expect to gather the most precious fruit for the Lord (1905:101).

"Mothers [at the Huntsville School] should be taught how to prepare food hygienically and how to care for the sick" (1905:102).

"Small sanitariums and well-equipped treatment rooms are to be established near the crowded centers" (1906:107).

"Long before I visited Huntsville, the Oakwood School Farm was presented to me, both as it then was and as it might be in the future if wisely managed and properly cared for. The presentation of what the place ought to be included an orphanage and a sanitarium" (1909:128).

"The Lord has instructed us that with our training schools there should be connected small sanitariums, that the students may have opportunity to gain a knowledge of medical missionary work. Let us rejoice that the managers of our Huntsville School are now planning to carry out this instruction without further delay. Let us help them make Huntsville a strong training center for medical missionary workers" (1909:129).

Thirteenth Ranking Category: Benevolence. The Benevolence (i.e., acts of kindness) category is similar to the Affirmations category in that it

highlights specific acts and deeds done. While this is the lowest ranked of all of the categories, with a 27 frequency and a 1 percent rating (Figure 6:19), it is helpful in that it gives public vignettes of persons who acted on behalf of blacks and were noted by EGW. Most of her compliments for this type of work was done privately in her personal correspondence.

EGW used these instances as an example to motivate and inspire others. Apparently she was not given to offering profuse acclaim, but it seemed she was quick to endorse the positive. Bright spots in the Southern work, according to EGW included the selfless actions of workers, the kind gifts of believers, the self-denial of white children and youth for the Southern work, the center for the black work in Nashville, and the accomplishments of Oakwood College, and the progress of black SDAs in general.

Following are typical Benevolence TUs:

But the last news we had from them was, "We have come to a standstill. We can go on no farther till we get *means*." When I heard this I was greatly distressed. I hired \$400 at five per cent interest, and sent it to Nashville to be used till other means could be sent. To prevent loss of time, I shall hire more money, if I can, for this purpose, until my brethren and sisters throughout the field awaken to their duty, and act their part in raising the means necessary for the advancement of this work (1901:41).

We acknowledge with gratitude the donations so willingly made to the work in Nashville by our friends in College View, Denver, Boulder, Waitsburg, Portland, and Oakland. We thank you for your help. It has greatly aided the work (1901:41).

That which has been done in sending out self-denial boxes is well-pleasing to God. By the use of these boxes a double good is accomplished, gifts are received for the advancement of the work, and the families in which these boxes are used receive an education in self-denial (1901:41).

There are in Nashville large educational institutions for the Colored people. In these institutions much excellent work has been done and is being done. The teachers and students in these institutions are to be given the privilege of hearing the message of present truth. It is for this reason that God directed that different interests for the advancement of our work should be established in Nashville (1903:77).

I will say that I have been shown how, when you [Edson White and staff] first went to the Southern field, you used this boat as your home, and as a place on which to receive those interested in the truth. The novelty of the idea excited curiosity, and many came to see and hear. I know that, through the agency of this boat, places have been reached where till then the light of truth had never shone--places represented to me as "the hedges." The *Morning Star* has been instrumental in sowing the seeds of truth in many hearts, and there are those who have first seen the light of truth while on this boat. On it angel feet have trod (1905:98).

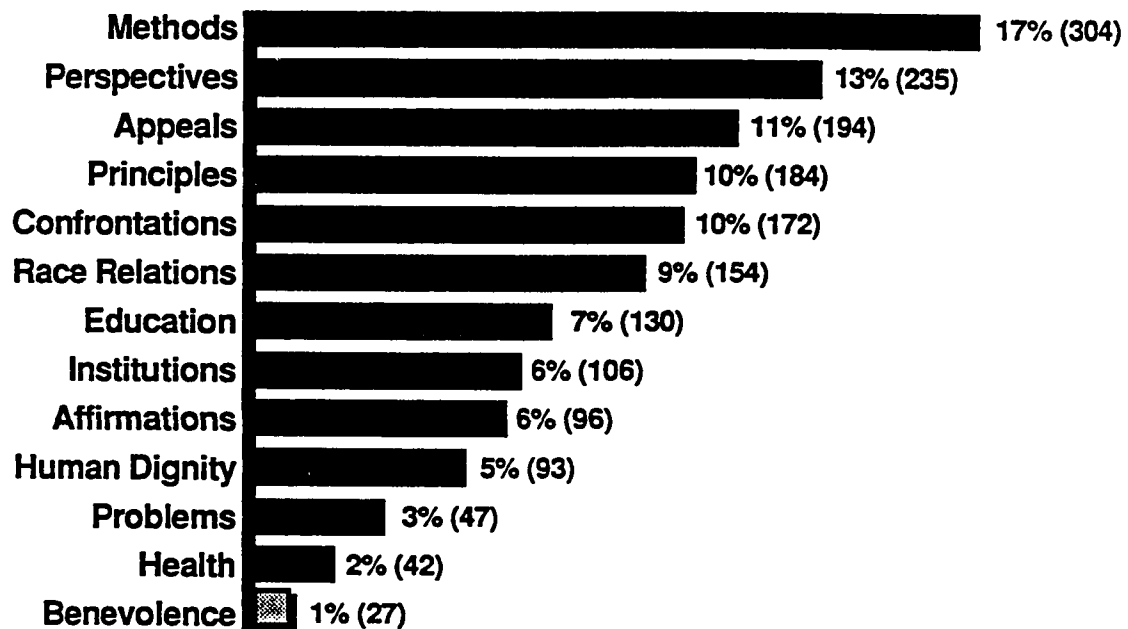


Figure 6:19 TU Ranking: Benevolence Category

Although much remains to be done for the Colored people, we have cause for rejoicing over the good beginning that has been made. In a recent number of *The Gospel Herald* [1907] it is reported that "fifteen years ago there were not over twenty Colored Seventh-day Adventists south of the Mason and Dixon line; but today there are seven hundred. Twelve years ago there was only one Colored Seventh-day Adventists church; today there are fifty, not counting those in Africa and the West Indies. . . . The tithe of the Colored people last year in the United States amounted to five thousand dollars; fifteen years ago it was not over fifty dollars" (1907:115).

Brethren Sutherland and Magan have often worked beyond their strength. Sister Druillard and others have worked unselfishly and very hard. They left the work at Berrien Springs, not because they made a failure of the work there, but because they had a burden for the work in the South. Others, they thought, could take up the work they had begun, and they would take up pioneer work. They have made a good beginning in their work, but they must have help from our people. These men are faithful workers (1907:112).

This last category summarizes the comstats ranked according to frequencies that separate EGW's comstats into TUs.

A Strategic Assessment: Period Analysis

As a result of content-analyzing the 130 documents, exposure to EGW's private correspondence and researching the SDA Church's response to EGW's initiatives on behalf of the black work, an inclusive strategy seemed to emerge. The hundreds of comstats, many repeating the same themes and methodologies, naturally seem to lend themselves to a thematic grouping into components. These components comprise a theoretical model depicting EGW's strategy for the black SDA work (Figure 6:20). But, first the following organizational communication approach provides elucidation for EGW/SDA communication dynamics and the strategy model.

Communication and Enactment

This strategy is consistent with a systems approach to organizational communication. Its working application implies, like the best of organizational communication literature, that communication is not merely something that organization members do, nor is it simply a tool for accomplishing objectives. It highlights the fact that communication is itself the very process of organizing and accomplishing. One systems theory that elucidates this phenomena is Carl Weick's theory of communication and enactment--one of the most influential theories of organizational communication.¹ Weick's theory utilized communication as a basis for human organizing. It also provided a rationale for understanding how people organize. This approach is, therefore, very useful in understanding the organizational phenomenon taking place in the SDA organization concerning the black work in the South during the 20-year period under study. This study proposes that EGW's comstats became the basis for the SDA Church's organization of the black work.

Weick argues that it is more proper to speak of *organizing* than of *organizations*, because organizations are accomplished by people via a process that must constantly be reenacted. Thus, when the SDA Church members did what they did on behalf of blacks, their activities created an organization, or "a system of continuous, purposeful activity"; in this case, on behalf of the betterment of blacks.

Weick's approach is helpful in analyzing EGW's strategy in the context of the SDA organization because of the following: The essence of any organization, according to Weick, is that people are acting in such a way that

their behaviors are *interlocked*--one person's behavior is contingent on another's. Thus, all organizing activities consist of interlocked behaviors. A fundamental quality of interlocking is that communication takes place among the people in the organization. Thus, organizing activities consist of *double interacts*--an *act* being a statement of communicative behavior of one person. An *interact* involves an act followed by a response, and a *double interact* consists of an act followed by a response and then an adjustment or follow-up act by the first person. For example, EGW consistently encouraged the SDA Church to aggressively assist black people in the South by starting schools and by assisting in any way possible (act); the leadership offered the excuse that this task is problematic because of pressing priorities (interact); then EGW insisted that the black work should be a top organizational priority in spite of competing needs (double interact). Thus, according to Weick's theory, EGW and the SDA Church were constantly interlocking over the black work.

But Weick takes the concept further. Organizing activities fulfill the function of reducing the equivocality or ambiguous information received from the environment. The SDA Church received definite instruction from EGW that it was their moral and biblical mandate to do something to assist and share the gospel with black people in the South. The problem she articulated is that the church should have done something, but up to that point it had not. How then should the church go about solving it? The problem can be defined and solved in a number of ways. In other words, the SDA Church was faced with equivocal information.

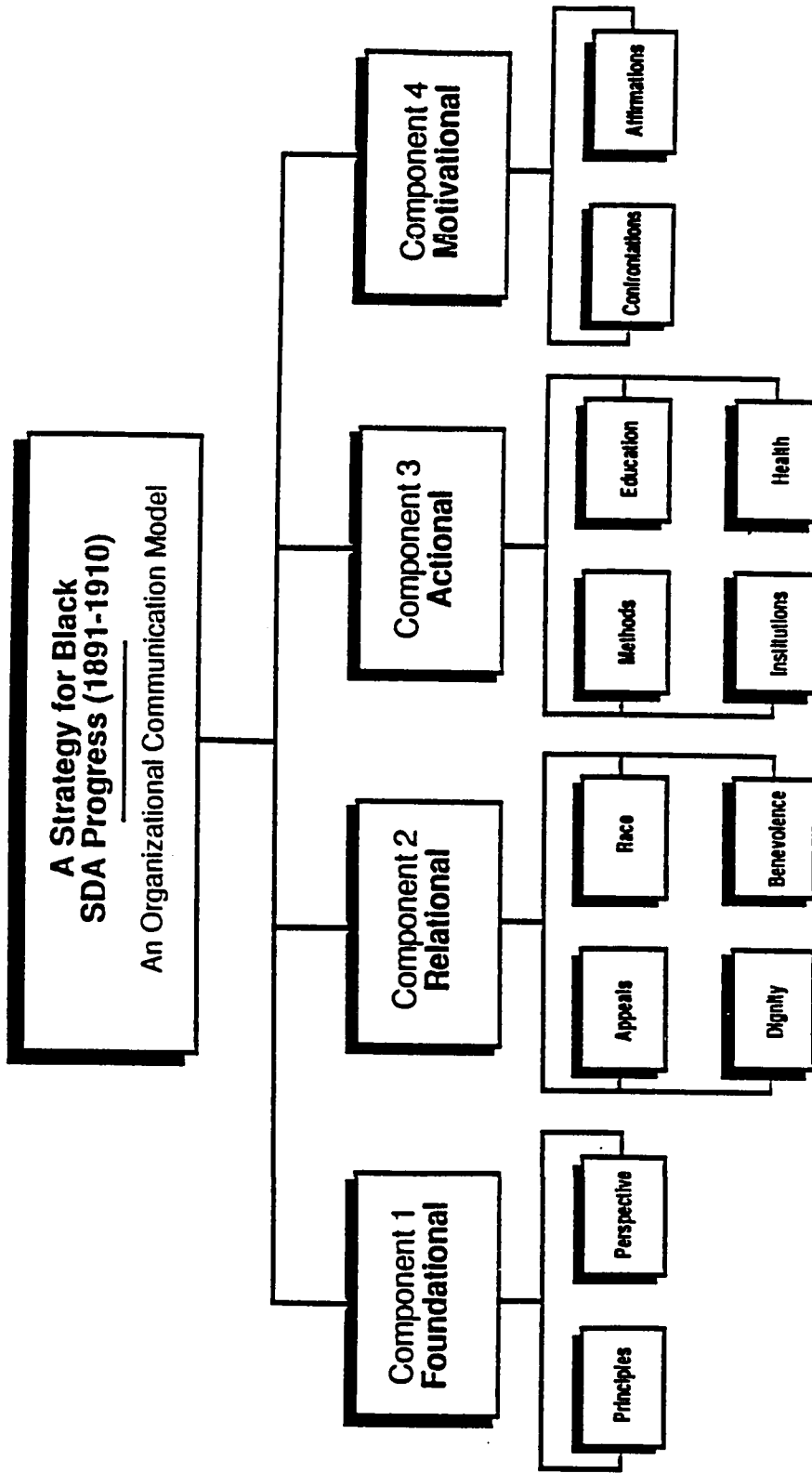


Figure 6:20 General Model: A Strategy for Black SDA Progress (1891-1910)

Weick holds that organizing activities, which consist of double interacts, interlocked behavior or communication, are designed to make such situations clearer. The SDA Church gradually participated in organizing the black work through processes that were developed to deal with equivocal information provided by its constituencies--primarily EGW. Interaction, or in this case responsive movement on the part of the SDA Church, served to achieve common meaning among church members, which is the mechanism by which equivocality was reduced.

Up to this point, the focus has been on Weick's emphasis on how individuals interact to deal with equivocal information from the environment. Here the environment becomes the focus. Traditional theories of organization imply that the environment is a known entity outside the organization. This dualistic notion pits the organization against the environment as if each were somehow autonomous or preexistent. Weick relates to the idea of the environment in a different way. He says that the "environment" has no meaning apart from what the individual makes of it. In short, Weick sees the environment as a product of the person, not outside the person. What makes the environment salient for the individual is the person's attention to particular aspects of given stimuli. People, says Weick, are selective in what they attend to in any situation, and what is attended to at any moment is the environment. Information, therefore, is equivocal because different people attend to different aspects of it. The interaction process (interlocking) is the means by which individuals in the group reduce this equivocality.

This phenomenon is relevant to the SDA Church and the needs of its black constituency. The acute poverty and ignorance in which black people found themselves after slavery persisted for more than 25 years. SDA

members were surrounded by a mix of stimuli--their needs, their duty, etc. Yet the segment of the environment related to the conditions of blacks held little meaning because the church chose not to address the equivocality. The denomination selectively avoided the issue and attended to more attractive stimuli--namely the needs of foreign fields.

Hence, the environment is not preexistent; it is *enacted* by people in the organization. Weick observes that people are continually reenacting to their environment, depending on their attitudes, values and experiences of the moment. In the context of the SDA Church, this enactment came about because EGW interlocked with the SDA organization and would not allow its leaders to ignore the "stimuli" of the needs of black people. Not only was she willing to persistently confront the SDA Church with the equivocality of the situation; she had the influence, stamina and authority to maintain that position.

How, then, does change take place in an organization, according to Weick's theory? He views change as resulting from organizing in an evolutionary process that relies on a series of three major components: enactment, selection and retention. *Enactment* is the definition of the situation or the registering of equivocal information. Enactment is a process of attending to stimuli in such a way as to acknowledge that equivocality exists. (Actually, the mere acceptance of a certain aspect of the environment removes some equivocality.) Accepting the task of dealing with the black work as a responsibility that must be faced narrows the field for SDA leadership so that some uncertainty is already removed. The problem is that it took considerable time and confrontation by EGW before the SDA Church was willing to fully register the equivocal information.

The second process is *selection*. Selection enables the group to admit certain aspects of information and reject others. It narrows the field, eliminating alternatives with which the organization does not wish to deal. This process removes even more equivocality from the initial information. The SDA Church in council engaged in selection and took some actions, over a period of time--especially the first period. However, EGW felt the actions weren't adequate (act), so she set forth more specific expectations--"double interact" took place, and equivocality would take place again.

The third process of organizing for change is *retention*. Here further equivocality is removed by deciding which aspects of the initial information will be retained for future use. Retained information is integrated into the existing body of information on which the organization operates. In this case, during period 1, the SDA Church, the General Conference, assigned a person to oversee the black work in the South. However, adequate resources and backing weren't proffered. In period 2 the SDA Church officials facilitated Edson White's work in the South, though they again provided no real support for him. EGW's comstats remained consistent and confrontive. As a result of EGW's insistence, something did begin to happen, and Oakwood College was one of the major developments in this period. In periods 3 and 4 there was more progress, as will be developed in the next chapter. As the church responded, the problem became less ambiguous. It had, in Weick's parlance, moved from equivocality toward unequivocality.

After arriving at retention, the SDA Church faced "a choice point" in which the organization could either reenact the environment in some way--go back to see whether their efforts were, in fact, adequately assisting blacks, or whether they should modify their actions--such as taking more

aggressive action by investing more funds or personnel in the area. According to EGW's comstats, openness to modify the organizational position appeared to be a constant challenge. Obviously, this process of organizing and change does not happen in lockstep fashion--such activities tend to overlap and/or merge. Such is the nature of organizations.

To specifically address the issue of removing equivocalty, Weick outlines two elements that occur within each of the organizing processes. First, *assembly rules* guide the choice of routines that will be used to accomplish the process being conducted. These rules decide which actions are necessary to reduce equivocalty. The SDA Church discussed the needs of the black work in a number of council meetings. The denomination ultimately allowed Edson White a virtual free hand in spearheading the work among blacks. During the initial years of the developing black work their assembly rule was a type of benign neglect--church leaders wouldn't oppose it, but they didn't promote or actively back it.

Second, behavior cycles are sets of interlocked behaviors that enable the group to come to an understanding about which meanings should be included and which rejected. This process was extremely important in the dynamic between EGW and the SDA Church concerning what were necessary actions on behalf of the black work. As will shortly be seen, EGW envisioned a comprehensive work that was designed to place black progress on a self-perpetuating basis. SDA leadership's vision didn't include plans so broad until EGW's message began to make a significant impression.

This overview of Weick's theory on communication and enactment seems apropos to the phenomenon of the interaction between EGW, the SDA Church and the developing black work. Further, provides perspectives are

provided that enable one to better understand the organizational communication dynamics at work in the situation. Finally, Weick's theory provides a backdrop by which we may better appreciate the strategy model used to elucidate her emphasis in each of the four periods.

Strategy Model: Components

The four components in the EGW strategy are foundational, relational, actional and motivational (Figure 6:21). The strategy model covers the entire 20-year period. Component 1, *foundational*, includes categories that explain EGW's reasoning, logic and polemics when communicating views in support of the black work (e.g., Principles and Perspectives); component 2, *relational*, includes categories that define EGW's conceptions of the types of mind-sets and relationships that should exist on an inter- and intracultural level (e.g., Appeals, Race Relations, Human Dignity and Benevolence); component 3, *actional*, categories that outline specific endeavors, enterprises and techniques that EGW believed would be most effective in the work among blacks (e.g., Methods, Education, Institutions and Health); component 4, *motivational*, includes categories that describe EGW's informational style when communicating on the subject of the black work (e.g., Confrontations and Affirmations). The categories (or variables) for each of the four strategy components are ranked numerically (number 1 being the highest) in the strategy models located in the following period sections.

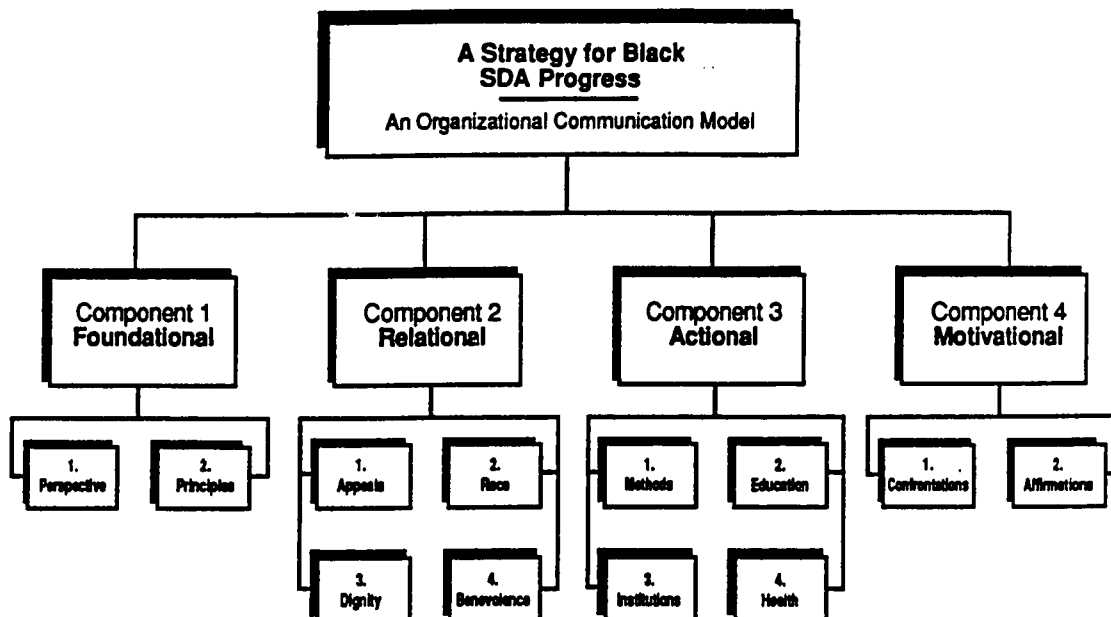


Figure 6:21 Twenty Years: Strategy Ranking (1891-1910)

Strategy Model: Period 1 (1891-95)

During this period EGW presented her first major address on the needs of the black work. This period can be characterized as a time of mission deficiency (Figure 6:22). For 25 years the SDA Church had essentially ignored the blacks and neglected its responsibility to preach to them. EGW's appeal was that the church was guilty of neglect.

EGW's message was simple--prioritize the black work and initiate aggressive action as soon as possible. Stressing Principles was her preferred approach foundationally with 27 percent of the total TUs for the 20-year to

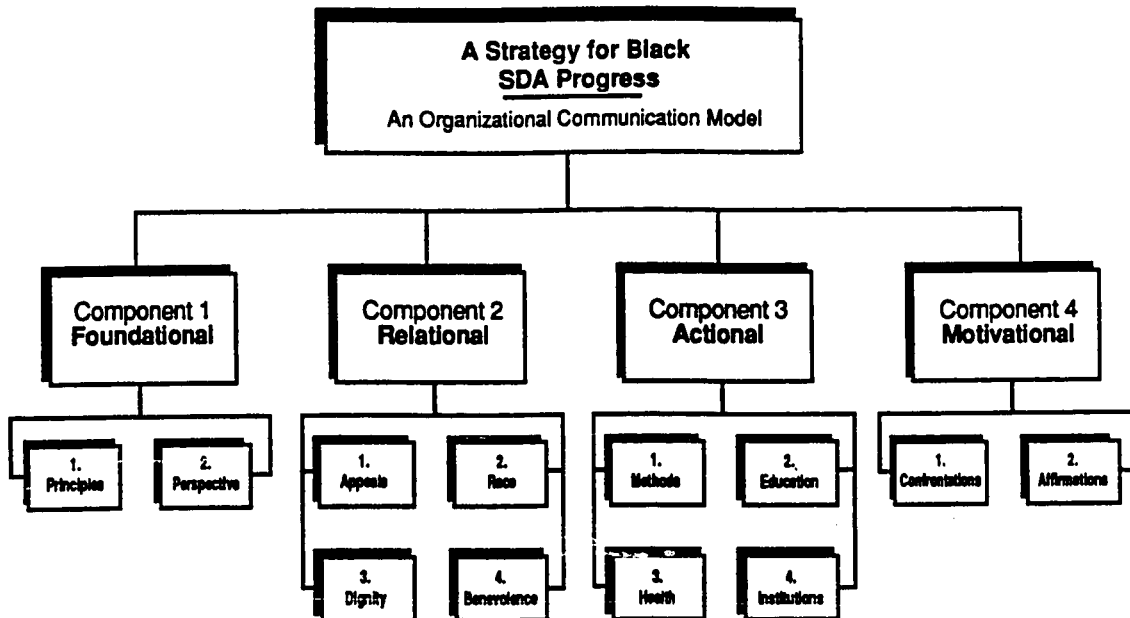


Figure 6:22 Period One: Strategy Ranking (1891-95)

be found in this category. Race Relations (39 percent) ranked the highest relationally and received the second highest number of TUs for the 20-year period. Appeals (33 percent) also received strong emphasis during this same period.

In the actional component, Methods (59 percent) was by far the strongest, though not exceptional when compared with the other periods. Education received a little more than half the emphasis in this period, though

it ranked very close to the top when compared to the other periods. Confrontations was the preferred communication style, receiving eight times that of affirmation in the same period.

Period 1 was a time when EGW sought to educate, energize and mobilize. She was direct, unrelenting and frank. Clearly, she wanted to sensitize the SDA Church to the vast challenges that awaited it and to provide them with essential instruction on how to go about their task. It is worth noting that while periods 1 and 2 are identical in terms of component ranking, however, they vary according to emphasis.

Strategy Model: Period 2 (1896-1900)

EGW was in Australia this entire period. Constantly in touch with the church leaders by letters and the SDA constituency by articles in church periodicals, she expanded the emphasis to a broad-based appeal to immediately begin to work in the South. This period can be characterized by organizational gradualism (Figure 6:23). The church just wasn't doing much. This was the period during which Edson White began his work among blacks on the *Morning Star*.

Still emphasizing principles, though not as much as during period 1, EGW maintained an emphasis on Race Relations, but significantly increased Appeals so that it ranked first in the relational component. Methods remained ranked, first with a slight increase over period 1, but significantly above the others in the same component (at least five times that of Health and Institutions. As in period 1, Confrontations remained ahead of Affirmations and increased to second place when compared with the other periods.

Some frustration seems evident. Periods 1 and 2 represent 10 years

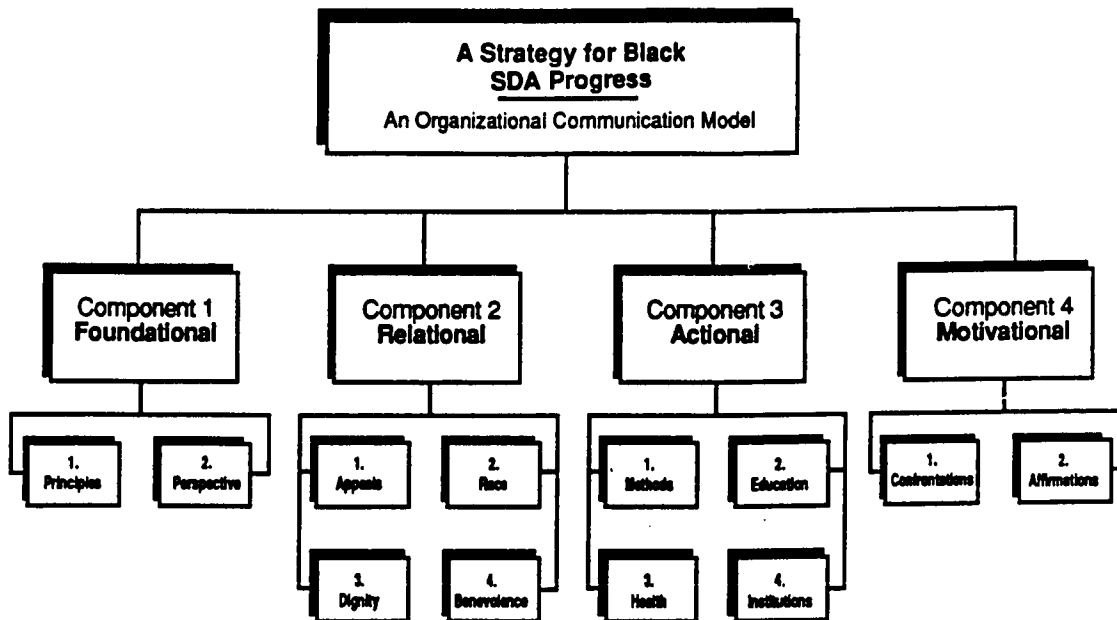


Figure 6:23 Period Two: Strategy Ranking (1896-1900)

during which EGW has been writing and stressing the needs of the black work. Besides Edson, little was being done for blacks during this period.

However, things were beginning to change. Significantly, Oakwood College was established during this period, and Edson was beginning to see encouraging results from his work. This period emphasized action and learning correct ways to labor in the South. Her focus during this period was on equipping and executing.

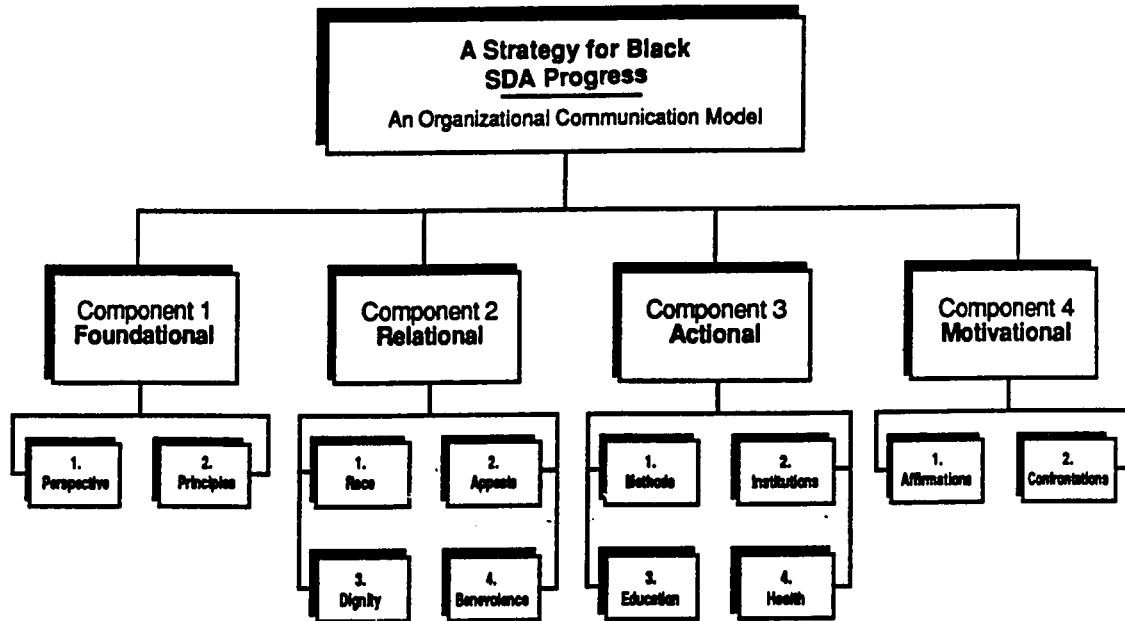


Figure 6:24 Period Three: Strategy Ranking (1901-05)

Strategy Model: Period 3 (1901-05)

EGW was home from Australia. Shortly after returning to the United States, she took an extended tour of the South, sailed on the *Morning Star*, and had opportunity to view firsthand the work and needs in the South. She reflected her shock at just how acute was the need of the black work.

This period realized impressive gains (Figure 6:23). Oakwood College was not only firmly established, but its graduates were now beginning to have an impact. Nashville had become the focal point for the Southern work. The Southern Union Conference were now in operation, and the membership and income of the new black constituency were making impressive headway.

Parallel to the gains, however, was the increased racial violence and sinister new forms of oppression. Statements about race relations problems began to characterize this period.

Methods virtually doubled its incidence in other periods in the actional component. Another dramatic shift was made by Affirmations, which for the first and only time presented itself as the highest of all categories--double the percentage of Affirmations in other periods.

This period was the most dramatic of all. During this time of danger, EGW appealed to the church to act wisely. She affirmed the sacrifices and progress made, but appealed for wisdom and prudence. During period 3, EGW sought to enlighten and edify. SDA workers were being accused, accosted and attacked. EGW wrote more in this period than any other. This period can be characterized as a time of organizational peril. For the first and only time EGW emphasized Perspectives over Principles. Perspectives was increased dramatically six times above any other period. EGW reasoned from her heart, pleading with the church at large, black members and the workers in the South to avoid agitation or actions that might increase racial tension. She heavily emphasized Race Relations, which in this period tied with Appeals. Also, EGW made some of her most cogent and controversial comstats in this period.

Strategy Model: Period 4 (1906-10)

At 78 years of age, Edson White retired from the Southern work. Nevertheless, EGW kept up her comstats emphasizing the importance of the black work. In many ways period 4 was similar to period 1 (Figure 6:25). Principles still ranked highest in this category, though making an impressive

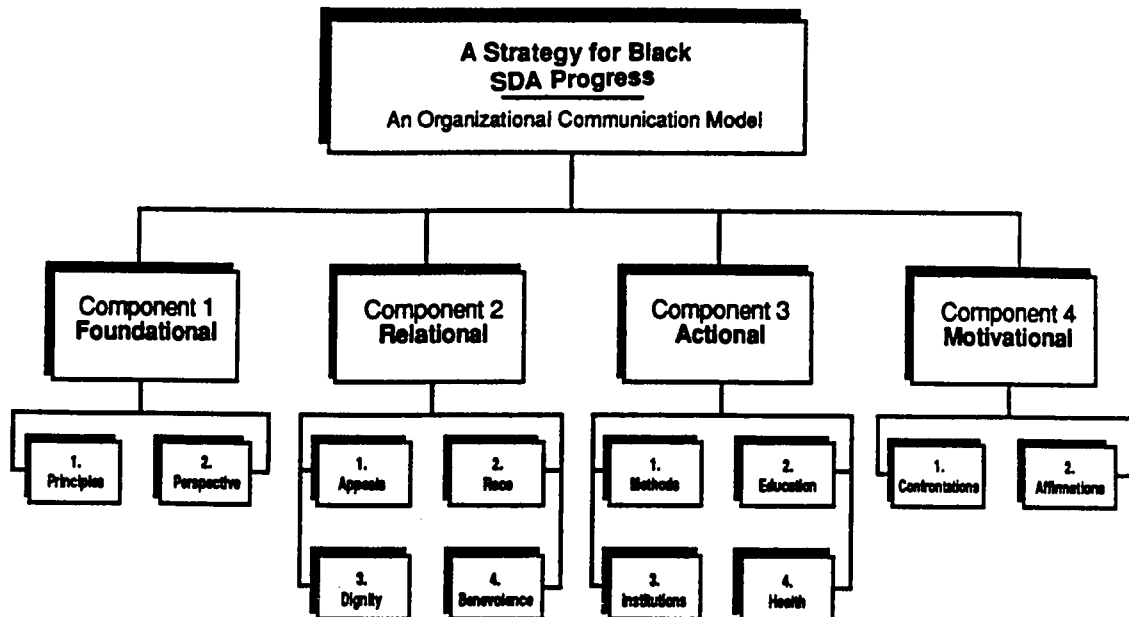


Figure 6:25 Period Four: Strategy Ranking (1906-10)

drop from period 3. Appeals doubled anything else in its category during this period, but it remained below Appeals in period 3. Methods was highest in its category during this period and second highest out of the four periods. Confrontations was again ranked first, but it remained closer to Affirmations than in periods 1 and 2.

Period 4 was a time of stabilization. The black work had begun to move, solidify and normalize. EGW's message was to plan carefully, make wise decisions and build for the long term. This decade ushered in some of the most significant membership increases in the history of the church.

It should be noted that although the SDA Church realized progress in the black work and EGW recognized it as such, the struggle wasn't over. To the end of the period, EGW continued to stress the needs of this important work. The black work was advancing, but that was no indication to relax.

In summary, the theoretical construct and the strategy in this section, along with the aggregate TU frequencies and rankings--combined with the historical research in the following chapter--are designed to provide a composite picture of the influencing factors that were operative during the 20-year period under study.

ENDNOTE

¹Carl Weick, *The Social Psychology of Organizing* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

CHAPTER VII

HISTORICAL RESEARCH: METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter on content analysis presented valuable insight and information on what EGW said about the black work in the SDA Church. By this means of experimental research, we now have a fairly clear knowledge of what EGW said, how much she said, the means she used to say it, and to whom she said it.

From the archives and documents of the SDA Church, this study has established through the means of content analysis, that EGW spoke more pointedly and exhaustively on the subject of black-white relations than any other SDA in her day. While the extent of her emphasis is on this subject has been accepted by some historians, until now it has never been established as fact.

In the process of analyzing EGW's literary content, many other and impressions have emerged, as well. For example, the analysis of EGW's comstats have provided the basis for a theoretical strategic framework for the beginning of the black work in the SDA organization. This study offers penetrating views on how EGW appealed to the SDA Church on behalf of the black work. Suggestions may be gleaned on how black denominational evangelization could be most effectively established, organized and managed. But most important for the purpose of this study, content analysis has revealed a number of recommendations made by EGW to the SDA Church, recommendations that up to that time had not been fully articulated in the

SDA organization, to say nothing about implementation. Many of EGW's recommendations, after being presented, were in fact implemented. And progress was the result. During the 20-year period, she communicated on this point. And the result was educational and health facilities designated to enable blacks to be self-sufficient, progress in providing for the humanitarian needs of black communities and significant membership acquisition.

Purpose: This chapter addresses the general hypothesis of this study. It compliments the results of the content analysis by utilizing the historical research method. The purpose is to examine possible causality or relationships from a historical standpoint. Therefore, this study does not intend to offer a history of the black work. Rather, it selectively examines relevant historical occurrences that transpired in the SDA organization during this same 20-year period (1891-1910). This study limits itself primarily to this period, though SDA Church historical research and analysis could profit from an investigation of the effects of EGW's comstats beyond 1910. Consequently, a more complete and reliable picture results from using the two research methods--content analysis (what she said), and historical research (what actually happened)--in tandem versus one or the other.

Historical research is used to aid in reaching a conclusion on the probable truth concerning the hypothesis of this study. Specific events during the 20-year period serve as building blocks to construct a realistic and relevant organizational model. Historical research, as presented in this chapter, incorporates an analysis and synthesis of the relationship between facts and events and EGW's comstats.

Data Gathering: Historical data has been gathered from church histories, archival documents and primary documents, as explained in Chapter II. Locating and establishing a historical trail was facilitated by the prodigious literary output of EGW and the fact that her son Edson was an editor of the *Gospel Herald*, the church magazine that reported the black work in the SDA Church. Therefore, the production of data that establish a context for issues relative to EGW's comstats and the black work was manageable.

Author and researcher Herbert Goldhor states that scholarship has to do with finding and fixing "the facts of the human path. He [the researcher] then describes the course of these events, and delineates and explains the relations between them. Such relationships, however, are rarely self-evident or completely verifiable by the facts in hand, and any expression of such a relationship is in effect a hypothesis, the value of which depends on the author's insight as expressed in the reasonableness of his assumptions and the testability of his hypothesis. Historical research assumes that human nature is essentially constant, but each individual must usually further assume certain specific motives in or influences on the men whose actions he is describing." ¹ To minimize the inevitable subjective element in historical research, as well as in the researcher's own milieu and worldview, the hypothesis is used as a practical guide when doing research.

In this study, the hypothesis served to indicate which evidence to look for and what to make of the gathered evidence. On this point, Goldhor offers the helpful observation that "the hypothesis serves to tell us what evidence to look for and what to make of the evidence we gather. Usually there is an abundance of known facts concerning any one historical event; the hypothesis serves in part to determine which of them are relevant to any given study, and

also to suggest facts which need to be ascertained, but which probably no one previously thought necessary to collect or record."²

Causality: One of the challenges one faces when doing historical research is the question of causality. Clearly the facts in question are not new-EGW's comstats about black/white relations and progress of blacks in the SDA Church are documented. What is unique is the comparison between these two realities. Causality for the latter can be traced to the former. But to do so is simplistic in that no one comstat is the *sole* cause for the resulting reaction. EGW's influence may have been determinative in effecting black SDA progress, but it wasn't unilateral in its effects.

Causality is not a luxury, but a responsibility of research that is heuristic. In the quest to understand and synthesize the past relationships of blacks to the SDA Church, vice versa, it is necessary to consider causality. Because causality relative to historical research causes one to proceed with care in attempting to understand the past and to derive general principles for guidance in the future. Causality is inextricably tied up in our attempt to understand what happened in the past. "No historical account that goes beyond the form of a chronicle can be written without the assumption of causal connection. And no historical chronicle exists in which assumptions of this character are not implicit."³

Patrick Gardiner points out a "procedural interconnection" between finding out what happened and why it happened. "The value of original historical work largely lies in bringing to light connection between well-established facts."⁴ It is the purpose of this chapter to provide the corresponding couplet in support of the reasonableness of the hypothesis of this study.

Findings

The research findings are presented in four sections. Serving as an antecedent to the study, the *Pre-20-Year Period: State of Black SDA Work*, examines the condition of and attitude toward the black work in the SDA Church before EGW made her 1891 address "Our Duty to the Colored People" to the General Conference session in Battle Creek, Michigan. This address, as discussed earlier, marked the beginning of EGW's public initiatives to motivate the SDA Church to address the needs of the blacks in the South. In particular, this pre-20-year period provides a comparison and contrast to the post-20-year period. That is, an investigation is made of conditions relative to blacks before EGW began to emphasize this need compared with conditions extant after she verbalized the need.

The *Twenty-Year Period: EGW-Black Work Nexus*, will examine what influence EGW's comstats had on the work that was eventually accomplished on behalf of blacks in the South. Further, how did SDA leaders view EGW relative to the black work and its eventual progress? This section will reveal a causal connection between what EGW said and what actually happened. If so, it is logical to assume a causal connection.

The section, *Major Developments of the Black Work*, examines the key events of the black work that transpired during the 20-year-period. These events became the foundation for future progress. Therefore, the advancements referred to in the beginning of this study were predicated on events that took place around the turn of the century. This section examines these events.

Finally, the *Twenty-Year Period: Progress Analysis*, will provide an overview of how major the participants during that period viewed the activities and progress on behalf of black people.

Pre-20-Year Period: State of Black SDA Work

The period during and following the Civil War marked a period of new beginnings for African-American Christians. As the eighteenth century drew to a close, the influx of new migrants from Europe and the rise of the Roman Catholic Church contributed to a gradual fading of the national preeminence of the white mainline Protestant churches.

Despite the failure of Reconstruction to secure civil and educational rights for freed slaves, and despite the pervasive racism of the post-Civil War period, blacks increasingly assumed control of their religious life. Blacks in formerly white denominations abandoned them with the prospect of forming new bodies or expanding existing black denominations.

Denominational Initiatives: Mark Noll, in *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, lists three important developments in the organization of black churches. First was the establishment of new denominations in the South. Within five years after the Civil War ex-slaves, had separated from mainline Protestant churches to found the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (later Christian Methodist Episcopal) and the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Baptist organizations were even more fragmented. Black Baptists formed the National Baptist Convention in 1895. Twelve years later, this organization was divided to form the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc., and the National Baptist Convention.

These two bodies constitute the largest cluster of black Christians in the United States.⁵ EGW rightly considered this period of religious reorganization to be the opportune time for the SDA Church to aggressively enter the South. The need was great: black people were open for guidance and direction, and religious prejudice hadn't solidified.⁶

Next, the post-Civil War period witnessed the expansion of Northern denominations into the South. Perhaps the lead organization was the Methodist Church, especially the African Methodist Episcopal Church. EGW expressed in her writings her desire that the SDA Church become a part of this lead contingent.⁷ The third development was the establishment of numerous independent congregations, at first largely rural, in which locally supported preachers proselytized and maintained their own congregations.⁸ These were the congregations that with which Edson White had to contend in the 1890s. They felt SDAs were latecomers and were simply interested in proselytizing their members.

To meet the overwhelming needs of newly freed slaves, the Freedman Bureau entered into cooperative efforts with other Christian and philanthropic societies to offer some assistance in the area of education. This allowed many of these organizations and churches to quickly move into the South following the Civil War and become established.

One of the earliest religious societies, the American Missionary Association (1850), was one of the first to enter the South. It was established for the purpose of teaching and Christianizing blacks and Indians. Some of the most influential schools for blacks were established through this agency, including such schools as Hampton Institute in Virginia, Fisk University in Tennessee, Talladega College in Alabama, Tougaloo University

in Mississippi, Straight University in New Orleans, and several other smaller schools and institutions.

At first the American Missionary Association was nondenominational, though started chiefly by members of the Congregational Church. But with the increasing needs that accompanied emancipation, more extensive efforts were put forth by such varied church organizations as the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Quakers and Catholics. The American Missionary Association was largely supported by the Congregational Church and was considered to be its missionary medium. During the 1870s and 1880s, the denominations had established missionary footholds in the South.⁹

By the 1880s, black Christians were active themselves in establishing colleges for their people. The list includes Lane College (Christian Methodist Episcopal Church), Livingston College (African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church), and Morris Brown College (African Methodist Episcopal Church. The SDA Church, started Oakwood College to serve its black constituency. By 1900, more than 25 such church-connected colleges had been established in the South.¹⁰

Church bodies were also active in developing books, periodicals, literature and teaching aids for the black community. "The Sunday School Union of the African Methodist Episcopal Church began its own publishing house in 1887. But well before then other local churches and national denominations had brought out books, published magazines, and even begun weekly newspapers. These various forms of publications continued to flow from the black churches well into the twentieth century. They were sources

of religious information and spiritual direction, but often of more general news and intellectual culture as well."¹¹

This brief background portraying the activity of other denominations prior to 1891 on behalf of blacks in the South provides a backdrop for EGW's concern that the SDA Church in the 1890s had failed to put forth a significant effort in the Southern field.

Attitudes and the Black Work: For some 25 years the SDA Church struggled with a type of organizational naivete that resulted in denominational myopia when it came to the subject of race and the church's responsibility to blacks in the South. Church leaders seemed unable to sense or see their responsibility to blacks. The task was viewed more as an option than an obligation.

SDAs seemed to first be made aware of their problem as their evangelistic outreach, first based in the North, moved into the post-Civil War South. Roy Graham, a white administrator and historian, reacted to this period by saying, "After an initial attempt at continuing their policy of racial integration in their churches, they then moved towards separate development for black and white. One cannot explain this on a rational basis. In a complex situation it is difficult to know which pressures to resist and which you can give into without violating principle. Moreover, because of their distinctive beliefs, as we will notice, the SDAs faced unique problems in the South. Later, however, they responded to both internal and external pressures in a more thoughtful and biblical approach."¹²

As discussed before, the SDA Church officially organized (1863) in the midst of the Civil War (1861-65). Virtually, all of the members of the SDA

Church lived in the northern section of the United States. With some of their early leaders having abolitionist leanings--to the extent that they opposed slavery on moral grounds--the church expressed itself in their official church papers on the subject of slavery. Perhaps the best and earliest example of the SDA position on slavery was issued in response to a letter submitted to the *Review and Herald* by a reader, Anson Byington (Mar. 10, 1859). Byington, who had "been engaged for the last 25 years in the antislavery cause," said he had always "regarded the *Review* as an auxiliary," but now he chided Uriah Smith, the editor, that in his opinion the paper had not acted its part during the last two or three years. "It has failed," Byington said, "to aid the cause of abolition."¹³

Review editor Smith replied: "Our feelings in regard to slavery could hardly be mistaken by any who are acquainted with our position on the law of God, the foundation of all reform, the radical standpoint against every evil. Slavery is a sin we have never ceased to abhor; its ravages we have never ceased to deprecate; with the victims locked in its foul embrace, we have not ceased to sympathize."

Smith's concern was that "the tyranny of oppression" prevent effective help being brought to the slaves either as a race of people or as individuals. While Smith didn't offer much relief from the bondage of physical slavery, he did proffer a spiritual hope: "In saying this, we do not tell the slave that he can afford to be content in slavery, nor that he should not escape from it whenever he can, nor that all good men should not aid him to the extent of their power, nor that this great evil should not be resisted by any and all means which afford any hope of success. All this should be done. And we rejoice when we hear of one of that suffering race escaping beyond the

jurisdiction of this dragon-hearted power. But we would not hold out to him a false ground of expectation. We would point him to the coming of the Messiah as his true hope."¹⁴

Smith further reiterates this emphasis in his conclusion when he reaffirms that the SDA's primary task as a Christian was "to emancipate our fellowmen from the worst of all bondages, the service of sin."¹⁵

Many SDAs were activists: some assisted escaping slaves via the Underground Railroad. On the basis of certain Old Testament texts,¹⁶ they were prepared to act contrary to the law of the land on this matter. They felt in this case that the law of the land contravened the law of God. EGW, as already noted in this study advocated the violation of the law demanding the surrender of a fugitive slave.¹⁷

EGW and SDAs were united in their condemnation of slavery, an institution she denounced as an "accursed system," an "enormous and grievous sin for which God's wrath burns against this nation."¹⁸ She advocated that those who sided with the Rebellion and supported slavery must be disfellowshipped.¹⁹ According to EGW, the "few" among SDAs who were sympathetic to the slaveholder needed to understand that "God gives him no title to human souls, and he has no right to hold them as property. . . . The Colored race are God's property."²⁰ It seems clear from these and from other EGW articles on the subject of the Civil War that her sympathies were clearly with the welfare of black people. EGW's comments on slavery and the Civil War provide excellent indicators of EGW's feelings about black people, race and equality issues in general.

Advocacy of the Black Work: In the Northern states, even before the Civil War, there were some blacks in the SDA Church, as in the earlier Millerite movement. There is no indication of what might have been the SDA acceptance level toward black believers. Church records don't give any indication, so one might assume, based on the church's antislavery position, that there was at least a nominal acceptance toward blacks. Total acceptance, though, is complicated by the apparent compliant attitude of the church toward the entire race question. In the midst of widespread denominational activity in the nation on behalf of blacks--the SDA Church struggled to get started. This brings attitudes into question.

Spalding also recognized this problem: "Among the smallest of the Christian bodies at the close of the war was the SDA Church. It started no work and it had no agent among the freedman."²¹ He goes on to say, "While its individual members had a deep interest in the slaveholding, indeed, abolition sentiments and doing service on the Underground Railroad, the part they acted for the freedman was not great, and found play only through other organizations."²²

Why wasn't the SDA Church involved with helping blacks in the South? Spalding suggests six reasons. First, the church was small: "Its first beginnings dated only from 1846, its first organization was effected in 1861, and its members at the close of the Civil War numbered fewer than 5,000."²³ Second, it had few facilities. "It had no training schools until 1874, none of its afterward famous health institutions until 1866, and no corporation whatever except one lone publishing house at Battle Creek, Michigan."²⁴ Third, it was demographically Northern: "Starting in New England and New York, its faith had found firmest root in the Middle West, and Iowa, and

Minnesota were then its frontiers. Stopped by slavery, which it unalterably opposed, it had made no progress into the South."²⁵ Fourth, there was lack of experience: "It was the soldier and the army chaplain who saw the freedman . . . and either engaged himself or incited others to engage in the Negro's behalf. . . . Probably none [of their members] dated their connection with the body from a point before the war."²⁶ Fifth, it was denominationally--other" focused": The group, "being new, was [more] concerned in presenting the truths it regarded as vital to the Christian world, than in dealing with social problems."²⁷ Last, it was poor: "The members were for the most part poor, and their slender resources seemed scarcely equal to the enterprises then on foot. It did not seem good policy for so small a body, precariously entrenched in recently occupied territory, to stretch its wings over the trouble field of the South."²⁸

After offering the above reasons for the lack of SDA Activity on behalf of blacks, Spalding avers:

"Nevertheless, while the above statement may present a plausible reason for the neglect by Seventh-day Adventists to enter upon a work for the freedmen, it is rather, in view of the policy of that church, but an excuse. For it is the genius of Seventh-day Adventist work to inspire every member with the sense of responsibility and personal initiative wherever a need is presented. Its policy while containing a plan for the support of salaried workers, also looks upon every member not merely as a supporter, nor even as a reservist, but as a soldier enlisted in active service where God may direct him. That responsibility has been held before its members from the beginning, and to that policy has been due its people's success. The government of the denomination is peculiarly fitted to the need: With a compact organization and efficient supervision, it provides for individual freedom in Christian service through many avenues, and relies for control upon education and the one authority of the Word of God."²⁹

Though Spalding's reasons may have had practical merit, his last observation speaks cogently to the real issue. The SDA Church had not prioritized the need of the black work. Perhaps it was working through its racial ambivalence. There did, in fact, seem to be deeper issues involved. Apparently, according to Graham, there was some "misunderstanding on the concept of missions. . . . When, in the early 1870s, the SDAs began to consider a broader perspective for their work, it was to Europe that they turned their attention, sending out their first missionary, J. N. Andrews, to Switzerland in 1874."³⁰ This happened some 20 years before the South received serious attention.

Doubtless, the SDA Church, like many other denominations with strong Northern roots, experienced relief when the slaves were freed at the end of the Civil War. But they "forgot that there were great needs to be met among these people; that the church had responsibilities in rehabilitation. This was a neglect that was to have far-reaching consequences."³¹

The SDA Church, in spite of its focus on evangelistic possibilities outside North America, did direct some attention to the Southern states.³² However, this came largely in the guise of individual effort extended on a volunteer basis with no denominational backing and initiated originally by white ministers of Southern origin.³³

The racial integration of SDA churches was the prominent issue to surface during the pre-1891 period.³⁴ It is worth repeating, as was briefly mentioned in Chapter II, that even when SDA workers went into the South, it was not primarily to make contact with or to evangelize blacks.³⁵ It was not until the 1870s, when their evangelistic endeavors brought them into the South, that SDA ministers encountered blacks in significant numbers, and

then it was rather by coincidence.³⁶ Bull and Lockhart contend that SDA workers "did not, however, set out to evangelize the black communities. Rather, it was blacks who found the church after turning up at Adventist meetings without being directly invited. . . . The blacks who came sat in a separate partition or outside the meeting halls."³⁷ Elbert B. Lane, the first SDA minister in the South, reported holding meetings in a Tennessee depot building with "white people occupying one room, and the Colored people the other."³⁸

This self-segregation caught SDA ministers, at least those from the North, by surprise. In 1876, Dudley Canright described a meeting he had held near Dallas, Texas. People "came from every direction, afoot, on horseback . . . with wagons, men, women and children, both white and black." It was here that he witnessed a new phenomenon: "The whites all seated [themselves] inside the house and the Colored people all outside, an invariable custom through the South."³⁹

A final example has to do with two white ministers, Silas Osborne and W. K. Killen. Spalding writes of their work and approach relative to blacks in the South: "They had no difficulty in dealing with their converts, to the satisfaction of both races. In Georgia, indeed, the color-line question hardly appeared, the Colored members being few and scattered. In Kentucky, Osborne formed the two races into separate companies and churches."⁴⁰

Spalding claims that when Osborne visited Battle Creek in 1877,⁴¹ he conferred with James White, then president of the General Conference, about the problems of integration of churches in the South. Spalding goes on to say:

"But a few years later, Northern laborers being sent to aid in the work in Kentucky, and one of them

being elected president of the little conference to succeed Elder Osborne, insistence was made that the two races be joined in the churches. Neither of these laborers stayed long but the results of their work remained in enfeebled churches, injured public feeling and conditions which were a source of weakness."⁴²

Spalding's evaluation is open to question. "The matter," Spalding says, "however, did not come prominently to the attention of the denomination, because it was only in two or three places that the difficulties were acute, and the cause in the South was not extensive enough in those years to take over much of the time of the annual conferences."⁴³ It was close to a decade later (1887) before there was any substantive discussion on the situation in the South relative to the subject of church integration.

The *General Conference Bulletin* of 1887 reports that after an "animated discussion," the session agreed that the church "recognized no color line." A following resolution stressed that "no distinction whatever" should be made "between the races in church relations."⁴⁴

In 1888, the *General Conference Bulletin* referred briefly to the issue of integration when church leaders for Georgia and Florida state declared that they had "no trouble with the color line."⁴⁵ In 1889, the *General Conference Bulletin* reports a comment by Kilgore concerning the Southern field: "The prevailing sentiment against those of Northern birth, and that which is brought to them by those not of Southern proclivities, makes the work . . . in that field more difficult than in those fields north of the Mason and Dixon Line. He who labors in this field must be acquainted with and adjust himself to the customs and usages of this people in order to reach them."⁴⁶

Accountability and the Black Work: At the time of the above statement, Kilgore had been in charge of the Southern states (District 2) for close to a year.⁴⁷ He must have experienced his share of frustration. Spalding said that he entered the work in the South virtually "barehanded." In 1889, "there was not a Seventh-day Adventist institution of any kind in the South--no sanitarium, no school, no publishing house. The constituency was not more than 500 white members and about 50 Colored. There were five ordained white ministers, and none Colored. One weak conference had been formed of the states of Tennessee and Kentucky; the rest of the territory was a mission field."⁴⁸

Kilgore decried the neglect of the SDA organization toward the black work and offered his regrets for their inattention to the delegates at the twenty-eighth General Conference session in 1889. He strove to raise the church's perception of accountability to the black work. He conceded that there had been a few accessions in the early years, especially when the former masters had accepted SDA teachings and the freedman had followed. He referred to the occasional times when blacks would come and hear the SDA message when it was preached to the whites. But, because of the increasing racial tensions and the great separation developing between the races, even that was being brought to a close throughout the South. He pled with the delegates to make the gospel effective, to make special efforts to train black people to work for their own race. Kilgore felt that the SDA Church was failing in its responsibility and fast losing its opportunity to make a difference in behalf of blacks.⁴⁹ Later, Kilgore had opportunity to work with and ordain Charles M. Kinney (1855-1951), the first and at that time the only ordained black minister in the SDA Church.⁵⁰

The following summary of activities and significant dates are relative to the SDA Church and African-Americans and are taken from existent records in the pre-1891 period (items marked with * signify those specifically connected with the plans or development of the black SDA work).

Black SDA Events: Pre-1891 Period

Date	Event
1830s	SDA leaders participate in the Underground Railroad. ⁵¹
1842	William E. Foy, black Advent minister, begins special ministry to Advent believers before the Great Disappointment.
1842-44	EGW hears Foy speak, they meet and he confirms her ministry.
1845	Foy publishes Advent pamphlet about his Christian experience.
1857	EGW first writes against the institution of slavery. ⁵²
1859	EGW recommends that SDAs oppose the Fugitive Slave Law. ⁵³ James and Ellen White stay with the Hardys, a "Colored family," in Grand Rapids, Michigan. ⁵⁴ Editors Uriah Smith, and James White of the <i>Review and Herald</i> speak out against slavery (1859:Uriah Smith, 1862:James White). ⁵⁵
1861	EGW writes (1861-83) against slavery and for equality of races and concerning the Civil War. ⁵⁶
1865	General Conference president James White invites volunteers to work in the South. ⁵⁷
1871	E. B. Lane preaches to whites and blacks at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee. ⁵⁸ Harry Lowe, one of earliest black SDAs, accepts message from E. B. Lane. ⁵⁹
1876	D. B. Canright (white) preaches to whites and blacks at Dallas, Texas. ⁶⁰

- 1876 C. O. Taylor (white) preaches to whites and blacks at Quitman, Georgia.⁶¹
- 1877 Mrs. H. M. Van Slyke (white volunteer layperson) teaches a "Colored school" in Ray County, Missouri.⁶²
- 1878 Charles Kinney (black) accepts SDA teachings from EGW and John Loughborough.⁶³
- J. S. Killen (white), of Georgia, accepts SDA teachings and wins some of his former slaves to the SDA Church.⁶⁴
- 1881 Harry Lowe, black SDA minister, granted ministerial license by Tennessee Conference.⁶⁵
- 1886 The first all black SDA Church established at Edgefield Junction, Tennessee (membership 10).⁶⁶
- 1887 *The issue of church integration is voted on at a General Conference session: "conference recognizes no color line" and "no action taken" on integration question.⁶⁷
- 1889 Charles Kinney, first black ordained minister is assigned to work in Louisville, Kentucky.⁶⁸
- 1890 *R. M. Kilgore (white) is assigned to be supervisor of District 2 (Southern states).⁶⁹
- Second black SDA church established in Louisville, Kentucky (started by A. Barry).⁷⁰
- Fifty black SDAs in the South reported.⁷¹

The above pre-1891 events bear out that though there was activity relative to the black SDA work it was not strategic to an overall organizational plan for blacks. The SDA Church had no organized outreach for blacks although there was spontaneous outreach action for blacks and a positive reaction. The context was receptive to a SDA initiative, but during this period a plan was lacking.

Period Analysis: The following is a summary of activities and significant dates relative to the SDA Church and the black work. These dates

were culled from a variety of sources. Those with a * signify those events specifically connected with the plans and development of the black SDA work in the South.

The following observations (noting occurrence) and impressions (forming notions) resulted from a study of the major documents and the historical research:

Observations	Impressions
The SDA work in the South was small and did not enjoy strong support from northern headquarters, where a rapidly growing foreign mission flourished.	The church allowed its priorities to become confused when it promoted foreign missions, but not its national mission.
Mission initiatives during the pre-1892 period were primarily for whites.	The predominate values and views of members in the organization, thereby prevailed.
Laymen initiated work among blacks more readily than did the leadership.	The essence of the mission is sometimes perceived and enacted by laity when leadership misses it.
Black people in the South were interested in the SDA Church to the extent that they attended evangelistic meetings even though they were not invited.	Forces were inexorable in the SDA Church that attracted blacks regardless of the reception.
The degree of integration in the South depended on the origination of the evangelist--whether he was from the North or South.	SDAs are products of their environment and they don't automatically become something "other" after joining.
During the pre-1891 period EGW primarily emphasized freedom for blacks and equality.	It seemed as if the church was capable or willing to act positively on behalf of blacks on its own.
James and Ellen (Edson and William later) spoke out and acted on behalf of black people though they were products of their own time.	The White family apparently had internally accepted "equality" and mutual responsibility as working rules of life.

EGW--Black Work Nexus

EGW's 1891 appeal changed the SDA Church forever in regard to the race issue and the black work. It was read to some 125 delegates and leaders of the SDA Church, March 21, 1891, in connection with its twenty-ninth General Conference session in Battle Creek, Michigan.⁷² She knew her message would be considered radical, maybe extreme: "I know that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet. . . . But I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward."⁷³ From that point on EGW identified herself closely with the development of the black work.

Principles on Race Relations: In her discourse, EGW drew heavily on the example of Christ, who related to all classes and races of people. After referring to the children of Israel and their deliverance from Egypt, EGW presented her platform in making six points: (1) in Christ all people are equal; (2) the SDA Church should oppose all forms of prejudice; (3) the church is responsible for working for blacks (4) Christ equally accepts the conversion experience of all races; (5) all races will go to the same heaven, but only if they overcome the spirit of selfish prejudice; and (6) we witness to the genuineness of our Christian experience by how we relate to the race issue.⁷⁴

EGW was sensitive to the challenges of this work. Speaking of the race issue as a "perplexing question,"⁷⁵ she expressed her opinion that it would be difficult to "implant" new ideas into the minds of a people just out of slavery.⁷⁶ A view she was to elaborate on later was that a balance was to be attained between "extremes" and "fanaticism."⁷⁷ She also expressed her caution about the whole subject of interracial marriage⁷⁸ and reemphasized the need to avoid cowardice in this work.⁷⁹

Appeal Effect: While this appeal was printed in pamphlet form and circulated, it apparently had little effect on the church and its leaders. R. M. Kilgore, the supervisor of the Southern states (District 2), reported at the next General Conference session (Feb. 17, 1893): "The Lord has spoken to us ... especially concerning our duty to the Colored people." Yet, he intones, "what are we doing?" He went on to say that there was only one ordained black minister, and not one school. "We plead most earnestly that this conference take immediate action in regard to this matter. We must do something toward educating workers to labor among this people, and to provide facilities whereby the children and youth of our Colored brethren and sisters may have equal advantage with those of fairer complexion"⁸⁰

Following this action and that of EGW two years earlier the General Conference took action that "local schools for white students and for Colored students be established at such places in the South, and on such a plan, as may be deemed best by the General Conference committee after careful investigation of all circumstances."⁸¹ At this same conference Henry S. Shaw, was appointed as a special agent to superintend and foster the work among the Colored people.⁸²

Edson and the Appeal: Edson White, inspired by the 1891 appeal, determined commit himself to working for blacks in the South. Although EGW was pleased to have Edson back in church work, and although she totally backed his work in the South, she had originally wanted him with her and his younger brother, Willie, in Australia, where she was pioneering SDA work. She envisioned the three of them as comprising a "threefold cord." Edson decided to work in the South, and EGW provided him with ongoing

support. (See EGW to Willie White, letter 14, Feb. 16, 1894: and EGW to J. E. White, letter 79, May 2, 1894.) The question was how to go about doing it? In 1894, in a letter to his mother, he confided: "It has been a deep problem to know what to do. . . . Brother Kilgore has had this matter on his mind for years, but has failed utterly to get our people to awaken to the necessity of doing something. And as matters look now, it seems as though, if anything is done in regard to this work, it will have to be done by individual sacrifice and effort. As I understand it, there is not funds to draw from to carry on the work. And I have no idea that any will be raised until some work is actually begun, and it can be seen what the work is to be."⁸³

By this time, EGW had left for Australia. But she kept the needs of the Southern field close to heart. Her 1891 appeal was addressed primarily to church leaders.⁸⁴ In 1895, with efforts beginning in the South, she prepared a series of 10 articles for the *Review and Herald*. These were addressed to the entire church.⁸⁵ The opening articles were printed nine months before the others. In them were stressed the needs of the black work, race relations principles and the brotherhood of all believers.⁸⁶ The other articles underlined these themes and stressed the practical needs of the work in the South and suggestions on how the readers might accomplish the task.

The Black Work Initiative: In January 1895, Edson White, along with his small crew, arrived in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on his riverboat the *Morning Star*⁸⁷ to commence the SDA Church's first systematic effort to build the black work in the South--primarily through education, evangelism and personal assistance for the black people. Shortly after arriving in Vicksburg, (1898), Edson formed an organization, the Southern Missionary Society, that operated

for more than two decades and promoted mission schools, evangelism and other enterprises among blacks in the South.⁸⁸ The object of the society, as stated in the *Gospel Herald*, was "to carry the principles of Christian education to the people of the South."⁸⁹

The society began informally and had regular meetings where the workers met to "avoid costly mistakes and provide for greater efficiency" in the laying of plans for "different lines of work."⁹⁰ The society incorporated in 1898 in order "to hold all necessary property under its name and to conduct all business operations through its regularly elected officers. The incorporation was approved by EGW, who counseled the society that new work should organize so as to place the work under the management of persons who had borne its burdens and who understood its necessities."⁹¹

Loosely speaking, Edson identified "four lines of effort" that the society had as its objectives: (1) school work; (2) medical missionary work; (3) Christian help work; and (4) Industrial training, farming and business."⁹² Edson went on to explain that each of the objectives were based on the counsel of EGW: "The Lord has given us instruction in each of these lines of effort, and the Southern Missionary Society has been planning with special reference to them."⁹³

EGW--SMS Connection: It is at this point that we make the connection between the work of Edson White and EGW. Church historians recognize that EGW was primarily responsible for starting the work in the South, through her advocacy on behalf of blacks throughout the years, especially beginning in 1891.

Black historian and educator Otis B. Edwards says: "Perhaps the

greatest stimulus to missionary efforts for the Negro came, however, from Mrs. Ellen G. White."⁹⁴ Spalding concedes: "The voice of Ellen G. White had been raised before in behalf of the Negro people and their right to receive the benefits of the last gospel message, in health, in social betterment, in education. . . . Her manuscript testimony, however, at first received scant notice."⁹⁵ SDA Church historian Richard W. Schwarz (1976) concurs: "It took an earnest admonition from Ellen White to jolt Adventists into realizing their duty to share their faith with Afro-Americans. Even then the jolt was a delayed-action one." Schwarz goes on to say that although Mrs. White's appeal⁹⁴ was soon printed in tract form, it took nearly three years for anyone to pay much attention to it. Then suddenly its message found a receptive audience in Ellen's oldest living son, James Edson White.⁹⁶ Roy E. Graham (1985) also agrees that EGW had the dominant influence in the establishing of the black work.⁹⁷

Basis of Progress: The question is How could EGW be the dominant influence behind the development of the black work when it was Edson White who actually started the initiative? For one, she was the influencing factor in her son's life. Further, she vigorously supported, counseled, and backed Edson. She promoted the work before he went South (1895) and after he left the South (1912).⁹⁸ Edwards most sums up succinctly why EGW is credited with the distinction when he says: '*Mrs. White's urgent advocacy of missionary activity for the Negro took practical form in the labors of her second son, James Edson White.*'⁹⁹

Possibly more important than Edwards' summation are Edson's own words in the 1899 issue of the *Gospel Herald*: "From time to time, during the

past eight years, *Testimonies* have been coming from the pen of Mrs. E. G. White setting forth our duty as a Christian people with regard to work among the Colored people of the South.¹⁰⁰ Her message to the SDA Church was simple. *First*, that the SDA Church, like other Christian bodies, had failed to assist the black race: "Since the slaves gained their freedom at terrible loss of life both to the North and to the South, they have been greatly neglected by those who professed to know God." She went on to ask, "But shall this indifference continue? Shall not decided effort be made to save [help] them?"¹⁰¹

Second, that God was holding the SDA Church accountable for its neglect. "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the Colored people."¹⁰²

Third, that all SDA members were to respond to the call to help black people. No one was exempt. "White men and women should be qualifying themselves to work among the Colored people." Edson understood EGW as recognizing that there was a large work to be done in working for blacks, but that the members were still unresponsive. "We must do more unselfish missionary work than we have done in the Southern states; not picking out merely the most favorable fields." She capsulized her point by stating: "They [black people] need to be enlightened."¹⁰³

Fourth, EGW not only admonished members to help black people in general where possible, she advocated that they practice self-denial to facilitate this objective. "Let the white people practice the self-denial necessary, and let them remember that nothing is to be regarded as unimportant which affects the religious life of so vast a number of people as that which composes the Colored race." One should note that EGW made

little distinction between help for the social or spiritual needs of the black race. She believed that one was intertwined with the other.

Finally, EGW exercised her greatest authority by calling on the church to repent for its neglect of the black race. "We need to repent before God, because we have neglected missionary work in the most abandoned part of God's moral vineyard. There needs to be a stirring up among the members of our churches. There needs to be concern created for our Colored brethren." At what she referred to as "the great heart of the work,"¹⁰⁴ EGW sent forth her appeal not only to the members scattered across the United States, but to the church leadership located at the denomination's headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan.

What was Edson's commentary on the above statements? After four years of working in the South, he found them to be "all true, every word of it, and right to the point." Further, appeal he said: "May God help us to read those things thoughtfully and ponder them carefully, and may they lead thoughtful Christian people to place themselves in the right relations to this work and give it the impetus which these stirring words demand."¹⁰⁵

In December of the same year Edson was even more emphatic as to the role and function of EGW's comstats in the success of his organization. In an editorial in which he was answering a question about the formation of the Southern Missionary Society, he penned these words: "About six years ago [1893] the founders of this Society undertook their missionary work for the Colored people of the South, as a result of reading a Testimony written by Mrs. E. G. White, setting forth the needs of this field, and our duty as a people with reference to it."¹⁰⁶

Edson went on to explain: "In all our work in this field we have ever regarded instruction coming from this source as the very highest authority. These instructions have been plain and explicit, and *when followed, success has ever attended this work*. Had they been followed more carefully by us as a people the South would present a far different appearance toward the work than it does now."¹⁰⁷

The remarks on this point are more firmly reiterated in the following quotation: "Therefore, in any emergency or in any doubt as to the proper methods of work, we have ever felt safe and sure in securing and following instructions from the same source that first led us to undertake work in this field."¹⁰⁸ Referring to the above editorial, Edson avers that "the leading brethren of our denomination [should] appeal to this same source [EGW] for instruction in emergency or special need. As those in other branches of the work feel safe in following instruction so received, so do we. And we here state that the Southern Missionary Society *is guided by, and is working, under special instructions received from this source*."¹⁰⁹ "The principle of its [the Southern Missionary Society] organization and incorporation for the prosecution of this work stands approved from this source."¹¹⁰

There is little question that Edson White linked the Southern Missionary Society, the major organization for the development and promotion of the black work, tightly with EGW and her comstats.

While some leaders credited Edson White and the Southern Missionary Society with the progress of the black work, Edson was never confused about where his source of information and guidance came from.

"The Southern Missionary Society was organized to assist, sustain, and develop this work. Its work is still in progress, and never did its prospects for

good seem brighter than at the present moment. It is needless to say to many of the readers of this article that Elder J. E. White and his colaborers were the ones who planned and engineered this movement. Like every other good movement, its progress has been beset with many difficulties. None but those connected with the movement can ever realize their magnitude. One of the difficulties has been that many of our people have failed to comprehend the nature of the work being done, resulting in a consequent indifference to it, or even suspicion of it.

"An appeal is now being made to our people to sustain the work of the Southern Missionary Society. This appeal has my hearty sympathy and endorsement. I would gladly have our people everywhere know that my sympathies are with this society in its labors of love for the needy Colored people."¹¹¹

The Progress Process: The *Black Progress Actualization Process* (Figure 7:1) graphically illustrates the development and interplay that the plans and strategies for the black work went through before becoming a reality. First, EGW conceived plans on behalf of the black work. She communicated these plans on the platform of the Southern Missionary Society. As plans were implemented, developed and grew successfully. It was a combination that was uniquely suited for the particular challenges of the black work. For example, EGW's counseled the development of small schools throughout the South.¹¹² She communicated this approach as being a key strategy that would work with black people. The church and leadership were aware of this counsel, but only Edson implemented it. The school settlement concept was the winning strategy in the South. The concepts were implemented through the Southern Missionary Society, and the black work prospered as a result.

It is instructive to note that though the ideas may be good and reliable, they are not most effective unless they are enacted normally in an environment of equivocality, as Carl Weick would call it. ¹¹³



Figure 7:1 Black Progress Actualization Process

Influential Leadership The question, Why was EGW so influential? is worthy of consideration. It should be emphasized that while the success of the black work was primarily a result of the EGW and Edson White Southern Missionary Society connection, other forces were at work, as well. There were the immediate returns. Training black workers to work and teach their own people began to make. Then there were the increasing initiatives of the denomination as the church entered the new century. The parameters of this study won't allow full examination of these initiatives. However, the following are a few observations that might provide some insight. An examination of EGW's leadership and communication style reveals:

1. She had concepts that were logically sound.
2. She emphasized substantial plans for the black work.
3. She was assertive, yet reasonable, and advocated modest plans.
4. She pushed for self-supporting projects and plans.

5. She sought to use persuasive communication based on either moral or biblical authority.
6. She had a sense of timing to know when to move, pause or retreat.
7. She provided counsel that had as its essential base the principles of the Bible.
8. She made her comstats lasting in that she wrote her counsel out; it spoke long after her initial presentation.
9. She was able to utilize her experiences and build on them.
10. She was, at least to SDAs, a spiritual leader, whose life and words bore the spiritual authority.

Intuitively, EGW seemed to have a sense for what would work and what had lasting value.

Points of Progress: While the next section will deal with the major developments of this period, it is appropriate to point to the five of the major points upon which the progress of the black work was apparently based (Figure 7:2).

EGW understood that *concepts*, to be effective, must be right; but they also must be motivating, inspirational and empowering. She recognized that the foundation for any effective program was *education*. Not content to act in a vacuum, EGW always emphasized the training of workers to the end of becoming *self-sufficient and self-supporting*--a concept she advocated for people as well as institutions. She used the *communication* medium of the church--books, periodicals, letters, lectures, sermons, personal group

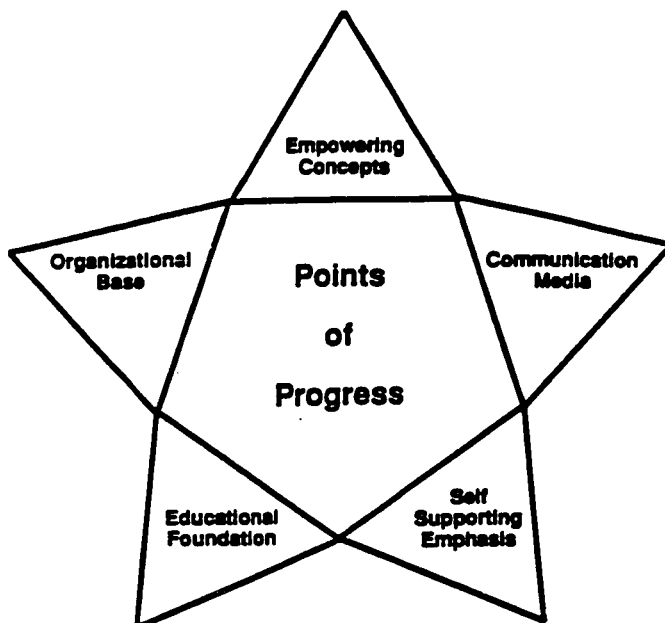


Figure 7:2 Points Undergirding Progress in the Black Work

conversations, etc.,--to lobby for this end. But her contributions were not based on words alone. She readily and completely supported Edson White in his efforts to establish an *organization*, recognizing that programs must be buttressed by an organization that is committed to the particular goals and objectives that are being set forth.

Major Developments of the Black Work

The 15 developmental events in this section comprise the major strides made toward establishing a progressive black work for the SDA Church in the South. This aspect of the historical research will look specifically at the events crucial to black progress during the 20-year period and foundational to future black progress. And each will be evaluated from a qualitative standpoint (Figure 7:3).

**EGW Influencing
Actional Comstats
(Content Analysis)**

**SDA Black Work
Development
(Historical Research)**

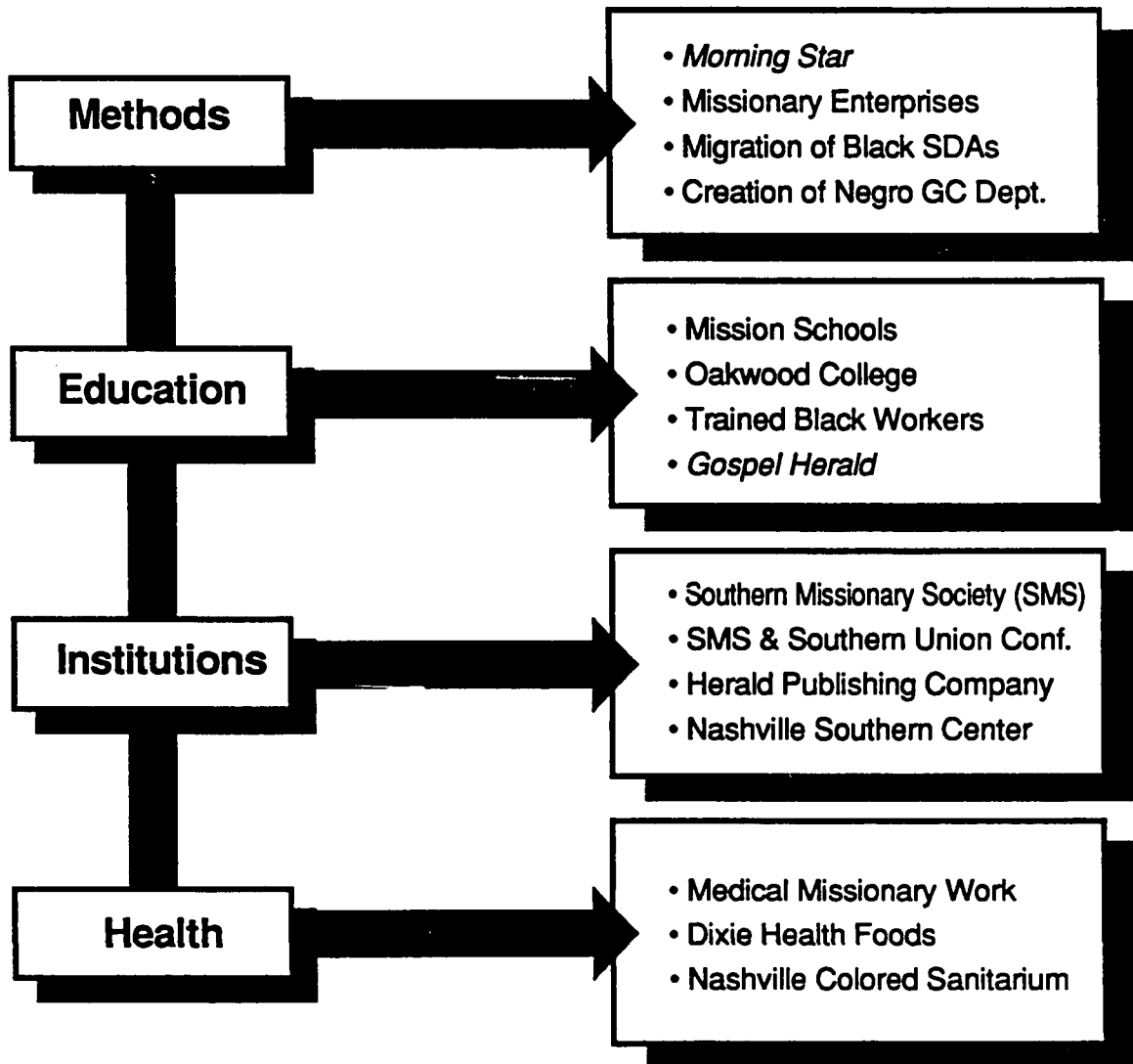


Figure 7:3 Relationship of EGW's Comstats to Black Work Progress

The list does not presume to be exhaustive, but it is inclusive of the principal events and developments that made progress a reality. This section compliments the strategy model. Each development is grouped according to the four categories (Methods, Education, Institutions, Health) in the actional component.

Each event will be identified, along with its *location* and *initiator*. An assessment of *EGW's Influence* on the development will be made (rated: minimal, moderate, or considerable). The *SDA involvement* as an organization will be determined (also rated: minimal, moderate, or considerable). Finally, the *impact on Black work* will be assessed.

Subject (1):	<i>Morning Star Boat</i>
Date:	1894
Location:	Mississippi
Initiator:	Edson White
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	None
Actional Category:	Methods

Summary: "The privately owned Mississippi River steamboat, [was] used for about a decade, beginning in 1894, as a floating mission in connection with the work of the Southern Missionary Society for the Negro people in Mississippi and Tennessee."¹¹⁴

The *Morning Star* was the creative transportation means used to establish outposts of education, evangelism and community assistance for blacks in far-flung regions in the Mississippi Delta region. The *Morning Star* also served as refuge and headquarters for the mission work of the Southern Missionary Society staff. When White and Palmer heard that housing would be denied them if they went into the South to work for black people, they decided to build a floating home for themselves--the *Morning Star*.¹¹⁵

The boat was constructed on the banks of the Kalamazoo River, at Allegan, Mich., Its keel was laid in March 1894. Edson White described the *Morning Star* in the following manner: "The hull of the steamer was built of solid upland Michigan oak, was 72 feet long, with 12 feet beam, and with three feet depth of hold amidships, and four at bow and stern. She was cabined fore and aft, . . . the cabin being 67 feet long and 16 feet wide, thus projecting over the hull on each side. The hull was launched May, 1894, and then her cabin work put on. In July she was completed and started on her 1,500-mile journey to her field of operation."¹¹⁶ After being beached and dismantled it was destroyed by fire in 1906.¹¹⁷

Subject (2):	Mission Schools
Date:	1895 onward
Location:	Throughout the South
Initiator:	Edson White/Will Palmer
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Education

Summary: In the early 1890s, as Edson White and Will Palmer were engaged in establishing a black SDA work in the South, aspect of EGW's counsel especially attracted their attention: "Small schools should be established in many localities [in the South]."¹¹⁸ These mission schools (sometimes referred to as "holy schools" because of their spiritual influence) became the main thrust of the Southern Missionary Society and one of its greatest contributions. These schools were the first step in the training and development of black Christian workers. "The training school at Oakwood was for several years chiefly filled from the primary schools of the society, one school alone, that of Yazoo City, having the record of sending 75

students to Oakwood."¹¹⁹ This approach to education--intellectual, practical and religious--was based on the instruction given by EGW in connection with the black work in the South.

"Promising young men and young women should be educated to become teachers. They should have the very best advantages. School houses and meeting houses should be built in different places, and teachers employed.

"Those who for years have been working to help the Colored people are well fitted to give counsel in regard to the opening of such schools. So far as possible, these schools should be established outside the cities."

The major portion of the society's property holdings consisted of church and school properties. "Beginning with Vicksburg, at the end of six years of strenuous labor there were five such schools. But in the last half of its life the society increased its number tenfold."¹²¹ By the end of the society's separate existence (before joining with the Southern Union Conference in 1909), it had developed and was maintaining more than 50 of these schools. The following is an incomplete list:¹²²

Alabama
Gadsden
Mobile
Montgomery
Sylacauga

Arkansas
Devall Bluff

Georgia
Atlanta
Brunswick

Kentucky
Lexington
Louisville

Louisiana
Newellton
New Orleans

Florida
Daytona
East Palatka
Fernandina
Jacksonville
Plant City
Pensacola

Mississippi
Brookhaven
Canton
Clarksdale
Columbus
Ellisville
Greenwood
Greenville
Hattisburg
Jackson
King's Crossing
Natches

Mississippi
Roseneath
Soso
Vicksburg
Yazoo City

North Carolina
Ashville

South Carolina
Charleston
Spartanburg

Tennessee
Chattanooga
Edgefield Junction
Knoxville
Nashville

The curriculum in these mission schools made use of books produced by Edson White and the Southern Missionary Society. The students studied the ABC's and such books as *The Gospel Primer*, *The Gospel Reader*, *Christ Our Savior*, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, and the Bible. After local opposition, the white teachers were replaced by black teachers.¹²³

Subject (3):	Trained Black Workers
Date:	1895 onward
Location:	Southern Field
Initiators:	Edson White/Southern Missionary Society
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Education

Summary: Developing black workers was a priority from the beginning of the Southern Missionary Society. EGW had emphasized this important aspect of the black work from her very earliest counsel. The working principle was that the SDA Southern workers could better devote their efforts to training and mentoring workers versus trying to do the work of 10 people. Further, with the increasing danger that whites teaching blacks faced, it was also a move born of necessity.

Edson White's group of volunteer teachers, nurses, mechanics and colporteurs always included black persons, who usually were receiving training, as well. Such outstanding SDA black leaders as T. B. Buckner, A. Barry, Peter M. Boyd, J. H. Laurence, G. E. Peters, W. H. Sabastian, M. C. Strachan, Franklin Warnick and Thomas Murphy were all at one time or another either workers in the Southern Missionary Society or persons whose salaries were subsidized by the Society.

It is believed that Anna Knight, a female SDA leader in the areas of health and education, was the first black to serve as teacher in "what was probably the first self-supporting mission school in Mississippi," in 1896.¹²⁴ Anna Knight later finished the nursing course at Battle College and spent seven years as a missionary in India.¹²⁵

Modest leadership gains were achieved by some blacks in local conferences, as the following illustrates. "Within a decade after the beginning of the work in Vicksburg, success was assured and it seemed feasible to elect Negroes to the executive committee of the conference. In the year 1906, W. H. Sebastian served on the executive committee of the Mississippi Conference. The next year Sydney Schott, a minister in the Alabama Conference, was invited to serve on its executive committee, and two years later a great advance was made in the organization of the Negro work."¹²⁶ Further gains were achieved in the next two decades as this illustrates.¹²⁷

Subject (4):	Oakwood College
Date:	1896
Location:	Huntsville, Alabama
Initiators:	General Conference Leaders
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Considerable
Actional Category:	Education

Summary: This educational institution became the major training center for black SDA leaders. It has been estimated that more than 85 percent of the black SDA leaders have spent some time at Oakwood College during their educational experience. The writer of this study is a graduate of Oakwood College.

EGW had repeatedly emphasized the need for a training center for black SDA youth.¹²⁸ The year 1895 marks the beginning of the school. It was then that the General Conference Association sent a three-man educational committee to the South to select and purchase property for a school for black youth. The cost was not exceed \$8,000. The 3 search committee members were O. A. Olsen, president of the General Conference; Harmon Lindsay, who assisted in founding the Battle Creek college.¹²⁹

The school opened the next year, November 16, 1896, with four buildings, a property valued at \$10,000, four teachers and 16 students (eight women and eight men). "Consonant with the SDA philosophy of education, the school aimed to develop the total man, so that he might understand the true values of life and his proper relationship and duty toward his God and his fellow men, and to teach the students how to think and act for themselves, to master circumstances, to develop breadth of mind and clearness of thought, to live by the courage of their convictions, and to appreciate the dignity of labor and the sense of achievement in any assignment fully performed."¹³⁰

Oakwood College made rapid progress from its very first years of existence.

"At the end of the first school year, H. S. Shaw was elected principal, and Jacobs and his wife continued until 1903 as manager and matron, respectively. Their son and daughter, Lewin and Clara, were instructors. Hattie Andrew, who taught and supervised the girls' home for three years, was called to Australia. After 1899, some changes were made in the curriculum, and two-year diplomas were given for the completion of the 'common branches.' Emphasis was given to organized agriculture, carpentry, blacksmithing, and other industries. Before 1912, the following buildings had been erected, chiefly by student labor: Oaklawn (principal's home), study hall, Butler Hall (boys'

home), print shop, dining hall, orphanage, sanitarium building, and a duplex apartment as living quarters for teachers."¹³¹

EGW Visited the Oakwood Campus in 1904, and through the remaining years of her life she constantly promoted, emphasized and supported the College: "It was for the education of Christian workers, that in the providence of God, the General Conference purchased a beautiful farm of 300 acres near Huntsville, Alabama, and established an industrial training school for Colored students. I have often received divine instruction in regard to this institution, showing what manner of school it should be, and what those who go there as students are to become.

"The students of the Huntsville school are to be given a training in many lines of service. They are to learn how to present the truth for this time to their own people. Not only are they to be taught to do public work, but they should learn also the special value of house-to-house work in soul-saving. In carrying forward work among the Colored people, it is not highly educated men, not eloquent men, who are now the most needed, but humble men who in the school of Christ have learned to be meek and lowly, and who will go forth into the highways and hedges to give the invitation, 'Come; for all things are now ready.' Those who beg at midnight for loaves for hungry souls will be greatly blessed. It is a law of heaven that as we receive, we are to impart."¹³²

Subject (5):	Southern Missionary Society (SMS)
Date:	1898
Location:	Southern States
Initiator:	Edson White
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Education

This organization was the major and sole entity in the SDA Church devoted to promoting the needs of blacks. Independent of the organizations, however, the society turned all of the members to the people. This society, stated in the *Gospel Herald*, was "to carry the principles of Christian education to the people of the South (Figure 7:4).¹³³

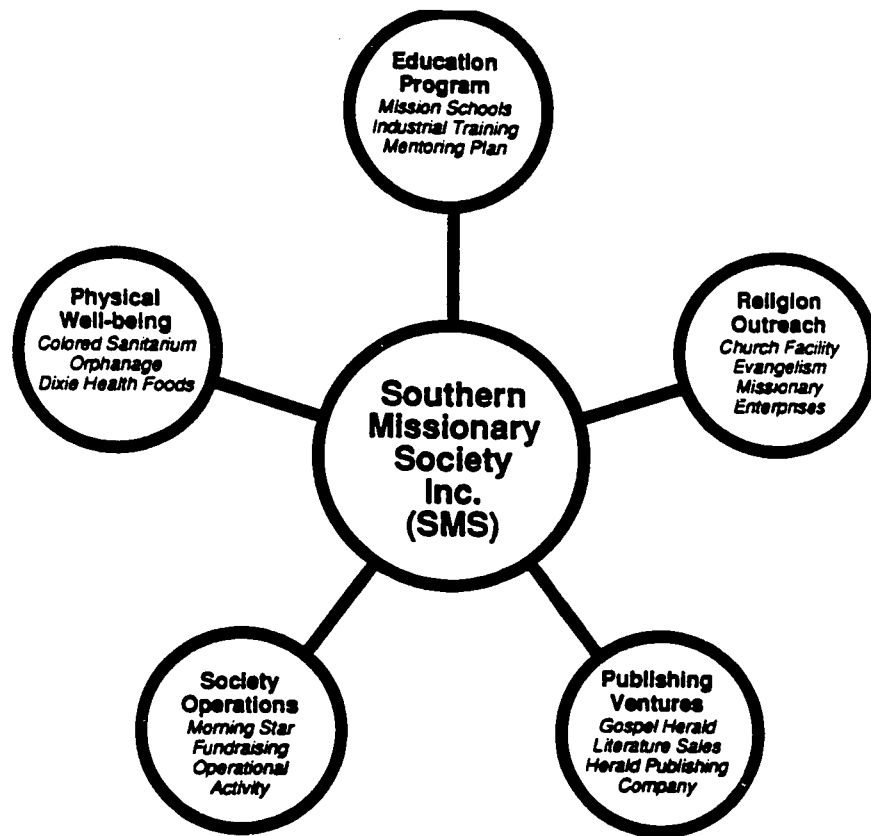


Figure 7:4 Southern Missionary Society Organization Entities

SMS was a volunteer organization that was supported by the sale of publications and by contributions from the church at large. It later merged with the Southern Union Conference in 1909. The *Morning Star* was the moving base for the SMS. The organization was incorporated in 1898 (limited to 10,000 shares, \$1 per share), and had regularly elected officers.

SMS "held regular councils, in which plans were laid for different lines of work." This, according to Edson, was the way to "avoid costly mistakes and to provide for greater efficiency."¹³⁴

The incorporation of SMS was fully endorsed by EGW, who was then living in Australia. Edson White stressed EGW's support and often referred to her advocacy in the *Gospel Herald* pages.¹³⁵ EGW counseled "that men whom God has led to pioneer in New York should organize so as to place the work under the management of those who had borne its burdens and understood its necessities."¹³⁶

SMS was the organizational umbrella for all of the operations initiated by Edson and his staff. SDA real estate, the childrens' homes, mission/industrial schools, church buildings, the health food company, the publishing house and many other services in the South were under the auspices of SMS. The society was particularly instrumental in training blacks to work for their own people. The schools resulted in a number of leaders for the rapidly growing churches.¹³⁷ SMS began its work in Mississippi, extended into Tennessee, and ultimately "became responsible for the Colored work in all of the territory South of and including Kentucky and east of the Mississippi River."¹³⁸

In 1901, the nine Southern states known as the General Conference District No. 2 were organized into the Southern Union Conference, and SMS became a branch of the new union. "This secured for the society additional moral support and cooperation, though the infant union conference, not even self-supporting, was unable to provide financial help."¹³⁹

Edson retired from SMS in 1906. G. I. Butler, the union president, became chairman of the SMS board. In 1909, the General Conference

established the North American Negro Department. This department took "over all the work and workers for the Colored people heretofore maintained by the several local conferences and by the union conference, excepting the school at Oakwood," and received the tithe and other funds from all the Colored churches in the area.¹⁴⁰

"The society's mission schools were eventually replaced by church schools in which the SDA faith was taught more directly, and the work of the society was gradually absorbed by the regular conference organizations. *However, the groundwork done by the SMS prepared the way for today's progress in the South.*"¹⁴¹

Subject (6):	<i>Gospel Herald</i>
Date:	1898
Location:	Yazoo City/Vicksburg-<i>Morning Star</i>
Initiators:	Edson White and J. H. Kellogg
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement	Moderate
Actional Category:	Education

Summary: The *Gospel Herald* (later the *Southern Missionary* and then the *Gospel Herald* again, and then *Message* magazine) was the major communication organ of the SMA. Its purpose was to promote and report the missionary work among the black people of the South. It began as a private project edited and printed by Edson White. The first nine issues were printed on board the *Morning Star* at Yazoo City, Mississippi.

Dr. John H. Kellogg, superintendent of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, suggested that Edson start publication of a little paper that would carry an account of the work among blacks. Initially, the paper was not purposed to make direct appeals for finances, etc., but simply to represent the "character

and needs of the work."¹⁴² The paper was published variously at Yazoo City, Nashville, Oakwood College, the Southern Publishing Association, and today at the Review and Herald Publishing Association.¹⁴³

The *Gospel Herald* continued regular reports on the progress of the black work--development of mission schools, medical missionary work, Christian help activities, industrial training and farm and business activities.¹⁴⁴

The paper fluctuated in number of pages, ranging from 8 to 16 pages. It proved an excellent means of communication to and about the black work in the South.¹⁴⁵ In fact, its pages comprise one of the most complete and reliable records about the black SDA work. The *Herald* also provides an ongoing picture of how closely Edson and EGW worked together. Edson would often print EGW's private letters to him that contained counsel about the black work. EGW's counsel was either directly or indirectly referred to in 75 percent of the issues of the *Gospel Herald* from 1898 to 1910.

"In 1910, this second *Gospel Herald* became the organ of the newly formed Negro Department . . . of the General Conference, and the printing was taken over by the press at Oakwood College, Huntsville, Alabama. From then on it became primarily a news journal for the Negro churches in North America." The magazine ceased publication for 11 years when Oakwood College began producing *The Oakwood Bulletin* in 1923. Publication resumed in 1934 under the new name Message magazine (first suggested in a *Gospel Herald* editorial in December 1906.)

Another publication, *The Southern Work*, was also printed by Edson White. It was a collection of EGW's counsels about the black work between 1898 and 1900. This booklet was circulated by the thousands across the United States and was influential in arousing people's interest in the needs

of black people and the South. "These and some other small works, and the handbills and other job works of the society, kept the little printing establishment busy, whether the steamer was running or moored."¹⁴⁶

Subject (7):	Missionary Enterprises
Date	1898
Locality:	SMS, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa
Initiator:	C. W. Smouse
EGW Influence:	Minimal
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Methods

Summary: The policy of SMS was to proceed no faster than its financial condition would allow. The purpose was to avoid burdening the society with debt. EGW recommended this course of action to Edson, and he said he believed it to be the right principle and one to which he would strictly adhere.¹⁴⁷

One of the ways SMS raised funds for its operations was through a program called Missionary Enterprises. C. W. Smouse, an SDA businessman and entrepreneur in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, "learning of the great need of missionary work among the Colored people of the South,"¹⁴⁸ devised a plan whereby SDAs all across the United States could sell notions and give the profits to SMS. In the first issue of the *Gospel Herald* (and in many other issues), Smouse laid out his plan.

"I have started an enterprise that will enable all of you to do your part in aiding the work. I have found a beautiful line of German manufacture, which sells almost at first sight. I will put up these goods in packages of one dozen each and send them to you to sell. They can be sold in a few hours. You will then send all the money received directly to me, and I will

give you credit for the profits, which will be from \$1 to \$1.25 on each package. Your name and the amount of your credit will be printed in the *[Gospel] Herald* as your donation to the missionary work."¹⁴⁹ This program brought thousands of dollars to the SMS, and its donors and ads were a regular feature of the *Gospel Herald*.

Another manner in which SMS raised funds was through what was referred to as the "self-denial box." This program, endorsed by EGW, encouraged individuals and churches to sacrificially give to the SMS on a systematic basis. "That which has been done in sending out the self-denial boxes is well pleasing to God. By the use of these boxes a double good is accomplished--gifts are received for the advance of the work and the families in which these boxes are used receive an education is self-denial."¹⁵⁰ SMS would provide an offering box along with a calendar showing various needy projects of the black work. SDA members and friends were encouraged to set the money aside in the self-denial boxes and periodically remit it to the *Gospel Herald*. These donors, like those in the *Missionary Enterprise*, were featured regularly in the donor list in the *Herald*.

Subject (8):	Dixie Health Food Company
Date:	1898
Location:	SMS
Initiator:	Edson White
EGW Influence:	Moderate
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Health

Summary: As early as 1898, the SMS enjoyed "the distinction of preparing the only cereal coffee made from pure grain that would keep sweet and free from insects through years in the Mississippi climate."¹⁵¹

Edson wrote in an early *Gospel Herald* article: "The way people eat in the South will account for much of the sickness which prevails. People are beginning to awaken to the necessity of a change. . . health foods."¹⁵²

He went on to elaborate that the manner in which the SMS was to facilitate this health opportunity for the South was through the organization of the "Dixie Health Food Company. It is composed of missionary workers who came to the field bringing ability and experience enabled them to carry forward the work successfully.¹⁵³ Health food products were offered in stores set up for that purpose (i.e., Yazoo City, 1898), or goods could be purchased directly from the *Morning Star*.

Edson was of the opinion that besides being a positive health opportunity for the South, the profits alone on these products, when "properly managed, [gave] creditable support to the work of the SMS." After the SMS had extended its work to Nashville, it established a health food department.¹⁵⁴

Subject (9):	Medical Missionary Work
Date:	1899
Location:	The Southern Field
Initiators:	SMS/Dr. W. H. Kynett and Wife, Lydia
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Health

Summary: Lagging behind the educational wing of society in terms of development in the areas of health education, the SMS did provide basic training for its workers. "Indeed, practically all its workers were trained in principles and practice of hygiene and simple treatments, and often reports came from the teachers and evangelists of remarkable cases of healing by rational treatment and prayer."¹⁵⁵

The work of a medical missionary was that of providing basic health teaching and simple home remedies. Emphasis was placed on a preventive lifestyle. The workers weren't highly trained, but they were effective in bringing relief from suffering. EGW regularly emphasized health and medical missionary work as being an "entering wedge" to difficult fields.¹⁵⁶

SMS recognized that its strength would lay in the area of training black workers to do medical missionary work for their own people. This was also one of the reasons efforts were made to establish sanitariums to provide a place to train the workers. "A valuable medical missionary work had also been begun in connection with the school work in Atlanta, Georgia. Property close to two of the leading Negro colleges had been purchased, where not only church and school buildings were erected, but treatment rooms, in connection with which Miss Anna Knight, who was in general charge, established a branch Young Women's Christian Association. These sanitarium properties were transferred, with the rest of the society's interests, to the Negro Department in the merger of 1909."¹⁵⁷

Moderate success was realized in this area. It seemed as though the medical missionary health sanitarium aspects of the program were the most difficult to establish, though EGW stressed that this part of the work was as important as the gospel presentation.¹⁵⁸

Subject (10):	Nashville: Southern Work Center
Date:	1900
Location:	Nashville, Tennessee
Initiators:	Edson White and SMS Staff
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Moderate
Actional Category:	Institutions

Summary: During 1898 and 1899, Edson had hopes of extending the operations of SMS to a more central, safe and healthful location than the Yazoo valley.¹⁵⁹ After a period of searching and study, Edson and the SMS staff finally decided upon Nashville, Tennessee, "a city with a large Negro population, where Negro educational work was already well known and favorably regarded. This decision was reached in February, 1990, and a place was rented in the outskirts of Nashville, at 1909 Grand Avenue,¹⁶⁰ to which the headquarters of the Southern Missionary Society were removed."¹⁶²

EGW approved of this move and wrote: "The Lord has set the seal of His approval on the efforts to establish memorials to His name in the city of Nashville. He has signified that from this important center, the light of the truth for this time shall radiate to every part of the Southern field. Nashville is natural center for our work in the South. And the influence of the various educational and publishing institutions established there makes the city a favorable place in which to carry on many lines of our work. In Nashville, much interest is taken in this race. In and near the city are large schools for the Colored people. . . . There should be given a representation of our work that will be an object lesson in genuine Christian education and medical missionary training."¹⁶³

EGW wrote numerous articles supporting this decision as the best one. It was felt that the influence of important black institutions and the general positive regard shown toward its black citizens made Nashville an ideal center. This move was significant in establishing the black work on a lasting basis. Nashville, through the decades, proved to be an appropriate place for the black SDA headquarters.¹⁶⁴

Subject (11):	Herald Publishing Company
Date:	1900
Location:	Nashville, Tennessee
Initiators:	Edson White/Tenn. River Conf.
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Considerable
Actional Category:	Institutional

Summary: In 1900, shortly after Edson White's arrival in Nashville, he determined to establish a publishing house in Nashville--"the profits of whose work could be devoted to the benefits of the Southern field." The plant was established on Jefferson Street and was termed the Herald Publishing Company.

The Herald Publishing Company, a joint venture, became the backbone of the extensive literature work started in the South. It became the leading institution in the publishing of literature for the Southern field.

"The first SDA printing in Nashville was done by the Tennessee River Conference and J. E. White. In 1900, the conference began *The Tennessee River Watchman*, often called *The Watchman*. J. E. White brought his printing equipment to a former barn-chickenhouse . . . at 1908 Grand Avenue, near Vanderbilt University. Here White founded the Gospel Herald Publishing Company and began printing volume 3 (January, 1901) of the *Gospel Herald*, which he had launched in 1898 as the organ of the Southern Missionary Society, of which he was the leading spirit. Already in December, 1900, the society had bought a small tract of land and a two-story brick store at 1025 Jefferson Street, in the city, for \$1,900 (original price \$4,300), but the Herald Publishing Company (shortened form of the Gospel Herald Publishing Company), did not move to that site until March. Ellen G. White visited there in the spring of 1901, and a number of times later."¹⁶⁵

One year later the Herald Publishing Company was incorporated under the name Southern Publishing Association.¹⁶⁶ The Southern Publishing Association was merged with the Review and Herald Publishing Association in 1981. "At the General Conference session in Battle Creek, Michigan, the Southern Union Conference was organized, on April 9, 1901. The first public act of its president, R. M. Kilgore, April 16, 1901, was to request that the Atlanta branch of the Review and Herald be transferred to the Herald Publishing Company, then privately owned, but soon to be incorporated. This new company was reported as organized on May 16, 1901, and incorporated on June 4, 1901, as the Southern Publishing Association, a stock company with capital stock of \$25,000 (increased to \$50,000 on May 9, 1902). The present charter was issued September 30, 1907."¹⁶⁶

Note: EGW visited the South 1901 and 1904. These visits are not categorized as one of the 15 events/developments, however, they provided a great impetus to the work. Her visits drew the attention to the South like never before. Further, these visits also contributed to EGW increasing her promotion and emphasis of the Southern work more than any other period. For almost 10 years EGW had been pioneering work in Australia. During this time she had been sending a steady stream of letters and articles providing guidance, support and encouragement for the black work.

In the autumn of 1900, EGW returned to the United States. She remained in California for some months, and then in early spring, enroute to the 1901 General Conference session in Battle Creek, Michigan, she took the opportunity to visit her son Edson and see firsthand, the progress of the black work in the Southern field. In her diary, EGW wrote: "I am so glad I could give satisfaction to my children in accompanying them on this tour of

inspection of lands suitable for schools for both Colored and white."¹⁶⁷ EGW particularly enjoyed her ride on the *Morning Star*: about it, she wrote: "I felt very thankful to our heavenly Father that mother and her children could be on the boat together. This is the first time I have had the privilege of riding on the steamer *Morning Star*."¹⁶⁸

EGW again visited the South in 1904, and on this occasion she had opportunity to visit Oakwood College. Arthur White, EGW's grandson, describes this visit:

"Their travels took them west by train to Huntsville, Alabama, to visit the Oakwood school, which had been established for blacks ten years before. They arrived there Monday afternoon at 1:00 p.m. After looking over the farm, she spoke to the few students who were there for the summer. She told them she wanted 100 students in the school the next year, and urged them to appeal to their friends to come to Oakwood. She told these students how pleased she was that they were training for service. She said she wanted to encourage them because she knew they had a battle to fight and strong prejudice to work against. She pointed out that the church needed them to work in places where racial hostility prevented whites from working. She assured them of God's help and told them if she never saw them again on this earth she hoped to see them in the kingdom of heaven" (MS 60, 1904).

These trips by EGW to the South brought great encouragement to Edson White, the workers in the South, and to the black believers. The trips also provided EGW with a firsthand perspective not possible any other way. Following her trips, there issued a stream of letters, talks and correspondence from EGW that counseled, appealed and confronted on behalf of the black work.

Commenting on her 1901 trip, Spalding demonstrates how instrumental these trips were in further personalizing EGW's focus on the Southern work.

"Mrs. White vigorously advocated advanced action to meet the needs of the Colored people, urging especially the fostering of the school and the medical missionary work. This counsel was of great help to the cause of the Southern Missionary Society. Not only were the infant enterprises already begun encouraged to develop, but plans were laid for new and aggressive work in other lines. Hydropathic treatment rooms for the Colored people had already been established in the heart of Nashville, and this work was commended. The publishing work received approval, and its extension was planned. The health food business was begun by the establishment of a bakery, an enterprise which developed into the now flourishing Dixie Food Company."¹⁷⁰

Subject (12):	Merger of SMS & So. Union Conf.
Date:	1901
Location:	Nashville
Initiators:	EGW and General Conference
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Considerable
Actional Category:	Institutions

Summary (see also the Southern Missionary Section): After EGW's 1900 tour of the South, her party proceeded to Battle Creek, where one of the most important General Conference sessions in SDA history was to be held. This conference witnessed the reorganization of the entire General Conference organizational structure. The church was restructured to decentralized the power focus and decision-making authority from the General Conference closer to the places where the decisions are actually implemented. A. G. Daniells was also elected president.

This conference also brought about an important change relative to the black work. Upon EGW's suggestion, the delegation from the South

"petitioned to be set off with their four conferences and three mission fields into a union conference, with a greater degree of local self-government. The action creating this union conference was followed by a similar treatment of the rest of the world field."¹⁷¹ R. M. Kilgore was elected president of the new Southern Union Conference. As stated before (see SMS section), shortly thereafter, the SMS was incorporated into the Southern Union Conference. "A cordial cooperative basis was established between the new union and the Southern Missionary Society, the latter not only being given general charge of the Negro work throughout the South, but being assisted by a general collection each year, and by having a free field for the gathering of funds, the distribution of literature, and other methods of creating interest and securing help for the Negro cause. The next eight years were a period of rapid development in the work of the Southern Missionary Society."¹⁷²

Subject (13):	Nashville Colored Sanitarium
Date:	1901
Location:	Nashville
Initiator:	SMS
EGW Influence:	Considerable
SDA Involvement:	Moderate
Actional Category:	Health

Summary: The medical work of the SMS did not progress at the rate of the educational branch, though efforts were expended. In an effort to provide students with medical training and to relieve suffering, the Nashville Colored Sanitarium was established.

The first location for the sanitarium was sold as "unsuitable" in 1902, and "after two or three removals to rented quarters, in 1908, a property in east Nashville was purchased for \$3,650."¹⁷³ "Improvements were made in the form of an additional building containing treatment rooms, and where the

Rock City Sanitarium, as it was called, in an excellent location and with good facilities, found at last a permanent home.

Dr. Lottie C. Isbell, a black physician and graduate of the American Medical Missionary College at Battle Creek, was continued as its medical superintendent. Dr. Isbell had also directed the "old Colored sanitarium in the downtown district" of Nashville.¹⁷⁴ Of this experience, Dr. Isbell, when commenting on the Nashville Colored Sanitarium, evidenced some frustration at the lack of support she received.

"Among the few small beginnings made in the past few years along the line of medical missionary work in the Southern field, there is one which has received certainly no more than its share of attention by the denomination at large. This is the institution founded some two and one half years ago, and known as the Nashville Colored Sanitarium. Since it has the distinction of being the first, and so far the only, institution in the world of its kind among us as a people, it seems very fitting that it should be peculiarly the ward of the denomination generally. And just now when so much is being given us in the *Testimonies* concerning the work and sphere of these small sanitariums, in forwarding the third angel's message to all nations, some consideration should certainly be given to this infant in our midst, which, we believe, God has raised up to do a special work for a special people."¹⁷⁵

The Rock City Sanitarium received special distinction mainly because it was "the only existing Negro sanitarium using the world-famed Battle Creek sanitarium methods."¹⁷⁶ It had "for its patrons many men and women of prominence in business and educational circles, and [had] received their unqualified commendation."¹⁷⁷

Unfortunately, "this 'only Colored sanitarium in the world' closed its doors because of economic difficulties."¹⁷⁸

The Rock City Sanitarium had other problems. One involved a question treatment philosophy: "The introduction of hydrotherapy, as opposed to drug

therapy, seemed to be largely a novelty, and the Negro community of Nashville did not respond. Thus, both efforts came to naught, and it was almost 20 years before Mrs. Nellie H. Druillard opened the present establishment in 1927."¹⁷⁹

It should be noted that Oakwood College also made efforts to follow EGW's counsel. The school established a short-lived sanitarium on the campus in 1909.¹⁸⁰

Subject (14):	Migration of Black SDAs
Date:	Circa 1902
Location:	To the east, west and north
Initiators:	Black SDAs
EGW Influence:	Moderate
SDA Involvement:	Minimal
Actional Category:	Methods

Summary: Around the turn of the century, there was a significant migration of black laymen and evangelists to other parts of the country. One reason was the racial problems endemic in the South.¹⁸¹ Another was the various opportunities available in different parts of the country.

Clearly in the case of black workers in the SDA Church, one motive was the desire to reach out to blacks in other parts of the country with SDA teachings. The following are a few examples of how the migration of black SDAs to different parts of the country affected the growing church.¹⁸²

The North: During the Civil War, most SDAs lived in the North and for the most part were strongly against slavery. In SDA evangelism, black converts were brought into churches with the whites, and separate congregations were not formed. The first record of blacks forming a separate congregation was in 1905. In Chicago, a group of black SDAs who were members of the Southside church withdrew to form a new congregation.

J. R. Buster, a literature evangelist, was first elder. In 1910, W. D. Forde became the first pastor. This church later became the Shiloh SDA Church, currently one of the largest black SDA congregations in the country.¹⁸³

The East: SDAs were present in large numbers in New York. In 1902, some black SDAs, including some who attended the white church, began to hold meetings in a home. A layman by the name of J. H. Carroll, a recent convert from the Catholic faith, upon encouragement from the conference, began to hold meetings. "Contacts were made among Methodist and Baptist churches, and one of his first converts was J. K. Humphrey, an ordained Baptist minister,"¹⁸⁴ who later became a prominent SDA minister.¹⁸⁵

The West: The work began in the West in 1906, in the Los Angeles area. Jennie Ireland, a member of the white congregation in the city, began missionary work in the black community. She gave a series of Bible studies resulting in the first black church west of Ohio being formed in 1908 in the Los Angeles area.¹⁸⁶

Subject (15)	Negro Department of the General Conference
Date:	1909
Location:	Washington, D.C.
Initiators:	Black leaders/A. G. Daniells
EGW Influence:	Minimal
SDA Involvement:	Considerable
Actional Category:	Methods

Summary: In 1909 when the SDA black membership was nearing 1,000, it was a general feeling that a new form of organization was needed to noticeably benefit the growing black membership. Therefore, at the thirty-seventh General Conference session, held in Washington, D.C., the North American Negro Department of the General Conference was formed.

The creation of the Negro Department and its inclusion in the General Conference headquarters of the SDA Church was inevitable. The black work was growing at a record pace and the church leaders recognized the necessity of its coordination from the denomination administrative center. This development signaled a distinct and significantly symbolic phase in the progress of the black work. Heretofore, the black work was not structurally recognized at the highest level of the organization.

Following this development, in spite of reorganization and adjustments, the black work has remained integral in the administrative hierarchy of the church. The Organizational Structural Evolution of the Black Seventh-day Adventist Work Figure demonstrates this (Figure 7:5).

A. G. Daniells, president of the General Conference, expressed himself concerning the new organizational addition in the following words.

"I believe that under this direct effort we shall see the work in behalf of the Colored people of this country go forward with greater success than we have even seen before. Now, how will this be managed? The department will have a secretary, an executive officer, the same as the other departments. It will have an executive committee, or departmental committee, the same as the other departments, and on this committee there will be a fair representation of the field. The committee will then meet, and plan its work, and outline its policy for the future, the same as do the other department committees.

"Their work will be to carry forward the evangelical work among the Colored people. They will take up the question of mission schools, church schools, and the higher schools such as Huntsville, and will look after the publishing of such literature as will take into consideration all branches of the work.

"I have felt to make this explanation here, in order to answer the queries that may arise as to why this department is brought on. Some may say, Aren't we creating too many departments, and getting too much machinery? Well, I do not think so."¹⁸⁷

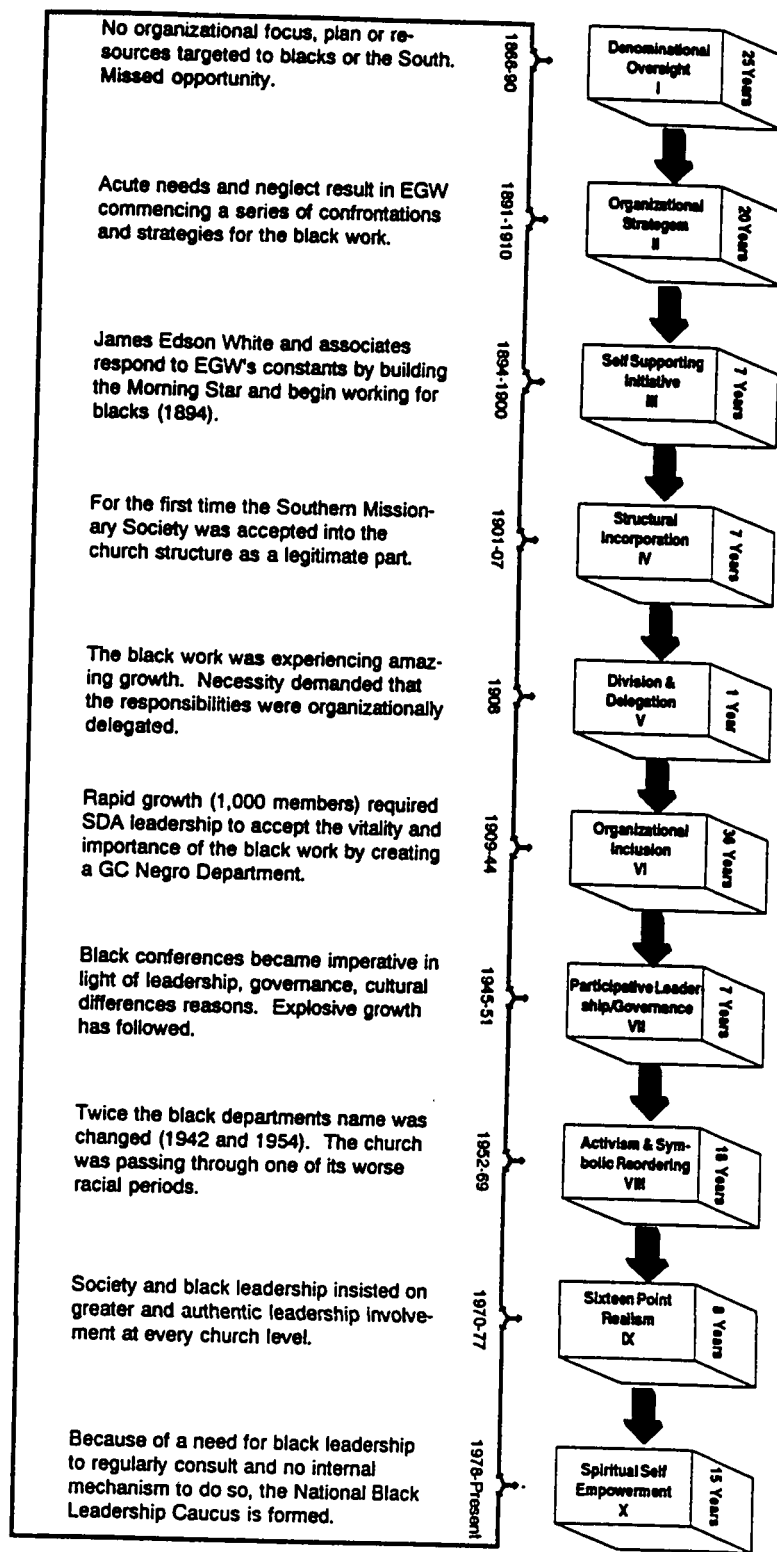


Figure 7:5 Organizational Evolution of the Black Work

Twenty-Year (1891-1910) Period: Progress Analysis

The previous section highlights 15 of the major developments in the black work during the past 21 years. Church historians acknowledge that this period--its developments and progress--provided the foundation for all succeeding advancement of the black work. The difficulties, opposition and setbacks experienced during this phase in the history of African-American SDAs are without parallel in the history of the church. The "Era of Change: 1891-1910" (Figure 7:6) outlines the SDA Church's response to EGW's comstats during each five-year period relative to the work in the South.¹⁸⁸ The first section, Characteristics, labels the SDA response as: Period 1: Organizational Deficiency; Period 2: Organizational Gradualism; Period 3: Organizational Peril; Period 4: Organizational Stabilization. This figure explores the dynamic reaction of the church to the black work in relation to the Sender's Message and Objective, who the Receiver was, the Channels used the Receiver's Response, the Results, Possible Interference of the message and to convey the comstats, the Outlook of each period. The content analysis findings remarks (see Chapter VI) influenced the development of this chart and are consistent with its scheme.

The following reasons help to explain why the establishment of a SDA presence among blacks in the South was so difficult:

1. After the devastations of war, the South was a difficult field to work--poverty was rampant and the economic infrastructure needed rebuilding.
2. At that time the SDA Church was new and had not established itself in the Southern region. Its teachings were often viewed with suspicion.
3. The major organization, the SMS, was young, inexperienced and had virtually no denominational support.

Period	1891-95	1896-1900	1901-05	1906-10
Characteristic	Organizational Deficiency	Organizational Gradualism	Organizational Peril	Organizational Stabilization
Sender	EGW (USA/Aus.)	EGW (Aus.)	EGW (USA)	EGW (USA)
•Message	• Prioritize/begin black work	• Learn what/how to do	• Act indigenously, conciliation	• Plan/build for longterm
•Objective	• Educate, energize	• Equip, implement	• Enlighten, edify	• Entreat, encourage
Receiver	Leadership, then laity	Leadership and laity	Leadership and laity	Leadership and laity
Channel (for Comstats)	• Meetings • Periodicals (spoken and written)	• Periodicals • Letters (written)	• Meetings • Periodicals • Letters (spoken and written)	• Meetings • Periodicals • Letters (spoken and written)
Receiver's Response	Tolerance	Apathy	Reactionary	Progressive
•Positive	• Acceptance, planning	• Action, modeling	• Realism, understanding	• Solidifying, normalizing
•Negative	• Invitation, resistance	• Lethargy, skepticism	• Extremism, misunderstanding	• Depreciating, destabilizing
Results	Presence • Black work gets denominational focus	Prioritize • Systematic efforts to start Black work (Edson White)	Pragmatic • In light of conflict, operations developed and refined	Positioning • Self-sustaining and institutional progress made
Possible Interference	• Neglect of responsibility • Prejudice against Blacks • Fear of the unknown	• Limited or no resources • Little organizational support • Criticism of Black work/workers	• Danger of physical harm/Racism • Progress is threatened • Disillusionment of program	• Depreciating needs • Destabilizing progress • Failing to plan aggressively
Outlook	Discouraging • Little progress	Improving • Some progress	Threatening • Endangered progress	Advancing • Significant progress
USA/SDA/ African-American Interaction	Flow of Events			

Figure 7:6 Organizational Communication Progress Analysis (1891-1910)

4. The developmental plan for the establishment of the black work was evolutionary. There was no established plan to work from in the beginning.
5. The SMS workers were not indigenous Southerners, denominational employees and they had little experience and meager funds.
6. The work had to be established in the face of prejudice, racism and sectional strife.

Progress was, therefore, remarkable in light of the above reasons and the late year SDAs actually started to work there. Repeatedly EGW said the work was tardy in getting started and that it demanded more support than the church was giving.

Some of the reasons for its eventual breakthrough can be partially explained from the following perspectives:

1. The people who started the work in the South were committed, persistent and goal-oriented. They were determined that no obstacle would turn them away.
2. Early the SMS established schools and trained black workers who in turn trained their own people. For example, the mission schools provided Oakwood College with a steady stream of students. The graduates of Oakwood College in turn taught in and established new mission schools.
3. The SMS, independent of the SDA organization, was able to move quickly, responsively and in an unorthodox way. This may not have been possible had it been more closely tied in with the church structure and polity.
4. EGW provided much-needed guidance and instruction. Apparently, as they followed this instruction, positive results occurred.
5. The SMS developed a series of fund-raising projects to help provide the financial base. Also, many SDAs from across the United States gave to support the work in the South.
6. The SMS found ways to benefit the local community by developing programs to help meet physical and mental needs of the people before emphasizing the religious. They sensed the value of dealing with the temporal and not just the spiritual.
7. Institutions established to help blacks were begun early and immediately began to produce results.
8. When the black work grew to an extent that the SMS was no longer able to handle its vast territory and complex maintenance, the SDA organization provided the necessary leadership. This was illustrated by the

merger of SMS and the Southern Union Conference in 1901.

Evidence of substantial progress was seen as early as 1900. Progress took real form in terms of improved conditions when the SDA presence was established. Humanitarian assistance, the education of blacks, the development of positive lifestyle habits and beliefs of SDAs, racial breakthroughs and self-supporting efforts of black individuals and institutions all accompanied SDA efforts.

The following summaries offer an overview of how the participants during this period viewed the progress of the black work.

1891-1900

Five years after entering the South, Edson White reported that the *Morning Star* had regularly visited out-of-the-way cities providing education,¹⁸⁹ humanitarian assistance in the time of disaster¹⁹⁰ and spiritual instruction¹⁹¹ By this time four strong mission schools had been established, and three were in the process of being established¹⁹²

The *Gospel Herald* had begun publication (1898) and had a growing readership. By this time the institutional work had made major advances with the establishment of Oakwood College (1898). It is remarkable that some of the most far-reaching and strategic developments were made in the second period (1896-1900).

Nashville had been selected as the headquarters for the Southern work (1900). In the same year the Herald Publishing Company was established in Nashville. EGW visited Nashville and spoke to the workers and churches also in 1900.

Smith Sharp, reporting on the EGW visit to the South, expressed

surprise first at the progress in the Yazoo Valley area and then at the developments in Nashville. Commenting on his visit to Nashville, he wrote: "In connection with the office, there is a health food department, known as the Dixie Food Company, already in operation. The presses were running, stenographers were busy, artists were at work preparing cuts for books and periodicals, and everything was moving in a way that indicated success. In another part of the city, we found men engaged in fitting up a commodious building for treatment rooms for the Colored people."¹⁹³

Church records chronicle the direct influence the SMS had on these developments. "The work of White's Southern Missionary Society greatly influenced the founding of Oakwood College, Riverside Sanitarium, and the Southern Publishing Association."¹⁹⁴

One of the most noteworthy developments during this period was the exponential increase in black members and leaders. The black membership increased from 50 to more than 1,000 during this 10 year period--increasing almost exponentially.¹⁹⁵

The development of black leaders during this period helped to facilitate the remarkable growth experienced by the black membership. Some of the first black SDA members were direct ancestors of outstanding black SDA leaders today.¹⁹⁶

1901-1910

Edson White, as president of the SMS, gave a comprehensive overview of the work of the SMS in the South to the 35th General Conference session in Oakland, California. He provides an idea of the progress reached and how it was perceived.

"Eight years ago, the tenth of last January, the *Morning Star* tied up at Vicksburg, Mississippi, according to instructions from the General Conference. It was perhaps the hardest spot in the South for the opening of the work, but aggressive work was begun and has been pressed forward in that state ever since.

The Southern Missionary Society has been operating in this field for several years.... At the start it is only fair to state that those who pioneered this work were beginners. They were not workers in the cause in any capacity. They came to the South to engage in this special work and developed in the work on the ground. Never since the beginning has any regular worker of the denomination connected with the society in its work. All the workers have been developed in the work and by the work."¹⁹⁷

Edson went on to report the work of the *Morning Star*, the increasing number of mission schools, the growing number of students and the substantial workers. He noted that he had found EGW's statement to be absolutely true that "the South is the most needy field, the most neglected field, and the most fruitful field."¹⁹⁸ He spoke about the growing number of qualified teachers, medical missionaries and Bible workers. His detailed financial report showed the SMS to be debt free and financially sound.

Overall, Edson's report on the Southern work was positive and generally encouraging, although he felt there was much more that the SDA Church could, should have and needed to do. He concluded by answering several objections raised about the Southern work, outlining the type of workers needed in the South and requesting financial support for a training institute for blacks at Oakwood College.¹⁹⁹ EGW followed his report with a presentation and appeal.²⁰⁰

This period witnessed the merger of the SMS and the Southern Union Conference (1901), the Nashville Colored Sanitarium (1901) and great strides in the enhancement of the Oakwood College campus. Blacks from the South

were migrating throughout the United States and other countries, and black churches were springing up across the United States. Finally, the Negro Department was formed, officially incorporating the work of the SDA Church into the organizational structure of the denomination.

Two reports will summarize the state of the black work during this 20-year period. In 1908 the *Gospel Herald* noted that the SMS maintained 28 mission schools in more than nine states. These averaged more than a thousand pupils, a number exceeding "that of the students in the three great Colored universities of Nashville."²⁰¹ Financially, the SMS was considered to be sound. "The Society was worth \$16,211.26 in 1908; its indebtedness at that time was only \$2,684.32, consisting almost entirely of trust funds. It held all its school and church buildings free from debt, and was able to establish treatment rooms and a mission home in Nashville for Negro people, replacing earlier treatment rooms there (1901-1903)."²⁰²

Noted SDA minister Sydney Scott described the progress of the black work in these words: "Fifteen years ago there were not over 20 Colored Seventh-day Adventists south of the Mason-Dixon line, but today there are 700. Twelve years ago there was only one Colored Seventh-day Adventist church; today there are fifty, not counting those in Africa or the West Indies. Fourteen years ago there were only two Colored ministers; today there are 45 in the United States; counting those in Africa and the West Indies, the number will reach 60. The tithes of the Colored people last year in the United States amounted to \$5,000; 15 years ago it was not over \$50. One year ago there was no sanitarium for Colored people in the whole denomination where modern methods were used; today there is one in Birmingham, Alabama, with Dr. L. C. Isbell as chief physician. Thirteen years ago, we had

no Colored Seventh-day Adventist physician; today we have five practicing using modern methods."²⁰³

Even past the end of this period EGW insisted the SDA Church could and should do more for the black race in the South because of the great needs. But she acknowledged: "A good work has been done, and it has been done in the face of the most trying circumstances." To the end she reiterated: "The Lord calls upon us to come...help in this needy field."²⁰⁴

In 1908, in a feature article entitled "The Outlook," it was noted: "The reader will understand that there are difficulties to be encountered. All is not smooth sailing ('in the Colored work') by any means. . . . However, as we become better acquainted with the field, we learn how to surmount these difficulties. The experience of the past year (1907) has demonstrated that the work not only can be made successful, but that it is being made a success. Much is being accomplished."²⁰⁵

ENDNOTES

¹Herbert Goldhor, *An Introduction to Scientific Research in Librarianship*, p. 108.

²*Ibid.*

³Charles A. Beach and Sidney Hook, "Problems of Terminology in Historical Writing," *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (1946), p. 112.

⁴Patrick Gardiner, *The Nature of Historical Explanation* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 78, 79.

⁵Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1992), pp. 336, 337.

⁶EGW Letter 5, 1895 (July 24), "To Brethren in Responsible Positions in America."

⁷Ellen White, *Testimonies* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1885) vol. 9, p. 205.

⁸Noll, pp. 337, 338.

⁹The Baptist Church was one of the earliest in the South to help the freed blacks. Their Home Mission Society (1832) was established chiefly for the Indians and the sparse white population of the Far West. But as soon as the opportunity for work among blacks opened after the Civil War, the Society started that mission (see Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* [Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1961], pp. 84-95).

¹⁰Noll, p. 339.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Roy Graham, "Ellen G. White: Cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (unpublished doctoral thesis, 1985).

¹³Anson Byington letter to Uriah Smith, *Review and Herald*, Mar. 10, 1859 (see also *Review and Herald*, Apr. 21, 28, 1859; May 3, 1860).

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶One text used to support this position was Deuteronomy 23:15: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped."

¹⁷Cf. Ellen G. White: "The law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating this law" (*Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 202).

¹⁸Ellen G. White, *Early Writings* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1858), p. 275 (see also--[1862], *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 254).

¹⁹*Testimonies* (1863), pp. 359, 360.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 358.

²¹Arthur W. Spalding, "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt" (Unpublished book manuscript, Ellen G. White Publications, Office Document File 376), p. 133.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134.

³⁰Graham, *Ellen G. White: Cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, (Cooperstown, N. Dak.: Long Publishers, 1985), pp. 228, 229.

³¹*ibid.*, p. 231.

³²"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", p. 133. Spalding asserts that the Southern field was a hard field, but it was highly educative to the Adventist mind, accustomed thus far to work in the groove of one segment of national society. It was a training school for the worldwide mission of this people."

³³*ibid.*, p. 179.

³⁴*ibid.*, p. 181.

³⁵Spalding, notes: "Seventh-day Adventists made no progress in the South before the Civil War. A stray member or two in Maryland and Virginia and a scattered company in Missouri marked the limits of their advance. They were a small people then and deeply impregnated with the ideals of liberty which made them abhor slavery. Their origin was in the North, and their progress was westward rather than southward. They looked upon the South as a closed field, where violent men defended their prejudices with guns and whips" (*Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1961), p. 168).

³⁶The following are prominent white SDA ministers who worked in the South:

Elbert B. Lane (1840-81), evangelist, was the first SDA minister to enter the South. In 1871, he spent some time in Tennessee, near Nashville. The church he established at Edgefield Junction was the first SDA church in the South. He left the South in 1872 and returned in 1876, working in Virginia (no SDAs were there) with J. O. Corliss (*SDA Encyclopedia* [Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976], p. 763).

Sands A. Lane (1844-1906) evangelist and administrator, the brother

of E. B. Lane, was considered one of the early Southern pioneers (Spalding, *Origins*, p. 181).

Charles O. Taylor (1817-1905), evangelist, was considered to be a pioneer in the South. He worked in Georgia in 1876, and three years later he traveled to the Carolinas. "He made evangelistic trips into Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and other states, and was the first SDA minister to work in the Southern states (*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1464).

Robert M. Kilgore (1833-1912), evangelist, administrator, was sent to work in Texas in 1877. Both he and A. G. Daniells won more than 200 people in Texas. In 1878, Kilgore became the first president of the Texas Conference. He was also superintendent of the General Conference District 2 (Southern states). He was also president of the Southern Union for one year and for four years its vice president (*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 737).

John O. Corliss (1845-1923), evangelist, missionary, pioneered the SDA work in Virginia. He appealed before the Arkansas legislature and was credited with bringing about the defeat of a bill to repeal a clause exempting Sabbathkeepers (*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 352).

James Edson White (1849-1928), editor, evangelist, teacher, was credited with pioneering the church's first systematic effort to enter the South (*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1597). Others were S. Osborne, who worked in Kentucky and Tennessee; O. Soule worked in the Cumberland plateau, middle Tennessee, and Kentucky; D. T. Bourdeau worked briefly in Kentucky; G. K. Owen in middle Tennessee; and R. F. Cottrell in Maryland.

³⁷Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary* (San Francisco, Calif.: Harper & Row, 1989), p. 194.

³⁸Elbert B. Lane, "Tennessee," *Review and Herald*, May 2, 1871.

³⁹Dudley M. Canright, "Texas," *Review and Herald*, May 25, 1876.

⁴⁰"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt" p. 137.

⁴¹See *Review and Herald*, May 31, 1877.

⁴²"Lights and Shades," p. 130.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴⁴*General Conference Bulletin*, Nov. 13, 1887. See also Chapter II, footnotes 73, 74.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1888.

⁴⁶R. M. Kilgore, at this time supervisor of District 2 (Southern States), further elaborates on these points in the *Review and Herald* (Oct. 29, 1889): "Many important questions were considered during the council, among which the race question was probably the most serious and perplexing. It is hard for our brethren in the North to realize that anything like the color line, or a distinction between the two races, should exist in the minds of any; but there is no question about it here in the South, and any effort made on the part of those from the North to break down the distinction between the races, thus ignoring popular prejudice, is simply fanatical and unwise. Those who have not labored in the South cannot possibly appreciate the situation. It is not only a difficult problem to solve among our white brethren, but the perplexity and embarrassment of the situation are realized as fully by the Colored people. . . . We are glad, however, to note this fact: That with those who have received the truth in the love of it, and know the power of the truth in their own hearts as it is in Christ Jesus, the prejudices that once existed are gone; and were it not for the feeling on the part of those from without, there would be no trouble on this question, even in the Southern states.

"The advisability of our white brethren from the North laboring

indiscriminately among the whites and Colored was considered quite fully, and declared by all to be wholly impracticable and out of the question, for he who does it can have no influence whatever among the whites in any part of the South. And unless the white laborer should come with an understanding that his labor was to be exclusively among the blacks, and make no effort whatever to labor for the whites, it will be useless for him to try to labor at all."

Kilgore continues in this report to speak of the decision by consensus that canvassing, (i.e., the selling of Christian literature from home to home) was probably the best way to conduct the SDA program in the South, if it was to reach all people. "While the canvassing work is considered merely a business transaction, those who engage in it are not considered as having any great public influence, and are, therefore, in many localities, permitted to canvass all classes indiscriminately, though in some places this is not to be tolerated, especially if the individual is from the North." (He also refers to the problems the SDAs were facing due to the "stringent Sunday laws.")

⁴⁷*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 737.

⁴⁸*Origin and History*, p. 185.

⁴⁹*General Conference Bulletin*, 1889, p. 25.

⁵⁰Charles Kinney (1855-1951) has the distinction of being the first black ordained minister. In Kinney's obituary it states that when he joined the SDA Church in 1878, "he was the only Negro member of the Reno Seventh-day Adventist Church and the church welcomed him warmly" (see *Review and Herald*, Sept. 27, 1951, p. 20). After two years attendance at the Healdsburg College (1883-1885), he entered the colporteur work in Kansas. He was assigned by the General Conference to Louisville, Kentucky (*SDA*

Encyclopedia, p. 741; cf. C. M. Kinney's reminiscences in *Review and Herald*, Feb. 6, 1930, p. 23). It was through the preaching of J. N. Loughborough and EGW that Kinney became a SDA (*Signs of the Times*, Aug. 8, 1878, p. 240). He appeared to work primarily for his "own people" (i.e., blacks, cf. *Review and Herald*, Jan. 29, 1889, p. 77):

"Unfortunately for my people, three great obstacles stand in the way between them and the truth; namely, ignorance, superstition, and poverty, and besides they have drank (*sic*) deep of the wine of Babylon. In view of these difficulties, large accessions of this people cannot be expected, at least not at the present time; but should there be, it would not add to the financial strength of the cause. But these considerations should not deter me or anyone else from doing all possible for them. Therefore, I earnestly ask the prayers of all who wish to see the truth 'brought before many peoples, and nations, and tongues,' that I may have strength, physical, mental, and spiritual to do what I can for the Colored people" (*Review and Herald*, Oct. 27, 1885, p. 668). "His wife's invalidism eventually made it impossible for him to carry on full ministerial work. He retired in 1911. It was his privilege to see the black membership of the SDA Church in North America swell [from 50] to 26,500" (*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 741).

⁵¹*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1192.

⁵²*Early Writings*, pp. 275, 276.

⁵³*Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 202.

⁵⁴Arthur White, *Ellen G. White Biography* (Hagerstown, Md.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1982) vol. 1, p. 398.

⁵⁵See *Review and Herald*, Mar. 10, 1859, and Aug. 12, 1862.

⁵⁶*Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 253-260; 260-264; 264-268; 455-368.

⁵⁷*Review and Herald*, May 23, 1865.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, May 2, 1871.

⁵⁹*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 816.

⁶⁰*Review and Herald*, May 25, 1876.

⁶¹*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1372.

⁶²*Origin and History*, p. 183.

⁶³*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 741.

⁶⁴*Origin and History*, p. 343.

⁶⁵*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 816.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 1062.

⁶⁷*General Conference Bulletin*, Nov. 14, 1887.

⁶⁸*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 74.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 737

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 1062, 1375.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 1062.

⁷²Ellen G. White, *The Southern Work* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1966), p. 9, *Review and Herald*, March 24, 1966.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁴See Ron Graybill, *EGW and Church Race Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1970).

⁷⁵*The Southern Work*, pp. 9, 15.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

⁸⁰*General Conference Bulletin*, Feb. 21, 1893.

"The Southern District is a field peculiar to itself. As missionary territory it affords ample opportunity for most aggressive work, and offers to consecrated men and women an open door to 'show forth the praise of Him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.' We are moved and our sympathies are stirred by the Macedonian cries for help in foreign fields, and our hearts are especially touched by the plaintive pleas for light we hear from those in heathen darkness.

"But what have we to say, and what are we doing to answer the imperative demands made upon us from the destitute mission fields within our own borders--the loud calls at our doors? Can we excuse ourselves if we permit these appeals which are echoed and reechoed in our ears year after year from the millions in our own land, to go unheeded without more active and aggressive work on our part? The Lord has spoken to us . . . especially concerning our duty to the Colored people.

"Now what are we doing? At present there is but one ordained minister and one licensed missionary laboring among the Colored millions of the South. There is not a school where one of them can receive any Bible instruction; and only one where even the common branches are taught by our people. One of our sisters, at Graysville, Tennessee, has opened the doors of her home and is teaching a small class of Colored youth. We plead most earnestly that this conference take immediate action in regard to this matter. We must do something toward educating workers to labor among this people, and to provide facilities whereby the children and youth of our Colored brethren and sisters may have equal advantages with those of fairer complexion."

⁸¹*Seventh-day Adventist Year Book*, 1893, p. 62.

⁸²Spalding says, Shaw, though white, "was so dark that he sometimes passed" as a black man. He credits him as being conscientious in his work. C. M. Kinney and two licentiates, A. Barry, and T. B. Buckner were the only black ministers in the South at that time. *Origins*, vol. 2, p. 343.

⁸³J. E. White to EGW, letter, Jan. 30, 1894.

⁸⁴This appeal was later to be printed by Edson White in *The Southern Work* in 1898.

⁸⁵They appeared in the *Review and Herald*, Apr. 2, 1895, Nov. 26 to Dec. 24, 1895, and Jan. 14 to Feb. 4, 1896. Today these articles are found in *The Southern Work*, pp. 19-65.

⁸⁶See Chapter V for theme elaboration.

⁸⁷See Ron Graybill, *Mission to Black America* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1971).

⁸⁸*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1396.

⁸⁹December 1899.

⁹⁰*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1397.

⁹¹*Gospel Herald*, Dec. 1899.

⁹²*Ibid.*, October 1899.

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴Otis B. Edwards, "Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conferences."

⁹⁵*Origin and History*, p. 344.

⁹⁶Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1979), pp. 235, 236.

⁹⁷Graham, pp. 232-235.

⁹⁸*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1397.

⁹⁹Emphasis added. Edwards, p. 25.

¹⁰⁰*Gospel Herald*, Mar. 1899.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*

¹⁰²*Ibid.*

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, Dec. 1899.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*Ibid*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, Jan. 1901.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹*Origin and History*, pp. 272, 273.

¹¹²*Gospel Herald*, Jan. 1900.

¹¹³See Chapter V, footnote 9.

¹¹⁴*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 928.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹¹⁶*The Gospel Herald*, June, 1900, p. 37.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, May, 1898; *SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 928.

¹¹⁸*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 928.

¹¹⁹*Lights and Shades*, p. 276

¹²⁰*Testimonies*, vol. 2, p. 201.

¹²¹SPP, p. 276

¹²²*Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 276.

¹²³*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1397.

¹²⁴Edwards, p. 6.

¹²⁵*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1376.

¹²⁶Establishment of the Negro Department, General Conference.

¹²⁷Edwards, p. 115. In the spring of 1929, a commission was appointed to formulate plans and recommendations for the future conduct of the Negro work. These recommendations were submitted at the Autumn

Council of the General Conference committee which met in Columbus, Ohio, from September 24 to October 2, 1929, and after full and free discussion, it was voted to have strong Negro representation on union and local committees.

The Negro Department of the Southern Union Conference consists of a committee of 14 members including seven Negroes and the Negro Department of the Alabama-Mississippi Conference consists of a committee of five members including three Negroes, usually one ordained minister, a licentiate and a layman.”

¹²⁸*Testimonies, vol 2. p. 20.*

¹²⁹*See Gospel Herald, July 1898.*

¹³⁰*SDA Encyclopedia, p. 1018.*

¹³¹*Ibid.*

¹³²Content Analysis Document No. 129 (1909).

¹³³*The Gospel Herald, December 1899.*

¹³⁴*SDA Encyclopedia, pp. 1396. 1397.*

¹³⁵*The Gospel Herald, December 1899.*

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

¹³⁷*See SDA Encyclopedia, p. 1397.*

¹³⁸*Ibid.*

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰*Gospel Herald, June and November, 1909.*

¹⁴¹*SDA Encyclopedia, p. 1398, emphasis added.*

¹⁴²Edwards, pp. 52, 53.

¹⁴³*SDA Encyclopedia, p. 525.*

¹⁴⁴Edwards, p. 53.

¹⁴⁵"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", pp. 246, 247.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁴⁷*Gospel Herald*, February 1909.

¹⁴⁸*Gospel Herald*, May 1898.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰Content Analysis Document No. 93.

¹⁵¹Edwards, p. 71.

¹⁵²*Gospel Herald*, December 1898

¹⁵³Edwards, p. 54.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁵"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", p. 278.

¹⁵⁶See the *Southern Missionary*, April 1904, for several articles on the subject of health medical work in the South.

¹⁵⁷"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", p. 279.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, see also Edwards, pp. 52, 70, 71.

¹⁵⁹In 1900, Edson shared and wrote to his mother sharing his views on Nashville. "My mind is now directed to Nashville, Tennessee. This is midway between the North and the South, and it is in a high, hilly region that is very healthful, and not malarious. . . . There are between 40,000 and 50,000 Colored people in that city, and I feel that I can attend to the general interests of the work that I am attending to here, as well, and yet be where I can be engaged actively in the work of the ministry, and build up a work in that city as we have done in smaller places in the south. There is not the prejudice against such work there that there is further south, and then, in a large city, there is not such attention given to our work by outsiders that there is in small places like Yazoo City.

¹⁶⁰"Shortly, after Elder White's arrival in Nashville, a permanent site for the work was found in property in 1025-27 Jefferson Street, on the north side of the city. The money for the purchase of this property was donated by Mr. B. A. Rogers, who about this time, having sold his farm in Michigan, with his wife, joined the Southern Missionary Society in Nashville. A two-story double brick store, 39 x 48 feet, was on the place, and the Society soon erected an addition in the rear, making quite commodious quarters for the printing work."

¹⁶¹"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", p. 262.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 261.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 26, 262.

¹⁶⁴See also "The Logical Center of Our Colored Work"; *Gospel Herald*, November 1907.

¹⁶⁵*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1400.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷*EGW Biography, vol. 5*, p. 342.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹⁷⁰"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", p. 263.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 263, 264.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 264; See also *Gospel Herald*, January 1906.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵The *Southern Missionary*, April 1904

¹⁷⁶"Lights and Shades in the Black Belt", p. 279.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 279.

¹⁷⁸*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1221.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 1221. The Riverside Sanitarium was later sold.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 1017-1019. See also Edwards, pp. 189-191.

¹⁸¹*EGW and Race Relations*, pp. 53-69.

¹⁸²See Harold D. Singleton, "A Short History of the Work of Seventh-day Adventists Among the Negroes of North America Before 1909, 1932".

¹⁸³*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 758.

¹⁸⁴*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 995.

¹⁸⁵Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl, in "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*, 1974, tell the story of how J. R. Humphrey and his congregation eventually left the SDA church over a disagreement having to do with race.

¹⁸⁶*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1195.

¹⁸⁷*Review and Herald*, June 10, 1909.

¹⁸⁸Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1949).

¹⁸⁹*The Gospel Herald*, May, 1889.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, Oct., 1898.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, July 1900.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, Mar., 1901.

¹⁹⁴*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1376.

¹⁹⁵Phenomenal growth of black members continued throughout the twentieth century: 4,000 in 1920; 8,000 in 1930; 20,000 in 1940; 70,000 in 1950; 130,000 in 1980; 218,000 in 1991. Data supplied by the Office of Human Relations, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

¹⁹⁶One outstanding example is that of Etta Littlejohn, a young female baptized as a result of the *Morning Star* meetings and one of the first students at Oakwood. She later married Robert L. Bradford (later an ordained minister). Their son Charles E. Bradford, an SDA minister and church administrator, became the first black president of the North American Division (1980-1991) (*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1376).

¹⁹⁷*The Southern Missionary*, second issue, 1903.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*

²⁰¹*The Gospel Herald*, Oct., 1908; see also *SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1398.

²⁰²*SDA Encyclopedia*, p. 1398.

²⁰³*The Gospel Herald*, July, 1907.

²⁰⁴*The Southern Missionary*, fifth issue supplement, 1903.

²⁰⁵*The Gospel Herald*, Feb., 1908.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study provides support for the hypothesis that there was a relationship existing between EGW's comstats issued during the years 1891 and 1910 and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization. Data from the content analysis and the historical research of this study seem to warrant the posture that had it had not been for the personal influence of EGW, principally through her comstats on the subject of SDAs and the need to establish a black work, the initiatives on behalf of African-Americans by the SDA Church would not have happened.

This assumption is based on an analysis of the many occasions during which EGW spoke out clearly, deliberately and persistently on the SDA responsibility to assist African-Americans during the years following the Civil War. This study explores her in depth at least 130 of her main documents relative to this study.

Implications

This study approaches EGW and the black work from the systems perspective of organizational communication. In particular, it compares EGW's communication style to Carl Weick's theory of communication and enactment and the process of change in an organization. EGW did not formally complete high school, yet she evidenced a solid grasp of principles of communication

achieve change in a religious organization via the medium of communication.

The 20-year focus of this study was, in fact, the period of turbulence and national anxiety concerning race and the place of African-Americans in society. SDAs experienced much of the same turbulence that was evident in society. This study theorizes that the success achieved by the SDA Church in the area of race relations and the progress of African-Americans in the SDA organization points back to the guidance and direction offered by EGW during the years 1891 to 1910.

The findings of this study bear out that (1) EGW's comstats were instrumental in causing the SDA Church to prioritize the need for aggressive work among blacks by bring these concerns to the attention of the leadership and laity of the SDA Church; (2) as a result of EGW's comstats and personal influence, the SDA Church invested substantial resources into the black work, thus facilitating a period of organizational activism on behalf of blacks in the areas of evangelism, education and inclusion; (3) EGW demonstrated a positive view of black people that, while consistent with much of the terminology of her time, demonstrated a positive view of black people--mentally, physically and spiritually--that confronted negative stereotypes.

This study contributes to the field of research in at least three significant areas.

1. It offers an explanation for why there was a sudden increase of African-Americans in the SDA Church and it offers EGW's communication influence as a major contributing factor.
2. It provides an illustrative case study of the dynamics of race, religion and communication in the context of a conservative religious organization.

3. It integrates the research methodologies of content analysis and historical research in the explication of the origin of blacks in the SDA Church.

Areas of Interest

Further areas of interest touched on in this study have to do with the communicative style of EGW, communication and plausible techniques, and strategies for the development of an underprivileged. These areas of study have apparently never been explored in the field of SDA denominational history. Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of this study is that it offers an in depth treatment of a significant aspect of the history of African-Americans in the SDA Church. As discussed in Chapter I, there is a paucity of research in this area.

Causal Relationship: An interesting development in this research had to do with developing a relationship between what EGW said and the subsequent progress of African-American SDAs. Initially, the research difficulty appeared to have been in demonstrating that there was a relationship, perhaps even a causal one, between the two variables. (A researcher should exhibit reluctance when seeking to establish a causal relationship.) However, it became increasingly clear that the major initiators of the black work advancement themselves specifically pointed to EGW and her comstats as the origin for their instruction and inspiration. There was little doubt in the minds of SDA leaders concerning EGW's role in the establishment of the black work. They viewed her as being integral and central to any

initiative relative to the black work. Apparently, EGW was so outspoken, visible and authoritative on the subject of the black work that her comstats became normative in the area.

Creating Change: One area that provided an interesting methodological perspective was how EGW created change relative to SDAs developing a work among blacks. Her approach seemed to follow a deliberate organizational scheme with at least seven facets. First, there was her *timing*. EGW came front and center on the subject of race when the church was grappling with the issue of the integration of churches. There had been ongoing discussion of the question for some two years. EGW came with a plan in 1891 that apparently caught the church leadership off guard. Essentially, she considered that issue to be moot when the church was neglecting its mandate to work on behalf of blacks period. Her timing was accurate in that she presented her 1891 watershed address on race at a time when the church was exercised over the subject of race relations.

Second, similar to the first point, EGW took the circumstances in which the discussion of black and white relations was being precipitated to provide the *opportunity* to present the "big picture," the major need of the church to become active in relieving suffering and to provide avenues of growth for the "neglected race," as she often called blacks.

The third facet has to do with her communication *targets*. Her first communications were offered to SDA leadership. She spoke adroitly to church administrators at a General Conference session to unveil the major components of what the church's goal and focus should be. The presentation was buttressed with a number of principles. After moving to Australia she

provided church leadership with an opportunity to act in her absence. No significant action, however, was forthcoming. In 1895 and 1896, she then commenced a stream of articles to the general church laity via the *Review and Herald* and other church papers. Her second target was the general church member. This period saw some of the most important developments of the 20-year period.

Fourth, EGW's communications approach was one of *repetition*. She repeated her basic comstats on the black work. In document after document, she repeated and enlarged, repeated and enlarged. By so doing, the church readership became clear on what her basic message was. It was obvious that her comstats were getting through, because leaders and members began to offer positive feedback in their articles and correspondence reacting to her comstats. Not only was her influence evident in their writings, but they quoted her extensively.

A fifth facet was EGW's communication style in recommending *manageable tasks*. To the leaders she recommended one course of action--accomplishable tasks within their scope of ability and expertise. To the workers and members in the South, as well as to members across the United States, she offered other tasks that they could perform to assist the overall program. She provided the various constituent audiences with objectives that were manageable.

The *exemplar* facet was next. EGW, in her own life and through the example of her son Edson, exemplified what should be done. She advocated giving--she gave. She advocated standing for the rights of black people--she stood for their rights. She practiced what she preached. I might add that her acts were often communicated so that people saw what she did. They knew

that the medium was consistent with the message. It worked effectively. She was never accused of not working for or backing black people with the same energy she advocated others to do.

Finally, EGW *mentored* several people who were involved in working for black people. Obviously, she wrote scores of letters to Edson and his wife, Emma, counseling and encouraging them in the most effective manner of working for blacks. But she also offered similar support for church leaders, Southern workers--black and white--and church members. She had a strong private interpersonal communication network that backed up her public comstats.

It seems apparent that the SDA Church never fully lived up to EGW's objectives for establishing and maintaining a strong work for African-Americans in the South. However, there was an appreciable response beginning with the latter part of the 1890s. One could conclude, though, that everything that could have been accomplished wasn't. However, much was accomplished. And it was those accomplishments that provided the basis for the subsequent growth among black SDAs.

Influencing Factors: Another area that surfaced throughout this study was EGW's deep interest in black people and their welfare. Not only did EGW support, promote and defend the black work publicly and privately; she listed the "Negro" work (the mission schools) twice as beneficiaries in her last will and testament.

The following facts may have contributed to EGW's open and progressive worldview toward blacks and race relations.

1. Early Environment: Her birthplace, Portland, Maine, was a free state and never had slavery. It also was a hotbed of reform movements and produced free thinkers.

2. Childhood Experiences: Perhaps the accident that occurred when she was a child contributed to her capacity for understanding what it meant to be ostracized and disadvantaged.

3. Religious Experience: EGW and other early Advent believers experienced the trauma of the great disappointment of 1844. Early SDAs understood what it meant to be part of a new and often misunderstood religious movement.

4. Molding Associations: EGW evidenced an acquaintance with black people from early years. Portland had a significant black population. She also speaks of meeting a black Advent minister by the name of William Foy, who had a similar religious experience to her own. She heard him speak on several occasions and commented positively on his experience and testimony.

5. Humanitarian Outlook: EGW was a compassionate person who believed in helping people. She often assisted the poor and disadvantaged. She apparently loved people and sought to help where the need was the greatest.

6. Biblical Commission: Plainly, one of EGW's motives in assisting blacks was her conviction that they were a part of Christ's charge to take the gospel to all the world. EGW felt that overlooking blacks was a direct violation of the charge that Christ had given to the SDAs as well as Christendom in general.

7. Personal Conviction: Based upon the message and impressions given her, EGW repeatedly set forth that God had impressed her with the necessity

of working on behalf of black people. She communicated to the church that this was a specific charge of God to them. She saw no way that the SDA Church could receive God's full approbation if they neglected this vital part of their mission.

Perhaps the reasons will never be fully known as to what was the primary motivating factor that led EGW to advocate for blacks in the manner she did. Suffice it to say, her words and actions distinguished her as a pioneer in advocating the role, position and importance of African-Americans in the SDA organization.

Observations

There are several areas relevant to this topic that could have yielded additional findings had time and space permitted. First, more study could have been devoted to EGW's specific views on the subject of race as they compared with those views advocated in society. How did EGW's views compare to the popular views and theories of her day? Second, further study could have been devoted to conducting an exhaustive content analysis of every comstat EGW made. This study focuses on 130 major documents, found in hundreds of articles, books and manuscripts that are singularly focused on the topic of race or the black work. It appears that because the 130 documents are representative of the broad spectrum of her writings, the findings would not be significantly different. However, the universe for content analysis would be broadened, and that might reveal additional research nuances. Third, chi square distribution analysis might provide additional findings. This study, in fact, used the chi square analysis on the

strategy model categories, but when so categorized, the confidence factor and the probability level were not significant enough to be included. Further, the statistical ranking approach proved to be most germane to the goals and objectives of this study.

Future Study

This study leads the writer to believe that the subject matter of EGW's, communications, race relations and the black work has heuristic possibilities for those interested in these and other aspects of SDA history. The following areas could possibly be developed into research projects:

1. The treatment of race in SDA literature.
2. The history of race relations in SDA history.
3. Content analysis of *The Gospel Herald* relative to communication style and content.
4. EGW's comstats as compared with race theories of her day.
5. The influence of EGW's comstats beyond 1910.
6. The organizational-communication techniques of EGW in the SDA Church--a case-study approach.
7. The use of the Bible in EGW's comstats.
8. A comparison between EGW's comstats and organizational communication theory.

APPENDICES

CONTENT ANALYSIS RESOURCES--MAJOR DOCUMENTS

Period 1: 1891-95 (12 Documents)

Date	Title	Source	Doc #
1891 March 21	Our Duty to the Colored People	SW 9-18	01
1892	Private Letters and Manuscripts	-----	
1893	" " " "	-----	
1894	" " " "	-----	
1895 April 2	Work Among the Colored People	SW 19-24	02
July 15	Build Up New Centers	8T 150-151	03
July 24	Missionary Work at Home and Abroad	8T 56-61	04
July 24	Brethren in Responsible Positions: U.S.	B-Lt-5	05
Nov 20	Precaution Regarding Sunday Labor	SW 66-71	06
Nov 20	Proper Methods in the Southern Field	SW 72-78	07
Nov 26	An Appeal for the Southern Field	SW 25-30	08
Dec 3	An Appeal for the South-2	SW 31-36	09
Dec 10	An Appeal for the South-3	SW 37-40	10
Dec 17	An Example in History	SW 41-45	11
Dec 24	The Bible, the Colored People's Hope	SW 46-50	12

Period 2: 1896-1900 (21 Documents)

Date	Title	Source	Doc #
1896 Jan 14	Spirit and Life for the Colored People	SW 51-53	13
Jan 21	Am I My Brother's Keeper	SW 54-57	14
Jan 28	Lift Up Your Eyes and Look on the Field	SW 58-62	15
Feb 4	Volunteers Wanted for the Southern Field	SW 63-65	16
-----	Counsel Regarding Inter-marriage	2 SM 343-4	17
Dec 1	An Appeal for the South	RH	18
1897 -----	The Southern Field	SW 79-82	19
1898	Private Letters and Manuscripts	-----	

1899			
Jan 24	To Those Occupying Important Positions in the GC	B-Lt-9	20
Feb 19	Principles Regarding Restitution	SW 96	21
March 20	Overcoming Difficulties in the Southern Work	MS-33	22
April 27	A Neglected Work	SW 94-95	23
June 5	Colonization not Advisable	SW 83-87	24
June 21	From a Private Letter (Ms-102a-1899)	SW 91-93	25
July 2	The Field Becoming Difficult	SW 88-90	26
July 3	Unmet Challenges in the South	MS-90	27
Aug 21	The Work in the South	MS-118	28
Nov 13	Restitution Due to the Southern Field	MS-154	29
----	Royalties; Robbery Toward God	MS-195	30
----	Christlike Treatment, but Not Equality in all Respects	R #210	31

1900			
Jan	Individual Responsibility	GH	32
Jan 30	Brethren in Responsible Positions: R&H Office	B-Lt-9	33
----	The Great Teacher	GH-Sup	34

Period 3: 1901-05 (71 Documents)

Date	Title	Source	Doc #
1901			
Jan 16	To My Brethren in Positions of Responsibility	B-Lt-6	35
April	Regarding the Southern Work	MS-37	36
April 2	An Appeal for the Southern Field	MS-40	37
April 21	An Appeal for the Work in the South	MS-167	38
July 16	Denver and Colored Leadership	B-Lt-84	39
July 19	To Those Who Are Working in the South	B-Lt-86	40
July 19	Shall the Work at Nashville Go Forward?	MS-173	41
July 24	To Those Who Are Head of Medical Missionary Work	B-Lt-169	42
Aug 8	The Southern Work	MS-77	43
Sept 12	The Need of Medical Missionary Work	MS-86	44
Nov	Restitution in the Southern Field	8T 90	45
Dec	The Southern Field	GH	46
----	Instruction--Those Working in the Southern Field	MS-41	47
----	A Call to Service	MS-129b	48
1902			
Apr 16	Do All in the Name of the Lord Jesus	GH	49
May 2	To My Brethren Who Are Working in the South	B-Lt-74	50
May 14	Partial Outline--JEW's Work in the South	MS-63	51
May 18	An Appeal for the Southern Work	B-Lt-72	52
May 20	The Southern Work--Nashville As a Center	MS-67	53
June 5	To the GC President--Prioritize Southern Field	B-Lt-83	54
July 25	Laboring for the Advancement in the Southern States	B-Lt-115	55
July 28	Brethren Bearing Responsibilities in the SUC	B-Lt-119	56
Aug	The Work at Home and Abroad	8T 30-34	57

Aug 28	To the Iowa Conference	B-Lt-136	58
Nov 11	Consideration for the Colored Race	MS-129	59
Nov 16	The Work in the South	MS-151	60
Nov 16	Establishing Schools in the South	MS-152	61
Nov 17	Attitude Toward Work/Workers in the Southern Field	MS-150	62
Dec 2	To My Brethren in the Southern Field	B-Lt-187	63
Dec 26	The Work in the Southern Field	B-Lt-208	64
----	Needs of the Southern Field	7T 221-230	65
----	The Southern States	7T 56-58	66
----	Needs of the Southern Field	7T 220-222	67
----	What Can Be Done	7T 226-230	68
----	Centers of Influence	7T 231-232	69
----	Nashville As a Center	7T 232-234	70
----	Instruction to Workers	7T 235-241	71
----	Be of Good Courage	7T 242-245	72
----	The Color Line	9T 213-224	73
1903			
Jan 23	Neglect and the Southern Work	8T 34-35	74
Jan 23	Burden for New Work	8T 35-37	75
April 19	The Southern Work	MS-28	76
May 1	The Southern Work--Nashville As a Center	MS-38	77
July 29	The Color Line--Incorrect Plans	MS-75a	78
Aug 2	The Color Line--Race Relations	9T 213-222	79
Nov 17	How We Can Help The Southern Work	SM	80
----	Consideration for Colored Laborers	9T 223-224	81
1904			
Jan	The Southern Work	SM 1:1	82
March 1	The Color Question	Letter-105	83
April	The Colored Work	SM	84
June 21	Huntsville School: Seeking the Lost	MS-60	85
July 6	Members of the Huntsville School: Board/Faculty	B-Lt-227	86
July 6	Counsel Regarding the Work at Huntsville	MS-139	87
Sep	Oakwood Manual Training School for the Colored	SM 1:9	88
Sep 17	Directions Regarding Work for Colored People	MS-114	89
Sep 25	The Work in the Southern States	MS-2	90
Nov 2	A Needy Field	B-Lt-313	91
Nov 2	The Needs of the Huntsville School	Lt	92
Nov 11	My Brethren Throughout America	B-Lt-304	93
Dec 27	To a Teacher in Huntsville, Elmshaven, CA	Lt	94
----	The Huntsville School	R&H	95
1905			
April	Call for Colored Laborers	GH	96
April 14	To the Members of the Nashville Church	B-Lt-119	97
July 17	To the Officers of the Southern Missionary Society	B-Lt-201	98
July 20	To the General Conference Committee	B-Lt-207	99
Aug	Our Work	GH	100

Sep 7	Encouragements/Needs of Nashville	AR	101
Sep 28	The Value of Practical Training	R&H	102
Dec 14	To My Brethren and Sisters in Nashville	B-Lt-331	103
----	An Appeal in Behalf of the Work in Nashville	MS-88a	104

Period 4: 1906-10 (26 Documents)

Date	Title	Source	Doc #
1906			
Feb	Lift Up Your Eyes and Look on the Field	GH	105
May	The Southern Field	GH	106
June	A Plea for the Colored People	GH	107
----	Working the Cities	MS-503	108
1907			
March 4	Encourage the Workers	MS-41	109
March 20	The Misappropriation of Gifts	MS-45	110
March 21	To Our Brethren in Graysville	B-Lt-108	111
April 1	A Broader Work	MS-47	112
April 1	Directors of the Nashville Sanitarium/SUC	B-Lt-112	113
July 14	To the Officers of the General Conference	B-Lt-228	114
Sept	The Needs of a Mission Field	9T 225-226	115
Oct	A Message to the Teachers	GH	116
Oct 3	The Sale of <i>Object Lessons</i>	MS-103	117
Oct 6	Elders Daniells and Evans	B-Lt-314	118
Oct 10	To the Officers of the General Conference	B-Lt-322	119
Oct 12	To Our Churches	B-Lt-347	120
Oct 17	To the Workers in Nashville	B-Lt-330	121
1908			
March 25	An Appeal for the Madison School	MS-57	122
Aug 20	To Those Recently Assembled at the Oakwood School	B-Lt-244	123
Sept 21	The Work Among the Colored People	Series B #12	124
Oct 19	Proclaiming the Truth Where There Is Race Antagonism	9T 204-212	125
Oct 19	In All Wisdom and Prudence	9T 204	126
----	The Oakwood Manual Training School	D7-3a	127
1909			
Feb 16	To Leaders of the Colored Orphanage Enterprise	B-Lt-40	128
Feb 16	Our Huntsville School As a Training Center	Lt-12	129
----	A Call for Colored Laborers (See GH Apr. 1905)	9T 199-203	130
1910	Private Letters and Manuscripts	-----	

Document Exhibit

OUR DUTY TO THE COLORED PEOPLE

There has been much perplexity as to how our laborers in the South shall deal with the "color line." It has been a question to some how far to concede to the prevailing prejudice against the colored people. The Lord has given us light concerning all such matters. There are principles laid down in His Word that should guide us in dealing with these perplexing questions. The Lord Jesus came to our world to save men and women of all nationalities. He died just as much for the colored people as for the white race. Jesus came to shed light over the whole world. At the beginning of His ministry He declared His mission: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

The Redeemer of the world was of humble parentage. He, the Majesty of heaven, the King of glory, humbled Himself to accept humanity, and then He chose a life of poverty and toil. "For your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." When one came saying, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest," Jesus answered him, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." He, the Majesty of heaven, depended upon the generosity of His followers.

Jesus did not seek the admiration or applause of the world. He

commanded no army, He ruled no earthly kingdom. He passed by the wealthy and honored of the world. He did not associate with the leaders of the nation. He dwelt among the lowly of the earth. To all appearances he was merely a humble man, with few friends. Thus He sought to correct the world's false standard of judging the value of men. He showed that they are not to be estimated by their outward appearance. Their moral worth is not determined by their worldly possessions, their real estate or bank stock. It is the humble, contrite heart that God values. With Him there is no respect of persons. The attributes that He prizes most are purity and love, and these are possessed only by the Christian.

Jesus did not choose His disciples from the learned lawyers, the rulers, the scribes, and Pharisees. He passed them by because they felt whole, as many feel in this age, and prided themselves on their learning and position. They were fixed in their traditions and superstitions, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. He who could read all hearts chose poor fishermen who were willing to be taught. He gave them no promise of large salary or worldly honor, but told them they should be partakers with Him in His sufferings. Jesus while in this world ate with publicans and sinners, and mingled with the common people, not to become low and earthly with them, but in order by precept and example to present to them right principles, to lift them up from their low habits and manners. In all this He set us an example, that we should follow in His steps.

Those who have a religious experience that opens their hearts to Jesus, will not cherish pride, but will feel that they are under obligation to God to be missionaries as was Jesus. They will seek to save that which was lost. They will not, in Pharisaical pride and haughtiness, withdraw themselves from

any class of humanity, but will feel with the apostle Paul, "I am debtor both to the Greek, and to the barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise."

After my severe illness one year ago, many things which the Lord had presented to me seemed lost to my mind, but they have since been repeated. I know that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet, for the conflict has seemed to be continuous of late years; but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward, leaving my work undone. I must follow in my Master's footsteps. It has become fashionable to look down upon the poor, and upon the colored race in particular. But Jesus, the Master, was poor, and He sympathizes with the poor, the discarded, the oppressed, and declares that every insult shown to them is as if shown to Himself. I am more and more surprised as I see those who claim to be children of God possessing so little of the sympathy, tenderness, and love which actuated Christ. Would that every church, North and South, were imbued with the spirit of our Lord's teaching.

While at St. Louis a year ago, as I knelt in prayer, these words were presented to me as if written with a pen of fire: "All ye are brethren." The Spirit of God rested upon me in a wonderful manner, and matters were opened to me in regard to the church at St. Louis and in other places. The spirit and words of some in regard to members of the church were an offense to God. They were closing the door of their hearts to Jesus. Among those in St. Louis who believe the truth there are colored people who are true and faithful, precious in the sight of the God of heaven, and they should have just as much respect as any of God's children. Those who have spoken harshly to them or have despised them have despised the purchase of the blood of Christ, and they need the transforming grace of Christ in their own hearts,

that they may have the pitying tenderness of Jesus toward those who love God with all the fervor of which they themselves are capable. The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts.

"If ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear: forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.... Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently." "Ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: wherefore there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all. Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering."

"Who," says Paul, "maketh thee to differ?" The God of the white man is the God of the black man, and the Lord declares that His love for the least of His children exceeds that of a mother for her beloved child. Look at that mother: the sick child, the one afflicted, the one born a cripple, or with some other physical infirmity--how the mother labors to give him every advantage! The best food, the softest pillow, and the tenderest nursing are for him. The love bestowed upon him is strong and deep--a love such as is not given to beauty, talent, or any other natural gift. As soon as a mother sees reason for others to regard her child with aversion or contempt, does she not increase her tenderness as if to shield him from the world's rude touch? "Can a

mother forget her sucking child . . .? yea, they may forget, yet I will not forget thee." O what impartial love the Lord Jesus gives to those who love Him! The Lord's eye is upon all His creatures; He loves them all, and makes no difference between white and black, except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others. Those who love God and believe on Christ as their Redeemer, while they must meet the trials and the difficulties that lie in their path, should yet with a cheerful spirit accept their life as it is, considering that God above regards these things, and for all that the world neglects to bestow, He will Himself make up to them in the best of favors.

The parable of Dives, the rich man, and Lazarus, the poor beggar who feared God, is presented before the world as a lesson to all, both rich and poor, as long as time shall last. Dives is represented as lifting up his eyes in hell, being in torments, and seeing Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom,--"he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."

When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host. He is made a joint heir with Christ. Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ, whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family. The ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the heathen and the slave, white or black--Jesus paid the purchase money for their souls. If they believe on Him, His cleansing blood is applied to them. The

black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. If a red man, a Chinaman, or an African gives his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for his color. He calls him his well-beloved brother. The day is coming when the kings and the lordly men of the earth would be glad to exchange places with the humblest African who has laid hold on the hope of the gospel. To all who are overcomers through the blood of the Lamb, the invitation will be given, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Arranged on the right and left of the throne of God are the long columns of the heavenly host, who touch the golden harps, and the songs of welcome and of praise to God and the Lamb ring through the heavenly courts. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."

Among what are called the higher classes, there is a demand for a form of Christianity suited to their fine tastes; but this class will not grow up to the full stature of men and women in Christ until they know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. The heavenly intelligences rejoice to do the will of God in preaching the gospel to the poor. In the announcement which the Saviour made in the synagogue at Nazareth, He put a stern rebuke upon those who attach so much importance to color or caste, and refuse to be satisfied with such a type of Christianity as Christ accepts. The same price was paid for the salvation of the colored man as for that of the white man, and the slights put upon the colored people by many who claim to be redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, and who therefore acknowledge themselves debtors to Christ,

misrepresent Jesus, and reveal that selfishness, tradition, and prejudice pollute the soul. They are not sanctified through the truth. Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Christ.

I call upon every church in our land to look well to your own souls. "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" God makes no distinction between the North and the South. Whatever may be your prejudices, your wonderful prudence, do not lose sight of this fact, that unless you put on Christ, and His Spirit dwells in you, you are slaves of sin and of Satan. Many who claim to be children of God are children of the wicked one, and have all his passions, his prejudices, his evil spirit, his unlovely traits of character. But the soul that is indeed transformed will not despise any one whom Christ has purchased with His own blood.

Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He had. If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God. If Jesus is abiding in our hearts we cannot despise the colored man who has the same Saviour abiding in his heart. When these unchristian prejudices are broken down, more earnest effort will be put forth to do missionary work among the colored race.

When the Hebrew people were suffering cruel oppression under the hand of their taskmasters, the Lord looked upon them, and He called Israel His son. He bade Moses go to Pharaoh with the message, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn. And I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me."

The Lord did not wait until His people went forth and stood in triumph on the shores of the Red Sea before He called Israel His son, but while they were under oppression, degraded and downtrodden, suffering all that the power and the invention of the Egyptians could impose to make their lives bitter and to destroy them, then God undertakes their cause and declares to Pharaoh, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn."

What thoughts and feelings did the message arouse in Pharaoh? "This people, my slaves, those whom the lowest of my people despise, the God of such a people I care not for, neither will I let Israel go." But the word of the Lord will not return unto Him void; it will accomplish the thing whereunto it is sent. The Lord speaks in no uncertain manner. He says, "Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn."

God cares no less for the souls of the African race that might be won to serve Him than He cared for Israel. He requires far more of His people than they have given Him in missionary work among the people of the South of all classes, and especially among the colored race. Are we not under even greater obligation to labor for the colored people than for those who have been more highly favored? Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them, forcing them to disregard the law of marriage, breaking up the family relation, tearing wife from husband, and husband from wife? If the race is degraded, if they are repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? The truth must be carried to them. They have souls to save as well as we.

At the General Conference of 1889, resolutions were presented in regard to the color line. Such action is not called for. Let not men take the place of God, but stand aside in awe, and let God work upon human hearts, both white and black, in His own way. He will adjust all these perplexing questions. We need not prescribe a definite plan of working. Leave an opportunity for God to do something. We should be careful not to strengthen prejudices that ought to have died just as soon as Christ redeemed the soul from the bondage of sin.

Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people. It will always be a difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the white people in the South and do missionary work for the colored race. But the way this matter has been treated by some is an offense to God. We need not expect that all will be accomplished in the South that God would do until in our missionary efforts we place this question on the ground of principle, and let those who accept the truth be educated to be Bible Christians, working according to Christ's order. You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them. At the same time we must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question. Some would think it right to throw down every partition wall and intermarry with the colored people, but this is not the right thing to teach or to practice.

Let us do what we can to send to this class laborers who will work in Christ's name, who will not fail nor be discouraged. We should educate

colored men to be missionaries among their own people. We should recognize talent where it exists among the people, and those who have ability should be placed where they may receive an education.

There are able colored ministers who have embraced the truth. Some of these feel unwilling to devote themselves to work for their own race; they wish to preach to the white people. These men are making a great mistake. They should seek most earnestly to save their own race, and they will not by any means be excluded from the gatherings of the white people.

White men and white women should be qualifying themselves to work among the colored people. There is a large work to be done in educating this ignorant and downtrodden class. We must do more unselfish missionary work than we have done in the Southern States, not picking out merely the most favorable fields. God has children among the colored people all over the land. They need to be enlightened. There are unpromising ones, it is true, but you will find similar degradation among the white people; but even among the lower classes there are souls who will embrace the truth. Some will not be steadfast. Feelings and habits that have been confirmed by lifelong practices will be hard to correct; it will not be easy to implant ideas of purity and holiness, refinement and elevation. But God regards the capacity of every man, He marks the surroundings, and sees how these have formed the character, and He pities these souls.

Is it not time for us to live so fully in the light of God's countenance that we who receive so many favors and blessings from Him may know how to treat those less favored, not working from the world's standpoint, but from the Bible standpoint? Is it not right in this line that Christian effort is most needed? Is it not here that our influence should be brought to bear against

the customs and practices of the world? Should it not be the work of the white people to elevate the standard of character among the colored race, to teach them how Christians should live, by exemplifying the Spirit of Christ, showing that we are one brotherhood?

Those who have been favored with opportunities of education and culture, who have had every advantage of religious influence, will be expected of God to possess pure and holy characters in accordance with the gifts bestowed. But have they rightly improved their advantages? We know they have not. Let these privileged ones make the most of their blessings, and realize that they are thus placed under greater obligation to labor for the good of others.

God will accept many more workers from the humble walks of life if they will fully consecrate themselves to His service. Men and women should be coming up to carry the truth into all the highways and byways of life. Not all can go through a long course of education, but if they are consecrated to God and learn of Him, many can without this do much to bless others. Thousands would be accepted if they would give themselves to God. Not all who labor in this line should depend upon the conferences for support. Let those who can do so give their time and what ability they have, let them be messengers of God's grace, their hearts throbbing in unison with Christ's great heart of love, their ears open to hear the Macedonian cry.

The whole church needs to be imbued with the missionary spirit, then there will be many to work unselfishly in various ways as they can, without being salaried. There is altogether too much dependence on machinery, on mechanical working. Machinery is good in its place, but do not allow it to become too complicated. I tell you that in many cases it has retarded the

work, and kept out laborers who in their line could have accomplished far more than has been done by the minister who depends on sermonizing more than on ministry. Young men need to catch the missionary spirit, to be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the message. "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." Work in any capacity, work where God leads you, in the line best suited to your talents and best adapted to reach classes that have hitherto been sadly neglected. This kind of labor will develop intellectual and moral power and adaptability to the work.

You must have the grace and love of God in order to succeed. The strength and spirituality of the people of God are manifest by the distinctness of the line of demarcation which separates them from the world. The people of the world are characterized by love for earthly things; they act selfishly, regardless of the principles which Christ has set forth in His life. Christians will manifest the self-sacrificing spirit of Christ in their work, in connection with every branch of the cause. They will do this heartily, not by halves. They will not study their own aggrandizement nor manifest respect of persons. They will not, cannot, live in luxury and self-indulgence while there are suffering ones around them. They cannot by their practice sanction any phase of oppression or injustice to the least child of humanity. They are to be like Christ, to relinquish all selfish delights, all unholy passions, all that love of applause which is the food of the world. They will be willing to be humble and unknown, and to sacrifice even life itself for Christ's sake. By a well-ordered life and godly conversation they will condemn the folly, the impenitence, the idolatry, the iniquitous practices of the world.

The converting power of God must work a transformation of character

in many who claim to believe the present truth, or they cannot fulfill the purpose of God. They are hearers but not doers of the word. Pure, unworldly benevolence will be developed in all who make Christ their personal Saviour. There needs to be far less of self and more of Jesus. The church of Christ is ordained of God that its members shall be representatives of Christ's character. He says, "You have given yourselves to Me, and I give you to the world. I am the light of the world; I present you to the world as My representatives." As Christ in the fullest sense represents the Father, so we are to represent Christ. Let none of those who name the name of Christ be cowards in His cause. For Christ's sake stand as if looking within the open portals of the city of God. Ellen G. White, *The Southern Work*, p. 9. Was originally given as an address to the General Conference delegates on March 20, 1891.

THE CODER'S "HOW-TO" OF CONTENT ANALYSIS

Instructional Information

Content analysis is a research method that analyzes documents and/or materials to obtain meaning and purpose. Essentially, you read through and pick out certain things. Instead of observing people's behavior directly, or asking them to respond to scales, or interviewing them, the content analyst (or you) takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions of the communications. In this case, the analyst asks questions of communication statements (comstats) produced by Ellen G. White and codes or categorizes them accordingly.

The analyst usually asks the following questions of the particular document under study: What is the document saying? What might be its intended purpose? How can the purpose be compatibly matched with the given coding system? What is the best match?

Each document is read for "thought units" (TUs). TUs are sentences that contain a complete idea or theme. TUs can be anywhere from one sentence to three or more. The TUs are then coded according to the codes found on the Coding Result form (CRF). In other words, an analyst will be careful to note TUs when they see them (they seek balance in extracting not too many or too few), they will be aware that the meaning must be consistent with the preceding and succeeding sentences, and they will accurately and creatively match the codes to the thought units.

Please note the following guidelines.

1. Every sentence has meaning. Seek to find out what its meaning is, rather than what you think it should mean or what you want it to mean. It is helpful to first scan the document before analyzing it.

2. TUs are indicated by open and closed brackets ([]). Generally bracket the whole sentence containing a TU, but if more correct, feel free to use part of a sentence. Occasionally, you may choose to double or triple code a particular TU. Generally, you should code according to the primary or dominant idea. Certain codes may be repeatedly used primarily or secondarily.
3. Put the codes to the right of the closed bracket in the margin:
["I will follow thee."] < B
4. Sparingly highlight (yellow markers) outstanding quotations that representatively sum up a particular coding component that may sum up a coding category. Your judgment will dictate how many quotations you use.
5. Work as rapidly as you can while still being thorough. No one is competing. However, the faster, the better. When in doubt, follow your most conservative instinct.
6. Completely fill out a CRF on each document except for the parenthesis--leave blank. Count your codes, categories and themes. Then record on CRF. Don't figure out the percentages (we'll take care of that). Listen for verbal instruction and visual examples on how to use them.

THOUGHT UNIT (TU) CODING DEFINITIONS

COMMUNICATION

Principles (P)

Universal truth or constant.

Perspectives (V)

Reasoning, logic, and/or personal opinion.

Human Dignity (D)

Promotes respect and self-esteem for and about Blacks and all races.

Affirmations (A)

Complimenting Blacks and/or Whites for positive actions and progress.

Confrontations (C)

Criticizing Blacks and/or Whites for failure to take necessary actions.

Appeals (AP)

Request for funds, workers, programs, etc.

Problems (PS)

Problematic themes or sentiments.

ORGANIZATIONAL

Race Relations (R)

Having to do with interaction between Whites and Blacks on the subject of race.

Methods (S)

Ways means, and techniques to resolve problems and achieve Black progress.

Institutions (IN)

Promoting the development of institutions that benefit Blacks.

Education (E)

Promoting educational opportunities for Blacks.

Health (H)

Promoting medical work and health education of Blacks.

Benevolence (BE)

Acts of kindness on behalf of Blacks--organizationally or individually.

Bible (B)

Quoted Bible references. Paraphrased Bible thoughts.

Revelation (RV)

Inspirations such as visions, dreams, (e.g., I was shown . . . " ").

Negative Influences (N)

Indicating evil or negative influences.

Coding Result Form

Document Title: _____ (#) Major _____ Minor _____
 Source: _____ Date Published: _____ No. of Pages: _____
 Coder: _____ Date Coded: _____

Communication		NUMBER	PERCENT
	Principles (P)		
	Perspectives (V)		
	Human Dignity (D)		
	Affirmations (A)		
	Confrontations (C)		
	Appeals (AP)		
	Problems (PS)		
Total			

Themes	CATAGORY RANKING	NUMBER	PERCENT
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		

Notes

Organizational		NUMBER	PERCENT
	Race Relations (R)		
	Methods (S)		
	Institutions (IN)		
	Education (E)		
	Health (H)		
	Benevolence (BE)		
Total			

Misc. <small>No Statistical Value</small>		NUMBER	PERCENT
	Bible (B)		
	Revelation (RV)		
Negative Influences (N)			

Quotes	1. Subject: _____ Location: _____ Code: _____		
	2. Subject: _____ Location: _____ Code: _____		
	3. Subject: _____ Location: _____ Code: _____		
	4. Subject: _____ Location: _____ Code: _____		
	5. Subject: _____ Location: _____ Code: _____		

FREQUENCY TABLE (1891-1910) - A
Foundational Components

Observed Frequency Table

	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	Totals
PRINCIPLES	50	24	87	23	184
PERSPECTIVES	19	13	196	7	235
PROBLEMS	12	6	22	7	47
TOTALS	81	43	305	37	466

Percents of 20-Year Totals

	1891-95	1896-1900	1901-05	1906-10	Totals
PRINCIPLES	27.174%	13.043%	47.283%	12.5%	100%
PERSPECTIVES	8.085%	5.532%	83.404%	2.979%	100%
PROBLEMS	25.532%	12.766%	46.809%	14.894%	100%
Totals	17.382%	9.227%	65.451%	7.94%	100%

Percents of Totals

	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	Totals
PRINCIPLES	61.728%	55.814%	28.525%	62.162%	39.485%
PERSPECTIVES	23.457%	30.233%	64.262%	18.919%	50.429%
PROBLEMS	14.815%	13.953%	7.213%	18.919%	10.086%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

FREQUENCY TABLE (1891-1910) - B
Relational Components

	Observed Frequency				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
DIGNITY	25	16	29	23	93
RELATIONS	37	29	65	23	154
BENEVOL	2	3	12	10	27
APPEAL	32	42	65	55	194
Totals:	96	90	171	111	168

	Percents of Totals				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
DIGNITY	26.882%	17.204%	31.183%	24.731%	100%
RELATIONS	24.026%	18.831%	42.208%	14.935%	100%
BENEVOL	7.407%	11.111%	44.444%	37.037%	100%
APPEAL	16.495%	21.649%	33.505%	28.351%	100%
Totals:	20.513%	19.231%	36.538%	23.718%	100%

	Percents of Totals				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
DIGNITY	26.042%	17.778%	16.959%	20.721%	19.872%
RELATIONS	38.542%	32.222%	38.012%	20.721%	32.906
BENEVOL	2.083%	3.333%	7.018%	9.009%	5.769
APPEAL	33.333%	46.667%	38.012%	49.55%	41.453%
Totals:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

FREQUENCY TABLE (1891-1910) - C
Actional Components

	Observed Frequency				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
EDUCATIONAL	21	13.	57	39	130
HEALTH	5	5	23	9	42
INSTITUTIONS	4	3	78	21	106
METHODS	44	60	133	67	304
Totals:	74	81	291	136	582

	Percents of Totals				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
EDUCATIONAL	16.154%	10%	43.846%	30%	100%
HEALTH	11.905%	11.905%	54.762%	21.429%	100%
INSTITUTIONS	3.774%	2.83%	73.585%	19.811%	100%
METHODS	14.474%	19.373%	43.75%	22.039%	100%
Totals:	12.715%	13.918%	50%	23.368%	100%

	Percents of Totals				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
EDUCATIONAL	28.378%	16.049%	19.588%	28.676%	22.337%
HEALTH	6.757%	6.173%	7.904%	6.618%	7.216%
INSTITUTIONS	5.405%	3.704%	26.804%	15.441%	18.213%
METHODS	59.459%	74.074%	45.704%	49.265%	52.234%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

FREQUENCY TABLE (1891-1910) - D
Motivational Components

	Observed Frequency				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
CONFRONTATION	33	54	58	27	172
AFFIRMATIONS	3	6	64	23	96
Totals:	36	60	122	50	268

	Percents of Totals				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
CONFRONTATION	19.186%	31.395%	33.721%	15.698%	100%
AFFIRMATION	3.125%	6.25%	66.667%	23.958%	100%
Totals:	13.433%	22.388%	45.522%	18.657%	100%

	Percents of Totals				Totals:
	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	
CONFRONTATION	91.667%	90%	47.541%	54%	64.17%
AFFIRMATIONS	8.333%	10%	52.459%	46%	35.82%
Totals:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi Square Results for Content Analysis

Coded Chi-Square X ₁ : SEGMENT Y ₁ : Foundational	
Summary Statistics	
DF:	6
Total Chi-Square:	68.965 p = .0001
G Statistic:	71.682
Contingency Coefficient:	.359
Cramer's V:	.272

Observed Frequency Table					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
PRINCIPLES	50	24	87	23	184
Perspectives	19	13	196	7	235
PROBLEMS	12	6	22	7	47
Totals:	81	43	305	37	466

Percents of Row Totals					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
PRINCIPLES	27.174%	13.043%	47.283%	12.5%	100%
Perspectives	8.085%	5.532%	83.404%	2.979%	100%
PROBLEMS	25.532%	12.766%	46.809%	14.894%	100%
Totals:	17.382%	9.227%	65.451%	7.94%	100%

Percents of Column Totals					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
PRINCIPLES	61.728%	55.814%	28.525%	62.162%	39.485%
Perspectives	23.457%	30.233%	64.262%	18.919%	50.429%
PROBLEMS	14.815%	13.953%	7.213%	18.919%	10.086%
Totals:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Expected Values					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
PRINCIPLES	31.983	16.979	120.429	14.609	184
Perspectives	40.848	21.685	153.809	18.659	235
PROBLEMS	8.17	4.337	30.762	3.732	47
Totals:	81	43	305	37	466

Post-Hoc Cell Contributions					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	
PRINCIPLES	4.506	2.299	-6.662	2.941	
Perspectives	-5.342	-2.78	8.22	-3.995	
PROBLEMS	1.555	.884	-2.834	1.86	

Coded Chi-Square X² : PERIOD Y² : Relational

Summary Statistics

DF:	9
Total Chi-Square:	20.139 p = .0171
G Statistic:	21.251
Contingency Coefficient:	.203
Cramer's V:	.12

Observed Frequency Table

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
DIGNITY	25	16	29	23	93
RACE	37	29	65	23	154
BENEVOL	2	3	12	10	27
APPEAL	32	42	65	55	194
Totals:	96	90	171	111	468

Percents of Row Totals

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
DIGNITY	26.882%	17.204%	31.183%	24.731%	100%
RACE	24.026%	18.831%	42.208%	14.935%	100%
BENEVOL	7.407%	11.111%	44.444%	37.037%	100%
APPEAL	16.495%	21.649%	33.505%	28.351%	100%
Totals:	20.513%	19.231%	36.538%	23.718%	100%

Percents of Column Totals					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
DIGNITY	26.042%	17.778%	16.959%	20.721%	19.872%
RACE	38.542%	32.222%	38.012%	20.721%	32.906%
BENEVOL	2.083%	3.333%	7.018%	9.009%	5.769%
APPEAL	33.333%	46.667%	38.012%	49.55%	41.453%
Totals:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Expected Values					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
DIGNITY	19.077	17.885	33.981	22.058	93
RACE	31.59	29.615	56.269	36.526	154
BENEVOL	5.538	5.192	9.865	6.404	27
APPEAL	39.795	37.308	70.885	46.013	194
Totals:	96	90	171	111	468

Post-Hoc Cell Contributions					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	
DIGNITY	1.699	-.554	-1.198	.257	
RACE	1.318	-.154	1.784	-3.128	
BENEVOL	-1.737	-1.103	.879	1.676	
APPEAL	-1.811	1.117	-1.147	1.983	

Coded Chi-Square X₁ : PERIOD Y₁ : Actional

Summary Statistics

DF:	9	
Total Chi-Square:	45.611	p = .0001
G Statistic:	50.414	
Contingency Coefficient:	.27	
Cramer's V:	.162	

Observed Frequency Table

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
EDUCATION	21	13	57	39	130
HEALTH	5	5	23	9	42
INSTITUTION	4	3	78	21	106
Methods	44	60	133	67	304
Totals:	74	81	291	136	582

Percents of Row Totals

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
EDUCATION	16.154%	10%	43.846%	30%	100%
HEALTH	11.905%	11.905%	54.762%	21.429%	100%
INSTITUTION	3.774%	2.83%	73.585%	19.811%	100%
Methods	14.474%	19.737%	43.75%	22.039%	100%
Totals:	12.715%	13.918%	50%	23.368%	100%

Percents of Column Totals					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
EDUCATION	28.378%	16.049%	19.588%	28.676%	22.337%
HEALTH	6.757%	6.173%	7.904%	6.618%	7.216%
INSTITUTION	5.405%	3.704%	26.804%	15.441%	18.213%
Institution	59.459%	74.074%	45.704%	49.265%	52.234%
Totals:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Expected Values					
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
EDUCATION	16.529	18.093	65	30.378	130
HEALTH	5.34	5.845	21	9.814	42
INSTITUTION	13.478	14.753	53	24.77	106
Institution	38.653	42.309	152	71.038	304
Totals:	74	81	291	136	582

Post-Hoc Cell Contributions				
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR
EDUCATION	1.336	-1.464	-1.592	2.028
HEALTH	-.164	-.391	.641	-.308
INSTITUTION	-3.055	-3.647	5.37	-.957
Institution	1.332	4.241	-3.153	-.792

Coded Chi-Square X₁ : Column 1 Y₁ : Motivational

Summary Statistics

DF:	3	
Total Chi-Square:	46.176	p = .0001
G Statistic:	52.187	
Contingency Coefficient:	.383	
Cramer's V:	.415	

Observed Frequency Table

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
CONFRONT	33	54	58	27	172
AFFIRM	3	6	64	23	96
Totals:	36	60	122	50	268

Percents of Row Totals

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
CONFRONT	19.186%	31.395%	33.721%	15.698%	100%
AFFIRM	3.125%	6.25%	66.667%	23.958%	100%
Totals:	13.433%	22.388%	45.522%	18.657%	100%

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
CONFRONT	91.667%	90%	47.541%	54%	64.179%
AFFIRM	8.333%	10%	52.459%	46%	35.821%
Totals:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	Totals:
CONFRONT	23.104	38.507	78.299	32.09	172
AFFIRM	12.896	21.493	43.701	17.91	96
Totals:	36	60	122	50	268

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR
CONFRONT	3.697	4.735	-5.193	-1.664
AFFIRM	-3.697	-4.735	5.193	1.664

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