

Theological Ethics

**A Fuller Realisation of the Seventh-day
Adventist Vision of Wholeness for Racial Justice:
A Counter-Vision to the Invisibility of Whiteness**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the Seventh-day Adventist vision of wholeness using the social location of people of colour who are situated on the underside of America's racial divide. Specifically, the thesis addresses the problem of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism has been perpetuated in America from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. The main argument of the thesis is: the Seventh-day Adventist vision of wholeness ought to be modified, so that it is not susceptible to the dominant norm that perpetuates racism. Instead, the Adventist vision is realised more fully when it becomes counter-visionary and anti-racist to the on-going saga of racial injustice in America.

To develop the main argument of the thesis further, several sources are placed creatively and imaginatively in relationship with each other, for the purpose of integrating theology as ethics by using a typology from below, in conjunction with dialogical attunement and the moral imagination. The sources I use in the thesis are: Seventh-day Adventist studies, African American theology, religion and ethics plus whiteness studies. Together they create a synergy between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Black protest tradition that is theologised and actualised in relation to the legacy of interracial conflict, social change and reconciliation that the history of Selma has bequeathed.

By using these sources to construct a theological ethic that modifies the Seventh-day Adventist vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision, this thesis makes a contribution to Christian ethics that is antiracist in its approach to making the invisibility of whiteness visible, and contesting it as a norm, so that racism is eventually overturned and no longer perpetuated.

Thus defended in this thesis is a Seventh-day Adventist counter-vision of wholeness that reveals a God working in the midst of history to redeem all of his children and gather them into the good news of the harmonious shalom of Jesus Christ; especially those people who are socially located on the underside of all-encompassing visions and scripts of superiority that are reproduced by oppressive conquerors, enslavers, unjust authorities, corporations, powers and dominions.

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Abbreviations

HB	Hebrew Bible
NT	New Testament
LXX	Septuagint
NIV	New International Version

Introduction

The core question addressed in this thesis is: how can Seventh-day Adventists achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness?¹ The main argument I put forward is: Seventh-day Adventists ought to modify their vision of wholeness so that it becomes more fully realisable as a counter-vision. This modification is necessary because when a rival pseudo-vision becomes the dominant norm in church and society, it weakens the SDA vision of wholeness, while displacing the church from its trajectory towards achieving its intended goal.²

The main issue I am concerned about in my thesis is the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated in church and society. Contextually, I locate this issue at the intersection between the Adventist religious narrative and the long-drawn-out story of racism in America, particularly in the transition from the antebellum era to the postbellum period that followed the American Civil War. America's racial story is primarily a story of 'white-on-black racism'. It is a story that locates whites at the top of a racial hierarchy with people of colour below.³ Moreover, it is the story of a:

Comprehensive system of exploitation and oppression originally designed by white Americans for black Americans, a system of racism that for

¹ By using the term Seventh-day Adventists, I am including the entire baptised membership of the church. From this point onwards, I will use the terms Seventh-day Adventist (s), the acronym SDA (at times the church has used this acronym to identify itself throughout history), Seventh-day Adventism, Adventism and Adventist (s) interchangeably. Also, I will use Adventist(s) and Adventism to refer to the Millerite and Sabbatarian Second Advent believers who existed prior to the official organisation of the SDA Church in 1863. On the date of '22 January 2023', the Seventh-day Adventist World Church verified that I can use these terms interchangeably throughout my thesis. This verification was sent to me by email. Also, see Sandra Blackmer, 'Just a Name—Or a Registered Trademark?', *Adventist Review* (2010), 3 <<https://adventistreview.org/2010-1516/2010-1516-24/>> [accessed 9 Jan 2023].

² I will develop this concept of a pseudo-vision in more detail in the second chapter of this thesis. For now I will describe the pseudo-vision as bogus and antithetical to the SDA vision of wholeness.

³ Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, & Future Reparations* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2001), p. 220.

centuries has penetrated every major area of American society and thus shaped the lives of every American, black and non-black.⁴

The invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated, is integral to America's racial story because it represents the script of superiority that reproduces a pseudo-vision that racialises the American social order.

What do I mean by a script of superiority? A script of superiority is an ideological source of information that is conveyed in the relationship of the letters X and Y. In the case of this thesis, X = white Euro-Americans and Y = people of colour. The script of superiority conveys the idea that whiteness evades any form of racial categorisation because it stands outside of "race"; therefore it represents the ideal of what it means to be human.⁵ Moreover, a script of superiority reproduces a vision to live by that becomes the enacted, but unexamined norm within a social order.⁶ In general, a script of superiority is inherited or generated by a dominant group who assign to themselves a role of superiority over others who are below them somewhere on a stratified continuum.

It is my contention that whiteness was normalised in accordance with a script of superiority that made it racially neutral. This normalisation of whiteness has kept it invisible and unexamined for most white people living in North America and around the world. Zeus Leonardo concurs because he argues that the imprint of whiteness exists everywhere, so it exists in the construction of history, in the innovation and creation of the sciences and in the arts. Also, he claims whites have created a structure in which they as a group represent the best that civilisation has to offer, 'however, when it concerns domination, whites suddenly disappear, as if history were purely a positive

⁴ Feagin, *Racist America*, p. 204.

⁵ Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), p. 27.

⁶ DiAngelo, *White Fragility*, p. 21.

sense of contribution. Their previous omnipotence becomes a position of nowhere, a certain politics of undetectability'.⁷ Likewise, George Lipsitz has stated that 'whiteness is everywhere in U.S. culture, but it is very hard to see'.⁸

In my thesis, I am arguing that in U.S. culture, the invisibility of whiteness has normalised a racial hierarchy that has been detrimental to American people of colour. Also, the elusive and invisible properties of whiteness have continuously marked African Americans in particular as enemies or othered them as problematic.⁹ This us-versus-them conflict has organised church and society in America in an unequal way that locates whites above (in a position of dominance and privilege), while black and brown people in general have been located below (in a counter position to dominance and privilege).¹⁰ It is from the latter location that I have chosen to construct a theological ethic that modifies the SDA vision of wholeness, so that it becomes a counter-vision to the script of superiority that perpetuates the false "white vs. black" dichotomy of racism.¹¹

Rationale for the Research

From the nineteenth century onwards, SDAs have predominantly approached their vision of wholeness in association with health reform and the medical sciences.

Historically, this approach has been extremely valuable to the church's local and global

⁷ Zeus Leonardo, 'The Color of Supremacy: Beyond the Discourse of 'White Privilege'', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36 (2004), 137-52 (p. 149).

⁸ George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*, revised and expanded edn (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), p. 1.

⁹ George Yancy, *Look a White! Philosophical Essays on Whiteness* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2012), pp. 1-7; Richard Dyer, *White*, 20th Anniversary edn (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), p. 45.

¹⁰ Steve Garner argues that being white signifies a social location. In fact, he refers to 'whiteness as a privilege-holding social location'. See Steve Garner, *Whiteness an Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 38-39; speaking on the subject of white supremacy and white privilege, Zeus Leonardo states, 'whites enjoy privileges largely because they have created a system of domination under which they can thrive'. Leonardo, 'The Color of Supremacy', p. 148; I would argue that this system has not disappeared with the transgressions of times past, instead it has continued over centuries into the present moment.

¹¹ Jean Halley, Amy Eshleman and Ramya Mahadevan Vijaya, *Seeing White: An Introduction to White Privilege* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2011), pp. 10-11.

mission, but sometimes it has been problematic. For example, when John Harvey Kellogg, a former SDA doctor, made his own brand of health reform and medical science superior to the church's traditional belief in the gospel and their theology, mission and ethics. His overemphasis on health as an end in itself, promoted a pseudo-vision of wholeness that if left unchecked had the potential to become the dominant norm within the SDA Church; Kellogg called his all-encompassing vision of healing Biologic Living.¹²

Rather than being reliant on health reform and medical science as the predominant approach to SDAs achieving a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness, I develop a rationale for my thesis that is based on a growing number of Adventist scholars who demonstrate in their theology and ethics that there are other approaches to the SDA vision of wholeness that contribute to its expansion beyond the parameters of good health and medical advancement. Moreover, I reason that very little interdisciplinary work has been done by Adventist scholars to bring together sources from SDA studies, whiteness studies and African American theological and religious studies, in order to address the problem of the invisibility of whiteness and the perpetuation of racism in the context of the United States. In line with this reasoning, I want to address a divide that confines the subject of racism as a matter of concern for the black and brown SDA community and wholeness as a matter of concern for the white Euro-American SDA community. These two subjects have hardly been brought together for academic analysis, so on this basis I hope to fill this knowledge gap by using an interdisciplinary approach for the problem of my thesis.

¹² Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, 2nd edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp. 302-14; Austin Eli Loignon, 'Cornflakes, God and Circumcision: John Harvey Kellogg and Transatlantic Health Reform', (unpublished doctoral thesis, the University of Texas at Arlington, 2019), pp. 58-64.

Purpose of the Research

This research project has several aims. One of the aims of the research is to bring to the forefront the SDA vision of wholeness in the church's present and future theological and ethical approach to antiracism in America and across the globe. After all, two scholars of Adventism have documented that “wholism” is the denomination's major contribution to the world'.¹³ Also, I aim to demonstrate how this vision is part of the SDA peace-making heritage, especially in the anti-racist work the church has done in collaboration with the Black protest tradition during the antebellum era of its pioneers and at various times in the postbellum era of the denomination's history.¹⁴ Although the SDA vision of wholeness or wholism has been around for a long time in the heritage of the Adventist Church, its potential has been underused and undervalued in the struggle for racial justice and the establishment of God's eschatological shalom for human flourishing inside the church and within society.¹⁵ In addition, by constructing a theological ethic that modifies SDA's vision of wholeness so that it becomes realisable as a counter-vision, I hope to put an Adventist accent on an approach to antiracism that distinguishes it from other religious visions that have placed a particular stress on ecumenism or the social gospel of theological liberalism.¹⁶

¹³ Bull and Lockhart argue that wholism's contribution to the world was more important to the Adventists they surveyed than the church's eschatology, 'Sabbatarianism and the Great Controversy theme'. Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, 'The Intellectual World of Adventists', *Spectrum*, 18 (1987), 32 <https://www.andrews.edu/library/car/cardigital/Periodicals/Spectrum/1987_Vol_18/1_October_1987.pdf> [accessed 7 February 2018].

¹⁴ I provide a fuller definition for the Black protest tradition in the third chapter of my thesis, so for the time being, I will define the Black protest tradition in sum as: representing the lived experience of Black people in the US, their African heritage, moral agency and prophetic voice in protest.

¹⁵ At various times in my thesis, I will use the terms wholeness and wholism interchangeably.

¹⁶ I am arguing that the SDA vision of wholeness is not synonymous with any ecumenical vision that seeks to gather all Christians back into the fold of one dominant mother church, thus placing them under the authority of the priestly Bishop of Rome. Furthermore, the SDA vision of wholeness should not be complicit with any church and state union that results in the political and ecclesial persecution of religious minorities. Concerning the social gospel, the SDA vision of wholeness is not synonymous with the ideal of setting up a perfect version of the kingdom of God on earth prior to Christ's Second Advent. However, an SDA vision of wholeness that becomes counter-visionary is more in sync with the African American social gospel tradition of Black protest. For a balanced account of the SDA perspective on ecumenism see

Another aim of this thesis is to make the invisibility of whiteness visible, so that it is not left unexamined as the SDA Church moves forward into the twenty-first century and beyond. Concerning the diverse make-up of the church's membership in the USA, the Pew Research Centre named the SDA Church as one of 'the most racially and ethnically diverse' religious groups in America in 2015.¹⁷ However, the results of this research poll do not mean that the church is immune to racism and these statistics may further the illusion that whiteness simply disappears in the ethnic "melting pot" of America or it simply becomes transparent or colourless.

In recent years, the invisibility of whiteness has been kept visible and made prominent in the minds of Adventists through various church media; some examples are: the Black SDA History website; the documentary 'The Wound'; the NAD's *'Is This Thing On'*; the Conscience and Justice Council (CJC) Virtual Conventions – e.g. the 'Lucy Byard Symposium'; Dr Sydney Freeman's 'Decolonising Adventism'; podcast features by Carmela Monk Crawford, Claudia Allen and Carl McRoy for the *Message Magazine*; the recent book *A House on Fire; How Adventist Faith Responds to Race and Racism* edited by Maury D Jackson and Nathan Brown and sermons by several pastors: Iver Myers – 'The Hidden Agenda Behind Racism', Daniel Xisto – 'How Long O Lord?', Taurus Montgomery – 'Let Justice Roll', Dr Timothy Golden – 'Helping America Keep its Promise', Dr Olive Hemmings – 'The Prophetic Power of Sabbath' and Garry A. Gordon's 'Black History Month' series at Lauderhill SDA

Nicholas P. Miller, *The Reformation and the Remnant: The Reformers Speak to Today's Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2016), pp. 101-07; G. Edward Reid, *Sunday's Coming! Eye-Opening Evidence that These are the Last Days* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing, 1996), pp. 52-53; Zdravko Plantak, *The Silent Church: Human Rights and Adventist Social Ethics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. 169, 180; Garry Dorrien, *Breaking White Supremacy: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Black Social Gospel* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 1, 23.

¹⁷ Michael Lipka, 'A Closer Look at Seventh-day Adventists in America', (2015), 1-3 <<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/03/a-closer-look-at-seventh-day-adventists-in-america/>> [accessed 12 August 2022].

Church.¹⁸ All of these media have in common the theme that the perpetuation of racism exists as a problem inside and outside of the church. Therefore, racism is systemic, and it is perpetuated not only in the SDA Church, but it can be found in all walks of society, for example in education, politics, business, economics, the property market, the mass media, the arts, science and technology, sports, policing, the courts and the prison system.

In accordance with all of the aims of this thesis, I intend to make a contribution to the field of theological ethics by situating the Adventist story as it intersects with America's racial story in a tradition of Christian ethics that employs the language of vision, imagination and action in the moral quest for how SDA Christians ought to live prior to the *Parousia*.¹⁹ Furthermore, the thesis takes up the challenge Ginger Hanks-

¹⁸ On the Black SDA History website, see the discussion on Dr Stark O. Cherry's correspondence with the General Conference president James Lamar McElhany by Benjamin Baker and Douglas Morgan, 'State of the Church, 1944', online video recording, YouTube, 26 May 2022 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELOof5RNwAM>> [accessed 12 August 2022]. This discussion is also included in Appendix E of this thesis; I will discuss it in greater detail in chapter five; Andrew Ashley and Mark Comberiate, 'The Wound: Racism in the Adventist Church', online video recording, YouTube, 10 February 2018 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eiUH-Hht8ck>> [accessed 12 August 2022]. This video is in four parts; Jared Wright, 'North American Leaders Address Student Questions on Race, Gender, Sexuality and More', *Spectrum* (2017), 1-5 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/article/2017/03/17/north-american-division-leaders-address-student-questions-race-gender-sexuality-a>> [accessed 8 November 2017]; Adventist HealthCare, 'CJC Virtual Convention: Lucille Byard Symposium', online video recording, YouTube, 26 September 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SX8wwIO5O8A>> [accessed 14 August 2022]; Dr Sydney Freeman, 'Decolonising Adventism', online video recording, YouTube, 17 October 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuHs8AVXR3k>> [accessed 14 August 2022]; *A House on Fire: How Adventist Faith Responds to Race and Racism*, ed. by Maury D Jackson and Nathan Brown (Warburton, VIC: Signs Publishing, 2022); Iver Myers, 'The Hidden Agenda Behind Racism', online video recording, YouTube, 30 May 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpEF8qa4pt4>> [accessed 14 August 2022]; Daniel Xisto, 'How Long O Lord?', online video recording, YouTube, '[n.d.]' <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wiNFdsy0YAAQ>> [accessed 14 August 2022]; Taurus Montgomery, 'Let Justice Roll', online video recording, YouTube, '[n.d.]' <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rEb2t31q2qc>> [accessed 14 August 2022]; Timothy Golden, 'Helping America Keep its Promise', online video recording, YouTube, 27 February 2022 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EFNEsttYlsw>> [accessed 14 August 2022]; Olive Hemmings, 'The Prophetic Power of the Sabbath', online video recording, YouTube, 15 September 2017 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QBOJTFCqtQE>> [accessed 12 August 2022]; Garry A. Gordon, 'Black History Month', *Lauderhill Seventh-day Adventist Church Live Worship*, online video recording, YouTube, 5 February 2017 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ijxg7YFLJLs&list=PLwXNcst5bgYiSu0k2SwFkWitSOpg4eU7P&index=3>> [accessed 12 August 2022].

¹⁹ There is a tradition of non-Adventist Christian ethicists who use the language of moral quest, vision and imagination in their work. For example, see Stanley J. Grenz, *The Moral Quest: Foundations of Christian Ethics* (Leicester: Apollos, 1997), pp. 21, 202-03, 219, 237-239; James Wm. McClendon, Jr., *Ethics: Systematic Theology*, rev. edn, 3 vols (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002), pp. 26-34; Richard B.

Harwood made to Seventh-day Adventists in the *Remnant and the Republic* to further the field of Christian ethics by pursuing their vision of wholeness to its fullness.²⁰

Moreover, I argue that SDAs in the twenty-first century ought to continue living in the world in a way that is counter-visionary, wholistic and anti-racist. This way of living will require them to choose a different typological mould from what existed in centuries gone by. However, this counter-visionary way of living wholeness in the world is not just for SDAs; it applies to anyone who is a sincere follower of Jesus Christ waiting for his Second Advent.

Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: Community, Cross and the New Creation: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (New York, NY: Harper One, 1996), pp. 193-96, 308, 462, 469-70; Bruce C. Birch and others, *Bible and Ethics in the Christian Life: A New Conversation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2018), pp. 132-37; Kelly Brown Douglas, *Stand Your Ground: Black Bodies and the Justice of God* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2015), pp. 225-226; Willie James Jennings, *The Christian Imagination: Theology and the Origin of Race* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 6-9; Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt and Brace & Company, 1981), xx-xxi; Barbara A. Holmes, 'Still on the Journey: Moral Witness, Imagination and Improvisation in Public Life', in *Ethics That Matters: African, Caribbean, and African American Sources*, ed. by Marcia Y. Riggs and James Samuel Logan (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), p. 235; Walter Brueggemann, *The Practice of Prophetic Imagination: Preaching an Emancipatory Word* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012), pp. 21-26; Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: A Provocative Christian Assessment of Culture and Ministry for People Who Know that Something is Wrong* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989), pp. 84, 95; Victor Anderson and Teresa Delgado, 'For the Beauty of the World Vision and Moral Order in Martin Luther King Jr.'s World House', in *Reclaiming The Great World House The Global Vision of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. by Vicki L. Crawford and Lewis V. Baldwin (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 19-36. Also, there are a number of SDAs who use the language of moral quest, vision and imagination in their work, while some speak of a way rather than a quest. See Gerald R. Winslow, 'The Grace of Wholeness', *Pacific Union Recorder* (2019), 19 <<https://issuu.com/pacificunionrecorder/docs/0819recorder>> [Accessed 17 January 2021]; Kendra Haloviak Valentine, *Worlds at War, Nations in Song: Dialogic Imagination and Moral Vision in the Hymns of the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: WIPF & Stock, 2015) pp. 144-60; Larry L. Lichtenwalter, 'The Apocalypse and Ethics: Eschatology and the Moral Imagination in the Book of Revelation', in *Adventist Perspective: Proceedings of the Fourth International Bible Conference*, ed. by Elias Brazil de Souza and others (Silver Springs, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 2021), pp. 323-56; Roy Branson, 'Virtues, Obligations, and the Prophetic Vision', *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal*, 6 (1996), 1-7; Charles Scriven, 'The Peacemaking Remnant: Spirituality and Mission for a People of Hope', in *The Peacemaking Remnant: Essays and Historical Documents* ed. by Douglas Morgan (Kearney, NE: Adventist Peace Fellowship, 2005), pp. 7-20; Charles Scriven, *The Promise of Peace* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2009), pp. 11, 14, 22, 24-25, 28-29.

²⁰ In her essay entitled 'Wholeness', Hanks-Harwood refers to Proverbs 29.18 to stress the biblical import of vision; the Scripture states 'where there is no vision, the people perish'. Ginger Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', in *Remnant and Republic: Adventist Themes for Personal and Social Ethics* ed. by Charles W. Teel, Jr. (Loma Linda, CA: Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics, 1995), pp. 127-44.

Scope of the Research

The scope of this thesis has been delimited to the problem of racial division in America as it unfolded alongside the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the same historical and national context. However, I recognise that racial division is one of many problems the SDA Church faced during the 1800s and the twentieth century, and it continues to be one of multiple problems facing the church in the twenty-first century. Alone, the depth and breadth of the racial problem in the United States is complex, so it takes some mastering, especially if you are non-American. Therefore, due to the constraints of time, geographic location and the word limit for this thesis, I have chosen not to digress too far into other related issues that affect the moral life of the church such as: Colourism, Ableism, Sexism, gender equality, gender identity and sexual orientation, even though all of these issues are important in their own right.²¹ Also I do not delve specifically into the issue of Black and white SDA conferences in the U.S. too much because many Adventist scholars have already covered this important subject. Nor do I stray too far at this point in addressing other inequities that affect the Black diaspora and the wider SDA community that exists across the globe. All of these issues indicate that this thesis may contribute to a larger geo-political and religious narrative of how SDAs ought to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness.

Selma as a Nexus for Doing Theological Ethics

In my thesis, I identify the American city of Selma in Alabama as a nexus or focal point from which I construct my theological ethic. In the subsequent chapters, I make several arguments geared towards using Selma as a nexus for doing theological ethics. Firstly, I identify Selma as a nexus in my re-narration of SDA's theology of

²¹ Natalia Perez, 'Colorism: The Elephant in Hispanic Communities', <https://knowledge.e.southern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=interactivejour_blog> [accessed 22 August 2022].

history. This re-narration follows Ellen G. White's account of redemptive history as it is recorded in her *Conflict of the Ages* series and *The Story of Redemption* narrative.²² In particular, the former account of sacred history divides time over a period of five epochs. Ellen G. White named the final epoch 'The Great Controversy'.²³ According to SDA's theology of history, the church has interpreted America prophetically as the two-horned beast that rises from the earth in Revelation 13.11-18.²⁴ This conception of America has at times caused the church to view the nation with great suspicion and disapproval, but due to Seventh-day Adventism being a home-grown religion, it has also shown its approval of certain aspects of the nation in which it was birthed.²⁵

Secondly, in my re-narration of SDA's theology of history paradigm, I search for a real-world social location from which to do theology and ethics in the intersections where the Adventist story and America's racial story meet. I argue that Selma is one

²² *The Conflict of the Ages* series includes five books written by Ellen G. White. The author based the content of these books on the Holy Bible and the vision she received at Lovett's Grove, Ohio in 1858. Over time, the *Conflict of the Ages* series followed this order: *Patriarchs and Prophets*, *Prophets and Kings*, *The Desire of Ages*, *Acts of the Apostles* and *The Great Controversy*; two chapters of *Prophets and Kings* were completed by C. C. Crisler in 1916. See Arthur L. White, 'Ellen G. White's Portrayal of the Great Controversy Story', in *Spirit of Prophecy*, (1969) 4 vols, Supplement to rpr. edn, 1-2 <<https://whiteestate.org/legacy/issues-4sop-supp.html>> [accessed 22 March 2023]; Ellen G. White, *The Story of Redemption* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974). This is a compilation of Mrs White's writings. Ellen G. White was one of the original founders of the SDA Church.

²³ The fifth epoch begins during the Roman siege of Jerusalem in AD 70, and then it continues into the twenty-first century and beyond; culminating in Christ's return.

²⁴ In 1858, Ellen G. White's Great Controversy vision was published in the first volume of *Spiritual Gifts*. This 219-page book was too small to include the full panoramic scope of her vision of salvation history, so the interpretation of America as the two-horned beast did not feature in her text until 1884 when the publication of *Spiritual Gifts* volume 4 was printed. Subsequently, the four volumes of *Spiritual Gifts* were republished as the *Conflict of the Ages* series. Prior to Mrs White's 1858 vision, a number of Adventist pioneers had interpreted that America was the two-horned beast of Revelation 13. See White, 'Ellen G. White's Portrayal of the Great Controversy Story', 1-17; Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1888), pp. 382-96; Jonathan M. Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*, ed. by Edwin S. Gaustad (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974), p. 174.

²⁵ Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart describe the nature of Seventh-day Adventism's relationship to America as ambiguous. Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, p. xiii; Jonathan M. Butler argues that compared to its earliest days, the SDA Church became more evangelical in its Adventism and attitude towards the nation, so over time its perception of the lamb-like beast softened because it interpreted its dragon-like characteristics as being partially disclosed during the American slave trade, but the nations preservation of its civil liberties and religious freedoms delayed its full disclosure. Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', pp. 174, 180-85, 191-93.

such location where the two stories converge because I identify this iconic city in Alabama as a nexus for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition.²⁶ In the thesis, I demonstrate that Selma as a nexus connects the Black protest tradition over many generations to a long history of counter-visionary activity that exposes, contests and overturns the dominant racial script of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.²⁷ Furthermore, I contend in my thesis that at certain times in their denominational history, Seventh-day Adventists who have been dialogically attuned to the Black protest tradition have shared in its anti-racist and counter-visionary activity inside their own religious community and in the wider society. The life stories of SDA people of faith that I include in my thesis provide an insight into what a counter-vision of wholeness looks like as it is embodied in a real-world context.

Thirdly, in using Selma as a nexus for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition, I ground my own unique contribution of the term dialogical attunement within the scope of theological ethics as it relates to the call of the moral life in pursuit of a vision of wholeness that is directed towards the cries for racial justice and peace made by people of colour who are socially located on the underside of scripts of superiority. By grounding the term in theological ethics, I am distinguishing it from theories that ground the terminology primarily in communication ethics or the therapeutic sciences, but I recognise that in my exposition of this term there may be some interdisciplinary overlap.²⁸

²⁶ I will provide a fuller account of the meaning of dialogical attunement in the third chapter of my thesis.

²⁷ At certain times in my thesis, I will use the term dominant racial script interchangeably with script of superiority.

²⁸ John Shotter, 'On Being Dialogical: an Ethics of Attunement', *Context* (2015), 1-11 <<https://developingpendialogue.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Shotter-Context-2015.pdf>> [accessed 7 August 2022]; Linda Finlay, *Relational Integrative Psychotherapy: Engaging Process and Theory in Practice* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2016), pp. 46-58.

Fourthly, I am using Selma as a nexus for the purpose of integrating theology and ethics into the constructive task of modifying SDA's vision of wholeness through dialogical attunement and typology. To achieve this task, I engage in a comparative analysis of typology as a theological source within the Black protest tradition and the SDA heritage, so that I can apply the insights I gain into my own hermeneutical contribution to typology as it relates to the SDA vision of wholeness. According to the New Testament scholar Leonhard Goppelt and the Adventist theologian Hans K. LaRondelle, typology is a valid biblical approach because it was the predominant means of interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures by Jesus and the first generation of Christians.²⁹ However, I am aware that in the Occident, as Europeans transitioned from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment era, typology came under criticism and it gradually fell out of favour among some theologians due to the religious, intellectual, and cultural shifts that took place during the sixteenth to the twentieth century.³⁰ However I argue that in the American context, typology has played an integral role in the Black protest tradition and in the theological heritage of Seventh-day Adventists.

Permission to Re-narrate from Below

Now that I have identified Selma as a nexus within my re-narration of SDA's theology of history, I want to turn specifically to the task of re-narration itself.³¹ An

²⁹ Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. by Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 198-99; Hans K. LaRondelle, 'Surprises in Biblical Typology: Part 1 of 3', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors* (2007), 12-14; Hans K. LaRondelle, 'Surprises in Biblical Typology: Part 2 of 2', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors* (2007), 8-12.

³⁰ Catherine Brown Tkacz, 'Typology Today', *New Black Friars*, 88 (2007), 564-580 (pp. 568-69, 574-79); Tibor Fabiny, *The Lion and the Lamb: Figuralism and Fulfilment in the Bible, Art and Literature* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 1-12; Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981), p. 86.

³¹ My employment of re-narration is not unique to this thesis; for example, David C. Cramer refers to his use of it in the abstract of his doctoral thesis. See David C. Cramer, 'Theopolitics: The Theological Lineage of Walter Rauschenbusch, Reinhold Niebuhr and John Howard Yoder' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Baylor University, 2016).

exemplar of re-narration in the twentieth and twenty-first century was the late John Lewis. Throughout his extraordinary life of service, he re-narrated the story of Selma continuously.³² Also, throughout the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, its members have been constantly re-narrating their theology of history through multi-media platforms, literary publications, seminary classes, Sabbath School lessons, sermons, public evangelism and by many other means. Even during the early days of the Advent movement, the pioneers of the SDA Church re-narrated their millennial hope of the Second Coming of Jesus in the various denominations that they belonged to, until they were disfellowshipped or convicted to depart from those congregations that did not share their apocalyptic convictions.

Re-narration can also be found in the biblical canon, for example in the New Testament the four evangelists used re-narration to recount the gospel for their generation and the subsequent generations that would hear and follow the message of their Saviour Jesus Christ. Other Christian believers followed suit, for example in Acts 7, Stephen re-narrated the history of Israel beginning with the revelation of God to Abraham, proceeding forward to the crucifixion of the Messiah.³³ Other examples of re-narration are found in the apostle Paul's defence of the Way before his fellow countrymen.³⁴ Re-narration is also present in the Hebrew Bible. For example, when the Israelites successfully gained entry to the Promised Land, Moses informed them that they were to re-narrate the story of how God emancipated them from slavery. The Hebrew people were to re-narrate this story whenever they kept the Passover.³⁵ Another example of re-narration occurs in the book of Joshua. The leaders of the twelve tribes of

³² Anon, *John Lewis: The Selma to Montgomery Marches|MLK|Time*, online video recording, YouTube, 16 January 2016 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRwnXUbJdfg>> [accessed 7 August 2022].

³³ Acts 7.1-53.

³⁴ Acts 22.1-29; 24.14, 22; 26. 1-32; Galatians 1.11-17. During the time of the Apostles the followers of Christ were called the Way.

³⁵ Exodus 12.25-28.

Israel were to pick up twelve memorial stones from the Jordan River because whenever their descendants asked them about the meaning of the stones, they would have the opportunity to re-narrate the miraculous story of how God parted the Jordan River, so that his people could cross over to God's promised rest.³⁶

According to Walter Brueggemann, the narration [or re-narration] of a story or a history is not always permissible, especially in a social order where one version of reality is dominant. For example, if the reality is white supremacy, then people with minority backgrounds are not always permitted to narrate or re-narrate their own particular stories, histories or version of events because of the control of the group that is dominant and its self-interest.³⁷ The group that is most powerful is likely to ignore, ridicule, censor, tokenize or silence the voices of minority groups especially when they endorse a vision of reality that is counter to, or subversive of, the one that prevails in the current social order. By protesting and bearing witness to a counter-vision, minorities are empowered to give permission to themselves to narrate or re-narrate their version of events from an alternative social location, for example, from "below" or from "the underside". These locations are synonymous, and they represent taking up the standpoint of the humble and the afflicted, rather than the mighty and the powerful.³⁸

In relating this issue of permission to my own thesis, I re-narrate SDA's theology of history by giving myself the permission to recount a postbellum story from the perspective of the underside. I heard the story of Lucille Byard, a Seventh-day Adventist woman, some time ago. Lucy Byard was an African American who lived in America during the era of Jim Crow in the 1940s. She was a New Yorker, who set off to

³⁶ Joshua 4.4-9, 14-24.

³⁷ For a critique of social groups, self-interests and their collective power, see Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (London: Continuum, 2005), pp. xi-xii.

³⁸ Walter Brueggemann, 'Permission to Narrate', <<https://churchanew.org/brueggemann/permission-to-narrate>> [accessed 7 August 2022].

seek medical treatment within the safety and familiarity of an Adventist administered Sanitarium in Washington. Sometime later, the name of the Sanitarium was changed to the Washington Adventist hospital.³⁹ However, on her arrival at the Sanitarium, Lucy was refused admission because of the colour of her skin, so she was told to find another medical facility instead. Eventually, she ended up at Freedman's Hospital, a non-Adventist medical facility attached to Howard University.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, while Byard was being treated at Freedman's Hospital, she died there a month later. In the moment of her health crisis, the SDA vision of wholeness was denied to Lucy Byard by her fellow Adventists who discriminated against her because of their own unexamined whiteness, perpetuated by a false racial divide.⁴¹

Unfortunately, Lucy Byard's story is still unfamiliar to some Seventh-day Adventists and even to her own living relatives, for example Lisa Sweeny Walker, her great-great grandniece. Walker only found out about her ancestor's story recently.⁴² To change this situation, Adventist Healthcare in 2021, commemorated the life of Lucy Byard by commissioning a portrait of her and making scholarships available in her honour for nurses studying at three HBCUs: Oakwood University in Alabama,

³⁹ Carmela Monk Crawford, 'Healing and Wholeness in Washington D.C.'s Historic Howard University Hospital', *Message Magazine* (2020), 1-6 <<https://www.messagemagazine.com/editorial/howard-and-adventist-health/>> [accessed 7 August 2022].

⁴⁰ Freedman's Hospital is now managed by AdventistHealthCare, see Crawford, 'Healing and Wholeness in Washington D.C.'s Historic Howard University Hospital', 1.

⁴¹ Calvin B. Rock, *Protest & Progress: Black Seventh day Adventist Leadership and the Push for Parity* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2018), pp. 42-45. Rock's book gives a comprehensive history of racial problems and Black protest within the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America; Freedman's Hospital is attached to Howard University. This educational institution is one of America's premier historic Black universities. See Michael Stolp-Smith, 'Freeman's Hospital/Howard University Hospital: 1862', in *Black Past* (2018), 1-2 <<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/freedmen-s-hospital-howard-university-hospital-1862/>> [accessed 2 June 2019].

⁴² Corinne Kuypers-Denlinger, 'The Life and Legacy of Lucy Byard Honored at Recognition Event', *Adventist HealthCare* (2021), 9 <<https://adventistreview.org/news/the-life-and-legacy-of-lucy-byard-honored-at-recognition-event/>> [accessed 25 May 2022].

Washington Adventist University in Maryland and Howard University in Washington D.C.⁴³

At the recognition event for Lucy Byard, Terry Forde, ‘president and CEO of Adventist Healthcare’, admitted that he had learned about Lucy’s story in the year 2013. When he heard how Lucy had been turned away from a Washington SDA medical institution in the 1940s due to the colour of her skin, he described himself as being heartbroken.⁴⁴ At the event in 2021, he said:

I have studied the pictures of the Washington Sanitarium and the patients being treated there, but I hadn’t really seen the people in those pictures ... they were all White, Forde said. I needed to better understand that our health care was for some, but not always for all.⁴⁵

Forde seems to imply in his statement that even though he had studied the pictures of the Washington Sanitarium, it had escaped his notice that all the patients being treated were white, so before that realisation they had been invisible to him.

In my own case, I heard the story of Lucy Byard in 2018. When I heard the story, it really troubled me because as a British person of Afro-Caribbean descent, I have experienced racism in the UK, so I relate to African Americans who have experienced racism throughout their long history in the United States. This long history includes the Lucy Byard incident right up to the death of George Floyd and many other people of African descent who have encountered racism. Another reason why Lucy Byard’s story troubled me was because of what I have read in Ellen G. White’s book *Education*. In that book she made a statement about the importance of the harmonious development of the whole person, so even though she made this statement in the context of education, this vision of wholeness has in my view been extremely influential in its

⁴³ Kuypers-Denlinger, ‘The Life and Legacy of Lucy Byard Honored at Recognition Event’, 1-2; HBCU is an acronym for Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

⁴⁴ Kuypers-Denlinger, ‘The Life and Legacy of Lucy Byard Honored at Recognition Event’, 7.

⁴⁵ Kuypers-Denlinger, ‘The Life and Legacy of Lucy Byard Honored at Recognition Event’, 7.

contribution to the development of wholism within the SDA Church and in the integration of wholeness in my own growth as a Seventh-day Adventist Christian. However, the case of the Washington Sanitarium perplexes me because the SDA Church's vision of wholeness is meant to be for the whole of humanity, so it should not be limited to the health care of white people only. This inequality of excluding people of African descent from Adventist run sanitariums was unethical.⁴⁶ At this point, I will provide a structure for the ideas and aims included in this introduction in an overview of the thesis.

Overview of the Thesis

In chapter one, I challenge the assumption that the predominant concern for the SDA Church's vision of wholeness should be health and the medical sciences. This may seem to be the case when encountering the Seventh-day Adventist Church, but I argue that it is a misconception because the domain of health and the medical sciences do not represent the SDA vision of wholeness in its entirety. As I have claimed, the SDA vision of wholeness in its fullness has not yet been realised, therefore achieving its end is a work in progress. In this first chapter, I survey the body of literature that has been produced about wholeness by Seventh-day Adventists since the Church's inception, during the American antebellum era. I show that Adventists have been continually modifying the vision and this has facilitated its expansion beyond the parameters of the health and the medical sciences. In addition, this chapter identifies shalom as the biblical foundation for the SDA vision of wholeness, but it also points towards the issue of how rival visions gain dominance in the church with the potential to eventually eclipse their competition. When this situation occurs, I argue that these contrary visions diminish the SDA vision of wholeness; this results in the displacement of the church

⁴⁶ Ellen G. White, *Education* (Grantham: The Stanborough Press, 1998), p. 13.

from its trajectory towards achieving its prototypical vision more fully. Chapter one is the first step in my response to Ginger Hanks-Harwood's challenge to further the field of Christian ethics because it forms the basis for my construction of a theological ethic.

In chapter two, I identify the problem of two contrary visions existing within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. I introduce the pseudo-vision as a rival to the SDA vision of wholeness and I argue that its pervasiveness in society is responsible for displacing the SDA Church from its original trajectory towards its intended goal. To make a critical investigation of the problem, I identify the source of the pseudo-vision as the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. To give this problem context, I turn to a re-narration of the Adventist story and America's racial story as they intersect within the Seventh-day Adventist theological interpretation of redemptive history. This approach enables me to create a timeline for showing how this problem developed over the various transitional phases of Adventism in America during the two centuries prior to the twenty-first century. Furthermore in this chapter, I problematize several issues relating to the SDA Church's relationship to the American Republic, such as: SDA's historicist reading of America's role in Bible prophecy, Christian Millennialism, the church's theological and moral response to the 1844 crisis, and the church's response to the American slave trade and its subsequent metamorphosis into new forms of white supremacy and racial oppression that targeted Americans of colour inside and outside of the SDA Church. Overall, the chapter indicates that during the postbellum era, the pseudo-vision increased its dominance in the SDA Church, especially among its white majority membership. However, at certain stages in history, there have been some Seventh-day Adventists who decided to continue their pursuit of the SDA vision of wholeness from the social location of America's underside. This chapter provides early indicators of SDAs who chose to

envision reality from this standpoint because they were dialogically attuned to the Black protest tradition in America.⁴⁷

In chapter three, I introduce the Moses generation with the aim of resolving the question: how can SDAs participate in the Moses generation in order to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness? In the chapter, I introduce the Moses generation as a typological lens for perceiving the correspondences between the Moses generation of God's people in the Bible and the Moses generation of God's people living in the period of American slavery right up to the era of the civil rights movement in the twentieth century. I argue that from the days of slavery, African Americans in the Black protest tradition have used typology as a lens to read the Bible critically from a social location below, thus challenging the vision of a dominating pro-white social order that divided the American people along a colour line. From this typological perspective, I focus on how SDAs can participate in the Moses generation by developing an ethical approach that I have named dialogical attunement. I argue that this ethical approach enables SDAs to direct their vision of wholeness towards minorities who are socially located on the underside, counter to the dominant racial script that favours a pro-white American social order. In the chapter, I advance the idea that whenever SDAs have been in dialogical attunement with the Black protest tradition, they become participants in the Moses generation. For dialogical attunement to occur between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition, a nexus must be found in the redemptive-historical timeline, so with this in mind, I return to my re-narration of SDA's theology of history in order to develop this particular approach to theological ethics.

In the fifth epoch of SDA's redemptive-historical timeline, I identify Selma in Alabama as a nexus for dialogical attunement because the Adventist story and

⁴⁷ As I have already mentioned, I will elaborate more on dialogical attunement in the third chapter of this thesis.

America's racial story intersect in this iconic city of Black protest. Also, the city is not too far away from the SDA campus of Oakwood University, a HBCU in Alabama. In the rest of the chapter, I contend that during the time of the civil rights protests at Selma, the SDA vision of wholeness had become weak because many SDA members became acquiescent to the policies put forward by their church leaders who forbade them to become involved with the civil rights movement. I argue that the church's official standpoint on this matter was influenced by the pseudo-vision. This weakening of the vision of wholeness caused some Adventists to be unattuned to the cries for justice and peace by Americans of colour socially located on the underside of the dominant racial script. However, I show through the biographical faith stories of SDAs who were dialogically attuned to the Black protest tradition that to participate in the Moses generation they had to modify their vision of wholeness so that it became counter-visionary by exposing, contesting and overturning America's dominant racial script.

In chapter four, I focus on the question: how can SDAs participate in the Joshua generation in order to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness? I begin the chapter by identifying Barack Obama's appropriation of typology in the Black protest tradition as a source for the Moses and Joshua generations. I argue that Obama appropriates this typological hermeneutic because this approach is biblical, so it enables him and his contemporaries to identify themselves in the antitypical role of the Joshua generation in the twenty-first century. In Obama's appropriation of typology, I argue that he re-imagines Selma not as a typological site of struggle as conveyed in the Moses generation, instead he identifies it as a typological site of remembrance that links him and his generation with the Black protest tradition of his African American forerunners. Using this same approach, I argue that the SDA Church can use typology as a

hermeneutical lens to recall God's providential acts of redemption and shalom in history, as well as in their own denominational heritage. In light of this approach, I engage in a comparative analysis of typology in the Black protest tradition and the SDA Church with the intention of showing that typology has been integral to both. Towards the close of the chapter, I use the findings of my comparative analysis to emphasise why the interrelationship between theology and ethics is necessary for modifying SDAs vision of wholeness, so that it becomes a counter-vision. I complete the chapter by creatively developing my own typological approach and then I conclude by proposing that the SDA Church of the twenty-first century ought to engage in a careful rereading of the biblical Joshua narrative in order to choose one of two typological moulds or mimetic impresses for becoming participants in the Joshua generation.

In the final chapter of my thesis, I rely on the key theological and ethical approaches I have been developing in the previous chapters, in order to continue resolving the question: how can SDAs participate in the Joshua generation of the twenty-first century, so that they achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness? In the chapter, I re-emphasise the importance of the Bible's role in my construction of a theological ethic that develops a Moses-Joshua-prophet-type pattern of reading the Scriptures, rather than a Moses-Joshua-conquest-type pattern. I make the argument that on the basis of SDAs choosing the Moses-Joshua-prophet-type reading of the Scriptures, they will be able to participate in the Joshua generation of the twenty-first century and beyond by generating new questions that are revelatory in determining new possibilities for counter-visionary ways of seeing reality from below rather than above. From this point onwards, I turn to the life story of Lucy Byard an African American, Seventh-day Adventist woman of faith because she is representative of the typological mould or mimetic impress SDAs ought to choose in order to become

participants in the Joshua generation. By engaging my moral imagination in using her biography, I develop my own typological hermeneutic for retelling and re-evaluating her story in relation to the rest of the thesis with the aim to construct a theological ethic that modifies the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes counter-visionary. I conclude the chapter by restating the underlying concerns of the thesis that have led to an articulation of what the implications of a modification of the SDA vision of wholeness might mean for future research in the field of Christian theological ethics.

Chapter 1:

Several Approaches that Contribute to the Seventh-day Adventist Vision of Wholeness

1.1 A Review of the Literature

Since the early days of their Sabbath-keeping founders, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has been en route towards achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness. While on the way to its goal, the church has generated a body of literature that indicates that no definitive account of the SDA vision of wholeness exists yet. For this reason, I am going to argue that in the last three centuries there have been several approaches that have contributed to the modification of the church's vision on the way to its goal. These modifications mean that the vision is still a work in progress, so its fullest realisation is unlikely to be reached until the Second Advent of Jesus Christ.⁴⁸ In my review of the literature, I identify shalom as the biblical basis for the SDA vision of wholeness. In addition, I make a connection between the church's vision of wholeness and its peace-making heritage. Following this I use relevant literature to make a case for the importance of the SDA vision of wholeness within the church and its potential significance for the rest of the world.

Chapter one is divided into two parts. In the first part, I argue that health reform and the medical sciences have been major contributors to how SDAs have sought to approach the goal of achieving a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness, but I identify that there are pros and cons to this approach. In the second part of the chapter, I

⁴⁸ I agree with Fritz Guy that when an individual or community engages in theological thinking on any given subject with the aim of discovering truth, they never achieve finality in this pursuit, but are always 'in via, "on the way"—in process of becoming, in transit and transition'. Furthermore, in the Adventist context, truth pertains to the eternal, but it may also be dynamic, therefore present and meaningful for a particular time and place in history. Guy argues that to be an authentic Adventist Christian, one must be committed to the truth he or she already knows, but remain open to learning what is not known. Fritz Guy, *Thinking Theologically: Adventist Christianity and the Interpretation of Faith* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1999), pp. 65, 81.

argue that there are several approaches to the SDA vision of wholeness that diverge from a preoccupation with health. These alternative approaches broaden the vision and modify it over the course of time, while creating opportunities for future contributions that add to the vision becoming fuller in its realisation. Besides health, the several approaches I evaluate in this chapter are: ableism and disability, stewardship, ecology, human rights, the Sabbath, self-identity, education and mission. The aim of the chapter is to use my assessment of the existing literature generated by Adventists as a basis for constructing my own theological ethic that modifies the church's vision so that it becomes a counter-vision to the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. I will conclude the chapter by stating my findings so far, and I will provide a rationale for why further research is necessary for completing my thesis.

1. 2 Shalom the Biblical Basis for the SDA Vision of Wholeness

There are several terms in the Hebrew Bible (HB) and the New Testament (NT) that are linked to the Adventist use of the word wholeness. The Hebrew term, Shalom (שלום), is a multivalent word that can mean peace, completeness, wholeness, harmony, prosperity, welfare, wellness and health. In the Septuagint (LXX) and the NT, the Greek translation of shalom is *eirēnē* (εἰρήνη). In addition to these two terms, there are a number of associated Greek NT words such as *holos* (ὅλος) which means whole, total or entire; *hugiēs* (ὕγις) which means to make the sick whole or healthy; *sōzō* (σώζω) means to save, make whole, preserve, heal and *iaomai* (ἰάομαι) and *ischuō* (ισχύω) are similar in meaning to the other words I have mentioned.⁴⁹ Shalom is the most frequent word associated with wholeness in the HB; it appears over two hundred times. In the

⁴⁹ *Vine's Expository Dictionary of Biblical Words: A Complete Expository Dictionary of Old and New Testaments in one Volume* ed. by W.E. Vine and others. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1983), pp. 173-74, 674-75; Luke 17.11-19 is an example of the Greek word *sōzō* because in the Lukan narrative Jesus provided wholistic healing for a Samaritan.

LXX and the NT, *shalom* is equated with the Greek word *eirēnē*, and the term is commonly translated as peace. In the LXX, *eirēnē* appears approximately one hundred and ninety nine times, and in the NT it appears approximately a hundred times in various forms, whereas *holos* is used over a hundred times in various forms.⁵⁰ In any case, all of the terms are related.⁵¹ By linking their vision of wholeness with the terms *shalom* and *eirēnē*, the SDA Church developed a peace-making heritage that the Adventist Peace Fellowship (APF) still continues today in its theological and ethical practices. On their website, the APF state ‘from their earliest roots Seventh-day Adventists at their best, have been concerned with restoring personal and social wholeness through a commitment to justice and peace’.⁵²

According to Charles Scriven, Sabbatarian Adventists in the antebellum era equated the Hebrew term *shalom* with human flourishing for all. This use of the term meant that persons ought to experience wholeness in the totality of their bodily existence and in their human-divine relationship with God.⁵³ Scriven argues this is the reason Sabbatarian Adventists began to ‘address the same needs and dreams as are encapsulated in the Hebrew word *shalom*. They turned their sights to safety and freedom in human life and began to act on behalf of the aggrieved’. Moreover, he states ‘in addition to the adoption of the seventh-day Sabbath, opposition to slavery made their witness a witness of dissent – of peacemaking dissent’.⁵⁴ In other words, by embracing their Judeo-Christian roots, these Adventists ceased from business as usual by

⁵⁰ Abarim Publications, ‘Abarim Publications’ Biblical Dictionary: the New Testament Greek Word: ὅλος’ <<https://www.abarim-publications.com/DictionaryG/o/o-l-o-sfin.html>> 1-2 [accessed 8 August 2021].

⁵¹ William M. Swartley, *Covenant of Peace: The Missing Peace in New Testament Theology and Ethics* (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2006), pp. 28, 38, 42; John B. Wong, *Christian Wholism: Theological and Ethical Implications in the Postmodern World* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002), pp. 4-5, 13-15. Wong also relates the term *holos* to the English term holiness.

⁵² The Adventist Peace Fellowship, ‘Vision Statement’, *Adventist Peace Fellowship* <<http://adventistpeace.org/vision-statement>> [accessed 28 December 2021].

⁵³ Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, p. 59.

⁵⁴ Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, pp. 59-61.

protesting against the American “empire” and its unjust system of slavery, while practising nonconformity to the antebellum Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, as well as refusing to take up arms in the American Civil War.⁵⁵ In the APF publication, *The Peacemaking Remnant*, Douglas Morgan writes, ‘Making *shalom* (peace)–well-being and wholeness for the human community–runs like a mighty stream through all of the particular truths that the Seventh-day Adventist movement has been called to proclaim’.⁵⁶ Furthermore, he states:

Peacemaking thus means nurturing *shalom*–restoring health and wholeness in human communities at every level. The major Adventist category here would be health reform, which connects embodied life in all its aspects with the plan of redemption.⁵⁷

I would agree with Morgan that health reform is a major category for the SDA vision of wholeness, but as I have shown so far in the literature in this section, a fuller realisation of the vision consists of much more than health because it also includes peace-making and protest. These two contributors have played a role in modifying the church’s vision. To explore the question further: how can SDAs achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness? I will consider a survey about what Adventists think is their major contribution to the world.

⁵⁵ Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, pp. 60, 65; The Sabbatarian Adventists were nonconformist in their civil disobedience against the Fugitive Slave Act. Norman K. Miles Sr., ‘Ellen G. White and Civil Disobedience’, in Jonathan A. Thompson, *The Enduring Legacy of Ellen G. White and Social Justice* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2017), pp. 141-49; Douglas Morgan, ‘Adventism’s Peacemaking Heritage’, *The Peacemaking Remnant: Essays and Historical Documents* ed. by Douglas Morgan (Kearney, NE: Adventist Peace Fellowship, 2005), p. 81; Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement*, (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), pp. 26-29.

⁵⁶ Morgan, ‘Adventism’s Peacemaking Heritage’, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Morgan, ‘Adventism’s Peacemaking Heritage’, p. 88.

1.2 Wholeness: the Major Contribution of Adventism to the World

Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart are two British scholars who have researched and written about Seventh-day Adventism.⁵⁸ In the 1980s they conducted a survey on the intellectual formation of religion teachers and theologians working in the Adventist Higher Education system. The survey is significant because it emphasises the importance and potentiality of the SDA vision of wholeness, but it also indicates that when the vision of wholeness is perceived from a dominant ethnocentric perspective, it is likely to generate biases and blind spots towards groups that are considered to exist outside of the intellectual norm. As a result, such outsiders are likely to be demoted as intellectually inferior due to factors such as their race or gender.

Originally, Bull and Lockhart sent their survey to a number of Adventist colleges and universities for the purpose of gaining data for constructing a ‘composite intellectual profile of the Adventist theologian’.⁵⁹ Then, the two researchers published the results of the survey in an article entitled ‘The Intellectual World of Adventist Theologians’. They documented that ‘the Adventist theologian believes that the complete understanding of human existence – or “wholism” – is the denomination’s major contribution to the world’.⁶⁰ In other words, Bull and Lockhart sought to get the research participants to assess the intellectual contribution of their own faith tradition to the world.⁶¹

⁵⁸ In an email sent to me by Keith Lockhart in 2023, he informed me that he was a baptised member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church when the 1985 survey on ‘The Intellectual World of Adventists’ was published. However, he left the Adventist Church in 1989. Also in 2023, Malcolm Bull sent me an email that confirmed he has never been a baptised member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

⁵⁹ Bull and Lockhart, ‘The Intellectual World of Adventists’, 32.

⁶⁰ Bull and Lockhart, ‘The Intellectual World of Adventists’, 33.

⁶¹ Bull and Lockhart, ‘The Intellectual World of Adventists’, 33.

In light of Bull and Lockhart's findings, the question may be posed: why did the survey respondents choose wholeness as Adventism's greatest contribution to the world? In their own words:

Many respondents suggested that Adventist theology is greater than the sum of its parts. In the words of one teacher. "It is the 'package' (the synthesis of ideas) rather than individual doctrines that I find impressive." What bound this package together, a respondent suggested, was "the emphasis on the 'wholeness' of man which provides a distinctive framework for the understanding of several Christian doctrines-from creation to the Sabbath...to living the sanctified life." Another respondent felt that this emphasis on wholism had far-reaching possibilities: "there is great untapped potential here for an Adventist theology which could bring coherence to multiple concerns of a contemporary kind."⁶²

For the researchers, the response of the participants raised a concern about where innovative thinking might emerge within the Adventist Church, so in their article, they drew attention to the 'far-reaching possibilities' and the 'untapped potential' wholism has for making a contribution to the contemporary world.⁶³ However, the survey does not provide any detail of how the 'far-reaching possibilities' and the 'untapped potential' might be applied to the contemporary world, but it does indicate that Adventists have a vision of wholeness that is en route towards a fuller realisation, but its end is still to be achieved. Therefore, it is my contention that while the SDA vision of wholeness is on its way towards fulfilling its 'far-reaching possibilities' and its 'untapped potential' it is possible for it to go off course and lose its bearings; under such circumstances it is possible for it to become displaced by a competing vision that is all-encompassing and ethnocentric, so this might result in unjust outcomes for disenfranchised groups of people in church and society.

In relation to the point of ethnocentrism, the Adventists who participated in the survey displayed a lack of knowledge about theologians who are not white. Bull and

⁶² Bull and Lockhart, 'The Intellectual World of Adventists', 36.

⁶³ Bull and Lockhart, 'The Intellectual World of Adventists', 31, 36.

Lockhart reported that they targeted a wide range of ages in their survey, but the fifty per cent response they received back from their research participants came from predominantly white middle-aged men, so the survey lacked diversity.⁶⁴ Also, in the section that required the research participants to state their knowledge concerning non-Adventist intellectuals, the respondents replied by classifying the Black theologian James Cone, the feminist theologian Rosemary Radford Reuther and the Latin American theologian Gustavo Gutierrez as radical thinkers.⁶⁵ In general, the Adventists who were surveyed admitted that they were limited in their knowledge about these radical thinkers whom they perceived belong to the underside of mainstream theological thinking.⁶⁶ In contrast, the research participants were more sympathetic to the theologians they considered mainstream thinkers such as: C.S. Lewis, Rabbi Abraham Heschel and Karl Barth.⁶⁷ In my reading of Bull and Lockhart's article, I find it unusual that Martin Luther King Jr. goes unmentioned in the entire survey, especially as he and Heschel were close associates in the civil rights movement. King is not classified with the radical thinkers and no reason is given for his omission. Moving on from the content of this survey, I want to turn my attention to the origin of Ellen G. White's vision of health reform and its relationship to the SDA pursuit of a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness.

⁶⁴ Bull and Lockhart, 'The Intellectual World of Adventists', 31, 33.

⁶⁵ Bull and Lockhart, 'The Intellectual World of Adventists', 33.

⁶⁶ Timothy P. Dixon argues that white theologians fail to critically challenge their own presuppositions and biases when it comes to assessing the theology of non-white theologians. Instead, they prefer to marginalise non-white theology from the mainstream. See Timothy P. Dixon, 'Shame On You Spectrum', *Spectrum* (2020), 1 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/views/2020/shame-you-spectrum>> [accessed 10 December 2021].

⁶⁷ Only two other females are included in the article, Ellen G. White and Simone de Beauvoir. Bull and Lockhart, 33, 37.

1.3 Part 1: Health Reform and the SDA Vision of Wholeness

In the past, health reform has been a major contributor to the SDA vision of wholeness. However, I argue that it should not be the predominant concern of the vision because a fuller realisation of wholeness consists of much more than health; therefore, health reform should not be an end in itself.

In the antebellum years of the SDA Church, its Sabbath-keeping pioneers began to incorporate progressive practices of health reform into their nineteenth century vision of wholeness. However, some of the SDA founders were experiencing fatigue and poor mental health due to overwork in the gospel ministry. In response to this situation, the Adventists gradually recognised the importance of integrating the mind, the physical and the spiritual wellbeing of a person in order for them to flourish. Thus, in the nineteenth century, health reform became a new modification that added to the church achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness.⁶⁸

On the '6 June 1863', Ellen G. White received her first vision about health reform while visiting the home of fellow believers in Otsego, Michigan.⁶⁹ Following the reception of her vision by her fellow Adventists, she wrote on the subject of health

⁶⁸ In the antebellum era, Adventist pioneer elder Joseph Bates was an early adopter of health reform. For more on Bates and a historical account of health reform see D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message: The Origin, Character, and Development of Health Education in the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, 3rd edn (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1943), pp. 1-39; John Skrzypaszek, 'The Heart of the Seventh-day Adventist Health Message', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors* (2014), 6-8 <<https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/2014/12/the-heart-of-the-seventh-day-adventist-health-message>> [accessed 29 December 2021].

⁶⁹ Anon, 'Questions and Answers', *The Review and Herald* (1867), 1 <<https://m.egwwritings.org/en/book/821.726>> [accessed 30 December 2021]. Even though Ellen White's vision of health reform has become integral to the mission and lifestyle of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, there are a number of practising SDAs and former church members who have raised questions about whether her sources were divinely inspired or not, and about her denials of having acquired previous knowledge of the subject matter prior to making the contents of her vision public in her literary writing. Robert W. Olson, 'Ellen White's Denials', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors* (1991), 15 <<https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/1991/02/ellen-whites-denials>> [accessed 30 December 2021]; Alberto R. Timm, 'History of Inspiration in the Adventist Church (1844-1915)', *Journal of Adventist Theological Society*, 5 (1994), 187. Also see, D. M. Canright, 'Seventh-day Adventism Renounced', in *Forgotten Books* (2016), pp. 130-40. ebook.

reform widely across a number of the publications she authored.⁷⁰ Her writings on the subject of health are extensive, so I will focus on a sample of her pertinent texts in addition to some secondary sources that provide a basis for further investigation into the contribution of health to the SDA vision of wholeness.

The writings of Ellen G. White illuminate her views about healing, wholeness and Adventist agency in a world where Christianity was increasingly in decline.⁷¹ In this climate of Christian religious decline, White perceived that the practical message of health reform could be used as an entry point for preparing her present generation and the generations of the future, so that they would not become hardened towards the Christian faith. In this way, health reform would assist the SDA Church to proclaim the gospel as an integral part of the Three Angels' messages of Revelation 14.6-12.⁷² With these issues in mind, White recognised that health reform would be invaluable for the flourishing of every Seventh-day Adventist Christian and every other human being in general.⁷³ In *The Ministry of Healing*, White makes a comparison between the world during the First Advent of Jesus and the world leading up to his Second Advent. She states:

⁷⁰ For an overall account of White's vision, see Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 4 vols. (Ellen G. White Estate, 1864), pp. 120- 56. ePub publication.

⁷¹ Ellen G. White, *The Ministry of Healing* (Grantham: Stanborough Press, 1994), pp. 101-05.

⁷² In the Adventist understanding of health reform, the human body is perceived as being a temple of God. It becomes a moral issue if a person neglects the health of the body and therefore transgresses the holy law and the law of nature; the two are in accord. To transgress either of these laws is to sin by not loving God as one ought and ones neighbour as oneself. Therefore, being faithful to God's commandments is essential to the identity of a church that proclaims the Three Angels' messages of Revelation 14. Health reform is indispensable to this proclamation, but I would argue a health emphasis that becomes an end in itself might cause a blind spot to occur that results in the production of unethical attitudes and behaviour. For more on the body temple, health and the Three Angels' messages see Ellen G. White, *Healthful Living* (Ellen G. White Estate 1897), pp. 9- 12, ebook; Anon, 'The Adventist Worldview on Healing', *Spectrum*, 46 (2018), 4 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/article/jim-park/2014/01/30/adventist-worldview-healing>> [accessed 30 December 2021]. The Ellen White Estate compiled *Healthful Living* in the year 1897.

⁷³ Revelation 14.6-9; Ellen G. White, *Counsels on Health: And Instruction to Medical Missionary Workers* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1951), pp. 425-27, 431-32, 443, 449-50, 452-53, 497-98, 579-80. The Ellen White Estate compiled *Counsels on Health* in the year 1923.

The world needs today what it needed nineteen hundred years ago – a revelation of Christ. A great work of reform is demanded, and it is only through the grace of Christ that the work of restoration, physical, mental and spiritual can be accomplished.⁷⁴

Here she makes the argument that if SDAs follow Christ and become his agents of healing and wholeness it would result in prosperity for the church and society.

Concerning health reform, Ellen G. White gets to the heart of the matter in *Counsels on Health* when she argues that SDA Christians ought to develop every dimension of their being for the purpose of attaining their fullest God-given potentiality. By accomplishing this goal, they will be able to participate in serving others for the common good and for the glory of God. For this reason, she emphasises that the primary moral obligation of the SDA Christian is to develop oneself and others to the fullest potentiality of their existence.⁷⁵

I contend that since the Seventh-day Adventist Church began, Ellen G. White's vision of health reform has made a valuable contribution to modifying the SDA vision of wholeness because it has resulted in a number of lifestyle and healthcare prevention programmes such as Weimar's New Start, Advent Health's Creation Life, CHIP and Blue Zones.⁷⁶ Even though Ellen G. White's early health reform vision was consistent

⁷⁴ White, *The Ministry of Healing*, pp. 15, 104.

⁷⁵ White, *Counsels on Health*, pp. 107-108; White, *The Ministry of Healing*, pp. 70-74; Peter N. Landless, 'Reaching the Whole Person', *Adventist Review* (2014), 2-3 <<https://www.adventistreview.org/141527-8>> [accessed 23 December 2021]; Ángel Manuel Rodríguez argues that developing our God-given potential is theocentric, therefore it is not based on a pantheistic union with nature, nor is it a narcissistic humanist pursuit. Ángel Manuel Rodríguez, 'The Theological and Practical Significance of Health Reform in the Writings of Ellen G. White', *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 25 (2014), 138-40.

⁷⁶ The health principles of the New Start programme are expressed by the acronym: Nutrition, Exercise, Water, Sunshine, Temperance, Rest and Trust in God; Creation Life's principles are expressed by the acronym: Choice, Rest, Environment, Activity, Trust in God, Interpersonal relationships, Outlook, Nutrition; CHIP's principles are expressed by the acronym: Complete Health Improvement Program; Blue Zones promote a lifestyle that aims for good health and longevity. In fact, Loma Linda a city in California, is one of the world's Blue Zones where keeping the seventh-day Sabbath is a major contributor to health and longevity. Dan Buettner, *The Blue Zones: Lessons for Living Longer from the People Who've Lived the Longest* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2008); also see Vernon W. Foster, *NewStart: New Health, New Energy, New Joy!* 4th edn (Weimar Institute, 1990), p. 25; AdventHealth, 'Creation Life', 1-13 <<https://www.creationlife.com/>> [accessed 30 December 2021];

with the SDA vision of wholeness, the two visions were not identical. It is important to recognise that a danger exists when health becomes an end in itself because when this happens it can generate a script of superiority that fosters uncritical attitudes and dominating behaviour towards others. Medicalisation is one example of the dangers of health becoming an end in itself and a script of superiority.

1.4 Wholeness and the Medicalisation of Adventism: Malcolm Bull

Although Malcolm Bull's approach to the SDA vision of wholeness is non-theological, his social scientific and historical analyses are very astute. The main idea I draw from his argument is: 'Adventists are major players in the process of medicalisation, and they have aligned their interests with it by developing an all-encompassing philosophy [wholeness] in order to support their pursuits in health.'⁷⁷

In his article entitled, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', Bull articulates his concern that medicalisation has become orthodoxy in church and society.⁷⁸ He argues the case that medicalisation as a social process is monopolising all areas of human life including religion, so it has become an end in itself.⁷⁹ He avers that in the early days of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the health reform message was not an end in itself however this changed during John Harvey Kellogg's era because he made health an overriding priority for the Adventist faith.⁸⁰ Bull contends; that the effects of this have

AdventHealth Creation Life, 'The Complete Health Improvement Program (C.H.I.P.)', 1-4 <<https://employeehealthandwell-being.com/programs/chip>> [accessed 30 December 2021].

⁷⁷ Malcolm Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', *Spectrum* (1988), 19 <https://www.andrews.edu/library/car/digital/Periodicals/Spectrum/1987_Vol_18/3_February_1988.pdf> [accessed 29 January 2019]; This philosophy of wholeness was pioneered by Jack Provonsha, the first director of the Center for Christian Bioethics at Loma Linda, California. See Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, pp. 313.

⁷⁸ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 15-17, 20-21. Bull states 'the increasing reliance of individuals, corporations, and governments upon the wisdom of medical and paramedical professionals' is referred to by sociologists as "medicalization". Alternatively, Bull refers to the medicalisation process as the corporatisation of medicine.

⁷⁹ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 15-17.

⁸⁰ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 17-18.

become evident today when prominent Adventist medical institutions such as Loma Linda give health precedence over religion, especially for those ethicists who engage uncritically in bioethical reasoning that furthers the monopolisation of medical science.⁸¹

According to Bull, another encroachment of health upon religion occurs when Adventism is politicised by partnering with the state, in order to educate its medical personnel in accordance with government requirements and standards.⁸² In a related extended journal article entitled ‘Secularization and Medicalization’, Bull gives an example of the effects of medicalisation by stating that after Adventist educational institutions gained accreditation from the state,

Adventist college teachers obtained doctorates at secular institutions, redefined their role in professional terms, and sought intellectual freedom. When the church’s hierarchy denied it, Adventist intellectuals became a vocal dissenting minority in the life of the church. The existence of this group is, however, a by-product of the sect’s involvement in medicine, and as a result, a symbiosis exists between the church’s numerous academics and the health system itself. Intellectual dissidents who would not be tolerated elsewhere are employed at the sect’s medical university and in the hospital network. The Association of Adventist forums, an organisation of educated liberals that publishes a quarterly journal *Spectrum*, receives much of its support from health professionals. Of the financial sponsors of *Spectrum* approximately half can be traced in the American medical directory.⁸³

⁸¹ Bull, ‘The Medicalization of Adventism’, 19; The Seventh-day Adventist institutions Loma Linda University and Loma Linda Medical Center, house the ‘Center for Christian Bioethics (CCB)’ and the ‘Center for Spiritual Life and Wholeness (CSLW)’. See Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, pp. 313-14.

⁸² Bull, ‘The Medicalization of Adventism’, 18.

⁸³ Malcolm Bull, ‘Secularization and Medicalization’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 41 (1990), 243-61 (p. 254) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/590872.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A9c4dab3d968ad8037a59d66151a6110b>> [accessed 29 January 2019]. Earning a doctorate outside of Adventism is not particular to the West Coast, the home of Loma Linda and the Association of Adventist forums. For example, in America some Adventists earn their doctorates at the University of Chicago or Harvard, and in the UK, many gain their doctorate from Kings, Oxford, Aberdeen or another British University. Also when Bull uses sect in this paragraph, he is talking about the embryonic transformative stage of how a sect turns into a denomination or world religion. See Malcolm Bull, ‘The Medicalization of Adventism’, 14.

Historically, the SDA Church has resisted any union between church and state or partisan politics.⁸⁴ Bull argues this is why a union between its medical facilities and the state has been problematic, especially for church leaders who are unable to exercise control over what their medical institutions do.⁸⁵ However, in spite of this dilemma, Adventists are still committed to championing the health and temperance reforms promoted by their nineteenth century predecessors. On the other hand, he argues that Adventists have failed to challenge contemporary issues of medical monopolisation such as the market dominance of large pharmaceutical corporations.⁸⁶

Another way medicalisation has gained leverage in theology is by promoting an organic view of churches that categorises them as either growing in vitality or stagnating, becoming repressed, ageing, becoming sick or dying. Bull contends that even though the Adventist approach to health may offer a different experience to society in general, it still acts as a complement to the medicalisation of society, thus endorsing the government and corporations' 'monopolistic medical orthodoxy'.⁸⁷

Finally, by using the term medicalisation, Bull avoids advancing secularisation as a dominant thesis for describing societal change and the religious transformation of organisations from a sect to a denomination. He recognises that the secularisation thesis has become out-dated because it has been challenged by the re-emergence of world religions and the postmodern transition of religion from the private to the public realm. So, rather than using biological terminology for the purpose of explaining how religious

⁸⁴ John Graz, *Issues of Faith & Freedom: Defending the Right to Profess, Practice, and Promote One's Beliefs* (Silver Spring, MD: Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2008), pp. 152-54.

⁸⁵ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 18-19.

⁸⁶ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 19.

⁸⁷ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 20. Empirically, Adventism has a number of self-supporting health institutions such as the Weimar Institute and Wildwood Lifestyle Center & Hospital. These institutions make health a priority, so it is possible their prioritisation of health validates Bull's medicalisation thesis.

organisations grow from a sect to a denomination, he substitutes medicalisation as an alternative thesis to secularisation.⁸⁸

Bull concludes his article by re-emphasising his concern over the use of biological metaphors to describe church and society. He argues that institutions should be classified as inorganic and impersonal, rather than organic and personal. This move avoids the use of biological or genetic terminology, which means the church cannot become sick, aged or die; instead, it becomes a product of social processes and dynamics of change that take place over time. In short, Bull sees Adventism's move towards medicalisation as a shift from religion to a new order of monopolistic, colonial style social control, and wholism as a contributor to this reality.⁸⁹

Overall, as I have mentioned, I think Bull offers some significant and astute observations of what he thinks has happened to Adventism in modernity, especially when he draws attention to the difference between Adventist health reform in its early years and its later corporatisation in the twentieth century. In the latter case, the SDA vision of wholeness becomes weak when it makes capitalistic goals a priority in the delivery of its health system. However, Bull's assessment is reliant on a social scientific and historical analysis of the church that positions religious faith, theology and ethics in a subservient role to health. In my evaluation of Bull, his medicalisation paradigm is taken from his position outside of Adventism, so the socio-historical processes he argues for gives an incomplete account of the development of the SDA vision of wholeness rather than a definitive one. His perspective makes a valuable contribution to the SDA Church en route to a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 12-15, 17, 21.

⁸⁹ Bull, 'Secularization and Medicalization', 252, 255, 257.

⁹⁰ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 14-15. See Julius Nam, 'An Interview with Keith Lockhart – Seeking a Sanctuary', *Spectrum* (2011), 1-7 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/article/interviews/2011/03/21/interview-keith-lockhart-seeking-sanctuary>> [accessed 20 June 2019]; Malcolm Bull is an Emeritus

1.5 Ableism as a Script of Superiority that Marginalises People of Disability as Inferior: Patrick Garnett Johnson

Scripts of superiority that reproduce all-encompassing rival visions make it difficult for the SDA Church to achieve a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness because competing visions marginalise some groups in the church as inferior. Patrick Johnson, a British Seventh-day Adventist pastor, raises this issue in relation to the problem of wholeness as an ablest script of superiority.⁹¹ Johnson's research draws attention to the church's promotion of an embodied gospel that is synonymous with the virtues of wholistic health, which he argues leads 'to a form of health essentialism'.⁹² Johnson claims, when this is the case, non-disabled SDA Church members are not exempt from elitism, discriminating attitudes and oppressive behaviour towards disabled persons that may result in them being perceived as falling below the norm.⁹³ For the non-disabled person, this form of health essentialism acts as an invisible norm that creates a hierarchy between superior and inferior groups in church and society.

As I interpret Johnson, the type of wholeness he envisions for the SDA Church is a community-oriented space that is liberating, egalitarian and relational for disabled persons of faith.⁹⁴ The steps he takes to envision this type of community-oriented space is informed by the lived experience of his disabled son and the disabilities of other

professor of Art and the History of Ideas at Christ Church, Oxford University. Anon, 'Professor Malcolm Bull', *Christ Church* [n.d.], 1-3 <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/staff/professor-malcolm-bull>> [accessed 15 March 2023].

⁹¹ Patrick Garnett Johnson, 'Health on the Margins: How can the Seventh-day Adventist Church with its Emphasis on Health, Authentically Proclaim Liberty for People with Disabilities' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London, 2019), pp. 10-11.

⁹² Johnson, 'Health on the Margins', pp. 10, 162.

⁹³ Johnson, 'Health on the Margins', pp. 10-13, 162. Johnson expresses his work as 'a liberating exercise in critical solidarity rather than liberation theology'; Swinton describes critical solidarity as standing alongside people who have mental health problems in order to make 'psychological and spiritual liberation' a possibility for them to achieve. John Swinton, *Resurrecting the Person: Friendship and the Care of People with Mental Health Problems* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), pp. 15-16.

⁹⁴ Johnson, 'Health on the Margins', pp. 133-34, 162.

SDAs he has researched.⁹⁵ In order to obtain the data he needed for his research, Johnson engaged in a dialogue with the disabled people in his faith community. In his research results, he emphasised that dialogue and critical solidarity are at the heart of his endeavour to achieve empathy, trust, authenticity and transformation in his collaboration with the disabled community. For Johnson, dialogue is important for comprehending life as it is viewed from the experiences of those who live on the margins or underside, rather than from the hegemonic experiences of persons privileged by ableist scripts of superiority.⁹⁶ By engaging in dialogue with disabled persons, he forms a connection with them that is collaborative in generating a counter-script to the ableist script of superiority, and a counter-vision to its pseudo depiction of wholeness.

Concerning the individual's responsibility towards health and wholeness, Johnson recognises that it is possible for a non-disabled person to be patronising towards a disabled person because the latter may be perceived as having an inferior quality of health, making them deficient in wholeness and inefficient for the mission of the church in its proclamation of the good news.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the disability of a person may indicate to the non-disabled person that the former needs fixing by a medical professional. Here, I would refer back to Malcolm Bull's argument by stating that if the SDA Church has undergone a process of medicalisation, then a form of health essentialism can lead to a dichotomisation between human beings who are perceived as conforming to the normal standards of health and sinners who fall short of this ideal.⁹⁸

Theologian Richard Rice provides a perspective on this ideal of health, as it is perceived within the context of Adventism, he states:

⁹⁵ Johnson, 'Health on the Margins', pp. 8-9, 73-74, 80-94.

⁹⁶ Although liberation from oppression is central to Johnson's thesis, he stays away from the political ideological terminology of liberation theology. As I have mentioned before, he prefers the term critical solidarity for his research aims. Johnson, 'Health on the Margins', pp. 136-37, 162-64.

⁹⁷ Johnson, 'Health on the Margins', p. 10

⁹⁸ Malcolm Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 19, 14.

Health is the ideal state of human existence. Health is life at its best. A perfectly healthy person is everything a human being is meant to be. Everything essential to human nature is present in just the right amount, and all the elements perfectly arranged. Health is therefore the “original” condition of human existence and the ultimate goal of the healing process.⁹⁹

In my evaluation, Rice’s statement could be misunderstood as meaning that when too much emphasis is placed on wholeness in connection with health it may result in a type of perfectionism. Health is seen as the *summum bonum*, and anyone who falls short of this virtuous ideal is stigmatised as flawed, abnormal and imperfect.¹⁰⁰ As I have commented before, health has been a major approach to achieving a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness and it has contributed to its modification, but it should not be an end in itself. In light of this, Johnson’s argument about health essentialism is relevant to my research because the dominant script of ableism and the discrimination of persons of disability have a parallel with the dominant script of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.¹⁰¹

1.6 MinistryHealing: Richard Rice

Seventh-day Adventist healthcare institutions may not always be the ideal setting for achieving a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness because the structures and personnel of these healthcare institutions may be vulnerable to contrary visions that are hierarchical in nature and they exclude certain people groups. On the surface, SDA healthcare institutions may seem to be the ideal setting for a fuller realisation of the Church’s vision of wholeness because, as Richard Rice argues, there is

⁹⁹ Richard Rice, *MinistryHealing: Towards a Theology of Wholeness and Witness* (Loma Linda, CA: Loma Linda University Press, 2006), p. 2. The title of Rice’s book and theology is derived from Ellen G. White’s book *The Ministry of Healing*.

¹⁰⁰ Johnson, ‘Health on the Margins’, pp. 13, 121, 163; Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 24. Here Rice contends that humans are multidimensional in the totality of their being, therefore they do not become subnormal due to their physical disabilities.

¹⁰¹ I will use the terms scripts of superiority and dominant scripts interchangeably in my research.

a complementary union between religion and the health sciences.¹⁰² Rice does not see the union as being problematic, so his view differs from the argument Bull advances about the SDA vision of wholeness originating from the monopolisation of religion by the medical sciences in the church's hospitals and institutions for bioethics.¹⁰³

Rice is positive about the complementarity of religion and health, so he states that 'throughout human history the sick have turned to religion and healing. And in Christian history in particular, caring for the sick became an important expression of religious devotion'.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, a connection would have already existed between religion and healing prior to the SDA Church's nineteenth century beginning, and prior to any process of secularisation or medicalisation as Bull has argued. Rice agrees with Bull that in the modern period, religion and healing have been disconnected from each other, thus making religion appear to be unrelated to healing in the public realm. However, to some extent in the postmodern era, contemporary medical science has reconnected the two.¹⁰⁵ For instance, current medical practitioners and caregivers do not just treat an ailment in isolation, instead they take into account the entire need of the patient, while being mindful that there are regulations set up to prevent religion from being imposed upon patients who are in the healthcare system.¹⁰⁶

Rice's articulation of the SDA vision of wholeness is relevant to my argument because he situates the vision in the broader theological landscape of redemptive history. In this context, he recognises that the SDA vision of wholeness exists in a tension of harmony and disharmony that takes place between the creation, de-creation

¹⁰² Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 1-2. Richard Rice has recently retired from his position of professor of religion at Loma Linda University.

¹⁰³ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 19.

¹⁰⁴ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰⁵ Advances in neuroscience and cognitive science support a wholistic understanding of the human person. See Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 60; Christopher Swift, *Hospital Chaplaincy in the Twenty-first Century*, 2nd edn (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p. 143.

and re-creation of human and non-human life. Jiri Moskala summarises this triadic structure of biblical reality well.

The whole Bible reveals its clear paradigm—from creation (Gen 1-2) through de-creation (the Fall [Gen3]) and the Flood accounts [Gen 6-7] to recreation (Gen 8-9) and fully in (Rev 21-22). Between Creation and the ultimate new creation lies and is explained the story of redemption of how God deals with sin and how He saves those who believe in Him. Let us not forget that redemption and salvation are nothing more than a spiritual re-creation which culminates in the restoration of all things in Christ. (Eph 1.10)¹⁰⁷

To put this in more traditional terms: there is a tension of harmony and disharmony existing between the creation, the fall and redemption in Jesus Christ.¹⁰⁸ I will investigate this tension further.

In the first part of the triadic structure of redemptive history there was harmony, until it was interrupted by the fall. As whole creatures made in the image of God, the first humans exemplified this harmony. Following the Genesis narrative and its account of God's creation, Richard Rice interprets that humanity was created as an indivisible, psychosomatic unity of body, soul and spirit that equates to the animation of a finite living soul.¹⁰⁹ In the HB, the term living soul is translated as nephesh (נֶפֶשׁ), and in the NT it is translated as psuche (ψυχή). The Greek term for spirit is pneuma (πνεῦμα).

Rice states:

Moreover, the word translated “soul” in Genesis 2.7 refers to the organism as a whole, not to some part of it. The soul is not something that can be separated from the person. It is the person in its entirety. A human being doesn't have a soul, it is a soul.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ The Seventh-day Adventist name also communicates this protological and eschatological paradigm. Jiri Moskala, ‘The President’s Page: Creation –The Sine Qua Non of Adventism’, *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 15 (2004), 1-2.

¹⁰⁸ Rice equates the creation, the fall and redemption with wholeness, illness and healing. Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ In the biblical creation, a soul is a living creature, either a human or an animal. For example, see Genesis 1.21, 24, 2.19; 9.10-16; Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 6.

In other words a living soul is not a trichotomy of body, soul and spirit, nor is it a dichotomy of body and soul; instead a living soul is an indivisible, irreducible unity.¹¹¹

The Adventist understanding of human anthropology is theistic and wholistic, therefore it is opposed to various forms of dualism that at times have been the dominant script in western philosophical traditions and in the Hellenisation of Christian theology.¹¹²

Adventists inherited their wholistic view of humanity from its religious heritage in Conditionalism, especially in relation to theological questions such as: what happens to the human being when it is faced with death? And, what happens in life thereafter?¹¹³ Do the soul and body separate at death? Or does the whole human being remain in the grave in an unconscious state (soul sleep) until the resurrection? Since the inception of the SDA Church, Adventists have held the belief of conditional immortality rather than the immortality of the soul. Adventists believe that immortality is a gracious gift given to the believer when the whole person dies because of Christ's victory over sin and death.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Jonathan Oey Kuntaraf and Kathleen Liwidjaja-Kuntaraf, 'Emphasizing the Wholeness of Man', *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 19 (2008), 109-36 (pp. 109-11, 124).

¹¹² Marcos Blanco, 'Adventist Theology and the New Anthropology: Challenges and Opportunities What Does the Process of Dehellenization Do to Theology and How Does it Relate to Adventist Theology', *Ministry International Journal for Pastors* (2015), 14-16 <<https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/2015/05/adventist-theology-and-the-new-anthropology>> [accessed 15 December 2021]; Fernando Canale, 'On Being the Remnant', *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 24 (2013), 1-48, (pp. 132-34).

¹¹³ Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers: The Conflict of the Ages Over the Nature and Destiny of Man*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1959), pp. 859-60; Jim M. Fowler, 'The Concept of Character Development in the Writings of Ellen G. White' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Andrews University, 1977), p. 76; Marcos Blanco, 'Adventist Theology and the New Anthropology', 16; Cory Wetterlin, 'Ellen G. White's Understanding of Indwelling of the Holy Spirit: A Chronological Study', *Andrews University Seminary Student Journal*, 1 (2015), 35-52 (p. 35); David Holland, 'Dualism and its Discontents: Seventh-day Adventists, Latter Day Saints, Christian Scientists and the Ontological Revelations of the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished plenary paper, the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Historians, 2018), 1-8. This particular paper was presented at the 'Situating Adventist History Conference' and emailed to me personally by the author.

¹¹⁴ Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers: The Conflict of the Ages Over the Nature and Destiny of Man*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1965), pp. 694-95, 702-06; for a more in-depth discussion of the Conditionalist heritage of Adventism, see the same book, pages 658-706; Also see Uriah Smith, *Here and Hereafter: Or Man in Life and Death – The Reward of the Righteous and the Destiny of the Wicked* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1897), pp. 113-34; Dalton D. Baldwin, 'Humanness', in *The Future of Adventism: Theology, Society, Experience*, ed. by Gary Chartier (Ann Arbor, MI: Griffin & Lash Publishers, 2015), 79-104 (pp. 79-94).

The introduction of the serpent to the Genesis narrative in the second part of the triadic structure of redemptive history brought disharmony to God's creation.¹¹⁵ Rice's discussion of the 'darker side of human existence' is particularly interesting for my research because he argues that 'the notion of sin imputes a tragic quality to the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual in human life'. He categorises the 'darker side of human existence' according to three terms: sin, alienation and conflict.¹¹⁶ Each term is significant because it represents a causal factor in humanity's hostility towards God, self and the other; it also has implications for the perpetuation of racism. A theology of healing must take into account that due to the fall, the tragic effects of sin, alienation and conflict have become ubiquitous inside and outside of the church.¹¹⁷ For example, the darker side of human existence becomes apparent when Adventists claim to have a vision of wholeness, but in actual practice that wholistic vision is denied to certain persons in the health care setting because they are discriminated against; this may happen because of their "race" or gender or both.¹¹⁸ In relation to my research, if the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated exists in the theology of the Adventist Church and in their health care system, then a fuller realisation of their vision will not be achievable, especially when the disadvantaged who live on the underside of the existing social order are dominated by a racial script that categorises black and brown people as inferior.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Genesis 3.

¹¹⁶ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 18-23, 31.

¹¹⁷ According to Rice, some other essential characteristics of a human person include the image of God, reason, imagination, freedom, emotions and spirituality. However, Rice recognises the paradox that even though the psychosomatic unity of the human being has remained intact, the essential nature of the human creature has become dysfunctional, diseased and broken. Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 1-3, 4-14, 18.

¹¹⁸ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 24, 45.

¹¹⁹ David R. Williams, 'Race Matters... a Lot!', *Adventist Review* (2016), 1-4 <<https://www.adventistreview.org/1602-24>> [accessed 14 December 2021]; *Social Consciousness Summit*, online video recording, Andrews Speaks, 23 April 2020, <<https://www.andrews.edu/agenda/55983>> [accessed 13 December 2021].

In the third part of the triadic structure of redemptive history, Christ is sent to restore harmony by ushering in the new creation. For Rice, the redemption provided by the Lord Jesus Christ provided a model of whole person care and healing that leads Christian disciples to an *imitatio Christi*. He contends that Christ is worthy of emulation because he gave his whole self as an example of caring for the whole person of the other.¹²⁰ He argues that Jesus as a healer of the whole person provides Christian discipleship with an apt model of witness. According to Rice, this model is in line with the underlying religious vision of the SDA Church with its educational and medical institutions that provide an approach to spiritual, physical and mental care in conjunction with the health sciences.¹²¹ Based on Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God and Ellen G. White's articulation of a ministry of healing and wholeness, Rice follows suit by making a contribution to the SDA vision of wholeness by modifying it through his development of a theology of health he calls Ministryhealing.¹²²

At this point, I will turn my attention to Rice's practical application of the SDA vision of wholeness to the church's health institutions. In his Ministryhealing approach, he relates the issue of wholeness to witnessing in the health care setting.¹²³ For the construction of his theology of healing and whole person care, Rice considers the post-liberal turn from systematic theology to the experience of believing in relation to the narrative and metaphorical shape of human life as it is lived in community.¹²⁴ He concludes that if the SDA Church is to be effective in its witness, then it should make belonging the priority over believing and behaving.¹²⁵ Here, Rice is emphasising an

¹²⁰ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 1, 33-44.

¹²¹ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 1, 23, 59.

¹²² Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 31-48; Ellen White authored her own book entitled *The Ministry of Healing*.

¹²³ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 59.

¹²⁴ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 61-62.

¹²⁵ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 62, 68, 71.

order that facilitates wholistic community and Christian witness. For example, he argues that systematic theology begins with believing doctrinal propositions, while behaving emphasises lifestyle change, but he states ‘if you belong to a community, you will share its beliefs and commitments’. He continues, ‘start with belonging, then you get the whole package’.¹²⁶

Another aspect of Rice’s Ministryhealing approach is his development of the family as his core metaphor for belonging. In addition to his family metaphor, he adds the theological virtues of faith hope and love as the mode of Christian living and witness.¹²⁷ In this context, Rice correlates Adventism’s fundamental beliefs to the triadic virtues and then he situates the SDA Church in the good news of the story of Jesus Christ.¹²⁸ He argues that if Adventists approach their faith in this way, the result will enable them to achieve their ‘goal of witness in the health care context, and they will be able to invite the suffering and sorrowing into the fellowship formed by Christ’s love, so that they can offer them the resources of faith, hope and love by which the community lives’.¹²⁹

In sum, Rice’s theology of healing and witness emphasises a vision of wholeness that provides the broader benefits of religion, but encompasses the medical sciences for the whole human person in the church and in the health care setting. However, as his theology of healing pertains to ethics within the church and its various health systems, any construction of a theological ethic that is counter-visionary ought to critique institutional structures and personnel that become pervaded and dominated by

¹²⁶ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 72-73; for a more in-depth discussion of this subject see Richard Rice, *Believing, Behaving, Belonging: Finding New Love for the Church* (Roseville, CA: The Association of Adventist Forums, 2002).

¹²⁷ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 77-79. Rice’s theological use of the family as a metaphor for the church is biological, so it is antithetical to Malcolm Bull’s understanding of the non-organic process of sociological change.

¹²⁸ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 79-82.

¹²⁹ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p.79.

an all-encompassing vision that is contrary to the SDA vision of wholeness. If the health system becomes subservient to a pseudo-vision it is likely to weaken the SDA vision of wholeness and this may lead to certain groups being marginalised by a script of superiority that is sinful, alienating and conflicting.

1.7 Health, Ethical Stewardship and Caring for God’s Creation:

Jack Provonsha

If Seventh-day Adventists are going to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness, they need to become co-partners with God in caring for his creation. This type of stewardship involves the ethical care of human persons, their communities and the ecosystem in which they exist.¹³⁰ According to Jack Provonsha, “all dimensions of life should be cared for because the ‘primary task of ethics is to develop patterns of behaviour that fulfil the demands of that stewardship’.¹³¹ For example, in a section of his ‘Creation’ essay entitled *Dressing Wounds*, he makes the argument that Adventists should practise a form of stewardship that employs them as partners with God for the purpose of bringing about healing, restoration and wholeness to a fallen creation.¹³² This type of stewardship applies to the healing, restoration and wholeness of the human body. For this approach to stewardship, Provonsha turns to Ellen G. White’s observation of the close, intimate relationship that exists between the health of the mind and the body, and its subsequent effect on morality. White argued that when a person’s health fails or enters into decay that person’s character and ability to make moral judgments does not go unaffected in this diminished state. According to Provonsha, as Adventists have become more educated about health, it has become paramount for them

¹³⁰ Jack Provonsha, ‘Creation’, in *Remnant and the Republic*, pp. 38-40, 44, 48. Jack Provonsha was one of Loma Linda’s leading exponents on the subject of the SDA vision of wholeness. As I have already mentioned, he was the founder of the Loma Linda Center for Christian Bioethics.

¹³¹ Provonsha, ‘Creation’, p. 48.

¹³² Provonsha, ‘Creation’, pp. 38-39.

to advocate for whole person care. For Adventists, whole person care can occur through the natural healing properties of creation or through ethical advances in science, technology and medicine that are not contrary to God's divine purpose.¹³³ In the context of Adventism, Provonsha makes this statement about the ends of health and temperance reform.

Though sometimes too vigorous in their pursuit of health, Adventists were not motivated by ascetic reasons. To believers in creation the body was a temple to be looked after, nurtured, and protected from the harmful substances and practices.¹³⁴

The theological rationale underlying Provonsha's statement is the concept of the body temple. The body temple is God's creation, it is sacred and it is meant to glorify him because this is the end for which it was made. These statements imply that all human bodies are living temples, so they should not be dehumanised, discriminated against or devalued as inferior, or othered because all bodies have dignity and are valuable to God. Therefore, I would argue that Jesus' message in the Sermon on the Mount is pertinent here because it articulates God's love for humanity, especially his concern for the lives of those who are oppressed daily on the underside of society. At the same time, God's love is also inclusive of those who exist above the underside of society in power and privilege; they too can experience grace, repentance and transformation when their scripts of superiority are flipped by Jesus beatitudinal vision for living.¹³⁵

¹³³ Provonsha, 'Creation', pp. 40-42.

¹³⁴ Provonsha, 'Creation', p. 42. Stephen Ferguson argues that Adventism's distinctive theological doctrines in their unity are described by the term "wholism" and they are incompatible with monastic asceticism, which he claims has its roots in Gnosticism. Ferguson interprets wholeness as doctrinal rather than a vision or philosophy. 'Why Adventists Should Make Terrible Monks', *Adventist Record* (2014), 1-8 <[https:// record.adventistchurch.com/2014/08/06/why-adventists-should-make-terrible-monks/](https://record.adventistchurch.com/2014/08/06/why-adventists-should-make-terrible-monks/)> [accessed 18 March 2019].

¹³⁵ Matthew 5-7.

Concerning western medical science, Jack Provonsha is in agreement with Richard Rice's assessment that the roots of western medical science are pre-modern and Hebraic in their origin rather than Hellenistic.¹³⁶ In fact, Provonsha 'believed Jesus, not Hippocrates, was the true father of the "spirit," albeit not the methods, of contemporary medicine'.¹³⁷ In terms of contemporary medicine, Provonsha was especially interested in psychosomatic applications of medicine that affect the interrelationship between the physical, mental, spiritual and social dimensions of the human person in a 'psycho-physical unity'. He contrasts this pre-modern worldview of the human person with the mechanistic and materialistic worldview of modernity, where man is understood to be a 'complex physiochemical organism determined by cause and effect'.¹³⁸ According to Provonsha, the modern mechanistic and materialistic worldview eschews the soul, or the person, who has been deluded into thinking they are created free to choose, be creative and act responsibly in a universe that is deterministic.¹³⁹ Therefore, Provonsha argues that in a deterministic cause and effect universe:

Moral evaluation itself is called in question wherever such determination is conceived as absolute. Almost everything that religion and ethics ultimately stands for depends on the actuality of responsible personhood. The chief difference between the "soul" and that of the older dualism is that the creative quality here delineated, man's freedom, does not exist in isolation from the total organism. It is affected and conditioned by other dimensions of man's existence in very important ways, even though it cannot be completely reduced to them. Destroy the other dimensions and the "soul" is lost as well.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Jack Provonsha, *Making the Whole Man Whole: Papers and Presentations on Religion, Ethics, and Medicine* ed. by David R. Larson (Loma Linda, CA: Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics, 2018), pp. 230-31; Rice, *MinistryHealing*, p. 1.

¹³⁷ Provonsha, *Making the Whole Man Whole*, pp. xi, 234.

¹³⁸ Provonsha, *Making the Whole Man Whole*, pp. 230-34.

¹³⁹ Provonsha, *Making the Whole Man Whole*, pp. 233-34.

¹⁴⁰ Provonsha, *Making the Whole Man Whole*, pp. 228-34. By the term 'older dualism', Provonsha means the ancient forms of dualism propagated by Plato, the Gnostics, Manicheans, Neo-Platonists, Augustine and the Monastics.

Here, Provonsha argues that any reductionism of the totality of the human person will have implications for the full flourishing of humanity as well as their stewardship of the rest of creation. For Provonsha, God's creation is an interconnected whole, a place where all life is interrelated and interdependent. Moreover, in creation, human beings are complex, multidimensional creatures and each person is an embodied, indivisible and irreducible psychosomatic unity.¹⁴¹

As co-partners with God, Adventists have a responsibility to be ethical stewards by caring for the health of their fellow human beings and the wider planetary ecosystem. However, I would caution that in the contemporary world the human sciences, medicine and technology have a central role to play in maintaining good health, but generally their relationship to the legacy of western Colonialism and its interrelationship with Christianity's expansion has at times been understated. Underpinning western Colonialism and Christian missionary expansion was the pervasive spread of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. This script of superiority led to some human beings and their habitats being exploited.¹⁴²

Overall, Provonsha sees a positive connection between the SDA vision of wholeness, health and the medical sciences, so he is similar to Rice in his view. However, he frames his approach to the SDA vision of wholeness in the framework of what he describes as the ethical stewardship of creation.¹⁴³ At this point, I will turn to the second part of this chapter where I will investigate a body of literature that contributes to the modification of the church's vision of wholeness, but goes beyond its predominant concern with health.

¹⁴¹ Provonsha, 'Creation', pp. 37, 47.

¹⁴² Anthony G. Reddie, *Theologising Brexit: A Liberationist and Postcolonial Critique* (Oxon: Routledge, 2019), p. 16.

¹⁴³ Provonsha, 'Creation', pp. 47-48.

1.8 Part 2. Wholeness and the Ecological Web of Existence: Ginger Hanks-Harwood

Ginger Hanks-Harwood can be included amongst a circle of Adventist scholars who have contributed to the broadening and modification of the SDA vision of wholeness by not focusing primarily on health and the medical sciences. By turning her focus to ecology, Ginger Hanks-Harwood demonstrates that there is scope for making diverse contributions towards the achievement of a fuller realisation of SDA's vision of wholeness. Her essay entitled 'Wholeness' is significant for my thesis because she relates the theme of wholeness to vision. In her essay, Hanks-Harwood envisions God's remnant people committing themselves wholly to God by an advocacy approach to personal and social ethics. This ethical approach utilises wholeness as a source for moral reflection on the created world in which humans and non-humans live in an interconnected, ecological web of existence.¹⁴⁴ According to Hanks-Harwood, many interrelated social problems occur in what she calls a "total web of life" or "ecology of existence".¹⁴⁵ Some social problems she mentions are racism and other forms of oppression.¹⁴⁶

As I have mentioned, Ginger Hanks-Harwood's essay is important for my research because it emphasises the relationship between vision and wholeness. In her essay, Hanks-Harwood sometimes refers to wholeness as a doctrine and at other times she refers to it as a heritage, but in the section of her essay entitled 'Significance of Wholeness for the Present Cultural Context', she articulates the importance of vision for capturing the Adventist hope and how SDAs ought to live the good life in the revelation

¹⁴⁴ Ginger Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', pp. 128-44. Ginger Hanks Harwood is a retired Adventist professor of religion and founder of the Women's Resource Center at La Sierra University.

¹⁴⁵ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 127.

¹⁴⁶ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', pp. 142.

of the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁴⁷ Relating the significance of this vision to Christian ethics, she posits:

Re-visioned, the ethical task is to discern in our respective circumstances the possibilities for morally responsible action. As we investigate the possible openings in the present that can lead to a transformed future we must act in accordance with our vision of the world, struggle with whatever is necessary in order to witness to and effect this alternative pattern. We must seek to discover and create a range of responses in our social context which will render the vision realizable.¹⁴⁸

Hanks-Harwood sees wholeness as a source for moral reflection and discernment that results in what she calls an ethic of advocacy that can be advanced wherever humanity and creation are under threat.¹⁴⁹ In relation to my thesis, a threat can be visible or invisible.

In Hanks-Harwood's advocacy approach, the type of ethical formation she proposes first occurs as SDA Christians relate with one another in their particular religious community. Once they are in this setting, they encounter God and they identify with the Bible's metanarrative and their shared vision of wholeness; therefore, all of these factors help give shape and meaning to the lives of Adventists, so that they become Christian disciples and stewards who care for the wellbeing of the planet. In this sense, her advocacy ethics gives emphasis to an ecological approach to the SDA vision of wholeness that builds upon Provonsha's ethical stewardship.

At the end of her essay, Hanks-Harwood challenges the SDA Church to embrace the vision of wholeness and dream about it to its fullness. She argues that it is a dream that inspires action, but it is incomplete, so it is still waiting to be realised in its

¹⁴⁷ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', pp. 140-42. In Bull and Lockhart's 1980s survey of wholeness, some Adventists describe it as the entire package of Adventist doctrines. This provides another way to think about wholeness theologically. Also, Fritz Guy includes wholeness as part of the distinctive 'theological and practical heritage' of Adventism. See Guy, *Thinking Theologically*, pp. 237, 245-49.

¹⁴⁸ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 141.

¹⁴⁹ The exact term for Ginger Hanks-Harwood's approach to personal and social ethics is 'Advocacy Ethics'. Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 142.

entirety. She concludes her essay with the statement, ‘Perhaps it will be dreaming that dream that will energise and reinspire Seventh-day Adventists to become leaders in interpreting and applying Christian ethics to our ever-changing social milieu’.¹⁵⁰ In the twenty-first century, I would reiterate that if SDAs are going to address some of the social issues that Ginger Hanks-Harwood raises in her essay, they ought to modify their vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision.

1.9 Adventist Social Ethics: Human Rights and Holistic Theology: Zdravko Plantak

The Adventist discussion on Human rights is another approach that contributes to a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness, thus modifying it and moving it beyond the boundaries of health. Zdravko Plantak, a professor at Loma Linda University, has written on this subject in his book *The Silent Church: Human Rights and Adventist Social Ethics*. In his book, Plantak discusses human rights and wholeness in the context of social ethics. In order to facilitate his discussion, he appeals to a number of Adventist and non-Adventist sources, while emphasising certain concepts that promote human flourishing such as human personhood and dignity. For example, in the sixth chapter of his book he includes a short section on ‘holistic Theology’.¹⁵¹ Plantak argues that holistic theology is significant for Adventist social ethics because it emphasises the unity, sanctity and ‘dignity of personhood’ as central concepts for the development of human potentiality and the actualisation of human flourishing. Conversely, anything that diminishes the holistic development of human beings is counterproductive to their full flourishing and potentiality.¹⁵² Moreover, Adventists have sought to elevate the concepts of human dignity and personhood by mediating the

¹⁵⁰ Hanks-Harwood, ‘Wholeness’, p.143.

¹⁵¹ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 126-27.

¹⁵² Plantak, *The Silent Church*, p. 28.

gospel and their particular religious experience through the denomination's various public institutions.¹⁵³

To substantiate the importance of the concepts of human dignity and personhood for human rights, Plantak argues that our view of human nature affects how we attribute certain rights to each other.¹⁵⁴ To further his argument he turns to *The Fantasy of Human Rights* as a literary source for his social ethics of human rights.¹⁵⁵ He states that the author Patrick O' Mahony

Has rightly observed that, to speak of a person's liberty, life and security as his or her right is in fact a curious legal formation. What we really want to protect is not the person's rights but the person himself'. O'Mahony, therefore, although indirectly and unintentionally, defines 'human' in terms of personhood. And personhood from a Christian perspective is without doubt derived from the dignity of human beings created in the image of their creator.¹⁵⁶

In support of this argument, Plantak recognises that Christians and non-Christians realise that human dignity is the primary basis for human rights.¹⁵⁷ However, in a Christian monotheistic religious context, human dignity has its genesis in God's valuing of human persons who are created in his image, dwelt in by his only begotten son who saves them from sin and restores them fully in the image of their Creator Redeemer.¹⁵⁸

The *Reign of God* by Richard Rice is another source Plantak uses to develop his approach to Adventist social ethics in relation to human rights.¹⁵⁹ He uses this text to expound the doctrine of creation in relation to human rights. He concurs with Rice that 'the doctrine of creation warns us against violating any of the basic conditions of our

¹⁵³ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 127-28.

¹⁵⁴ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 157-62.

¹⁵⁵ Patrick J. O'Mahony, *The Fantasy of Human Rights*, (Great Wakering: Mayhew-Mccrimmon, 1978), p. 63.

¹⁵⁶ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 157-58.

¹⁵⁷ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, p. 166.

¹⁵⁸ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 163-68. Plantak acknowledges that religious traditions such as Judaism and Islam also share a monotheistic view of human dignity.

¹⁵⁹ Richard Rice, *Reign of God: An Introduction to Christian Theology from a Seventh-day Adventist Perspective*, 2nd edn (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1997), pp. 61-64, 132, 295-311.

existence. And the basic condition of our existence is the brotherhood of all humanity, which assumes equality of races, sexes, nationalities and economic positions.’¹⁶⁰

However, Plantak is concerned that while Adventists have always applied the ‘wholistic approach to [their] theology and ethics, they have failed to take this same wholistic consideration in viewing human rights’.¹⁶¹ He believes this imbalanced approach to human rights has been problematic for all Christian churches.¹⁶² This is why Plantak agrees with this statement by Jurgen Moltmann: ‘all human rights be they social, economic, religious, or political are interrelated. They must be taken as a *whole*.’¹⁶³

In my assessment, Plantak’s concern about human rights indicates that SDAs need to broaden their vision of wholeness beyond matters of health. His agreement with Moltmann raises several questions in relating wholeness to human rights. What are the sources of human rights if wholism is interpreted as being universal in scope? Are they the same as the universal declaration of human rights? Are human rights derived from a Christian theological worldview or from the humanism of the Enlightenment?¹⁶⁴ Whether the source of human rights is theological or humanistic, either can be appropriated for the purpose of privileging certain ethnocentric groups who traffic scripts of superiority that exploit and subjugate others as mere property for political and commercial ends.¹⁶⁵ Plantak’s approach to the SDA vision of wholeness indicates that justice is at the heart of his contribution to its modification and fuller realisation.

¹⁶⁰ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, p. 164.

¹⁶¹ Plantak argues that SDAs have not developed a ‘systematic and coherent theology of human rights’. Plantak, *The Silent Church*, p. 153.

¹⁶² Plantak, *The Silent Church*, p. 157.

¹⁶³ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 157, 166.

¹⁶⁴ Plantak argues that there are pre-Kantian alternatives on which human rights can be based. Plantak, *The Silent Church*, p. 166.

¹⁶⁵ Plantak, *The Silent Church*, pp. 165; Cheryl L. Harris, ‘Whiteness as Property’, *Harvard Law Review*, 106 (1993), 1709-91.

1.10 Toward a Wholistic Theology of Sabbath Worship:

Katsumi Higashide

Katsumi Higashide is a Japanese Seventh-day Adventist who has made a contribution to modifying the SDA vision of wholeness by focusing on the seventh day Sabbath as a day of worship to God. In his exposition of the Sabbath, Higashide seeks to remind Adventists that this holy day is relational, so its sacredness signifies that in God's family his loving-kindness transcends human classifications of who is lovable and unlovable.

According to Higashide, since the dawn of creation and the Exodus, remembering the Sabbath has been integral to what it means to be a human liberated from Egyptian bondage and any other type of enslavement, and redeemed from sin into the family of God.¹⁶⁶ He indicates that remembering the Sabbath involves a number of commitments. First, Sabbath-keeping is meaningless without a commitment to Christ.¹⁶⁷ Second, it requires observing the holy day from generation to generation commencing with the creation of the world to its consummation. This particular commitment reminds human beings that God's plan of salvation is wholistic because it covers the entire span of redemptive history.¹⁶⁸ For Higashide the Sabbath in this life is a foretaste of what humans will experience in the eschatological Sabbath in the new Creation.¹⁶⁹ Third, remembering the Sabbath involves a commitment to a seven-day week that begins on Sunday and ends on Saturday. The seven-day week has a rhythm of six days of work

¹⁶⁶ Katsumi Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University, 2010), pp. 156-57, 186; Samuele Bacchiocchi, 'A Memorial of Redemption', in *Festival of the Sabbath*, ed. by Roy Branson (Takoma Park, MD: Spectrum Association of Adventist Forums), pp. 58-59, 60-63.

¹⁶⁷ Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', pp. 181-82.

¹⁶⁸ Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', pp. 176-81; Bacchiocchi, 'A Memorial of Redemption', p. 55.

¹⁶⁹ Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', p. 178. Also, for more on the Sabbath and the New Creation, see Isaiah 66.22-23.

and one day of sacred rest (the Seventh-day Sabbath).¹⁷⁰ Lastly, I would argue that remembering the Sabbath is a counter-visionary commitment that calls for prophetic and ethical resistance to any beastly power of domination or script of superiority such as the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.¹⁷¹

In his wholistic theology of Sabbath worship and fellowship with God, Higashide recognises that the Sabbath is God's gracious gift to humanity, so it involves receptivity, joy, celebration and blessing. The Sabbath is a gift from God that reminds humanity that they were made for worship and communion with him, other human beings and nature.¹⁷² Finally, the Sabbath reminds humanity that they belong to one family that Christ has redeemed through his precious blood (Ephesians 1.7, 2.13-22, 1 Peter 1.18-21, Revelation 5. 9-10). Included in this family are the aliens, the unlovable, the underserving and all who exist on the underside of society, especially the racially oppressed.¹⁷³ Higashide argues that 'the Sabbath is a great leveler' because whenever and wherever genuine Christian community occurs, human dignity and equality are meant to exist for all of God's children.¹⁷⁴ Overall, I would argue that Higashide's contribution to the SDA vision of wholeness modifies it by emphasising the theological role of Sabbath remembrance and its qualitative benefits for divine, human and other creaturely relationships that are meant to flourish in this life and the life to come.

¹⁷⁰ Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', pp. 182-83, 89; Charles E. Bradford, *Sabbath Roots: The African Connection A Biblical Perspective* (Barre, VT: Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1999), p. 58.

¹⁷¹ Olive J. Hemmings, "The Spirit of Prophecy and the Call to Resist: A Closer Reading of Revelation 19. 10", in *A House on Fire*, pp. 15-25.

¹⁷² Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', pp. 150, 153, 173-75, 177-78, 182-83, 186-88; Walter Brueggemann argues that the Sabbath is the 'great festival of freedom', and a time when debts are cancelled, and social relationships are transformed, especially for people existing on the underside of society. See Walter Brueggemann, *Sabbath as Resistance: Saying No to the Culture of Now* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), pp. 43-45.

¹⁷³ Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', pp. 185-88.

¹⁷⁴ Higashide, 'Meanings of the Sabbath for Worship in the Seventh-day Adventist Church', p. 174.

1.11 Actualising Wholeness Through Personal Identity: John B. Wong

Gaining an awareness of the external and internal characteristics of personal identity is fundamental to the actualisation of wholeness in the Christian life. In order for Christians to actualise a vision of wholeness in the totality of their lives, they ought to make an examination of the heart, the mind, the body and the soul in conjunction with all of the multi-layered dimensions that constitute that person as a self and a child of God.¹⁷⁵ According to John B. Wong, when Christians examine themselves, they will discover in their personal identities, a ‘moment-to-moment response’ to God’s grace in the course of their existence within redemptive history.¹⁷⁶ In this salvific-historical context, the human agent gains self-awareness of the vertical and horizontal aspects of their relationship to God, self, neighbour and the environment, thus awakening to wholeness as a vision of shalom that benefits all of God’s creation; health is only one dimension of this vision of shalom.

In his articulation of Christian wholism, Wong claims that a vision of shalom directs the human agent towards the path of peace and joy.¹⁷⁷ He interprets peace and joy in the likeness of a two-sided coin. However for him, the interrelationship of peace and joy raises a number of questions such as: ‘what is peace? Is it not joy in its rest mode? And what is joy? Can we not think of it as peace in its excitation mode?’¹⁷⁸ From this set of questions, Wong deduces that peace and joy are gifts that God gives his children in the interim between Christ’s first and second advent. These gifts continue to ground his children in agape love and nurture them in the way of shalom, so that they

¹⁷⁵ Wong, *Christian Wholism*, pp. 2, 12, 78-79.

¹⁷⁶ Wong, *Christian Wholism*, pp. 80, 229. John B. Wong is a vascular surgeon with interests in theology, philosophy and ethics. He is an honorary staff member at the Loma Linda Medical Center in California.

¹⁷⁷ Wong, *Christian Wholism*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁷⁸ Wong, *Christian Wholism*, p. 5.

are able to achieve their full God-given potential on this earth prior to the resurrection, which he argues is the ultimate expression of wholeness.¹⁷⁹

As I interpret Wong's contribution to the SDA vision of wholeness, his articulation of Christian wholism indicates that when SDAs become more aware of the external and internal characteristics of their personal identity, it may be possible for them to become more attuned to the 'brokenness' and 'lostness' of a sinful world and to the cries of their fellow brothers and sisters in the church and in society who exist on the underside of society.¹⁸⁰ In short, according to Wong, the actualisation of one's self-identity raises questions about the interrelationship between peace and joy. However, in relation to the subject matter of my research, actualising self-identity raises questions I think every Seventh-day Adventist should be asking themselves: is it possible to have a vision of wholeness and be a racist? Or does having a vision of wholeness make me an antiracist?¹⁸¹ Finally, self-awareness can foster repentance; self-correction, unlearning and learning anew in whatever context Christians find themselves.¹⁸² For SDA Christians, the church's educational institutions have provided a major setting for the formation of their personal identity in relation to their theological, moral and vocational learning. Ellen G. White's writings on education and wholeness have been paramount to this approach of achieving a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness. This is why I return to her literary work next, while drawing out some of the implications the SDA vision of wholeness has for the lives of African Americans.

¹⁷⁹ Wong, *Christian Wholism*, pp. viiii, 1-3, 12, 24-26, 189.

¹⁸⁰ Wong, *Christian Wholism*, pp. 175, 187.

¹⁸¹ Ibram X. Kendi argues that there is no neutral ground; you are a racist or an antiracist. Ibram X. Kendi, *How to Be An Antiracist* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019) , p. 9.

¹⁸² Glen Harold Stassen, *A Thicker Jesus: Incarnational Discipleship in a Secular Age* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), pp. 6-7.

1.12 Wholistic Education: Ellen G. White

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, the SDA approach to education has made an important contribution to the church's goal of achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness.¹⁸³ As this approach developed in the early years of the twentieth century, Ellen G. White published her book *Education*.¹⁸⁴ This publication was significant because it documents White's thoughts on the subject of the source and aim of true education.¹⁸⁵ Using the Bible as her foundation, White made the claim that God is the source of all knowledge and truth.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, in one of her most profound statements on the theme of education, she relates the SDA vision of wholeness to the penultimate and the ultimate spheres of faith and learning.¹⁸⁷ She states,

Our ideas of education take too narrow and too low a range. There is need of a broader scope, a higher aim. True Education means more than the pursuit of a certain course of study. It means more than the preparation for the life that now is. It has to do with the whole being, and with the whole period of existence possible to man. It is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual powers. It prepares the student for the joy of service in this world and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come.¹⁸⁸

White provides scope for her wholistic understanding of true education by organising the content of her book according to a horizontal and vertical typology. For the former, she identifies the Eden school in the here and now, and for the latter she identifies the

¹⁸³ R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History Textbook for Seventh-day Adventist Classes* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979), pp. 123-24; John Skrzypaszek, 'Education as the Heart of Ellen White's Missional Vision for the Seventh-day Adventist Schools: The Australian Context', in R. McIver & P. Kilgour, *Perceptions of Mission Held by Teachers in Seventh-day Adventist Schools in Australia and the Solomon Islands* (Cooranbong: Avondale Academic Press, 2017), pp. 19-22.

¹⁸⁴ Ellen G. White's book *Education* was first published in 1903. See Skrzypaszek, 'Education as the Heart of Ellen White's Missional Vision for the Seventh-day Adventist Schools', p. 25.

¹⁸⁵ White, *Education*, pp. 13-19.

¹⁸⁶ White, *Education*, p. 14; Fritz Guy, 'Theology', in *Ellen Harmon White, American Prophet*, ed. by Terrie Dopp Aamodt, Gary Land and others (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 147-48.

¹⁸⁷ Mervyn A. Warren, *Oakwood! A Vision Splendid Continues 1896-2010* (Collegedale, TN: The College Press, 2010) p. 63.

¹⁸⁸ White, *Education*, p. 13.

antitypical School as being in the Hereafter.¹⁸⁹ In other words this means that the earthly edenic school prefigures the heavenly edenic school, so the corresponding unity between the two takes into account the whole gamut of the conflict of the ages/ redemptive historical paradigm with its eschatological curriculum for ushering in God's shalom, restoration of the image of God in humankind and making 'the work of education and the work of redemption as one'.¹⁹⁰ According to White, from the creation to the new creation, the love of Christ is the paramount principle that forms the basis for loving service to others and for educating and developing the capacities of each person to their highest good. Love shapes the character morally and the soul harmoniously in all its dimensions. Moreover, love dispels ignorance in the mind, unselfishness in the heart and sinfulness in the flesh.¹⁹¹ As White continued to write on these subjects and engage in real-world missionary activity, her ideas about wholistic education became more influential within the Adventist Church.

While Ellen G. White was in the mission field in Australia her views on Adventist education progressed. During her spell there, she embarked on one of her most creative spells of literary writing.¹⁹² In the year 1892, the SDA Church began a small Bible school in Melbourne that eventually became Avondale University. Avondale provided the SDA Church with a successful blueprint for wholistic education that would be repeated in Adventist educational institutions all over the world including

¹⁸⁹ White, *Education*, pp. 20-30, 301-09.

¹⁹⁰ White, *Education*, pp. 28-30, 125, 303-04, 308. *The Conflict of the Ages* series is Ellen's White's five-volume literary metanarrative that gives an Adventist perspective on the cosmic conflict between God and Satan. The series takes in the whole course of salvation history. As I mentioned in the introduction to my thesis, her book series includes: *Patriarchs and Prophets*, *Prophets and Kings*, *The Desire of Ages*, *The Acts of the Apostles* and *The Great Controversy*.

¹⁹¹ White, *Education*, pp. 16, 29-30; Skrzypaszek, 'Education as the Heart of Ellen White's Missional Vision for the Seventh-day Adventist Schools', pp. 18-19, 21-22.

¹⁹² Skrzypaszek, 'Education as the Heart of Ellen White's Missional Vision for the Seventh-day Adventist Schools', pp. 19-22.

Oakwood University in Huntsville, Alabama.¹⁹³ Oakwood University is one of America's Historically Black Universities and Colleges and its location would put it right at the heart of Black protest and issues of racial justice, peace and equality in the civil rights era.¹⁹⁴

Originally, Oakwood Industrial School was established in 1896, as a result of the church's evangelistic missionary work to the emancipated African Americans in the Southern states.¹⁹⁵ At the time of the founding of the school, Booker T. Washington and W.E. B. Du Bois were in a debate about the best way to educate the formerly enslaved African Americans.¹⁹⁶ In Alabama, Booker T. Washington had achieved success with his own Tuskegee Institute, which was a showcase for industrial progress and vocational training that was congenial to both Southern and Northern whites.¹⁹⁷ However, Du Bois was an advocate for the liberal arts and he preferred a higher quality of education aimed at Black excellence, self-respect and self-improvement, rather than an educational approach that promised self-improvement for the Black American *homo economicus* because it really forfeited political and civic equality for African Americans by keeping them tied to a level of subsistence; Du Bois viewed this type of training as a mis-education of the Negro.¹⁹⁸ As I interpret Du Bois, he was concerned that the whites feared that if African Americans became too educated and liberated they would rebel

¹⁹³ Warren, *Oakwood!*, pp. 61-63. The SDA Church operates almost 8000 educational institutions globally. See Adventist Universities, 'University List', in *Universities* <<https://adventistuniversities.com/adventist-education/>> [accessed 11 January 2022]; George R. Knight, 'The Aim of Adventist Education: A Historical Perspective', *Faculty Publications*, 74 (2010), 4-7 <https://uploads-ssl.webflow.com/5b97ca09a5d9b67fc13c7667/5eb46b0c14a672f5463b9437_The%20Aims%20of%20Adventist%20Education_%20A%20Historical%20Perspective.pdf> [accessed 11 January 2022].

¹⁹⁴ Debonnaire Kovacs, 'Oakwood and Dr. King', *Adventist Today* ['n.d.'], 1-3 <<https://atoday.org/oakwood-and-dr-king/>> [accessed 12 September 2022].

¹⁹⁵ Warren, *Oakwood!*, pp. 51-54.

¹⁹⁶ Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 128-29; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), pp. 34-35; Warren, *Oakwood!*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁹⁷ Washington's educational philosophy trained the Negro in skills like farming, mechanics, teaching, construction and domestic help etc. See Warren, *Oakwood!*, pp. 48-49; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 26, 35.

¹⁹⁸ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 25-26, 30-31.

against the status quo of the white racial script of superiority. Conversely, in Washington's approach, African Americans would remain trapped in a cycle of inferiority under this same white supremacist script.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, I would argue that Washington was an advocate for gradualism because he was content to progress slowly hoping the whites would voluntarily give the Negroes the equality to vote in the democratic process.²⁰⁰

In keeping with White's wholistic educational approach, Oakwood University opted for a synthesis between the liberal arts and industrial style training for their educational programme.²⁰¹ This synthesis followed the counsel she gave that states:

Manual training is deserving of far more attention than it has received. Schools should be established that, in addition to the highest mental and moral culture, shall provide the best possible facilities for physical development and industrial training.²⁰²

In my assessment of her statement, she is advocating for manual physical training to be done in tandem with more intellectual pursuits. Again she states:

The true teacher is not satisfied with second-rate work. He is not satisfied with directing his students to a standard lower than the highest which it is possible for them to attain. He cannot be content with imparting to them only technical knowledge, with making them merely clever accountants, skilful artisans, successful tradesmen. It is his ambition to inspire them with principles of truth, obedience, honour, integrity, and purity – principles that will make them a positive force for the stability and uplifting of society. He desires them, above all else to learn life's great lesson of unselfish service.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Warren, *Oakwood!*, p. 51; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 30.

²⁰⁰ Washington, *Up from Slavery*, pp. 137-38.

²⁰¹ Warren, *Oakwood!*, pp. 60-62.

²⁰² Also, Mrs White argued that 'the benefit of manual training is needed also by professional men'. She states, 'A man may have a brilliant mind; he may be quick to catch ideas; his knowledge and skill may secure for him admission to his chosen calling; yet he may still be far from possessing a fitness for its duties. An education derived chiefly from books leads to superficial thinking. Practical work encourages close observation and independent thought. Rightly performed it tends to develop that practical wisdom which we call common sense. It develops ability to plan and execute, strengthens courage and perseverance, and calls for the exercise of tact and skill'. See White, *Education*, pp. 218, 220.

²⁰³ White, *Education*, pp. 29-30.

I agree with Oakwood's decision to follow Ellen White's counsel by combining the liberal arts with training for manual labour because it addresses the multidimensionality of the human person: intellectually, morally, spiritually, physically and socially. In addition, I posit that Washington and Du Bois may have used different means, but I think their ends may have been similar in the sense that they were directing the nation towards a type of wholistic living.²⁰⁴ However, Du Bois and Ellen G. White seem to be more attuned to a vision of a just society that engenders people to live up to the highest ideals, but in the case of Du Bois it is my contention that his approach to the Negro condition warned that compromising with scripts of superiority might eventually cause individuals, groups or a nation to acquiesce in silence when faced with racial injustice.²⁰⁵ This issue would become problematic for Oakwood in the Jim and Jane Crow era.²⁰⁶ Before concluding this chapter, I will turn to one more approach to the SDA vision of wholeness that provides a different focus that is not primarily about health.

1.13 Adventism's Wholistic Missiological Quadrilateral

The SDA missiological Quadrilateral has contributed to the modification of the church's vision of wholeness as it becomes more fully realised over time. Prior to the commencement of the American Civil War in 1861, the pioneers of the Seventh-day

²⁰⁴ In his Atlanta exposition address, Washington called white and Black Americans for an education that included the various dimensions of the human person i.e. 'head, hand and heart'. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, p. 129. Also, Du Bois recognised the multidimensionality of the human person when he called for the white elders of the South to make social change by ensuring that their children acquire a 'robust, healthy mental and moral development'. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 33.

²⁰⁵ Du Bois argued that all Americans must be involved in the making of a just nation; no one could be a spectator, and no one could be passive as long as racial injustice prevailed in the North or in the Southern states. Du Bois called for peaceful opposition and non-conformity to those who transgressed human rights and compromised the civil and religious liberties that are enshrined in the documents written by America's founding fathers. See Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 34-33.

²⁰⁶ Jane Crow as a term was first used by Pauli Murray to refer to the 'intersection of racial and gender-based discrimination'. Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture, 'Jane Crow and the Story of Pauli Murray', (2021), *Our American Story*, 1-11 <<https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/jane-crow-story-pauli-murray>> [accessed 31 March 2022].

Adventist Church were in the fledgling stage of trying to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness.²⁰⁷ Even though the pioneers maintained their expectancy about the soon coming of Christ, the delay of his coming meant that their vision of wholeness would develop gradually over time. I want to categorise this historical and developmental time frame as the antebellum and postbellum phases of Adventism.

In the antebellum phase after 1844, the Adventists began to keep the seventh-day Sabbath, they were also focused on how to sustain the faith of their fellow Sabbath-keeping believers because they had no formal property in which to meet for organised worship; this meant they had to find a way to preserve unity amongst themselves at a distance.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, they sought to persuade their fellow Millerite brothers and sisters about the Sabbath and the other revelations of biblical truth they had acquired since the Great Disappointment of 1844 when Jesus did not return.²⁰⁹ Adventist historian, George R. Knight states that between ‘1844 to 1850’ the Sabbatarian Adventists were focused on developing their theological doctrines, therefore they were unconcerned about mission to sinners who existed outside of the Millerite movement.²¹⁰ This phase of Adventism is known as the shut-door period.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ At this stage of Adventism, the pioneers’ main theological contribution to their vision of wholeness was their understanding of biblical anthropology that refuted ‘Greek dualities of body and soul’. See George R. Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom: Confronting Challenges of Change and Secularization* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1995), p. 82.

²⁰⁸ Niels-Erik A. Andersen, ‘Sabbath’, in *The Future of Adventism: Theology, Society, Experience*, ed. by Gary Chartier (Ann Arbor, MI: Griffin & Lash, 2015), pp. 67-68. In their publications, Seventh-day Adventists have publicly made known their debt to the Seventh-day-Baptists for introducing them to the importance of the biblical Sabbath. See Joseph Bates, and others, ‘Sanctify Them Through the Truth Thy Word is Truth’, *Second Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald*, 1 (1850), ‘[n.p.]’ <<https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/RH/RH18501101-V01-01.pdf>> [accessed 14 January 2022]; Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origin and History of the Seventh-day Adventists*, (Washington DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961), pp. 115-30; Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom*, p. 83.

²⁰⁹ Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom*, p. 82.

²¹⁰ Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom*, pp. 59-61.

²¹¹ Any person who rejected the message of the Millerite preachers prior to 1844 supposedly missed the opportunity of salvation in Christ. For more on the shut door and open door period of Adventism see Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 69-70.

A more expansive concern for mission did not emerge among the Sabbatarian Adventists until the occurrence of Ellen G. White's prophetic vision in Dorchester, Massachusetts in 1848. White gives an account of her vision in *Life Sketches*, She states:

After coming out of vision, I said to my husband: "I have a message for you. 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 to me to be like streams of light that went clear round the world."²¹²

Knight argues that White's vision was the genesis for 'Adventist publishing and a concept of Adventist mission to the whole world'.²¹³ It was also the catalyst for what Knight has termed the Adventist missiological quadrilateral, a wholisitic paradigm that has gradually been replicated around the globe.²¹⁴ As I interpret Knight, his Adventist missiological quadrilateral is congruent with the SDA vision of wholeness because it combines the publishing, health reform, education and administrative aspects of the church for the purpose of meeting humanity's mental, physical, spiritual and social needs through the proclamation of the gospel.²¹⁵ I agree with him that the different aspects of the missiological quadrilateral emerged organically and progressively during various phases of Adventist history, but it is my contention that each of these aspects is

²¹² Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches* (Ellen G. White Estate, 1915), pp. 125-26, ebook. White's vision occurred thirteen years prior to the Civil War. Ellen G. White's book *Life Sketches* was partly produced by a number of her assistants. See Anon, 'Life Sketches and Manuscripts', EGW Writings, 1 <<https://m.egwwritings.org/en/book/666.2>> [accessed 3 March 2023].

²¹³ During the 1850s James White began to print the periodicals *Present Truth* and the *Advent Review*; the former was aimed at sharing the truth about the Sabbath and the message of the Three Angels of Revelation 14 to other Millerite believers. The latter periodical reprinted Millerite texts that affirmed that the prophetic interpretation of end time events leading up to 1844 were still significant for Adventists. See White, *Life Sketches*, p. 136. Later the two periodicals were joined and they became the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*; Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom*, pp. 82-83.

²¹⁴ Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom*, pp. 88-92; Trevor O'Reggio, 'Exploring the Factors that Shaped the Early Adventist Mission to Jamaica', *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 19 (2008), 230-258. O'Reggio analyses the role the Adventist vision of wholeness, the missiological quadrilateral and other factors played in shaping the early Adventist mission in Jamaica.

²¹⁵ Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom*, p. 82.

the result of the various approaches SDAs have contributed to modifying their vision of wholeness.

In the Postbellum era, towards the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, missiologists have been making contributions to the SDA vision of wholeness in order to realise it more fully. In order to do this, a number of Adventists have sought to contextualise and harmonise the church's twenty-eight fundamental beliefs with its vision of wholeness for mission in Africa and other parts of the globe.²¹⁶ Furthermore, by making mission central to their identity, Adventists continue to deliberate about appropriate ecclesiological models and structures for different contexts and urban centres around the world that are more wholistic as opposed to ethnocentric in their promotion of Western scripts of cultural superiority.²¹⁷ I recognise from missiologists that in the postbellum era of Seventh-day Adventism, concerns about contextualisation in the contemporary world are relevant for any construction of a theological ethic that aims to modify the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision of wholeness.

²¹⁶ See Rowland Chioma Nwosu, 'The Seventh-day Adventist Philosophy of Wholeness within the African (Igbo) Wholistic Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1995); Chigemezi-Nnadozie Wogu, 'Constructs in Contexts: Models of Contextualising Adventist Theology', *International Bulletin of Mission Research* (2018), 1-13 (pp. 6-7); Barry D. Oliver, 'Can or Should Seventh-day Adventists Belief be Adapted to Culture?', in *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century: The Joys and Challenges of Presenting Jesus to a Diverse World*, ed. by Jon L. Dybdahl (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999), pp. 72-79. This literature is not specifically concerned with connecting wholeness to racism and antiracism as I have done in my research.

²¹⁷ Jon L. Dybdahl, 'Adventist Mission Today—Taking the Pulse', in *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century*, 17-24 (p. 17); Owen McIntyre, 'Seventh-day Adventist Approaches to Contextualisation of Theology', *Mission Studies*, 16 (1999), 125-34; Rick McEdward, 'Adventist Mission Theology: Developing a Biblical Foundation', *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies*, 7 (2011), 67-78, pp. (73-76); Gary Krause, 'Seeking the Shalom: Wholistic Adventist Urban Mission and Centers of Influence', *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* (2014), 49-61; Gary Krause, 'Seeking the Shalom: A Wholistic Approach to Adventist Urban Mission in the United States Drawing on Ellen White's "Centers of Influence" Concept' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Queensland, 2020), pp. 162-90.

1.14 Conclusion

In sum, over the course of this chapter I have evaluated several approaches that have contributed to the broadening and modification of the SDA vision of wholeness. Health reform and the medical sciences have been contributors to the broadening and modification of the vision, but taken to an extreme they can be detrimental to the church's goal of achieving a fuller realisation of its vision. The other approaches I identified that broaden and modify the vision are: critical solidarity with persons and communities of disability, ecology, human rights, the Sabbath, the actualisation of personal identity, education and mission. I do not claim that any of these approaches to the SDA vision of wholeness are exhaustive; rather, I argue that the church's vision should not be constrained only to matters of health nor should it be restricted to a specific time or location in history. Instead, the vision is realised more fully over the course of time as Adventists look forward to the Second Coming of Christ.

In my assessment, the several approaches I evaluated in relation to the SDA vision of wholeness all contribute to an on-going conversation or dialogue that is taking place within the Adventist community. Since 1844 this conversation has been progressing for almost two centuries. Originally, the dialogue was internal because it existed between Sabbatarian Adventists and Millerite Adventists who were trying to comprehend the meaning of the Great Disappointment.²¹⁸ However, as time progressed, the dialogue on the SDA vision of wholeness broadened as the number of Sabbath-keeping Adventists grew. During this period of growth, the Adventists sought to embody their vision and message more fully over generations at home in America and abroad internationally.

²¹⁸ I will give more attention to the historical situation of the Great Disappointment as I develop my thesis in the next chapter.

In conducting this review of the literature, I have established that the SDA vision of wholeness has biblical, theological, Christological, missiological and ethical dimensions to it. Biblically, the SDA vision of wholeness is based on the Holy Scriptures of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. The SDA vision of wholeness is monotheistic because the Creator God is one, but it is also triune in its outlook because the Godhead is also ‘a unity of three coeternal persons,’ the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.²¹⁹ As I have shown in this chapter, Adventists also follow the Hebraic interpretation of God’s creation of humanity; therefore each person is a complex, indivisible unity of body, mind and spirit. God created both male and female in his image and he breathed life into them so that they could become living souls.²²⁰ In the SDA vision of wholeness, humanity participates in the larger story of God’s redemptive acts of shalom that reach their fruition in the reign of God.²²¹ By remembering the sanctity of the Sabbath, Adventists remain cognisant of their Hebraic roots and the holy day provides those who experience it with a foretaste of God’s eternal rest, justice, peace and wholeness.²²²

Theologically, Adventists recognise their Conditionalist heritage that they received from their pioneers. In conformity with this tradition, they reject Greek philosophical and Eastern paganistic mind-body dualisms that promote the immortality of the soul or the privileging of the spirit over the physical body.

²¹⁹ Deuteronomy 6.4; 28; *Seventh-Day Adventists Believe: An Exposition of the Fundamental Beliefs of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, 2nd edn (Silver Spring, MD: Ministerial Association General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2005), p. 28.

²²⁰ *Seventh-Day Adventists Believe*, pp. 91-100.

²²¹ Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, pp. 34-35.

²²² Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, pp. 49-50

Christologically, Jesus the Saviour is central to the SDA vision of wholeness because it was Christ who came to restore wholeness to humanity.²²³ Moreover, in the SDA vision of wholeness a Christian is a temple for God to dwell in through the Holy Spirit, and he empowers them in every dimension of their existence so that they experience his love, serve others and fulfil their God-given potentiality as his image bearers and stewards of creation.²²⁴

Missiologically, Adventists have been committed to achieving a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness amid the concrete real-world historical settings of modernity and postmodernity. They have sought to do this contextually through their missiological quadrilateral, the various official and self-supporting ministries of the church and through their humanitarian agency ADRA.²²⁵

Ethically, what does the SDA vision of wholeness mean for the moral life? In my examination of Adventist literature on wholeness, I would contend that the vision is redemptive, teleological and eschatological. It is redemptive because of Christ's love for humanity and the rest of creation. It is teleological because it is directed towards a certain end, and it is eschatological because it provides hope in something that is yet to be fully realised.²²⁶ It is the same hope that the pioneers turned to as they transitioned from the Great Disappointment of 1844. However, from that date, contemporary Adventists may have gradually lost their bearings on the way to their goal because they have not engaged sufficiently in their peace-making heritage that exists within their ecclesial history. The Adventists who practised this heritage of shalom have not always conformed to the norms and mores of the majority society, for example, observing the

²²³ Ricardo Graham, 'Our Wholeness in Christ', *Pacific Union Recorder* (2019), 4-7 <<https://issuu.com/pacificunionrecorder/docs/0819recorder>> [Accessed 17 January 2021]; Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, p. 15.

²²⁴ *Seventh-Day Adventists Believe*, p. 193.

²²⁵ ADRA is an abbreviation for Adventist Development Relief Agency.

²²⁶ Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, pp. 15, 20-25

Sabbath faithfully is an act of nonconformity that is congruent with the ethos of their peace-making heritage. On this subject Charles Scriven states:

This leaves Adventists out of sync with business as usual. All of this sharpens the sense that God has called us to take up an alternative way of life—called us to be the vanguard of a new humanity, a people who, upholding Christ, kept hope alive and shed a light on the path to peace.²²⁷

I agree with Charles Scriven that Adventists ought to ‘take up an alternative way of life’, but I argue that it is counter-visionary and anti-racist because it does not perpetuate the business as usual of racism. When SDAs look back into their peace-making heritage, they will recall that their founders were active abolitionists, so they were attuned to acting on behalf of the oppressed, enslaved African Americans.

However, whenever the SDA Church is confronted with a script of superiority, it is possible that over time an opposing pseudo-vision may arise that dominates the SDA Church and diminishes its pursuit of a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness. This is a similar argument some of my interlocutors make in this chapter, especially in the case of secularisation, medicalisation and westernisation becoming all-encompassing visions that compete with the SDA vision of wholeness. In another case, the social context that the church does its theology and ethics from may cause it to have a blind spot to contrary pseudo-visions; this may keep such visions invisible to the church.

To conclude my review of the literature in this chapter, I want to restate that I have evaluated several approaches that have contributed to the SDA vision of wholeness. I have described these approaches as part of an expansive conversation or dialogue that is open to new contributions because until Jesus returns the vision of wholeness is still a work in progress. This is why I agree with Gerald R. Winslow that

²²⁷ Scriven, *The Promise of Peace*, pp. 15, 47-50.

the vision must be sought in grace as a ‘lifelong quest’.²²⁸ In my thesis, I cannot pursue all of the approaches that have contributed to the SDA vision of wholeness, but it is viable for me to join this open dialogue by focusing on the issue of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated and the construction of a theological ethic that is counter-visionary to it.

Finally, in the literature I have presented so far in this chapter, I have discovered very little discourse about wholeness in conjunction with racism or antiracism. In fact, I found one reference relating to wholeness and racism in an article entitled, ‘Black Seventh-day Adventists and Racial Reconciliation’ by Ricardo B. Graham.²²⁹ In a short paragraph, he emphasises the need for communication between white church members and SDAs of African descent. He states:

Cross-racial communication can inspire an atmosphere of unity and wholeness, which will bring the denomination into a truly biblical position relative to race relations. Unless SDA Blacks and Whites risk changing the focus of race relations in the church, the status quo will remain intact. Ethnic and racial groups will continue to lose confidence and trust in the denomination, and Whites will continue to embrace the mistaken view that all is well.²³⁰

So, the body of literature I have assessed for this chapter indicates that a gap exists for making a connection between the SDA vision of wholeness and the study of whiteness, racism and antiracism. Therefore, a change is needed in order to bring them together in an approach that results in practical ethical action rather than inaction. Overall, the SDA Church of the twenty-first century should not keep these subjects separate but engage in

²²⁸ Gerald R. Winslow, ‘The Grace of Wholeness’, *Pacific Union Recorder* (2019), 19 <<https://issuu.com/pacificunionrecorder/docs/0819recorder>> [Accessed 17 January 2021].

²²⁹ Ricardo B. Graham is an African American Seventh-day Adventist. He was formerly the president of the Pacific Union Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The PUC covers the territories of Arizona, California, Hawaii and Nevada. See Ricardo Graham, in ‘Pacific Union Conference’, online <<https://paucadmin.adventistfaith.org/president>> [accessed 2 July 2019].

²³⁰ Ricardo B. Graham, ‘Black Seventh-Day Adventists and Racial Reconciliation’, in *Perspectives: Black Seventh-day Adventists Face the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Calvin B. Rock (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1996), p. 136.

them together. This challenge for change is congruent with Ginger Hanks-Harwood's call for Seventh-day Adventists to re-envision the ethical task by discerning

In our respective circumstances the possibilities for morally responsible action. As we investigate the possible openings in the present that can lead to a transformed future we must act in accordance with our vision of the world, struggle with whatever is necessary in order to witness to and effect this alternative pattern. We must seek to discover and create a range of responses in our social context which will render the vision realizable.²³¹

This is the challenge I aim to take up in my construction of a theological ethic. By doing this I aim to modify the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes counter-visionary and inclusive of persons of colour living on the underside of scripts of superiority. To accomplish this, I will turn my attention next to history, the crucible in which all theological ethics is tested.²³²

²³¹ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 141.

²³² Glen Harold Stassen, *A Thicker Jesus*, pp. 3-15.

Chapter 2: A Critical Investigation of Two Contrary Visions Existing Within the Seventh-day Adventist Church

In chapter two I argue that there are two contrary visions existing within the Seventh-day Adventist Church: the SDA vision of wholeness and the pseudo-vision. Prior to the American Civil War ‘1861 to 1865’, the pioneers of the SDA Church were en route towards achieving a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness. However contrary to the church’s *telos*, a pseudo-vision became dominant in post-Civil War America and eventually its dominance diminished and displaced the SDA Church from the pursuit of its original goal. The claim I am making about the two contrary visions is a development from the body of literature I assessed in chapter one. I will examine this claim further by making a critical investigation of the Adventist story as it intersects with America’s racial story in its antebellum and postbellum contexts.

Why is the pseudo-vision problematic? The pseudo-vision is problematic because it is a reproduction of a script of superiority that divides church and society along racial lines.²³³ The impact of the pseudo-vision upon the SDA Church changed it so that it became conformed to the racialised ideologies, practices and structures of American society that divide people according to a racial hierarchy where whites are in positions of superiority and power whereas Americans of colour are in positions of inferiority and disempowerment.²³⁴ Integral to this script of superiority is the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.

²³³ This racial script of superiority reproduces or multiplies the pseudo-vision until it becomes the dominant or pervasive norm in church and society.

²³⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois referred to this hierarchical dichotomy as the colour line. It is my contention that Du Bois’ recognition of the colour line is an indication of the influence of the pseudo-vision on American church and society. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 9; According to Fredrick Douglass the colour line is a fabricated divide that enables the white oppressor to discriminate against oppressed minorities

There are two reasons why America is significant for my claim about the two contrary visions. Firstly, America is the context in which Adventism was conceived. Since its inception, the history of this religious movement has been intertwined with the history of America as a nation, so Adventism provides a particular perspective from which to view the racial story of America. Secondly, I will demonstrate that the Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of the biblical books of Daniel and the Revelation were the impetus for the church's conviction that reality should be envisioned in a certain way that identified and challenged chattel slavery in America. The combination of the SDA Church's apocalyptic understanding of Scripture, redemptive history and their abolitionist convictions attuned them to the plight of Black America.

In the construction of my theological ethic, I will re-narrate a theology of history already in use in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Adventists know this theology of history as the "Conflict of the Ages" or "The Story of Redemption". Douglas Morgan claims:

From the inception of their movement in the nineteenth century, a theology of history has been central to what Seventh-day Adventists believe and how they behave. They came to the conviction that the Bible reveals both the highlights and the significance of history – past, present, and future – and that this revelation demanded from them a congruent manner of life. Such

because of the colour of their skin. See Frederick Douglass, 'The Color Line', *Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library*, [n.d.], 575 <<http://faculty.gordonstate.edu/lсандers-senu/The%20Color%20Line.pdf>> [accessed 22 September 2019]. Another example of the racial hierarchy in America was the Supreme Court's ruling that African Americans were not citizens of the US; this meant they had no rights or entitlement to justice. See Justia Us Supreme Court, 'Dred Scott v. Sanford, 60 U.S. 363 (1856)', 1-13 <<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/60/393/>>; The term racialisation refers to the ideological and systemic processes of racism at work in societies that mark certain groups as "unraced" and others as "raced". See Anon, 'Racialization', *Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre* (2021), 1-3 <<http://www.aclrc.com/racialization>> [accessed 14 February 2021]. At times in my thesis, I will switch between the terms American People of Colour or Black, Indigenous and Persons of Colour or non-white people, to refer to the diverse range of racial experiences existing within America's history. These include the Native American, African American and the immigrant experience. See Daniel Hill, *White Lies: Nine Ways to Expose and Resist the Racial Systems that Divide Us* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Books, 2020), pp. 8-9.

an outlook carried momentous implications for how Adventists came to conceive of both themselves and America.²³⁵

Using the Bible and the books of Daniel and Revelation in particular, SDAs employed a prophetic lens for their theology of history that divided time into five epochs that begin with the cosmic conflict described in the book of Revelation 12.7-9 and end in the consummation of history when Jesus returns to fully usher in his eternal kingdom.²³⁶

Ellen G. White conceived the five epochs of this theology of history paradigm as:

1) *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Creation to King David's reign) **2) *Prophets and Kings*** (King Solomon's reign and the period of the major and minor prophets) **3) *The Desire of Ages*** (The life and ministry of Christ) **4) *The Acts of the Apostles*** (The first three decades of church history) **5) *The Great Controversy*** (The prophetic events of the church that usher in Jesus Second Advent at the end of time).²³⁷ For my re-narration of SDA's theology of history, I particularly want to focus on the last epoch because the story of Adventism's encounter with America's racial problem is located there.

There are several reasons why I have chosen to re-narrate SDA's theology of history in the construction of my theological ethic. First, SDA's theology of history is theocentric. God the Creator is present in a cosmos that is open to his providential and redemptive acts of shalom in human affairs and the natural world.²³⁸ Moreover, in a theology of history paradigm the gospel of Jesus Christ is fully revealed over the course

²³⁵ Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, p. 11.

²³⁶ White, *The Story of Redemption*, pp. 13-19; the cosmic conflict is sometimes referred to as the cosmic controversy between Christ and Satan. Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2003), pp. 430-35; SDA's inherited William Miller's prophetic approach to interpreting history. See Daniel Reynaud, 'Understanding History: Seventh-day Adventists and Their Perspectives', *Teach Journal of Education*, 10 (2016), 54 <<https://research.avondale.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1312&context=teach>> [accessed 25 January 2021]; George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 2005), p. 56.

²³⁷ Nicholas P. Miller, *The Reformation and the Remnant: The Reformers Speak to Today's Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2016), p. 35.

²³⁸ In a theocentric theology of history, God is not detached from interacting within human history as in Deism, nor is he relegated from history by a universe that is closed to any form of divine or supernatural influence from outside of nature. James W. Sire, *The Universe Next Door: A Guide Book to Worldviews*, 3rd edn (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), pp. 43-44, 54-55.

of the five epochs. Second, the type of theology of history I employ in my construction of a theological ethic is one that includes the voices of persons who exist on the underside of scripts of superiority, people like myself whose descendants have been unjustly subjugated, marginalised and excluded from history just because of the colour of their skin.²³⁹ Third, a theology of history provides Adventists with a way to keep their heritage or tradition alive. It provides a way to look back at the past in order to rediscover something that may have been missed, or to tell or retell history in a different manner than it has been told before, this can be a valuable aid to constructing a theological ethic that facilitates an alternative to the racial conflict experienced in the contemporary life of Adventism, American society and beyond its borders. Moreover, a heritage or tradition is important because it can be passed on from one generation to the next, therefore preserving continuity among the faithful in Jesus Christ.²⁴⁰

2.1 The Pseudo-vision: A Reproduction of Unexamined Whiteness

It is my contention that in the modern era, Europeans were responsible for promoting a mixture of predatory Western capitalism, militarism, pseudo-scientific racism and a pseudo-theo-ethical representation of Christianity that normalised Jesus as a white male Saviour who superseded the Jewish Messiah of the four gospels. In this context, Europeans explored and aggressively colonised different parts of the world. As they did this, they became white in response to their encounter with other non-European people groups.²⁴¹ These Euro-Americans became white by constructing a script of

²³⁹ Frederick L. Ware, *African American Theology: An Introduction* (Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2016), p. 21; Miguel A. De La Torre, *Doing Christian Ethics from the Margins* (New York: Orbis Books, Maryknoll, 2004), pp. 60-61. De La Torre argues that to speak on behalf of those who have been voiceless and excluded from history is a critique of the powerful and the privileged.

²⁴⁰ H. R. Niebuhr argues that humans recall their social past in order to interpret their present condition and respond appropriately to it. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self: An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1963), p. 96.

²⁴¹ In modernity, pseudo-scientists have claimed that “race” was biologically determined. Joe R. Feagin, *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing* (Abingdon: Routledge,

superiority that marked non-European people and indigenous groups as other and racially inferior to them.²⁴² Until more recent times, these white Euro-Americans failed to examine the socio-cultural construction of their own whiteness as a marked or visible racial category.²⁴³ In other words they failed to turn the white gaze in on themselves, and as a result they continue to reproduce their own unexamined whiteness as a socio-cultural norm. In fact, their imagined colourlessness has systematically affected the reality of black and brown people in America and across the globe.²⁴⁴ So, building upon recent critical studies in race and whiteness, I am arguing that the pseudo-vision is a reproduction of unexamined whiteness – a script of superiority, and its power, sustainability and dominance remains dependent on its invisibility and normativity.

What do I mean by the invisibility of whiteness? How is it related to the pseudo-vision? First, an answer to these questions can be made possible in a reflection on my own autobiographical experience as a Black British person of Caribbean descent.²⁴⁵ My

2013), pp. 23-27, 81-83; In *Jesus and the Disinherited*, Thurman discusses the importance of the Jewish heritage of Jesus for Christianity. See Howard Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), pp. 5-11; Alexander Jun and others, *White Jesus: The Architecture of Racism in Religion and Education* (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2018), pp. xx-xxi, 1-4, 9, 30-31; Emilie M. Townes, *Womanist Ethics and the Cultural Production of Evil* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 59-71; Kristopher Norris, *Witnessing Whiteness: Confronting White Supremacy in the American Church* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 37-38, 41, 43, 46-49. According to Norris, the pseudo theo-ethical representation of Christianity re-scripted and recast religious difference as racial difference. Conflict and violence have been integral to both religion and racism.

²⁴² Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility*, pp. 25, 27, 63-64; Jun Mian Chen, 'The Contentious Field of Whiteness Studies', *Journal for Social Thought* (2017), 16 <<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/jst/vol2/iss1/3/>> [accessed February 14 2022]; Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, pp. 28-29.

²⁴³ White academics really began to study whiteness as a racial category in the early 1990s. Chen, 'The Contentious Field of Whiteness Studies', (p.15); Emilie M. Townes refers to the socio-cultural production of whiteness as 'uninterrogated coloredness' or 'the evasion of color'. She argues that this lack of interrogation of colour enables white people to remain in denial and ignorance of their own privileged racial location. See Townes, *Womanist Ethics and the Cultural Production of Evil*, pp. 69-70; also see Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ DiAngelo, *White Fragility*, pp. 15-19.

²⁴⁵ Miguel A. De La Torre argues that 'the source of ethical deliberation begins with *lo cotidiano*, as experienced and understood by those existing on the margins'. De La Torre uses the Spanish word '*lo cotidiano*' [English translation – "the everyday"] to communicate that ethics ought to be done in the every day experience of people who exist on the underside of scripts of superiority. De La Torre, *Doing Christian Ethics from the Margins*, pp. 36-37. I am using my own experience as a lens through which I can reflect upon my own everyday experience and make ethical judgements about the invisibility of whiteness.

experience is different from the African American context, but it is still relevant because it elucidates certain themes relating to the invisibility of whiteness.²⁴⁶ I am now a Seventh-day Adventist Christian, but I did not become one until my mid-twenties.

Prior to becoming an Adventist, I remember an incident when I was twelve years old. I had gone to an outdoor camping shop in my hometown, in order to meet a friend from school. While I was waiting for him, I decided to go inside the camping shop and look around at the various items for sale, just as the other shoppers were doing. However, little did I know, the storekeeper had been observing me, and she singled me out as being different from her other customers. After I had been in the store for a little while, a policeman suddenly appeared at the entrance to the shop. I continued to browse the merchandise, but I noticed that the officer was making his way towards me. Unbeknown to me, the owner of the shop had called for the police officer, and she reported to him that she had seen me shoplifting in her store the week before. On that day when the policeman appeared in the store, I happened to be the only Black person among her customers. You see, for the storeowner, her white customers were whole human beings occupying a white space. They were able to move about freely in that space that did not alienate them because they were unmarked by “race”. Her customers represented what she took for granted as the norm, but I did not fit that norm, therefore I did not belong. In her eyes, her customers’ whiteness was unseen, invisible. However, in my case, the storeowner’s white hegemonic gaze marked the sight of my hyper-visible Black body as being outside of what it means to be whole; to her I was the distant other, and I was a captive of my unbridled instinct to steal.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ As a child of the African diaspora, my experience is relevant because I identify with other people of African descent and colour from around the world.

²⁴⁷ Pfeifer argues that it is predominantly white men who have used their power advantageously to construct the Black male physicality as something that is enslaved to its own uncivilised lusts. In response to Pfeifer, I would argue that whiteness has been weaponised for the purpose of mischaracterising and

As the policeman towered over my twelve-year-old frame, I explained to him that at the time when the lady said I was supposed to have done the crime, I was already at home on my school lunch break. This was the daily routine my sister and I shared, we would go home, and my dad would prepare us lunch. To confirm my story the policeman drove me home in his car. As we entered the street where I lived, we travelled past the homes of each of my neighbours. As a twelve-year-old boy, I felt so embarrassed! What would my neighbours think as they saw me in the back of a police car? I felt like a petty criminal. Finally, when we reached my home, I had to explain to my parents the reason for the officer's presence. Eventually, my dad verified my story that I was home for lunch on the day of the theft, so the policeman did some more checks and he discovered that the criminal had already been apprehended some time ago. In my young mind, this made me think that the white storekeeper perceived Black boys stereotypically as criminals; to her we all looked a-like. To put it in other terms, according to her perception, one Black person was the same as another, so if this incident had taken place in a setting where it was possible for violence to escalate, as is often the case in America, then my Black life might not have mattered in this incident. Perhaps I might not be alive to write this thesis. So, wherever the white gaze, or to use my terminology the pseudo-vision unjustly marks black and brown people as the other, they become problematic.²⁴⁸ In my case, as a twelve-year-old boy, the storekeeper's whiteness was not invisible to me, but to her it was unseen. Why was this so?

harming the male Black body. Theresa H. Pfeifer, 'Deconstructing Cartesian Dualisms of Western Racialized Systems: A Study in Colors Black and White', *Journal of Black Studies*, 39 (2009), 528-47 (p. 531).

²⁴⁸ An alternative to the white gaze or pseudo-vision is Joe R. Feagin's term the 'White racial frame'. He argues that the 'dominant frame is an overarching white worldview that encompasses a broad and persisting set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, images, interpretations and narratives, emotions and reactions to language accents, as well as racialized inclinations to discriminate'. Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, p. 3.

Why is it difficult for white people to see and examine their own whiteness? Barbara J. Flagg is a useful guide on this question. She argues that white people find the idea of being conscious about their whiteness as something unthinkable.²⁴⁹ Likewise, Halley, Eshleman and Vijaya state: ‘Often whites simply perceive themselves as “normal” or “just human” and fail to notice their own race’ or particularity.²⁵⁰ Michael O. Emerson agrees because he states: ‘most whites are unaware that they are “raced,” and that it has real consequences for their lives’. However, I would argue that in the case of people categorised as the other, these consequences are often devastating for them.²⁵¹

Turning to bell hooks, she describes whiteness as ‘the privileged signifier’ that informs how the other thinks about the self and perceives it. Instead of using the pseudo-vision terminology I use in my research, she seems to imply that white people imagine their race to be invisible, but she reasons that this lies in the realm of fantasy.²⁵² Furthermore she states, ‘as fantastic as it may seem, racist white people find it easy to imagine that black people cannot see them if within their desire they do not want to be seen by the dark other’. Conversely, she avers that the white gaze subjects African Americans to a state of invisibility.²⁵³

To describe this state of invisibility further, I will turn to a few other scholars who study the problem of the invisibility of whiteness and racism. Ruth Frankenberg

²⁴⁹ Barbara J. Flagg, “‘Was Blind, but Now I See’: White Race Consciousness and the Requirement of Discriminatory Intent”, *Michigan Law Review*, 91 (1993), 953-1017, (p. 953).

²⁵⁰ Halley, Eshleman and Vijaya, *Seeing White*, p. 4; DiAngelo, *White Fragility*, pp. 1, 26-30.

²⁵¹ Michael O. Emerson, ‘The Persistent Problem’, *Center for Christian Ethics at Baylor University* (2010), 14 <<https://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/110974.pdf>> [accessed 22 January 2020]. Instead of using the term the invisibility of whiteness, Emerson uses a similar term “White Transparency”.

²⁵² bell hooks, *Killing Rage: Ending Racism* (New York, NY: Holt Paperbacks, 1995), pp. 34-37.

²⁵³ bell hooks, *Killing Rage*, p. 35; Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (London: Penguin Group, 1965), p. 577; James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (UK: Penguin Random House, 2017), p. 81. Willie Jennings argues that ‘black bodies are the ever-visible counter-weight of a usually invisible white identity’. Jennings, *The Christian Imagination*, p. 25; Alternatively, Black bodies can be hyper-visible just as white bodies can be hyper-invisible. See Dyer, *White*, pp. xviii, 44.

uses alternative terms for the invisibility of whiteness such as ‘unmarked norm’, ‘mirage’ and ‘strong delusion’.²⁵⁴ George Yancy argues in order to expose whiteness it must be marked so that it is made visible.²⁵⁵ Moreover, in J. Kameron Carter’s analysis of Immanuel Kant’s exposition of whiteness, he contends that race is rendered invisible in a Kantian-like teleological project that moves whiteness towards a state of perfection. He argues Kant’s project is synonymous with racial mastery, universality or a state of wholeness beyond what all other races are able to achieve because they are trapped in their own particularity. Carter describes this project as expansively socio-political, economic, cultural and aesthetic in scope.²⁵⁶ In my evaluation, Carter’s analysis of Kant’s exposition of whiteness sounds analogous to some type of undetected apocalyptic beast, lurking like a leviathan or behemoth that is submerged in the depths. It prefers to be invisible, not seen, unless it emerges on its own terms for the purpose of confrontation, much like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), or the white supremacist state troopers at Selma, or in rallies such as the white nationalists march in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017, the insurrection at the US capitol in 2021 and the Buffalo supermarket mass shooting in 2022.²⁵⁷ Insightfully, Richard Dyer states ‘whites must be seen to be white, yet whiteness as race resides in invisible properties and whiteness as power is

²⁵⁴ Ruth Frankenberg, ‘Mirage of an Unmarked Whiteness’, in *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*, ed. by Brigit Brander Rasmussen and others (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 73 Google ebook.

²⁵⁵ George Yancy, *Look a White! Philosophical Essays on Whiteness* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), p. 9.

²⁵⁶ J. Kameron Carter, *Race a Theological Account* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 88-91; also see Martin Luther King, Jr.’s statement on the philosophy of racism. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 79; Leonardo, ‘The Color of Supremacy’, (pp. 36, 139, 144); Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, pp. 7, 10.

²⁵⁷ See ADL ‘You Will Not Replace Us’, <<https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/you-will-not-replace-us>> [accessed 6 February 2022]. ADL stands for the Anti-Defamation League; Char Adams, ‘Vintage White Rage: Why the Riots were about Perceived Loss of White Power’, NBCBLK <<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/vintage-white-rage-why-riots-were-about-perceived-loss-white-n1253292>> [accessed 16 March 2023].

maintained by the unseen'.²⁵⁸ Therefore, in the case of whites, the unseen is the norm, the script of superiority from which they reproduce and perpetuate racism so that it positions them as the dominant in-group over and against American Black, Indigenous and people of colour who are in the out-groups in a social order where they have been marginalised from power.²⁵⁹ Kristopher Norris avers that whites opt for colour blindness when confronted with the issue of racism. However, in their own case, he states, 'colour-blindness also names the inability (or refusal) of whites to see their own colour. In other words, colour-blindness allows whiteness to camouflage itself'.²⁶⁰

In short, all of the scholars that I have mentioned indicate that the invisibility of whiteness should not be left uncontested or unexposed; rather it should be contested and made visible. I will now turn my attention to re-narrating the American context in SDA's theology of history.

2.2 Re-narrating the American Context in SDA's Theology of History

Contextually, America is significant to my argument because it is the birthplace of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.²⁶¹ The role of America in the prophetic interpretation of the SDA Church is also important for the construction of my re-narration of SDA's theology of history because it is integral to the church's articulation of the Conflict of the Ages paradigm in which Adventist Christianity emerged during the fifth epoch.²⁶² In order to introduce Adventism in its transition from an antebellum to a postbellum setting, I want to draw attention to a specific artwork of the nineteenth century because I believe it has the quality to represent and elucidate that period of time

²⁵⁸ Dyer, *White*, p. 45.

²⁵⁹ Halley, Eshleman and Vijaya, *Seeing White*, p.10; Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, pp. 10-11.

²⁶⁰ Kristopher Norris, *Witnessing Whiteness*, pp. 26-27.

²⁶¹ I acknowledge that the extent of America's importance goes much further than its national borders because its influence has been international in scope.

²⁶² As I mentioned before, this cosmic conflict saga began with the fall of Satan. See Revelation 12.7-9 and Luke 10.18.

according to the power dynamics, virtues and values present in the century as it unfolded prior to, during and after the American Civil War. By incorporating this painting into my re-narration of the Seventh-day Adventist's theology of history, I want to make a differentiation between America's progressive postmillennial vision and Adventism's premillennial vision of the American Republic. The former vision I argue is really a guise for the pseudo-vision.

The painting I have in mind for this purpose is the 'Apotheosis of Washington'. The European artist Constantino Brumidi painted this particular artwork at the end of the Civil War in 1865.²⁶³



Figure 1: Constantino Brumidi's 'The Apotheosis of Washington'

This fresco decorates the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol building where the House of Representatives and the Senate meet.²⁶⁴ The classical-renaissance styled fresco is theologically significant because the name of the painting includes the Greek word

²⁶³ Alana Massey, 'The White Protestant Roots of American Racism', *The New Republic* (2015), 1 <<https://newrepublic.com/article/121901/white-protestant-roots-american-racism>> [accessed 22 September 2019]. Also see, Smithsonian American Art Museum, 'Constantino Brumidi's "Study for the Apotheosis of Washington"', online video recording, YouTube, 17 September 2013, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B1WqJN-sjWs>> [22 accessed September 2019].

²⁶⁴ Anon, 'The Apotheosis of Washington', *Architect of the Capitol*, 1-4 <<https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/buildings-grounds/capitol-building>> [accessed 22 September 2019].

Apotheosis (ἀποθέωσις), which means to deify or to elevate someone or something to the status of a god, or to glorify the person or thing as the ideal.²⁶⁵ In the case of this painting, the *Apotheosis* pertains to George Washington the founding father of the Republic and the first President of the United States of America. In fact, George Washington is the focal point of the painting. Brumidi's painting style is allegorical and the content of the painting shows the hope, might, prospects and future trajectory of this supposedly great American democratic nation.²⁶⁶ Ideally, this painting represents triumphant optimism in the very best of what constitutes America. It exudes American exceptionalism, virtuousness and the nation's manifest destiny, but excluded from its vivid artwork are non-white persons of any kind as if their lives are inconsequential! American people of colour are totally negated.²⁶⁷ They are forgotten, written out of a (his) story that is being mediated as undeniably white, yet even at the highest level of government, whiteness remains unexposed and invisible to the uncritical eye because the painting depicts it as the norm or the ideal. It is the unraced symbol of goodness, beauty, progress, power and privilege in America.²⁶⁸

In contrast to the triumphant optimism Brumidi's painting portrays about America's progressive future for the dominant and the privileged, the Adventist pioneers propagated a more pessimistic and apocalyptic vision regarding the country's

²⁶⁵ Anon, 'The Apotheosis of Washington', *Architect of the Capitol*, 1-3. The photographic image of 'The Apotheosis of Washington' on the previous page was made available to me by email from the "Architect of the Capitol". The use of the image in this thesis solely represents the author's ideas and viewpoint and not the Architect of the Capitol.

²⁶⁶ Anon, 'The Apotheosis of Washington', *Architect of the Capitol*, 1-3; 'Constantino Brumidi's "Study for the Apotheosis of Washington"', 1-3.

²⁶⁷ Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, p. 34; Harding, *There is a River*, p. xxv; Thomas Nast's political illustration entitled 'Uncle Sam's Thanksgiving Dinner' is the exact opposite of the 'Apotheosis of Washington' because rather than being pro-white, it shows a postbellum America that is exceptional because it is radically inclusive of different ethnicities and gender. This illustration was featured in *Harpers Weekly*, '20 November 1869'. See Bill of Rights Institute, *Thomas Nast on Reconstruction/ BRIDGE from the Past: Art Across U. S. History*, online video recording, YouTube, 16 February 2021, <<https://billofrightsinstitute.org/videos/thomas-nast-on-reconstruction-bridge-from-the-past-art-across-u-s-history>> [accessed 28 February 2022].

²⁶⁸ Massey, 'The White Protestant Roots of American Racism', 4.

future. This apocalyptic vision called into question and critically challenged America's commitment to its faith in a Creator God, its democratic values and ethics towards those who may be considered as alien or other. For the Adventist pioneers, America was meant to be a democratic land with civic and religious liberty for all, rather than what some historians refer to as a 'Herrenvolk' democracy that provides liberty and equality for its white governors and citizens, while denying them to black and brown skinned people because their "supposedly" biological differences signify that they are racially inferior to whites.²⁶⁹ Therefore, to the Adventist pioneers, America's involvement in the enslavement of Africans who were classified as aliens and other to the nation was a central issue in their understanding of their present context and its relation to the apocalyptic prophecies found in Scripture. In fact, their interpretation of Daniel and Revelation influenced their view of end time events, or what they called the sign of the times. The Adventist pioneers read the apocalyptic texts of the Bible by utilising a historicist hermeneutic that they argue was already embedded in the Holy Scriptures. This approach enabled them to understand the prophetic events of America's history as it was unfolding during their time.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ American historians such as George M. Fredrickson and Rick Perlstein have used the term 'Herrenvolk' to describe the relationship of white American racism to democratic society. George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. xi-xii; For a more current consideration of 'Herrenvolk' see Issac Chotiner's interview with Rick Perlstein in Issac Chotiner, 'Is this the End of the GOP as We Know It?' *Slate*, (2016), 4 <<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2016/01/rick-perlstein-historian-of-conservatism-on-donald-trump-and-the-gop-crack-up.html>> [accessed 6 February 2022].

²⁷⁰ J. N. Andrews, 'Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV', *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 1 (1851), 81-84 <<https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/RH/RH18510519-V01-11.pdf>> [accessed 16 February 2022]. In the SDA approach to historicist interpretation, the books of Daniel and Revelation are related; therefore the apocalyptic prophecies of the former find their fulfilment in the latter. In SDA historicism, apocalyptic prophecy is sequential, this means prophecy occurs in historical, interrelated sequences that begin with the biblical author's time period and culminate in the end of time when Christ's eternal kingdom is finally established. See Jon Paulien, *The Deep Things of God* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2004); Gulley, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 5-7; Clifford Goldstein, 'The Day-Year Principle', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors* (2018), 10-12 <<https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/2018/04/The-day-year-principle>> [accessed 28 February 2022].

By focusing on the fifth epoch of my re-narration of SDA's theology of history, it is possible to arrive at the significance of America's racial story and its prophetic role in relation to the SDA Church's pursuit of a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness. This can be achieved by critically evaluating the transitions of the Advent movement through three specific phases: Millerite Adventism (the Pre-Civil War era), Sabbatarian Adventism (the Pre-Civil War, Civil War and Post-Civil War era) and finally, the official organisation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (the Post-Civil War era).²⁷¹ By recounting and assessing these three phases, I hope to draw attention to early indicators of dialogue and attunement between Adventism and America's Black protest tradition.

2.3 The Millerite Adventist Phase

Millerite Adventism began during the Second Great Awakening '1790 to 1840s'. This advent movement gained its name from William Miller, its Baptist founder.²⁷² Millerism arose during a time of Christian revivalism, millennial fever, national progress and a multitude of reform movements including the Anti-slavery Society.²⁷³ Why is the latter reform movement important for the Adventist heritage? It is important because the emergence of Millerite Adventism and the abolitionist movement were contemporaneous. George R. Knight, a SDA historian affirms this when he states:

²⁷¹ Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', p.174.

²⁷² Trevor O'Reggio and Dojcin Zivadinovic, 'The Connection Between Slavery and Prophecy as it Relates to the American Nation in the Writings of the Adventist Pioneers During the Antebellum Period', *History Research*, 2 (2012), 316-31 (p. 318) <<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=church-history-pubs>> [accessed 3 October 2019].

²⁷³ Trevor O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation as Seen by the Adventist Pioneers, 1854-1865', *Faculty Publications*, (2006), 135-58 (p. 137) <<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=church-history-pubs>> [accessed October 3 2019]; Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, pp. 18-20.

the Anglo-Saxon world of the early nineteenth century was filled with hundreds of social and personal reform movements for the betterment of human society. Reform societies arose in the early nineteenth century in almost every conceivable area of human interest. It was in these decades that campaigns for the abolition of slavery, war, and the use of alcohol became major factors in American culture.²⁷⁴

For a time in the antebellum, holding Millerite beliefs in the Second Advent and participating in anti-slavery activity went hand in hand.²⁷⁵ In fact, some Millerites were already involved in the abolitionist movement before gaining their Millerite convictions.²⁷⁶ A few of these Millerite abolitionists would eventually go on to found the Seventh-day Adventist Church, for example Joseph Bates, James and Ellen White.²⁷⁷

In the nineteenth century, the contemporaneous timing of Millerism and abolitionism brought the Adventists into contact with African Americans located in the northern part of America, thus bringing the Adventist story and America's racial story into convergence. To some degree, both movements provided opportunities for

²⁷⁴ Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, p. 19.

²⁷⁵ It has been well documented by Seventh-day Adventist historians that notable Adventists who participated in the Anti-slavery movement were: William Miller, Joshua V. Himes, Charles Fitch, Elon Galusha, George Storrs, Joseph Bates, Josiah Litch, James and Ellen G. White. In company with the other Adventist pioneers, Elon Galusha was a premillennialist in his convictions about Christ's Second Advent. Furthermore, 'Like other ecclesiastical abolitionists, he was convinced that the millennial society was imminent; although most abolitionists believed that the perfect state of society would be the catalyst for Christ's return (postmillennialism) Galusha believed that Christ's return would occur cataclysmically before the establishment of the perfect society (premillennialism)'. This brief biographical account of Galusha is useful for showing the distinction between postmillennialism and premillennialism. See Douglas Morgan, 'Peacemaking Heritage Series: Millerism and Antislavery Politics', *Spectrum*, 18 (2007), 1-2 <[https:// spectrummagazine.org/article/doug-morgan/2007/12/ 29/peacemaking-heritage-series-millerism-and-anti-slavery-politics](https://spectrummagazine.org/article/doug-morgan/2007/12/29/peacemaking-heritage-series-millerism-and-anti-slavery-politics)> [accessed 17 November 2019].

²⁷⁶ Ronald D. Graybill, 'The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection', in *Telling the Story: An Anthology of the Development of the Black SDA Work*, co. by Delbert W. Baker (Atlanta, GA and Nashville TN: In Cooperation with the Black Caucus of SDA Administrators, 1996), pp. 140-41.

²⁷⁷ Many of these Millerite Adventists spoke against slavery in their publications, petitions and tracts. Also, through preaching, conventions and by taking part in the Anti-slavery Society. See Graybill, pp. 140-43; Kevin Burton, 'Joseph Bates and Adventism's Radical Roots', *Adventist Review* (2020), 3-4 <[https:// adventistreview.org/ joseph-bates-and-adventisms-radical-roots](https://adventistreview.org/joseph-bates-and-adventisms-radical-roots)> [accessed 22 October 2021]; O'Reggio and Zivadinovic, 'The Connection Between Slavery Prophecy as it Relates to the American Nation in the Writings of the Adventist Pioneers During the Antebellum Period', 320; Marcos Blanco, 'Seventh-day Adventist Pioneers and the Epistle of Philemon: An Abolitionist Perspective', *Davalogos*, 13 (2014), 77-86 (p. 79); Douglas Strong, *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), pp. 111-13.

interracial interaction between Millerite Adventists and African Americans. The result was that a number of people of African descent became converted to Adventism because of Millerite preaching. Some notable names among the converts were Charles Bowles, John W. Lewis and William A. Foy.²⁷⁸ These names are notable because they draw attention to aspects of Adventist history that can be viewed from the perspective of people of African descent situated on the underside of American society.²⁷⁹

The Millerites' involvement with anti-slavery activism brought them into dialogue with African American Christians who were formerly enslaved people. For example, a certain Philander Barbour, located in New York, made an appeal to William Miller to help a fugitive enslaved person reach Canada in order to evade recapture by his enslaver. In Barbour's correspondence with Miller, he stated that he was confident the fugitive enslaved person could be helped because of Miller's abolitionist connections.²⁸⁰ In encounters such as these, it is likely that the Millerite Adventists attuned themselves to the ills of American slavery and the injustice of white racism, while learning about the Black protest tradition through African American Christians such as Frederick Douglass, Rosetta Douglass-Sprague, Sojourner Truth and enslaved

²⁷⁸ Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists with an African Heritage* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984), p. 19; Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, pp. 117-19.

²⁷⁹ Maury Jackson and Sydney Freeman Jr., 'Adventist History, Herstory, and Ourstory: Towards A People's History History of the Origin of Black Adventism', *Adventist Today* (2018), 1-8 <<https://atoday.org/adventist-history-herstory-and-ourstory-towards-a-peoples-history-of-the-origin-of-black-adventism/>> [accessed 8 February 2022]. In their article, Jackson and Freeman Jr., argue that in the past, white Adventist historians and theologians controlled how the historical narrative of Adventism was articulated. The two scholars contest the historical formula that Adventism began with William Miller because this interpretation fails to recognise that within the religion of the enslaved, there were African Americans expecting Christ's Second Advent even before Miller's movement came on the scene. In my assessment this issue remains debatable because as Jackson and Freeman admit, more research still needs to be done on the topic, so I agree it is a research subject worthwhile pursuing in future Adventist studies.

²⁸⁰ Graybill, 'The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection', p. 140-41.

fugitives who made their escape via the Underground Railroad. Adventist historian, Kevin M. Burton concurs that ‘the antislavery cause was rooted in black protest’.²⁸¹

Another example of the Millerites’ dialogue and attunement to the Black protest tradition can be found in Burton’s recent discovery of a documented speech made by Douglass to a congregational church in Washington, D.C. on ‘16 April 1883’. In Douglass’ speech he mentioned William Miller and his movement. He states:

When father Miller proved by the Bible, from whose pages so many things have been proved, that the world would come to an end in 1843, and proved it so clearly that many began to make their robes in which they were to soar aloft above this burning world, he was asked by a doubting Thomas, “But father Miller, what if it does not come?” “Well,” said the good old man, “then we shall wait till it does come.” The colored people of the United States should imitate the wisdom of father Miller, and, wait. But we should also work while we wait. For after all, our destiny is largely in our own hands.²⁸²

Even though Frederick Douglass did not become an Adventist his eldest daughter Rosetta Douglass-Sprague did.²⁸³

In Sojourner Truth’s autobiography, she recounts her experience of attending William Miller’s New York meeting where he preached on the Second Advent. Sojourner recalls that she was unable to grasp the meaning of the charts on display at these meetings and her inability to read meant that she had a limited understanding of what was going on. However, over time, she continued to have personal interactions with a number of Adventist believers.²⁸⁴ Eventually, she came to reside in Battle Creek,

²⁸¹ Kevin. M. Burton, ‘Seventh-day Adventist Pioneers and their Protest Against Systemic Racism: The Second Advent Movement was Inseparable from the Call to Abolish Slavery and Grant Equal Rights to the Oppressed’, *Adventist World* (2020), 2 <<https://www.adventistworld.org/seventh-day-adventist-pioneers-and-their-protest-against-systemic-racism/>> [9 February 2022].

²⁸² Benjamin Baker, Douglas Morgan and Kevin M. Burton, “‘Unbounded Regard’: Frederick Douglass and Adventists”, *Spectrum* (2019), 3 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/news/2021/unbounded-regard-frederick-douglass-and-adventists/>> [accessed 7 February 2022].

²⁸³ Benjamin Baker, ‘Lessons from the Night the Stars Fell 181 Years Ago’ *Adventist Review* (2014), 4 <<https://adventistreview.org/news/lessons-from-the-night-the-stars-fell-181-years-ago/>> [accessed 7 February 2022].

²⁸⁴ Sojourner Truth, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, ed. by Olive Gilbert (Boston: J. B. Yerrinton and Son, 1850), p. 42 <<https://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/truth/1850/1850.html>> [accessed 7 February 2022].

Michigan, and while living there, it has been documented that she encountered several Adventists such as John W. West, John Harvey Kellogg and Uriah Smith.²⁸⁵ It is unclear how well Sojourner Truth knew Ellen G. White because this issue is still open to debate, but both women were buried in close proximity to one another in a graveyard where several other prominent Adventists are located.²⁸⁶

According to Brian Strayer's record of Sojourner's life, one Adventist that knew her was John Byington. During the antebellum era, he and his brother Anson were active participants in the Anti-slavery movement. The two of them aided fugitive slaves by helping them to cross over to Canada via the Underground Railroad, which ran close to John's home. In an excerpt from his forthcoming biography on Byington's life, Strayer avers that the family home of Byington was frequently used to entertain African American guests.²⁸⁷ All of these links between the Millerites and the Anti-slavery movement and the African American activists that participated in it would set a precedent for future Adventists to follow in resisting the racial divisions that were becoming the norm in American church and society.

2022]; Susan L. Palmer, "'Unravelling Adventist Prophecy: The History and Meaning of the Millerite Charts', (2012), 1-13 <<https://aurora.edu/documents/jenks/unraveling-adventist-prophecy-palmer.pdf>> [16 accessed February 2022].

²⁸⁵ Patricia L. Humphrey, 'Pioneer of Freedom', *Columbia Union Visitor* (1989), 4-5 <<https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/CUV/CUV19890215-V94-04.pdf>> [accessed 7 February 2022]; Isabella Van Wagenen, 'Sojourner Truth', *Adventist Circle* '[n.d.]', 1-2, 11 <<http://circle.adventist.org/download/AH/AH311SojournerTruth.pdf>> [accessed 7 February 2022].

²⁸⁶ Delbert W. Baker, 'In Search of Roots Adventist African Americans: Exploring the History of Adventist African Americans in the United States', in *Telling the Story*, pp. 12-13; In this article, Baker claims that Sojourner Truth was familiar with Ellen G. White and other Adventists. However in an email addressed to the director of the Ellen G. White Estate, William Fagal contends that it is not certain that the two women ever met. However, he is certain that Truth had interaction with the Adventists of her time. See Anon, 'Sojourner Truth', *Ellen G. White Estate*, 1 <<https://ellenwhite.org/correspondence/187052#document>> [accessed 7 February 2022]; Anon, 'Seventh-day Adventist Landmarks', *Review and Herald*, (196-) 1-2 <https://Adventistdigital library.org/islandora/object/adl%3A22250797?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=2070ef71690b1b7a1534&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=6> [accessed 7 February 2022].

²⁸⁷ Brian Strayer, 'Remembering the Radical Politics of the Pioneers: John Byington', <<https://adventistpeace.wordpress.com/2015/01/25/john-byingtons-radical-abolitionism-by-brian-strayer/>> [accessed 7 February 2022].

Another factor that connected Millerites and abolitionists was their shared aversion to the established proslavery churches that rejected both Millerite premillennialism and the abolition of slavery. For this reason, Adventist historian Ronald D. Graybill posits, ‘Millerism shared with abolitionism a growing mutual antagonism to established churches and clergymen’.²⁸⁸ Moreover,

Millerites damned organised religion for its attitude toward millenarianism just as abolitionists damned it for its attitude toward slaves and slaveholders. In 1844, both movements were in a “come outer” mood, calling for separation from established churches.²⁸⁹

An example of this type of “come-outerism” can be seen in the life of Ellen Gould Harmon and her family. They became Millerites in the early 1840s, while continuing to be worshippers in the Methodist Episcopal Church until their expulsion. Similar to other Millerites, they were expelled from the highly organised religion of Methodism because of their fervent Millerite views regarding the Second Advent hope, the soon coming judgement hour, the millennium and their unwillingness to be silent about these convictions.²⁹⁰ Like other Millerite Adventists the young Ellen Harmon expected Jesus to come on the date ‘22 October 1844’.²⁹¹ However, as opposition to the urgency of the Millerites message increased the “come outer” mood grew stronger among the Millerite sect, although for many it was not their original intention to be dissociated from the dominant mainline churches, but the established churches were perceived as

²⁸⁸ Graybill, ‘The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection’, pp. 146-47.

²⁸⁹ Graybill, ‘The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection’, pp. 146-47

²⁹⁰ 1 Thessalonians 4.13-18; Revelation 14.6; Revelation 20.

²⁹¹ Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, pp. 147-51, 300-01; Jonathan M. Butler, ‘A Portrait’, in *Ellen Harmon White*, pp. 5-7; Ellen’s name changed after she married James White, a Millerite, Christian Connexion minister; also, for an overview of how the Millerites arrived at the 1844 date, see Samuel G. London, Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement* (Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi, 2009), pp. 12-17.

persecutory, in other words they emulated the erroneous and apostate ways of Babylon the great mother of harlots in the book of Revelation.²⁹²

According to George R. Knight many Millerite Adventists believed that Babylon represented the fallen apostate Catholic Church and her daughters. Her offspring were the Protestant churches that continued to perpetuate her oppressive ways in the “New World”. He posits that the theological rationale for this was provided for the Millerite Adventists in a sermon Charles Fitch preached.²⁹³

On July 26, 1843, Charles Fitch preached what became one of the most famous Millerite sermons. Based on Revelation 18.1-5 and 14.8, it was titled “Come Out of Her, My People”. In essence, that apocalyptic passage deals with the fall of Babylon and the consequent need of God’s people to flee from the corrupt system it represented.²⁹⁴

Knight continues,

Up through the summer of 1843, the Millerites had generally identified Babylon as the Roman Catholic Church. Fitch would change that perspective. After identifying Babylon with the antichrist, Fitch went on to suggest that “whoever is opposed to the PERSONAL REIGN of Jesus Christ over the world on David’s throne is ANTICHRIST.” That, he held, included both Roman Catholics and those Protestants who rejected the teaching of the premillennial soon coming Christ. The Protestant churches had fallen in the sense that they, like their Catholic forerunner had become oppressive and had succumbed to the temptations of self-aggrandizement and the lust for power.²⁹⁵

In essence, as I read Fitch, he is identifying Babylon as the principalities, powers, and spiritual dark forces that hold human beings captive in wickedness and pit themselves against God’s good and eternal reign in Jesus Christ.²⁹⁶ Moreover, Knight continues to

²⁹² Knight, *Millennial Fever*, pp. 148-58; Charles W. Teel, Jr. ‘Remnant’ in *Remnant and the Republic*, pp. 5-6.

²⁹³ William Miller and the older vanguard of Millerites were sceptical of this view. However, Knight argues that Miller had forgotten that Protestants were as capable of persecution and oppression just as much as the Catholic Church. See Knight, *Millennial Fever*, pp. 155-56.

²⁹⁴ Knight, *Millennial Fever*, pp. 153-54.

²⁹⁵ Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p. 154.

²⁹⁶ See Ephesians 6.12; *God and Globalisation: Religion and the Powers of the Common Life*, ed. by Max L. Stackhouse with Peter J. Paris, 4 vols (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2000), pp.36-52; White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols, p. 188.

argue that a new vanguard of Millerite leaders like George Storrs were against any form of official organisation among the Millerites because it would represent collusion with Babylon; this mind-set resulted in a movement that was sectarian in its outlook.²⁹⁷ As momentum grew towards the October 1844 date for Christ's return, the Millerites became preoccupied with the urgency of their soon departure, so their warning message of Christ's Second Advent took precedence over their penultimate concern for the abolition of slavery. As a result, the issue of slavery faded from their attention as they expectantly waited for him who is Ultimate.²⁹⁸ The ant-slavery cause would be taken up at a later point in Sabbatarian Adventism.

In sum, Millerism inhabited a nineteenth century world that was dominated by Americans of Anglo-Saxon descent, but this Adventist movement integrated Americans of colour in its ranks while resisting churches that were pro-slavery or persecutory towards ethnic and religious minorities. These churches were symbolic of division and the dark forces of tyranny (Babylon) rather than the wholeness of shalom.

2.4 The Sabbatarian Adventist Phase

Seventh-day Adventists refer to the crisis that emerged on '22 October 1844' as The Great Disappointment. During this crisis a small remnant of Millerite believers transitioned into a new form of Sabbath-keeping Adventism. This change took place amid the discouragement and widespread fragmentation of a millennial movement that was once unified, but now in disarray.²⁹⁹ In the crisis, this small remnant of Sabbath-keeping Adventists chose not to continue business as usual, instead they chose to reassess a hermeneutical problem they had not anticipated by asking the question: why did Jesus not come as predicted on the autumn date of 1844? Also, they were

²⁹⁷ Revelation 17.1-8; Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p. 157.

²⁹⁸ Graybill, 'The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection', p. 143.

²⁹⁹ Knight, *Millennial Fever*, pp. 217, 245, 295.

confronted with a post-Millerite question: how ought they to live in the delay before the *Parousia*?³⁰⁰ For the former theological concern they chose not to totally abandon their Millerite views, but to reassess them because they believed that there had been a misinterpretation of key biblical texts in the Millerite interpretation of prophecy, so they determined that this dilemma could be resolved in the context of the formation of their new Sabbatarian Adventist identity.³⁰¹ For the latter ethical concern: how ought the Sabbatarian Adventists to live in the delay before the *Parousia*? The issue of slavery returned to the Adventist purview.

Why did America and slavery feature so prominently in the Sabbatarian Adventists thinking about Bible prophecy? For instance, the embryonic Sabbatarian Adventist movement kept its abolitionist outlook received from its Millerite heritage, so this meant they continued to protest against the great evil of slavery, especially through the use of their printed publications.³⁰² Trevor O'Reggio states:

Early Sabbatarian Adventist leaders railed against slavery as a great evil in the United States and eloquently proclaimed the equality of all human beings. They wrote numerous articles in the *Advent Review & Herald* denouncing slavery. Their writings however revealed that the Adventist understanding of America's role in prophecy shaped how and why they viewed slavery in the manner they did.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p. 308; Mike Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 6.

³⁰¹ Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p. 308; Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, p. 6; Also, see Roy Adams, *The Sanctuary: Understanding the Heart of Adventist Theology* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1993).

³⁰² Burton, 'Seventh-day Adventist Pioneers and the Protest Against Systemic Racism', 2-3. In his article, Burton traces Adventist protest through the Millerite, Sabbatarian and SDA phases.

³⁰³ O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation as Seen by the Adventist Pioneers, 1854-1865', p. 135. Further theological reasons are given for Adventism's abolitionist stance against slavery in Gregory J. Allen and Carol Easley Allen, *Christ Has Welcomed You: A Biblical Case for Relational Unity in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Huntsville, AL: Unity Publishers, 2017), pp. 13-14; For an example of the Sabbatarian Adventists denouncement of slavery and their prophetic understanding of America. See James White, 'The Sacredness of Slavery', *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 18 (1861), 17 <<https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/RH/RH18610611-V18-03.pdf>> [accessed 16 February 2022]; Andrews, 'Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV', 81-86; Uriah Smith, 'The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy: Part II', *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 4 (1853), 17-19 <<https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/RH/RH18530623-V04-03.pdf>> [accessed 16 February 2022].

The Sabbatarian Adventists' abolitionism differed from that of their Millerite predecessors because they perceived the problem of slavery to be a constituent of a much larger problem, namely how did the American nation and the issue of slavery fulfil Bible prophecy? In response to this question, Bill Knott is a useful guide because he argues that the social location of Sabbatarian Adventism was the Yankee states of the North, so they were

steeped in the increasingly abolitionist culture of radical evangelicalism. But it was their Millerism and specifically their adherence to and development of a historicist interpretation of biblical prophecy that caused them to identify the United States as one of the three great persecuting powers described in the thirteenth chapter of Revelation.³⁰⁴

The Sabbatarian Adventists employed the use of Millerite exegetical hermeneutics to align themselves with over '300 years of Protestant historicist-prophetic interpretation in predictively identifying the first two beasts of Revelation with pagan and papal Rome' and America.³⁰⁵ O'Reggio concurs with Knott that the interpretation of America as the two-horned beast was not original to the Sabbatarian Adventists, nor was it part of Millerite thinking, but for the Sabbatarian Adventists 'what was new was its connection to slavery as evidence of America being this two-horned beast'.³⁰⁶ As the Sabbatarians transitioned from the antebellum to the postbellum era, they moved into their next phase of Adventism, while continuing to hold on to the prophetic view that America was the two-horned beast of Revelation 13. In short, after the 1844 crisis, a minority group of Sabbath-keeping Adventists sought to interpret the events surrounding them. They did this by returning to the Bible to address heavenly and

³⁰⁴ Bill Knott, 'Writing Against Wrongs: Early Adventists Blistered Their Culture for Tolerating Human Slavery', *Adventist Review*, 2 (2002), 1-10 <<https://www.adventistreview.org/archives/2002-1509/story1.html>> [accessed 12 April 2017]; During the process of writing this thesis, Bill Knott was the editor and executive publisher for *Adventist Review* and *Adventist World*. He is also an Adjunct Professor at Andrews University. In the historicist scheme, the three apocalyptic persecuting powers emerge consecutively in the historical-prophetic timeline.

³⁰⁵ Knott, 'Writing Against Wrongs', p. 2.

³⁰⁶ O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation', p. 144.

earthly concerns through a historicist-prophetic lens. Through this hermeneutic, they perceived that America's involvement in the slave trade provided evidence that the nation fulfilled the prophecy of the lamb-like beast of Revelation 13. This hermeneutical lens was continued into the next phase of Adventism.

2.5 The Seventh-day Adventist Phase and the Two Opposing Millennial Visions of America

As the Seventh-day Adventist Church came into being it offered an alternative millennial vision of human flourishing to the one propagated by the American Republic. Obviously, the American Republic did not see itself as the two-horned beast of the book of Revelation. In fact, the Republic offered an optimistic, progressive, millennial vision of peace, justice, liberty and prosperity for all Americans. However, due to their premillennial stance, Seventh-day Adventists were more pessimistic towards America's postmillennial vision because they perceived it as representing a lamb-like facade that obscured the other side of America's persecutory beastly character.³⁰⁷

Jonathan M. Butler, an Adventist historian of religion, concurs with this assessment of the varying views of millennialism in America.³⁰⁸ In his essay 'Adventism and the American Experience', Butler begins with a statement that is reminiscent of the triumphant optimism, exceptionalism, virtues, values and manifest destiny on display in Constantino Brumidi's 'Apotheosis of Washington'. The source for his statement is H. Richard Niebuhr's evaluation of America. Niebuhr wrote:

That the American dream has been actually a millennial vision. America's self-assertion as God's chosen people, a new Israel, providentially sustained to lead the world to universal peace and prosperity has been rooted in

³⁰⁷ The SDA Church has not been alone in its pessimistic view of America because later in the 1960s, Martin Luther King Jr. made reference to America's deceitful character when he made the statement that, 'ever since the birth of our nation, white America had a schizophrenic personality on the question of race'. King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here*, p. 72.

³⁰⁸ Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', pp. 177, 182-83, 86-96.

millennialism, and more precisely, postmillennialism. Politicians along with clergymen have shared in this religious if nonsectarian vision of the American Republic that early shaped the national optimism and sense of manifest destiny.³⁰⁹

In contrast to the postmillennialist vision, Butler argues,

Seventh-day Adventists emerged with their own synthesis of the American dream. They drew upon America's millennial self-understanding and assumed much of it rather than rejecting it out of hand. Seventh-day Adventists provide a good example of the relation of premillennialists to the Republic as they are an indigenous American denomination and were born and struggled through infancy in this crucial, transitional period of millennial history.³¹⁰

In my understanding of the views of Butler and Niebuhr, the SDA Church sought to establish a prophetic alternative to the postmillennial vision that America wanted to present as the status quo. However, such a venture was complicated, but necessary. Bill Knott agrees because he states:

They were as convinced of their identification of the United States as the predicted persecuting power as they were of the necessity of keeping the seventh-day Sabbath or of the nearness of the Second Coming.⁷ It was the apparent contradiction between appearance and character that fascinated them: the third beast appeared "lamblike" and mild, but acted like a dragon. It was only a short step to an identification with a young nation that purported to embrace the republican and "mild" principles of toleration and freedom of conscience, but was already enslaving more than three and a half million of its own inhabitants.³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', p. 173. The Allens argue that this vision of America being God's chosen people is based on a fabricated myth borrowed from the English Reformers. See Gregory J. Allen and Carol Easley Allen, *Christ Has Welcomed You*, p. 8.

³¹⁰ At this point in history, the Sabbatarian Adventists came to the consensus that they needed to become a corporation that was legal, so that they could own their own property. This would include the official use of their name Seventh-day Adventists, their publishing house and other assets. Gaining ownership was pragmatic and necessary for their expansion, in order to fulfil their mission. In reality, this meant formally organising as a denomination, which they did in 1863, two years after the American Civil War began. However, some Adventists feared that organisation meant reliance on the state rather than separation from it. Yet James White, one of the Adventist leaders, convinced his fellow believers that post-1844, it was no longer tenable to hold the former Millerite position that an established organisation meant Babylon; therefore a theological shift had to take place if the church was going to develop. See Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', pp. 179-80; Charles W. Teel, *Remnant and the Republic*, p. 12.

³¹¹ In Revelation 13, there are two beasts rather than three; one beast rises from the sea and the other from the earth. Knott, 'Writing Against Wrongs', p. 3; White, *The Great Controversy*, pp. 362-96; Carlyle Fielding Stewart, III argues that in American constitutional culture the nation ought not to be contradictory by proclaiming freedom for some while denying it to others. Carlyle Fielding Stewart, III,

As Knott has argued, Adventists stood firmly in their opposition to the inegalitarian actions of a pro-white Christian nation that permitted some of its inhabitants to be free, while enslaving others.³¹² Furthermore, Fugitive Slave Laws were created, so that enslavers could retrieve run-away enslaved people who had escaped from the south to the north.³¹³ In response to such inequalities, the Adventists took a non-conforming stance against a nation that raised apostate, evangelical churches that were pro-slavery and persecutory towards minority groups on American soil. This type of behaviour was especially reminiscent of what their Catholic and Protestant forerunners had done to minorities in Europe and what the established churches had done to the defecting Millerites during the antebellum era.

A further contrast is to be made between America's contradictory mix of lamb-like and dragon-like qualities. As the Adventists interpreted America through their historicist-prophetic lens, they recognised that the two horns of the beast represented the separation of the powers between church and state in America. Also, the horns were symbolic of the goods of Protestantism and democracy that Americans experienced through religious and civic freedoms.³¹⁴ Conversely, the destruction, commodification and enslavement of American people of colour, whether they were indigenous, African American or immigrant, became emblematic of the two-horned beast's dragon-like tyrannical characteristics. Particularly in the South,

Soul Survivors: An African American Spirituality (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), p.19;

³¹² Adventism's exegesis of the book of Revelation and its relation to America and slavery was developed by several expositors, Hiram Edison, John N. Andrews, John Loughborough and Uriah Smith. See O'Reggio and Zivadinovic, 'The Connection Between Slavery and Prophecy as it Relates to the American Nation in the Writings of the Adventist Pioneers During the Antebellum Period', 322-26; O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation', p. 147.

³¹³ Seventh-day Adventists like John Byington and John Preston Kellogg showed their resistance to slavery through their protection of runaway enslaved people, and their involvement in the Underground Railroad. Ellen G. White called for dis-fellowship of Adventists that were proslavery and she called for Adventists to practise civil disobedience in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act. Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', pp.183-84.

³¹⁴ Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', pp. 192-94.

Slavery was the cornerstone of Southern Society and the platform of its entire social structure. Slave owners dominated the branches of power legislative, executive and judicial—and they established and maintained the social order. They converted even poor whites who owned no slaves to the ideology of white supremacy that undergirded the system of slavery. Thus campaigning for the overthrow of slavery was a call for the overthrow of the social order. Such a revolutionary idea met with fierce resistance from those in power. This resistance was felt not only in the South, but especially among those in the North who had a profitable interest in the continuation of slavery.³¹⁵

In his statement, Adventist historian Trevor O'Reggio seeks to unmask the invisibility and normativity of whiteness in order to expose the deeply embedded ideology and structures of white supremacy in Southern society. When the invisibility of whiteness is made visible, the erroneous reproduction of the pseudo-vision in America's past can be exposed, contested and overturned. In relation to this, I want to refer back to my reading of Malcolm Bull and Patrick Johnson in chapter one, where I indicated that such all-encompassing visions that promote the superiority of one group over another, ought not to be conformed to. Rather, such false visions should be protested against and resisted.³¹⁶ For this reason, I postulate that pre-1844, Seventh-day Adventists sought to provide a prophetic alternative to America's pro-white, postmillennial vision by choosing to offer the nation another vision that would provide a fuller realisation of wholeness. This alternative vision encompassed the love of God, self, neighbour and the rest of creation. Also, the vision was undergirded by the SDA Church's ontology and ethics; this provided its members with an alternative way of seeing, being and acting in the world that was collaborative and transformational.

³¹⁵ O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation', p. 137; for more on the dissemination of white supremacist and racist views aimed at co-opting America's white poor, see Martin Luther King, Jr. *Where Do We Go From Here*, p. 79.

³¹⁶ Denis Fortin, 'Adventist Concepts of Discipleship and Nonconformity', in *Living the Christian Life in Today's World: A Conversation between Mennonite World Conference and the Seventh-day Adventist Church* ed. by Carol E. Rasmussen and others (Silver Spring, MD: Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2014), pp. 93-95.

The SDA Church's alternative way of seeing, being and acting in the world is not in conflict with good democratic principles, human dignity or human rights in the national or global context because these principles, dignities and rights facilitate the church's existence and growth, especially in an America that declares that 'all men [humans] are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'.³¹⁷

In contrast to the SDA Church's quest for a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness, I want to advance that America's postmillennial vision was really a guise for the matrix of white supremacy, white privilege and the atrocities of settler colonialism that resulted in the genocide, usurpation and eviction of Native Americans from their ancestral land, the enslavement of millions of Africans and the perpetuation of racism against America's minorities.³¹⁸ Joe R. Feagin identifies this matrix as being de-spiritualised and predatory in its ethics.³¹⁹

In light of these circumstances, as the antebellum era drew to a close, the Adventists recognised through prophecy that America was not on a trajectory towards postmillennial progress, instead the nation was getting worse; the death and chaos of the American Civil War confirmed this.³²⁰ Furthermore, I would argue that the Adventists, who transitioned from the antebellum to the Civil War era, used their historicist-prophetic interpretation of America to identify slavery as a pseudo-theological and unethical social system that was interrelated with fallen 'civil and ecclesial power

³¹⁷ Library of Congress, 'Creating the United States: Creating the Declaration of Independence', <<https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/creating-the-united-states/interactives/declaration-of-independence/equal/index.html>> [accessed 25 September 2019]; Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', p. 182; White, *The Great Controversy*, p. 389.

³¹⁸ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York, NY: HarperPerennial, 2003), pp. 1-38; Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, pp. 23-38; King, Jr. *Where Do We Go From Here*, pp. 84-85. Settler colonialism is a form of imperialism that eradicates the native population. See Noam Chomsky, *Power Systems: Conversations on Global Democratic Uprisings and the New Challenges to U. S. Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013), p. 4.

³¹⁹ Feagin, *The White Racial Frame*, p. 26.

³²⁰ Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', pp. 185, 190.

structures'.³²¹ However, as far as I can detect from my research, the Adventists prophetic critique of the American Republic and its role in slavery did not go far enough in enabling them to analyse and unmask the ideological roots and socio-cultural construction of anti-black racism.³²² Therefore, I would argue that as a religious denomination, Seventh-day Adventists were unable to make apparent the links that exist between slavery, the invisibility of whiteness, racism and antiracism. I want to argue that each of these factors affects the SDA Church's ability to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness.

One of the factors, antiracism, I define as an active way of seeing, being and acting in the world, in order to transform the negativity of racism into something positive through wholeness. According to Joseph Barndt

Anti-racism is positive. It is very positive to be against something as evil as racism. It is a very important affirmative activity to resist racism and to work for its demise and its deconstruction and to build something new in the place where it once stood. Being against racism is a good thing. Before we can work for additional positive expressions of relations between white people and people of color, we have to affirm our opposition to racism.³²³

However, I would argue that during the time of the SDA pioneers, their vision of wholeness and antiracist way of seeing, being and acting in the world, in order to transform it was still in its germinal phase. Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned that there were indicators of dialogue and attunement between SDAs and African Americans who belonged to the Black protest tradition, but in that period it would have been highly problematic, but not futile for the Adventist Church to be positively antiracist even

³²¹ O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation', p. 136.

³²² In contemporary theology and philosophy this type of analysis and unmasking of anti-black racism has been done by scholars such as Cornel West and J. Kameron Carter. See Cornel West, *The Cornel West Reader* (New York, NY: Civitas Books, 1999), pp. 51-86; Carter, *Race A Theological Account*, pp. 39-77.

³²³ Joseph Barndt, *Becoming an Anti-Racist Church: Journeying to Wholeness* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press), pp. 156-57; Barndt argues that to be antiracist in ones individual or institutional identity is a positive characteristic rather than a negative one. It is not opposed to or anti-something, instead it is positive.

though its membership was still majority white by the latter part of the nineteenth century.³²⁴

2.6 Race Relations in the SDA Church and American Society

During the Postbellum Era

During the latter stages of the nineteenth century the members of the SDA Church were mainly people of white European descent. Despite this fact, I want to demonstrate that it was difficult, but not futile for Ellen G. White to make a connection between slavery and the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. The connection she made re-emphasises the importance of the need to expose the pseudo-vision rather than let it remain undetected and uncontested. By investigating the same connection Mrs White made through her own written work and statements, along with literature pertaining to the historical, socio-cultural and religious context of the postbellum era, plus insights provided by Delbert W. Baker, I aim to convey why further analysis of the pseudo-vision is necessary for determining how its prevalence caused the SDA Church's pursuit of a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness to become diminished and displaced from its antebellum trajectory.³²⁵

First, the Seventh-day Adventist Church originated in the Northern States of America, a part of the nation where slavery had gradually become abolished.³²⁶ By 1867, there were approximately four thousand Adventists in the United States of

³²⁴ Shortly, I will provide statistics for the racial composition of the SDA Church in the latter part of the 1800s.

³²⁵ Delbert Baker is an African American, Seventh-day Adventist historian.

³²⁶ Bert Haloviak, 'A Heritage of Freedom: The Christian Connection Roots to Seventh-day Adventism', *General Conference Archives*, (1995), 2 <<http://documents.adventistarchives.org/conferences/Docs/UnspecifiedConferences/AHeritageOfFreedom.pdf>> [accessed 26 January 2020]; Nicholas Boston and Jennifer Hallam, 'The Slave Experience: Freedom & Emancipation', *Thirteen Media with Impact*, 1-2 <<https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/experience/freedom/history.html>> [accessed January 26, 2020].

America.³²⁷ In the years spanning between ‘1860 to 1890’, the church was officially organised as a legal entity. By the year 1890, there were as few as twenty adherents belonging to the church from the African American community; this meant that these persons of African descent were a small minority outside of the Southern slave States.³²⁸ In the main, the SDA Church in the Northern States was composed of people of Anglo-Saxon descent, so this reflected Northern society in general.³²⁹ Inevitably, this meant northern Adventists were the direct descendants and benefactors of an American socio-political order that was founded upon the European Doctrine of Discovery, colonisation and slave-trading instigated by white Anglo-Saxon settlers, so to some degree as WASPS (White Anglo Saxon Protestants) they experienced a level of economic prosperity and security not afforded to the Negro underclass of the nation whether free or enslaved.³³⁰

According to Canute R. Birch the SDA Church in the nineteenth century was under governance by a majority white in-group that was eventually challenged by an increasing, but marginalised African American out-group. Birch argues that a confrontation occurred in the 1920s between the two groups over integration versus separation. Eventually, it resulted in a dichotomy that created a black/white church

³²⁷ R. W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 134, 233. Schwarz documents that SDAs were originally based in New England and New York. Also, see Gary Land, *The A to Z of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), p. 307. Google ebook.

³²⁸ Eric Anderson, ‘War, Slavery, and Race’, in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, pp. 263, 272; Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 93-98.

³²⁹ Canute R. Birch, *A Third Great Disappointment for the Remnant: A Historical-Theological Exposition on the Racial/Ethnic Divide of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Ringgold, GA: Teach Services, 2012), pp. 29, 45, 87. In the southern part of America, people of Anglo-Saxon descent were also dominant. According to Emerson and Smith, the African American population in the Northern states was as little as three per cent. See Michael O. Emerson and Christian Smith, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 28.

³³⁰ Gregory L. Hoenes, ‘The Contemporary Challenge of Adventist Whiteness’, *Spectrum* (2022), 34-35. Alexander Carpenter provided this issue of *Spectrum* to online attendees at the Los Angeles Forum of Adventists on ‘24 September 2022’; Emerson and Smith, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 25, 34. The authors of this book state that ‘on the whole, Northern evangelicals did not differ from Southern evangelicals in their racial views, except that they tended to oppose slavery’; Daniel José Camacho, ‘Unlearning the Doctrine of Discovery’, *Sojourners* (2018), 1-2 <<https://sojo.net/articles/unlearning-doctrine-discovery>> [accessed February 10, 2022].

structure that was governed by conferences that segregated both groups along racial lines.³³¹ A fuller vision of wholeness could not be achieved when:

Black Adventists found themselves locked out of worship in White Churches, denied admittance to White hospitals and schools, shut out of policy making/leadership positions within the church structure, and generally embarrassed within the Black community because of Adventism's radical withdrawal from social protest.³³²

Ever since the church's official and legal organisation, the pseudo-vision gradually pervaded the Adventist Church, thus causing its pursuit of its *telos* to be displaced and diminished.³³³

In order to advance my argument that Ellen G. White made a connection between slavery and the invisibility of whiteness and the perpetuation of racism, it is necessary to know why the date 1890 was so significant for SDAs. I would argue it was an important date because it marked the period that Seventh-day Adventists began to make a serious effort to take the gospel to the emancipated African Americans in the Southern states. R. W. Schwartz affirms that this date was important because there was no serious Adventist mission to this location until the 1890s. That is more than two and half decades after President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.³³⁴ Schwartz suggests several reasons for the church's inactivity in mission to the Southern States:

³³¹ bell hooks warns that this type of black/white dichotomy can be perceived as a 'simplistic essentialist "us and them" scenario 'that suggests black folks merely invert stereotypical racist interpretations so that blacks become synonymous with goodness and white with evil'. Hooks seeks to move away from these stereotypes by focusing on the traumatic effects of racism on the Black imagination. bell hooks, *Killing Rage*, p. 37. I would argue that there is more complexity to the "us and them" scenario that hooks describes, as I aim to demonstrate in the latter chapters of my thesis; Calvin B. Rock argues that this type of church structure caused Black SDAs to push for greater participation and representation within the church organisation; their appeal resulted in the formation of separate conferences based on racialised policies. See Calvin B. Rock, *Protest & Progress*, pp.19-20.

³³² Calvin B. Rock, *Protest & Progress*, p. 30.

³³³ Birch, *A Third Great Disappointment for the Remnant*, pp. 45, 87-88.

³³⁴ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, p. 233.

1) In terms of doing Christian mission the Adventists migrated west rather than south.³³⁵

2) If they had gone to the South, they would have been unwelcome and perceived as suspicious because they were Yankees with abolitionist views. Also, they appeared to advocate ‘nigger equality’.³³⁶

3) At the end of the Civil War in 1865, the church held a General Conference (GC) where it was revealed that it lacked the ministerial and financial resources to engage in mission to the Southern States.³³⁷

4) Some Adventists, funded by their own expenses, involved themselves in education in the South. On occasions when they were staying in the South, they experienced rejection, prejudice and life-threatening violence, indicating that their presence was not really welcome there.³³⁸

5) Northern Adventists were unfamiliar with white Southern segregationist mores, practices and policies.³³⁹

6) Since 1863, Adventists were aware of other evangelicals doing missions to the South, but they engaged in very little mission to American people of colour until the 1890s.³⁴⁰

How is this data to be interpreted? I would argue that the reasons provided by Schwarz indicate that without re-establishing their trajectory towards a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness, their alternative antiracist way of seeing, being and acting in the world became weakened, and this resulted in them failing to dialogue and become attuned to African Americans and their faith and culture in any significant way.

However, to some degree by 1891, this situation began to change when Ellen G. White spoke frankly to the General Conference on their duty to share their faith with the

³³⁵ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, p. 233.

³³⁶ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 233-34. The use of the N-word is a direct quotation from Schwarz.

³³⁷ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, p. 233; The General Conference or GC, is the administrative headquarters for the world Seventh-day Adventist Church. The name of the General Conference is also used whenever the church is in plenary session. See Fannie L. Houck, *Beyond Baptism: What the New Believer Should Know About the Adventist Lifestyle* (Washington DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987), p. 39.

³³⁸ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 233-34.

³³⁹ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 234.

³⁴⁰ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 233-34.

African American population based in the South. Furthermore, she argued that the previous GC had capitulated to ‘white prejudices against integrated churches and church services’.³⁴¹ The testimony Mrs White gave at the 1891 GC session was later converted into a tract called “Our Duty to the Colored People”. This tract was significant because it directly addressed racism in the church and society at that time, and she challenged the church to face its theological and ethical responsibility to emulate the love of Christ by sharing the gospel of peace with their African American brothers and sisters.³⁴² Shortly, after this tract was printed it became forgotten until Edson White, the son of James and Ellen, rediscovered it and this incident became the catalyst for his and the Adventists’ subsequent mission to the neglected African Americans in the Southern States.³⁴³

Fourteen years later, after the 1891 GC session, Mrs White went to Loma Linda, California to meet her third son William and three other church leaders for the purpose of discussing how they might assist Edson and the other SDA ministers in their mission work in the South.³⁴⁴ At this same meeting, Ellen G. White made two important prognostic statements that I argue demonstrate that she recognised, to a degree, the interrelationship between slavery, the invisibility of whiteness and the perpetuation of racism. The first statement she made was ‘there will be slavery just as verily as it has been, only upon a basis that is more favourable and secure to the white people’. The second statement she made was ‘I knew that this very race war would be introduced’.³⁴⁵

³⁴¹ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, p.236; Ellen G. White, ‘Our Duty to the Colored People’, in *The Southern Work* (São Paulo: Centro de Pesquisas Ellen G. White UNASP, 1901), p. 10, ebook.

³⁴² White, ‘Our Duty to the Colored People’, pp. 9-18.

³⁴³ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 236-37.

³⁴⁴ Delbert W. Baker, *Ellen G. White’s Use of the Term “Race War” and Other Related Insights* (Ellen G. White Estate, 2018), p. ix, ebook.

³⁴⁵ Baker, *Ellen G. White’s Use of the Term “Race War” and Other Related Insights*, p. ix.

Delbert W. Baker has engaged with these statements in the publication *Ellen G. White's Use of the Term "Race War", and Other Related Insights*. In his book, Baker is careful to caution modern readers against extracting Ellen G. White's statements from their 'historical, sociological and religious setting'.³⁴⁶ His book is insightful for several reasons. 1) He provides the context in which Ellen G. White made each of these statements. 2) His text amplifies and clarifies the meaning of each of the statements. For example, in the first statement 'there will be slavery just as verily as it has been, only upon a basis that is more favourable and secure to the white people'. He demonstrates that Ellen G. White is predicting that even though Lincoln's government authorised the end of chattel slavery it did not truly end, instead it transformed into another form during the postbellum racial nadir.³⁴⁷ In fact, Frederick Douglass, the prominent abolitionist, thought this would be the case, when he speculated some years earlier in 1865:

That emancipation would witness the metamorphosis rather than the end of "slavery." According to Douglass, "slavery" has been fruitful in giving itself names. It has been called the 'peculiar institution,' the 'social system,' and the 'impediment'. It has been called by a great many names, and it will call itself by yet another name; and you and I and all of us had better wait and see what new form this old monster will assume, in what new skin this old snake will come forth next.³⁴⁸

This situation meant that African Americans remained in bondage to whites by other means.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Baker, *Ellen G. White's Use of the Term "Race War"*, p. viii.

³⁴⁷ Racial Nadir refers to a low point in African American history between '1890 to 1920'. See Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore and Peter V. and C. Vann Woodward, "'Somewhere" in the Nadir of African American History, 1890-1920', pp. 1-2, <<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1865-1917/essays/nadir.htm>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; on slavery's transformation, see also Emerson and Smith, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 33, 37; Peter J. Paris, *The Social Teaching of the Black Churches* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press: 1985), p. 4; Jams H. Cone, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2013), pp. 2, 5-6; Norris, *Witnessing Whiteness*, p. 22.

³⁴⁸ *Race Struggles* ed. by Theodore Koditschek, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and others (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), p. 27, Google ebook.

³⁴⁹ Baker, *Ellen G. White's Use of the Term "Race War"*, p. xv.

The second Ellen G. White statement “I knew that this very race war would be introduced”, alludes to the racial strife, negrophobia, lynching, and white oppressive backlash of Jim and Jane Crow terrorism perpetuated against people of African descent throughout U.S. history. This racial strife became manifest in a script of superiority that was acted out in Southern white supremacists’ determination to regain a monopoly on power, and to maintain white racial purity in the aftermath of the crisis of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. Delbert W. Baker and other authors such as Jacob Justiss’ *Angels in Ebony*, Ronald G. Graybill’s *E. G. White and Race Relations*, Rayford Logan’s *The Betrayal of the Negro*, C. Van Woodward’s *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, Leon F. Litwack’s *Trouble in Mind* and Michelle Alexander’s *The New Jim Crow* all provide relevant contextual information for the historical, socio-cultural and religious setting of Mrs White’s statements.³⁵⁰

In Baker’s book, he documents that Ellen G. White made several other statements that show her frustration with the incapacity of the SDA Church to initiate Christian service to African Americans in the South; this had become especially testing in the troublesome times of the racial nadir. For example, she stated:

The Lord is grieved at the indifference manifested by his professed followers toward the ignorant and oppressed colored people. If our people had taken up this work at the close of the Civil War, their faithful labour would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ Jacob Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (Toledo, OH: Jet Printing Service, 1975), pp. 18-27, 35-40; Ronald D. Graybill, *E.G. White and Church Race Relations* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1970), pp. 17-34, ebook. Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New England: Collier Books, 1965); C. Van Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow: A Commemorative edn* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002); Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988); Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Color Blindness*, rev. edn (New York, NY: The New Press, 2012), pp. 20-58. Michelle Alexander’s publication is the most contemporary of all of the books I have mentioned. Alexander insists that racial caste still exists in America and because racism is ‘highly adaptable’ it continues to be perpetuated. See her first chapter entitled ‘The Rebirth of Caste’.

³⁵¹ The term “coloured people” is now out-dated. However, in Ellen G. White’s era it was in common usage; this is also true for the term Negro. Baker, *Ellen G. White’s Use of the Term “Race War”*, p. xiv.

This statement by Ellen G. White was a precursor for a similar statement she made later in the ninth volume of her book *Testimonies for the Church*. At the time when she made the latter statement, she was speaking about the SDA Church's lack of responsiveness to her call for God's people to conform to the faithfulness of Christ. In her own words she stated:

For many years I have borne a heavy burden in behalf of the Negro race. My heart has ached as I have seen the feeling against this race growing stronger and still stronger, and as I have seen that many Seventh-day Adventists are apparently unable to understand the necessity for an earnest work being done quickly. Years are passing into eternity with apparently little done to help those who were recently a race of slaves.³⁵²

White was concerned about the racially instigated hostility her son Edson and other Adventists faced in the South during the late 1890s. For this reason, she repeatedly advised the church to be extremely cautious about not hindering the spread of the gospel by having white folk minister to the Negroes, thus further inflaming the racial tension. Moreover, she advised the church that it would be prudent to separate the gospel work so that white folk and Negroes could minister to their own kind to avoid any form of racial conflict.³⁵³ This dilemma led to her making these controversial statements:

The coloured people should not urge that they be placed on 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 labourers will not be able to work in some places in the South.³⁵⁴

Let the coloured believers be provided with neat, tasteful houses of worship. Let them be shown that this is done not to exclude them from worshipping with white people, because they are black, but in order that the progress of

³⁵² White, *Testimonies for the Church* 9 vols, p. 181.

³⁵³ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols, p. 181.

³⁵⁴ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols, p. 184.

the truth may be advanced. Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows us a better way.³⁵⁵

These statements demonstrate that White found it difficult to find a solution to the problem of racial justice because she worried that white Seventh-day Adventist gospel ministers would be put in harm's way. Therefore, it is possible to infer from her first statement that she preferred the SDA Church not to interfere with the status quo of the South. In addition, White's controversial and enigmatic comments on race, human-animal amalgamation and miscegenation in *Spiritual Gifts vol. 3* and *Selected Messages Book 2*, have been cited by some Adventists as plausible reasons for the status quo to be maintained in a racial hierarchy that places white people of European descent in a dominant position over black and brown people who are situated on the underside. However, her second statement above, offers an insight into how she struggled with the dilemma of the racial divide in America. The perplexity of this matter reveals that she thought there was no easy solution to the problem; therefore, the Lord would have to intervene.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols, p. 178. These controversial statements on race by Ellen G. White have been assessed and defended by Ronald G. Graybill and Douglas Morgan. In addition, these statements must be read in tandem with all of her other statements on race in the corpus of her writings. Therefore, I will not dwell on them any further than what I have already documented for this research. For example, see Ronald G. Graybill's book's *E.G. White and Race Relations*; Roy Branson, *Ellen G. White: Racist or Champion of Equality*, (2017), parts 1-3 <http://www.oakwood.edu/additional_sites/goldmine/hdoc/blacksda/champ/index.html> [accessed 20 April 2017]; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies to the Church* (São Paulo: Centro de Pesquisas Ellen G. White UNASP, 2011), pp. 246-51, 337-47, ebook.

³⁵⁶ The hermeneutical problem of deciphering what Ellen G. White meant by the 'base crime of amalgamation' that resulted in the transformation of certain races into a hybrid mix of human and beast, in addition to the problem of how to reconcile Mrs White's statements on racial harmony with her prohibition of interracial marriage, remain vexing issues for the church in the postbellum era. These unresolved problems have contributed to a racial script of superiority that divides the Adventist Church. Conversely, there are Adventists who make positive contributions towards a vision of wholeness with the aim of uniting the church, rather than dividing it. See Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 3 vols (Ellen G. White Estate, 1964), pp. 60-64, 75, ebook; Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages Book 2* (Ellen G. White Estate, 1958), pp. 343-44, 481-84, 486-488, ebook. For further analysis on Ellen G. White's comments on amalgamation and miscegenation see Gordon Shingley, 'Amalgamation of Man and Beast: What Did Ellen White Mean?' *Spectrum*, 12 (1982), 10-19 <https://www.andrews.edu/library/car/cardigital/Periodicals/Spectrum/1981-1982_Vol_12/4_June_1982.pdf> [accessed 5 March 2023]; Ronald Osborn, 'True Blood: Race, Science, and Early Adventist Amalgamation Theory Revisited', *Spectrum*, 38 (2010), 16-29, 62 <https://www.andrews.edu/library/car/cardigital/Periodicals/Spectrum/2010_Vol_38/4_Fall_2010.pdf> [accessed 6 March 2023].

At this point, I want to re-emphasise that during the postbellum era the dominance of the pseudo-vision displaced the SDA Church from its pursuit of its antebellum goal of achieving a fuller realisation of its vision, while misdirecting the church so that it settled for a counterfeit representation of wholeness that I have identified as the invisibility of whiteness the norm, in which racism is perpetuated. The pervasiveness of the pseudo-vision in the church resulted in segregationist policies that split the church according to America's colour line.³⁵⁷ Furthermore, as racial antagonism intensified in the American South, the SDA Church began to conform to a racially divided system and practice of church that was contrary to their initial vision of wholeness in the antebellum, thus an anti-black form of racism entered into Adventism and in some cases it was exported to other parts of the world church.³⁵⁸

It is my contention that the SDA Church must look back to the antebellum era and remember that their pioneers began to develop a biblically based theology of history that caused them to prophetically challenge America's racial script of superiority, a script that denies a vision of wholeness to racialised minorities who exist on the underside of the pseudo-vision's hegemonic dominance. Also, in the antebellum era, the Adventist pioneers' theology of history was congruent with their abolitionism, so it brought them into dialogue and attunement with the Black protest tradition, whereas in the postbellum era of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their theology of history became less attuned to Black America and less prophetic in the sense that the church emphasised the foretelling aspect of prophecy at the expense of the forth-telling aspect. Sigve Tonstad has picked up on this imbalance in Adventism's prophetic hermeneutic, in his statement: 'unless *forth*-telling is robustly joined to *fore*-telling in the Adventist view of prophecy and our communal witness, we shall have a weak voice in the world,

³⁵⁷ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols, pp. 183-84.

³⁵⁸ Birch, *A Third Great Disappointment for the Remnant*, p. 59.

and we will lose the next generation'.³⁵⁹ For this reason, I would argue that a SDA theology of history in the postbellum era ought to direct SDAs to a dialogical attunement with the Black protest tradition because the latter has been at the forefront of prophetic forth-telling or speaking truth to power in an age when the invisibility of whiteness has been the dominant norm in which racism is perpetuated.

2.7 Summary

At the start of this chapter, I made the claim that two contrary visions exist within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. I identified them as the SDA vision of wholeness and the pseudo-vision. After I identified the two visions, I argued that the SDA Church was on its way towards achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness, but this pursuit was diminished by the prevalence of the pseudo-vision in American church and society.

Despite the dominance the pseudo-vision gained in the SDA Church and in American society, it is my contention that it is still possible for the church to achieve its *telos* by constructing a theological ethic that modifies the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision. In this chapter, I made the argument that a theology of history is necessary for constructing a theological ethic because sacred history or redemptive history opens the way for God to act providentially in his creation and for him to act in partnership with human agents, so that they can participate in actions that pursue racial justice and bring about the wholeness of shalom, especially for people who are socially located on the underside of

³⁵⁹ Sigve Tonstad, 'Timeout: Storm Clouds Over Historicism', *Spectrum* (2019), 6 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/sabbath-school/2019/timeout-storm-clouds-over-historicism>> [accessed 22 September 2019].

scripts of superiority. In this case the script of superiority is the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.

Also, I argued in the chapter that Seventh-day Adventists are already familiar with a theology of history known to them as the Conflict of the Ages or the Story of Redemption paradigm. As I have mentioned, this paradigm for theologising history was envisioned by Ellen G. White. I used this paradigm as a basis for constructing a timeline that divides history into five epochs. The timeline can be viewed from several perspectives: the first perspective from which history can be viewed begins with John's description of the cosmic conflict in Revelation 12.7-9 and then it follows the conflict as it unfolds through time until it reaches the fifth and final epoch. The second perspective from which history can be viewed is to see the first four epochs of the timeline as depicting the pre-modern world and the fifth epoch as a depiction of the modern/post-modern world. Alternatively, the third perspective from which to view the timeline is to see the fifth epoch as a representation of the period of history when Europeans departed from the "old world" to colonise the "new world". In this period, the European colonists were faced with the question: how ought they to live and flourish in the "new world"? At this point, the Europeans envisioned and enacted a progressive postmillennial vision of America that empowered and privileged white skinned people as superior to non-European dark skinned people. This racial script of superiority enabled whiteness to become the unexamined norm that reproduced itself in the form of an all-encompassing pseudo-vision that impacted American society; it included the SDA Church by ordering reality according to a racial taxonomy where whites located themselves at the top of a hierarchy and Black, indigenous, and people of colour were located towards the bottom.

By constructing a re-narration of certain events and periods in SDA's theology of history, it enabled me to take the first steps towards demonstrating how the story of Adventism and America's racial story intersect.³⁶⁰ The Adventist story is indigenous to the United States and its particular historicist interpretation of prophetic time depicts its own development in three phases: Millerite Adventism, Sabbatarian Adventism and Seventh-day Adventism. According to my timeline these three phases coincide with the antebellum era, the American Civil War and the postbellum era.

Early on in the antebellum era, Adventism faced a momentous crisis. The Adventists predicted that Jesus would return in 1844, but he did not. This left the Sabbath-keeping Adventist pioneers with two questions, one theological and the other ethical. The theological question was: why did Jesus not return in 1844? This question caused them to reassess Scripture and time, as well as establishing a location for their Adventist remnant movement in Biblical prophecy. This reassessment had implications for how they understood America prophetically, historically and contextually. Using the apocalyptic Scriptures of Daniel and the Revelation as their hermeneutic, the Adventist pioneers identified America as the two-horned beast of Revelation 13.11-17. Furthermore, post-1844, The SDA pioneers were faced with the ethical question: how ought they to live in the delay prior to Jesus Second Advent? As they combined the two questions, it caused the newly formed SDA Church to evaluate its ontology and ethics in order to form an alternative way of seeing, being and acting in the world that was contrary to America's postmillennial vision, which I have argued was really a guise for the invisibility of whiteness. For this reason the Adventists decided not to conform to business as usual, but took a nonconformist stance in a social order where the institution of slavery persisted, white supremacy flourished and the pseudo-vision gained

³⁶⁰ How the story of Adventism and America intersect is broad and complex in its scope, but for my thesis it is my intention to focus particularly on the subject of "race".

dominance as the postbellum era progressed. Unfortunately, this nonconformity did not last because as time went by, the prevalence of the pseudo-vision became a dilemma the SDA Church found difficult to resolve and eventually it was divided along racial lines, thus diminishing its quest for a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness.

2.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is my assessment that a re-narration of certain events and periods in SDA's theology of history is necessary for constructing a theological ethic because it provides me with a timeline that makes it possible to move back and forth between the Biblical world and the contemporary world and between various generations in history. This generates possibilities for God and humans to participate in actions that do not perpetuate tyranny in any form, and does not permit racial injustice to be perpetuated merely as business as usual, thus maintaining the status quo. Most importantly, a re-narration of SDA's theology of history is significant for constructing a theological ethic because it provides me with a timeline where I can identify focal points in history where Adventists have interacted with minority groups that are socially located on the underside of scripts of superiority. For this reason, I want to advance the argument that at certain times and in certain places in history, a nexus for dialogical attunement has occurred between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition. In my first two chapters, I have been able to determine some early indicators of dialogical attunement occurring in the antebellum era between Adventists and the Afro-Christian community. In the next chapter, I will continue to develop my theology of history and expound upon what dialogical attunement between Seventh-day Adventists and the Black protest tradition means in the context of the postbellum era. By doing this I intend to demonstrate the significance of dialogical attunement for constructing a theological

ethic that modifies the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision.

Chapter 3:

An Account of Dialogical Attunement Between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Black Protest Tradition

In my previous chapter, I began my re-narration of a theology of history known to Seventh-day Adventists as the Conflict of the Ages or The Story of Redemption. In the theology of history known as the Conflict of the Ages, time is divided into five different epochs. In the final epoch, I identified the significance of America for Adventist eschatology. By re-narrating certain events and periods in SDAs' theology of history, I was able to divide the final epoch into three more periods of U.S. history: the antebellum era, the American Civil War and the postbellum era. Then I argued that after the American Civil War, a pseudo-vision became more dominant in society and as it did, it diminished the SDA vision of wholeness and displaced the church from the goal of its pursuit.

In this particular chapter, I continue my re-narration of SDAs' theology of history by making the city of Selma in Alabama a focal point in time for investigating how the Adventist story intersects with America's racial story. I analyse these intersecting stories by identifying Selma as a nexus in history for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition. Also, I use Selma as a nexus or focal point in American history for interpreting racial conflict and racial transformation through the lens of typology done from below as opposed to above.³⁶¹

³⁶¹ Typology from below is a theological lens for interpreting sacred history from a particular nexus that does not represent the centres of power. This particular nexus is located beyond the purview of the pseudo-vision. I am arguing that marginalised groups and anyone who identifies with them is likely to make use of this type of theological lens. Conversely, typology from above is a theological lens for interpreting sacred history from centres of power. From such locations of power, a dominant group may impose its script of superiority on marginalised groups and anyone who identifies with them.

Furthermore, I articulate what I mean by the Black protest tradition, discuss its origin, its compatibility with Christianity and I provide some insight into its formational development. In addition, I will develop my articulation of dialogical attunement further in order to modify the SDA vision of wholeness. By dialogical attunement I mean: a synergistic relationship between multiple participants who share a mutual vision of wholeness that responds to the other, who cries out for racial justice and peace on the underside of scripts of superiority.³⁶² Conversely, this articulation of dialogical attunement is contrary to the unexamined self that reproduces the invisibility of whiteness as a script of superiority that dominates, censors and mutes the cries of the other, while denying their God-given potentiality for wholeness.

Finally, I will employ Barack Obama's theological usage of the Moses and the Joshua generation as terminologies for the typological lens I use in relation to dialogical attunement.³⁶³ In this particular chapter, I use typology to depict correspondences between the Exodus narrative of struggle in the Bible and the Selma narrative of interracial struggle in America during the twentieth century. In the typical struggle, the Moses generation represents God's people who journey from Egypt to the Promised

³⁶² Dialogical attunement involves an inclusivity that results in interactions between multiple voices. It also involves awareness, 'seeing', 'listening', empathising and acting responsively towards the needs of the other or neighbour that Jesus commanded his followers to love (Matthew 22.34-40). According to Chambers English Dictionary, attune means 'put into tune: to make tuneful (one's voice, song, etc.) to make to harmonise or accord: to accustom or acclimatise'. Some everyday examples of attunement are: **A)** When a preacher and congregation are attuned to one another. **B)** A musician is attuned to other musicians. **C)** A poet is attuned to his or her surrounding environment. In my thesis, I am exploring dialogical attunement in relation to the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Black protest tradition, so this approach differs from Michael K. Lee's dialogical attunement as a contemplative process for congregational leadership. Michael K. Lee, *The Dialogical Attunement Project* (2015-16), 1-3 <<https://dialogicalattunement.wordpress.com>> [accessed 2 August 2020]; for related sources on dialogical attunement see Rupert Wegerif, 'Dialogic and Dialectic: Clarifying and Important Distinction', (2017), 4 <<https://www.rupertwegerif.name/blog/dialogic-and-dialectic-clarifying-an-important-distinction>> [accessed 1 April 2022]; Anna Abram, 'Relationality and Attunement in Teaching Christian Ethics', *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 33 (2020), 55-60 (p. 56); Haloviak Valentine, *Worlds at War, Nations in Song*, pp. 6-7; Julie Calvey and Rosie Mockford, 'Attuned Communication', *Non-Verbal Affective Care* (2020), 1-2 <<https://www.nacwellbeing.org/guidance/interactions-relationships/attuned-communication/>> [accessed April 1 2022].

³⁶³ In my next chapter, I will expand more on my appropriation of Barack Obama's theological usage of the Moses and Joshua generation typology. I will also provide a more in-depth account of my theological usage of typology and its significance for dialogical attunement.

Land. In the antitypical struggle, the Moses generation represents God's people who journey through the period of slavery to the Civil rights era. In the next chapter, the Joshua Generation typology will be a continuation of the Moses Generation typology.³⁶⁴ By utilising this continuous typological approach, I will be able to move between successive generations in my re-narration of SDA's theological history.

3.1 An Introduction to the Black Protest Tradition

In the 1890s, Ellen G. White warned the SDA Church that slavery would persist in other forms and racial strife would ensue in postbellum America. This became the reality in the segregated South during the twentieth century, especially in Selma, a city that became the focal point for racial confrontation and transformation. In Selma, Alabama, the Edmund Pettus Bridge stands as a monument to several historic civil rights marches that occurred in its vicinity. In the year 1965, non-violent civil rights protesters journeyed to Selma to participate in a number of marches bound for Montgomery, the state capital of Alabama. The civil rights protesters who marched, belonged to a tradition of Black protest that sought to expose, contest and overturn racial oppression and injustice in America. Also in the vicinity of Alabama is Oakwood University, a HBCU that was established by Seventh-day Adventists who responded to the call of Ellen G. White in the 1890s. Mrs White called the SDA Church to proclaim the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ to African Americans located in the South. Due to the Oakwood University campus being situated not too far from the Edmund Pettus Bridge, I am arguing that the proximity of the campus to Selma brought the Adventist

³⁶⁴ The Joshua Generation represents the latter part of the civil rights movement through to the presidency of Barack Obama and beyond.

story and the American racial story into contact, so this provided Adventists with the opportunity for dialogical attunement with the Black protest tradition.³⁶⁵

In African American theology various terms have been used to describe what I am calling the Black protest tradition. For example, Daniel C. Thompson uses the term ‘Negro protest’, Albert J. Raboteau ‘Public black protest’, James H. Evans Jr. ‘a continuous tradition of protest and struggle in African American religious life’, Kelly Brown Douglas refers to Black protest as ‘the black struggle’ and Vincent Harding uses the term ‘The Great Tradition of Black Protest’.³⁶⁶ As the Black protest tradition has emerged within the Black SDA experience, Calvin B. Rock has referred to it as ‘Black Seventh-day Adventist social protest’, whereas Samuel G. London Jr. prefers to use the term ‘Afro-Adventist activism’ or ‘socio-political activism’.³⁶⁷

My articulation of the Black protest tradition incorporates elements of the word order used by Vincent Harding in his terminology, but I focus on the identifier “Black” as a value-laden and overarching term for gathering together the economy of the multidimensional Black lived existence as it emerged in the American context. I use the term protest as the means to find one’s moral agency and prophetic voice whenever and wherever there is injustice. Furthermore, I use tradition in relation to African heritage with all of its quality of life resources passed on from one generation to the next.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ During the civil rights era, Oakwood University was known as Oakwood College. As I mentioned in the introduction, the term HBCU is an acronym for Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

³⁶⁶ Daniel C. Thompson, ‘The Rise of the Negro Protest’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 357 (1965), 18-29 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1035887>> [accessed 30 March 2020]; Albert Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 60; James H. Evans Jr., *We Have Been Believers: An African American Systematic Theology*, 2nd edn (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), p. 4; Kelly Brown Douglas, *The Black Christ* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994), pp. 35-52; Harding, *There is a River*, p. xx.

³⁶⁷ Rock, *Protest & Progress*, p. xiii; London, Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, p. 6; In my 2023 email correspondence with Professor Samuel G. London Jr., he defined ‘Afro-Adventist Activism as a term signifying all persons of the African Diaspora who accepted the Seventh-day Adventist message/doctrine and participated in socio-political activism/reform’.

³⁶⁸ The meaning of value-laden in relation to the word Black, signifies dignity and worth. In other words, Black life matters. Victor Anderson avers that the identifier Black, gathers together in the economy and multiplicity of the Black lived experience: ‘slave tales, prayers, letters, journals, sermons,

Therefore, each word in the term Black protest tradition is interrelated within a whole unit.

In African American theology and religion there are divergent views about the origin of the Black Protest Tradition (BPT).³⁶⁹ For example, Rufus Burrow, Jr. and Vincent Harding argue that Black protest began on African soil when free Africans strived to resist the inhumane slave industry of their white captors, whereas James Cone argues that it began later in the Middle Passage, as Africans struggled to survive or escape the infamous slave ships destined for the “New World”. Moreover, Cone avers that protests continued on American soil at the auction block, on the plantations and in the “day-to-day resistance of slavery.”³⁷⁰ In my evaluation of the views articulated by Burrow Jr., Harding and Cone, they indicate that among the many Africans that were taken into captivity, the BPT was not exclusively Christian.

However, the point of departure I take for understanding how the BPT began is particular to Afro-Christianity rather than Black religion in general.³⁷¹ From this particular starting point, the BPT’s roots are contemporaneous with the origin of the

autobiographies, spirituals, blues, jazz, gospel music, literature, fine arts, political treatises, social activism and theological discourse’. Victor Anderson, ‘Black Ontology and Theology’, in *The Oxford Handbook of African American Theology*, ed. by Katie G. Cannon and Anthony B. Pinn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 390-99; Walter Brueggemann, *Truth Speaks to Power: The Countercultural Nature of Scripture* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2013), pp. 22, 28. In his book, Brueggemann recounts how the enslaved Hebrew people found their voice and agency in their cries to God and in their protest against the Pharaonic Empire.

³⁶⁹ From here onwards, I will use the abbreviation BPT interchangeably with Black protest tradition.

³⁷⁰ Harding, *There is a River*, pp. 3-23; Rufus Burrow, Jr., *James H. Cone and Black Liberation Theology* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1994), pp. 3-4. Google ebook; James H. Cone, *The Spirituals & the Blues* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), pp. 24-25.

³⁷¹ I am using the term Afro-American as a shortened version of African American. Afro-American Christians were enslaved people who conducted their worship mainly in secret in the antebellum South, or in public as free persons in the antebellum North. This type of Christianity has been categorised in two forms **1)** The “invisible church” **2)** Visible independent churches pioneered by Black clergy. See Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South*, updated edn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 212-13; Eddie S. Glaude Jr., *African American Religion: A Very Short Introduction* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 38-39.

Black Church.³⁷² For example, J. Deotis Roberts has argued, ‘the black church was born in protest against racism. It first had to confront the brutal system of chattel slavery. Since discrimination based on race has continued, the protest character of black religion/theology persists’.³⁷³ In addition to Robert’s argument, James Cone made the contrast between ‘the birth of the black church in protest’ and the birth of white American Christianity in heresy. By making this contrast, Cone is critiquing the erroneous connection between white enslaving Christianity and racism.³⁷⁴ Albert J. Raboteau agrees with Cone’s assessment because he argues that African Americans discerned that the domineering religion of their white enslavers was a departure from the gospel of Jesus Christ.³⁷⁵ In the case of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Calvin B. Rock has argued that Black protest began with pastor Charles Marshall Kinney, however in my previous chapter, I argued that there were early indications of interaction between the Adventist pioneers and the BPT during the antebellum, so these early indicators pre-date Kinney’s 1889 protest against racial inequalities within the SDA Church.³⁷⁶

Concerning the BPT’s compatibility with Christianity, Martin Luther King Jr. made the argument that ‘Christianity itself is protest’.³⁷⁷ He related protest to social justice and liberation for all who are in bondage, oppressed, and denied human dignity

³⁷² Albert J. Raboteau, *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 21-60.

³⁷³ James H. Cone, *Black Theology & Black Power* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), p. 94; J. Deotis Roberts, *The Prophet of Black Believers: An American Political Theology for Ministry* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press), p. 25.

³⁷⁴ Cone, *Black Theology & Black Power*, pp. 94, 103.

³⁷⁵ Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones*, pp. 61-62; Frederick Douglass the African American abolitionist, was convinced that white enslaving Christianity was incompatible with the gospel. See the appendix of his autobiography. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of Frederick Douglass an American Slave* (London: Vintage Books, 2015), p. 107.

³⁷⁶ Rock, *Protest and Progress*, pp. 13-15.

³⁷⁷ Martin Luther King Jr., ‘Can A Christian Be a Communist? Sermon Delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church’, ed. by Clayborne Carson and others (The Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute (1962), 3 <<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/can-christian-be-communist-sermon-delivered-ebenezer-baptist-church>> [accessed 28 June 2020].

and the possibility of reaching their full God-given potentiality. For King, the jubilee message of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke, the Sermon on the Mount and the prophetic witness of the Hebrew prophets provided a Scriptural basis for the BPT.³⁷⁸ Moreover, King was careful to make a distinction between the BPT and the violent, undemocratic forms of protest advocated by the KKK and other white supremacist groups.³⁷⁹ Kelly Brown Douglas concurs with King because she argues that from the days of Martin King's youth, he gained a firm grounding in the Black Church and the 'slave Christianity of his ancestors'. This foundation enabled him to recognise the compatibility between Christianity and protest, but also the compatibility between Christianity and social justice and this provided him with the impetus to participate in the Black freedom movement.³⁸⁰ Clarence E. Hardy III contends that King was scornful of churches that had become 'irrelevant social clubs' merely endorsing the status quo. Hardy III argues that King had an activist faith because for him the

true ekklesia – that is the true church – could only be found among those “noble souls” who willingly “walked the streets” in protest instead of those who sequestered themselves in established churches and refused to confront the need for change.³⁸¹

As I read Hardy III, King's activist faith and his understanding of the purpose of the 'true ekklesia' meant that believers were not meant to be closet Christians hidden away behind the four walls of the church. Instead, they ought to participate in the

³⁷⁸ Luke 4: 18-19, Matthew 5-7; Martin Luther King, Jr., 'Stride Toward Freedom', in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. by James Melvin Washington (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 447; also see Martin Luther King Jr., 'MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church', ed. by Clayborne Carson (The Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute (1955), 1-7 <<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/address-mia-mass-meeting-holt-street-baptist-church>> [accessed 14 April 2020]; Douglas, *The Black Christ*, pp. 43-45; Rufus Burrow, Jr., *God and Human Responsibility: David Walker and Ethical Prophecy* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2003), pp. 1-7. Burrow, Jr. argues that African American prophetic ethics is inspired by the Hebrew prophets of the eighth century.

³⁷⁹ King, Jr., 'MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church', 3.

³⁸⁰ Douglas, pp. 3, 43-45.

³⁸¹ Clarence E. Hardy III, 'Culture/Cultural Production and African American Theology', in *The Oxford Handbook of African American Theology*, ed. by Katie G. Cannon and Anthony B. Pinn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 87.

crucible of everyday life where the BPT is active, and this brings the believer into proximity with minorities who are oppressed and crying out for racial justice, peace and wholeness where there is none. King envisioned wholeness in this way:

The gospel at its best deals with the whole man, not only his soul but his body, not only his spiritual well-being, but his material well-being. Any religion that professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them and the social conditions that cripple them is a spiritually moribund religion awaiting burial.³⁸²

I would add that the cries of minority groups who are situated on the underside of scripts of superiority often remain unheard.

One way the enslaved African Americans went about making their voice heard was by becoming literate and educated.³⁸³ As the enslaved people of African descent became Christians in America they were transformed by their newfound faith. Some newly converted African Americans gradually learned to read and write, and as they gained literacy and critical thinking skills, these abilities became formative in their critique of the dominant social order and in their re-interpretation of the religion of their so-called white Christian enslavers. Their reinterpretation of the Christian faith was a result of their own particular reflection of the relationship they had with God.³⁸⁴ For this reason, I agree with Emerson B. Powery and Rodney S. Sadler Jr.'s assessment that as the enslaved African Americans realised the importance of faith in God and the benefit of education, it resulted in them being able to produce autobiographical narratives of their enslavement that refuted proslavery readings of the Bible.³⁸⁵ For example, as

³⁸² Martin Luther King Jr., 'Pilgrimage to Nonviolence', in *A Testament of Hope*, pp. 37-38.

³⁸³ Powery and Sadler, Jr. documented that enslaved African Americans sought to overcome their condition and resist their enslavers through the mastery of letters. Emerson B. Powery and Rodney S. Sadler Jr., *The Genesis of Liberation: Biblical Narratives in the Antebellum Narratives of the Enslaved* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2016), p. 38.

³⁸⁴ Powery and Sadler Jr., *The Genesis of Liberation*, pp. 39-40; Peter J. Paris, 'The Theologies of Black Folk in North America', in *African American Theological Ethics: A Reader* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2015), p. 292; Stewart, III, *Soul Survivors*, pp. 22-23.

³⁸⁵ Powery and Sadler Jr., pp. 34-39, 52-53.

Powery and Sadler Jr. point out, the Bible was no longer a book that talked exclusively to white Christians, while remaining silent to enslaved African American believers.³⁸⁶

Instead, they argue:

Literacy, for many authors of the slave narratives, meant the beginning of basic freedom. Biblical literacy, and the ability to “talk back” to the talking book, meant the beginning of the deconstruction of a hermeneutical ideology that had dehumanised black identity and black humanity. Biblical literacy meant facility with the hermeneutical exchange to claim one’s reorientation and revisioning of a new humanity before God.³⁸⁷

The combination of faith and literacy gave people of African descent the possibility of a new start.

As the African Americans transitioned from slavocracy to emancipation, their developing literacy skills helped liberate them to read the Bible critically from their own particular social location on the underside of the dominant racial script. Eventually, this enabled them to discern the disorder inherent in a society pervaded by a pseudo-vision that denied them racial justice and the experience of interracial harmony and human wholeness. This is why I am persuaded that Albert J. Raboteau has correctly characterised the BPT because he has understood that ‘Black protest didn’t create disorder, instead it revealed disorder already present in American society, lying just below the surface’.³⁸⁸ The BPT is problematic in this social order because its antiracism exposes the disorder that perpetuates racism in church and society by detecting and marking the invisibility of whiteness as a false norm that needs to be made visible and

³⁸⁶ Powery and Sadler Jr., pp. 34-40, 52-55. For the enslaved African Americans, the silence of the “talking book” created a further sense of inferiority compared to their white enslavers who heard the sacred book speak to them.

³⁸⁷ Powery and Sadler Jr., p. 60. Prior to becoming literate, enslaved African Americans encountered the printed Scriptural text as an inaudible written document full of silent pages. However, when they encountered the Word of God in the oral tradition of preaching and the Negro Spiritual, the Bible became a “Talking Book”! Once they learned to read and write, the book continued to talk to them. Allen D. Callahan, *The Talking Book: African Americans and the Bible* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 12-14, 20.

³⁸⁸ Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones*, p. 68.

counteracted because of its othering of people in minority groups. Howard Thurman has referred to these minority groups as the “disinherited”.³⁸⁹ As I read Thurman, the disinherited simply want to be free from the white gaze, the hegemonic values and power structures of an in-group that benefits from the privileges of a pro-white social order that nullifies the God-given potentiality of non-white outsiders and makes human dignity and wholeness redundant for them.³⁹⁰ Now that I have introduced the BPT, I will turn my attention to Selma as a nexus for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the BPT.

3.2 Selma as a Nexus for Dialogical Attunement

The city of Selma is a nexus in redemptive history where dialogical attunement occurred between the SDA Church and the BPT. The 1960s may be described as a period of time when American society was going through a phase of transformation, and the civil rights movement was at the forefront of this social change.³⁹¹ At the time, the infamously named Edmund Pettus Bridge became the locus for a confrontation between the BPT and white supremacy.³⁹² As the non-violent civil rights protesters marched towards their destination, sheriff Jim Clark and his Alabama state troopers opposed them. The opposition had been sent by Governor George Wallace to enforce his ban on the march from Selma to Montgomery. Gradually, as this historical event

³⁸⁹ Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited*, pp. 1, 3.

³⁹⁰ Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited*, pp. 11-12.

³⁹¹ Cheryl Bond Nelms, ‘Boycotts, Movements and Marches: Events that Initiated Change in the Civil Rights Movement’, *Politics and Society* (2018), 2, 7 <<https://www.aarp.org/politics-society/history/info-2018/civil-rights-events-fd.html>> [accessed 28 July 2020].

³⁹² The historic bridge in Selma is named after Edmund Pettus, a U.S. Senator, Confederate General and Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. See Jim Wallis, *America’s Original Sin: Racism, White Privilege, and the Bridge to a New America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2016), p. 190; according to John Giggie an Alabama historian, the name Edmund Pettus was placed on the bridge in order to represent the South’s vision of Selma as a stronghold of white supremacy. Melanie Peeples, ‘The Racist History Behind the Iconic Selma Bridge’, *Code Switch*, NPR, 5 March 2015; on the 50th Anniversary of the Selma march to Montgomery, the activist group Students Unite campaigned for the removal of the name Edmund Pettus from the bridge because of its affiliation to white supremacy. See Jenée Desmond-Harris, ‘Inside the Fight to Strip a KKK Leader’s Name from Selma’s Edmund Pettus Bridge’, (2015), 1-4 <<https://www.vox.com/2015/3/7/8164801/selma-edmund-pettus-bridge-kkk>> [accessed 20 April 2020].

unfolded in public, the American President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) recognised the importance of the protesters' role as a catalyst for social change. The President made this insightful comment on the situation when he said: "at times, history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom".³⁹³

In contrast to the President's insightful comment, the Alabama state troopers did not recognise the importance of the protests. So on '7 March 1965' the state troopers unleashed an unforgettable frenzy of racially inspired violence upon the non-violent protesters in what is now remembered as Bloody Sunday.³⁹⁴ The state troopers in combination with Alabama's law enforcement officers and 'innumerable white vigilante ruffians', 'produced one of the most tragic depictions of white racism ever captured on film. In this tumultuous scene, black and white demonstrators were beaten brutally without mercy. However, the cameras of the media allowed the entire nation and the world at large to become eyewitnesses to this hideous spectacle'.³⁹⁵

In the case of the first march from Selma to Montgomery, the state troopers on horseback and on foot were weaponised not only with racial hatred, but they wielded their violent terror through the use of Billy clubs, bullwhips, tear gas, vicious dogs and the panic of stampeding protesters who fell in fear to the ground, wounded as they were chased by men who were supposed to protect their civil rights.³⁹⁶ This level of violence was not anticipated by the organisers of the march or by the general public who watched events unfold in real-time as it was televised. Alexis C. Madrigal, 'When the Revolution Was Televised', is helpful for understanding the media's involvement in these events.

³⁹³ Coretta Scott King, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), p. 277.

³⁹⁴ Bond Nelms, 'Boycotts, Movements and Marches', 7.

³⁹⁵ King, Jr., 'Behind the Selma March', in *A Testament of Hope*, pp. 126, 129.

³⁹⁶ King, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.*, pp. 273-74; Ed Guthero, 'The Bridge', *Liberty* (2020), pp. 1-7 <<https://www.libertymagazine.org/article/the-bridge>> [accessed 11 August 2021].

As I read Madrigal, there appear to be three dimensions of the coverage by the media at Selma. Firstly, the American nation and the world were confronted with a made for TV moral drama. This dramatisation projected the oppressor and the oppressed to the American and global public. At the time, Dr King commented on the combination of protest and the medium of television as a means to expose the invisibility of whiteness and dramatise the evil of racism, he said “we are here to say to the white men that we no longer will let them use clubs on us in the dark corners, we’re going to make them do it in the glaring light of television”³⁹⁷.

Secondly, whenever the subject was the civil rights movement, and the journalists were northerners; television reporting became the enemy for the Southern white supremacists. The Southern audiences exhibited white fragility because they did not want to hear or see news about Black protest. To the people living in the South, the three national TV Networks were described as ‘the Nigger Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Communist Broadcasting System (CBS), or the Asshole Broadcasting Company (ABC)’³⁹⁸.

Thirdly, whites controlled the nation’s media, so they had the power to craft a script that suited the appetite of their consumers. They would either provide white journalists to speak on behalf of the oppressed African Americans or they would select a respectful spokesperson like Dr King from the Negro community.³⁹⁹ After the events of Bloody Sunday, two more marches took place from Selma to Montgomery. The

³⁹⁷ Alexis C. Madrigal, ‘When the Revolution Was Televised’, *The Atlantic* (2018), 9 <<https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2018/04/televisions-civil-rights-revolution/554639/>> [accessed 28 July 2020].

³⁹⁸ Madrigal, ‘When the Revolution Was Televised’, 10-11, 14; for a more in-depth discussion of the term white fragility, see Robin DiAngelo’s book entitled *White Fragility*.

³⁹⁹ Madrigal, ‘When the Revolution Was Televised’, 20-22.

organisers of these subsequent marches were helped by television and other media to put a call out to religious people and people of good will to join the protest.⁴⁰⁰

In my analysis of this historical event at Selma, I contend that when the organisers of the civil rights movement put out a call for religious people and people of good will to join their protest, they created an opportunity for a response from anyone willing to engage in dialogical attunement with the BPT. This call drew the respondents to the nexus of Selma where they could participate in public life as responsible moral agents in an antiracist struggle against white supremacy and the racial hatred that continued to be perpetuated in America. Moreover, Selma became a nexus for transformation, peace-making, racial harmony and “beloved community”.⁴⁰¹

The call made to religious people and people of good will to join the tradition of Black protest was made on behalf of those who cry out for racial justice and peace. However, it was also a prophetic call to responsible action and public witness, reminiscent of the prophetic fore-telling and forth-telling that the Adventist pioneers engaged in when they identified the American Republic as the two-horned beast of John’s apocalypse. In a similar way, the BPT sought to expose America’s schizophrenic characteristics which oscillated between its promise of lamb-like democratic goods, and its breaking of that promise in its dragon-like acts of racial hatred evident in white domestic terrorism aimed at African Americans and other American people of colour.

One way to theologically understand the racial strife that took place at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma is to use a typological lens. I am naming this lens the

⁴⁰⁰ King, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.*, pp. 274-75.

⁴⁰¹ The organisers of the civil rights movement for the African American right to vote were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) led by Dr Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis and the Reverend Hosea Williams. King Jr., ‘Behind the Selma March’, in *A Testament of Hope*, p. 130; King Jr., ‘Our God is Marching On’, in *A Testament of Hope*, p. 228; King, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.*, p. 275; Walter Earl Fluker, ‘They Looked for a City: A Comparison of the Idea of Community in Howard Thurman and Martin Luther King, Jr.’, *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 18 (1990), 38-40.

Moses generation.⁴⁰² This typological lens (hermeneutical perspective) enables me to pose the question: how can SDAs participate in the Moses generation in order to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness? Moreover, the lens provides a viewpoint from which to re-narrate SDAs' theology of history in relation to the Adventist story as it intersects with the American racial story. Also, the lens provides a theological and literary technique for traversing between the biblical world (especially as it is narrated in the books of the Exodus and Joshua) and the contemporary world, while merging stories and characters together in a theology of history that operates in a universe that is not closed, but open to God's providential and redemptive acts of shalom.

3.3 The Moses Generation

Now that I have introduced the Moses generation, I will use this typological lens to reinterpret the struggle at Selma as two contesting narratives of the Exodus tradition. This contestation happens when particular ethnic groups use varying sources to construct their theology and ethics, and this particular use of sources results in divergent readings of the Exodus tradition.⁴⁰³ So, in one way it is possible to reinterpret the Exodus narrative from above, according to a perspective that incorporates a racial-religious myth of exceptionalism.⁴⁰⁴ In this particular reinterpretation it is possible for an ethnic group to use biblical typology as a means to convey a vision of themselves as the covenant people, chosen and blessed by God to receive the New Israel, the Land of

⁴⁰² The biblical Moses generation is the type and the post-canonical Moses generation is the antitype. The post-canonical generation includes the BPT and Adventist participants who lived between the periods of slavery to the civil rights era of the 1960s.

⁴⁰³ David G. Holmes argues that "statist" is one terminology for describing the Exodus narrative. This means the form of the narrative has Eurocentric roots. In contrast, "nonstatist" is a narrative form with Africentric roots. See David G. Holmes, *Where the Sacred and the Secular Harmonize: Birmingham Mass Meeting Rhetoric and the Prophetic Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2017), p. 143. Google ebook.

⁴⁰⁴ Douglas, *Stand Your Ground*, pp. 12-16.

Promise, liberty and prosperity.⁴⁰⁵ In this contested reinterpretation it is possible to identify white supremacy and white privilege in a way that is characteristic of the pro-white virtues and values on display at the centre of Constantino Brumidi's fresco the 'Apotheosis of Washington'.

Another way to reinterpret the Exodus narrative is from below; this is the Afro-Christian approach to the narrative.⁴⁰⁶ African Americans envisioned God as their liberator from the bondage of their oppressors in an American struggle that corresponded typologically to the struggle of the enslaved Hebrew people (the Moses generation) in Pharaoh's Egyptian empire.⁴⁰⁷ In a similar way at Selma, the struggle at the Edmund Pettus Bridge was between two opposing groups: one the oppressor and the other the oppressed. One group pursued an antiracist agenda, and the other group pursued a white supremacist agenda. Speaking to this problem of contestation and struggle in the Exodus narrative, Walter Brueggemann argues:

The contest in the book of Exodus (and thereafter), moreover, is not on level ground. In that narrative and everywhere, the dominant narrative (in this case the narrative of Pharaoh) has the upper hand, enjoying public legitimacy, liturgical reinforcement, and technological superiority. Thus Israel's narrative is characteristically told "from below," at a disadvantage, mostly by the socially disadvantaged, so that it appears to be 'weak and foolish' in the eyes of the world.⁴⁰⁸

According to Brueggemann the dominant narrative is told from a position of superiority and power, so its social location is above. However, it is a representation of reality that must be sustained as the norm in order to preserve its hegemony. This does not leave

⁴⁰⁵ Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 40-42; Sacvan Bercovitch, 'Rhetoric as Authority: Puritanism, the Bible, and the Myth of America', *Social Science Information*, 21 (1982), 5-17 (pp. 7-12).

⁴⁰⁶ This hermeneutical approach is not exclusive to Afro-Christianity.

⁴⁰⁷ Raboteau, *Canaan Land*, pp. 40-41, 44-45; Robert Allen Warrior has argued that the Exodus as an exemplary narrative of liberation, may not be plausible for all American people of colour, especially Native American people. See Robert Allen Warrior, 'Canaanites, Cowboys, and Indians: Deliverance, Conquest, and Liberation Theology Today', *Christianity in Crisis* (1989), 21-26 <[https:// www.rmselfca.org/sites/rmselfca.org/files/ media/canaanites_cowboys_and_indians.pdf](https://www.rmselfca.org/sites/rmselfca.org/files/media/canaanites_cowboys_and_indians.pdf)> [accessed 17 May 2020].

⁴⁰⁸ Brueggemann, *The Practice of Prophetic Imagination*, p. 14.

any scope for competing narratives that emerge from alternative social locations beyond what is considered to be the norm. In fact, alternative narratives must not compete; instead, they should be subservient and acquiescent to the dominant norm.

Conversely, as Brueggemann has implied, a narrative told “from below,” conveys a representation of reality that is counter to the one told from above, instead it contests the dominant narrative requiring it to change the status quo in order to envision reality from the underside of the dominant narrative. When this happens, the narrative is utilised as a counter-script to scripts of superiority. In my interpretation of scripts they are not determined, instead, they transform the narrative form into a dialogic framework that generates a counter-vision that can be communicated and performed in the lives of people of faith and people of good will in their opposition to the pseudo-vision.

Albert J. Raboteau and George Yancy concur with Brueggemann’s observation about contested narratives. For example, Raboteau argues that in such cases of contestation a counter-script must be created in opposition to the dominant narrative.⁴⁰⁹ Likewise, George Yancy uses a similar term “flipping the script”. For him, it means, ‘a way of changing an outcome by reversing the terms of the script of those who reap the benefits of white privilege [he] says, “I see you for what and who you are!”’ In other words, Yancy implies there is no place to hide; therefore the invisibility factor is gone.⁴¹⁰ Yancy argues “flipping the script” makes visible ‘the social world of white

⁴⁰⁹ Albert J. Raboteau, *American Prophets: Seven Religious Radicals & Their Struggle for Social and Political Justice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. xvi; Chris Hedges, *On American Prophets with Professor Albert Raboteau*, online video recording, YouTube, 15 May 2017 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAHgpM_HwMU> [accessed 23 April 2020]; Natalia Molina, ‘Racial Scripts and Counterscripts’, <<https://www.ucpress.edu/blog/19297/racial-scripts-and-counterscripts/>> [accessed 8 November 2020]; Kelly Llaguno Y. Velarde, ‘Negative Scripts, Racism and its Effects on Black Identity Construction’, *Academic Festival*, 59 (2018), 1-2 <<https://digitalcommons.sacredheart.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1189&context=acadfest>> [accessed 16 March 2022]. Velarde argues that racist scripts that tell Black people they are inferior to whites are internalised from a young age. In the previous chapter of this thesis, my own story of being accused of shoplifting at the age of twelve supports Llaguno’s theory.

⁴¹⁰ Yancy, *Look a White!*, p. 5.

normativity and white meaning-making that creates the conditions under which Black people are always already marked as different/deviant /dangerous'.⁴¹¹ It also offers a strategy for constructing a counter-vision of reality that is not subservient or conforming to the dominant racial script. As I interpret them, counter-scripts or flipped scripts are not entirely identical, but they are a means to the same end because they both focus their attention on the narrative from below, and this is the social location where dialogical attunement occurs. At Selma, the SDAs who were dialogically attuned to the BPT's antiracist struggle, directed their vision of wholeness towards the cries for racial justice and peace as they encountered them from below; by doing this, they chose to be responsible participants in the Moses generation instead of bystanders or perpetrators in the dominant racial script of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.

At this point in the chapter, I have utilised typology as a lens to convey an interracial struggle at Selma that involves two contested narratives of the Exodus; one narrative is told from above and the other from below. The former promotes racial disharmony and a trajectory towards chaos, the latter racial harmony and a trajectory towards wholeness and shalomic community. In sum, the Moses generation provides a theological lens that enables SDAs to pursue a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness by participating responsibly in a counter-visionary struggle that corresponds to the Exodus struggle, while contesting and rejecting the norm of contemporary white American racial superiority and exceptionalism.

To advance my argument for a dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the BPT, I will draw upon historical sources from Adventism's heritage that recount SDA participation at Selma. According to Bill Knott the former editor of the *Adventist*

⁴¹¹ Yancy, *Look a White!*, p. 4.

Review, four friends associated with Pacific Union College (PUC) had been exposed to segregation at this Adventist educational institution.⁴¹² Their names were Paul Cobb, Will Battles, Fernando Canales and Milton Hare. The ethnic identity of the first two men was African American, the third Hispanic and the fourth white American.

Even though the four PUC friends had experienced segregation at an Adventist Christian college, they flipped the dominant script at the college by intermingling freely in interracial relationships with students from diverse ethnic backgrounds and gender.⁴¹³ Their engagement in these exemplary acts eventually put them on a trajectory towards large-scaled antiracist, counter-visionary activism at the frontline of the march from Selma to Montgomery.⁴¹⁴ As I interpret their situation, the four friends were Adventist outliers who refused to submit to the dominant racial script of de jure and de facto segregation in church and society.

Knott records that after the four friends heard the news of the violent assault on the protesters on Bloody Sunday, they were disturbed and motivated enough to acquire media passes from a local newspaper publisher and this allowed them to obtain journalistic coverage of the final march from Selma to Montgomery.⁴¹⁵ Based on Knott's narrative, I would argue that the past experiences of dialogical attunement in the lives of the four Adventist friends from PUC drew them to Selma.⁴¹⁶ The friends were all open to achieving a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness by synergistic interaction with the BPT, in order to attend to the cries for racial justice and peace

⁴¹² The *Adventist Review* is a global magazine published by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Pacific Union College is located in Angwin, California.

⁴¹³ Bill Knott, 'A Journey and a March: Forty Years Ago These Adventists Put Their Faith on the Front Line of the Civil Rights Movement', *Adventist Review* (2005), 1-3 <<https://www.Adventistreview.org/archives/2005-1521/story1.html>> [accessed April 16 2020].

⁴¹⁴ Bill Knott, 'A Journey and a March', 1-2.

⁴¹⁵ Bill Knott, 'A Journey and a March', 3-4.

⁴¹⁶ Bill Knott, 'A Journey and a March', 1.

coming from American people of colour who were suffering from racial injustice on the underside of scripts of superiority.

According to Knott, as the four friends travelled to Selma, they made a stop off at Oakwood College. The journey by car from PUC to Oakwood took them approximately 44 hours to cover 2,300 miles.⁴¹⁷ When they arrived in Hunstville, Alabama, they discerned that PUC and Oakwood were conforming to the racial divisions caused by Jim and Jane Crow segregation in the South. In fact, Seventh-day Adventists were forbidden from getting involved in any disruption to the status quo of Southern life. At the time, this policy of non-interference in matters of racial justice and socio-political change was the position held by the leadership of the SDA Church and the leading administrators of the two SDA colleges.⁴¹⁸

In general, why did the SDA leaders and college administrators miss this opportunity for their students to engage in dialogical attunement with the BPT? Apart from the fear of white backlash, Holly Fisher provides some theological reasons for Oakwood's adherence to the dominant racial script at that time. In her essay entitled 'Oakwood College Students' Quest for Social Justice Before and During the Civil Rights Era', she informs her readers that in the 1930s and in the 1960s a number of Oakwood students engaged in various forms of protest against 'discriminatory

⁴¹⁷ Bill Knott, 'A Journey and a March', 1, 4.

⁴¹⁸ Bill Knott, 'A Journey and a March', 3-4, 7; London Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, p. 110; Holly Fisher, 'Oakwood College Students' Quest for Social Justice Before and During the Civil Rights Era', in *The Journal of African American History*, 88 (2003), 110-125 (p.119); in 2008, at a PUC Colloquy program to honour Martin Luther King Jr., the administration of PUC made a formal apology 'for racial inequities in the college's past. "Today we officially apologise to the many African-American students and other ethnic groups who have attended PUC for our actions which hurt these students, either overtly, officially, or more subtly, and pledge that we will continue in our efforts to make sure that we model the values of an inclusive community," said President Richard Osborn on behalf of the administrative council'. Furthermore, at the Colloquy, Bill Knott expressed his disappointment that stories such as the one about the PUC students seem to go unheard in the Adventist Church. Unfortunately, it took him forty years to discover this particular story. See Julie Z. Lee, 'College Remembrance for Dr King Includes Official Apology', *Pacific Union College* (2008), 2 <<https://www.puc.edu/news/archives/2008/college-remembrance-for-dr.-king-includes-official-apology>> [accessed 6 May 2020].

practices' taking place on campus'.⁴¹⁹ However, many of them experienced a type of double consciousness that pitted their Adventist conservative theological beliefs against their awakening to Black consciousness, Black liberation, and the tradition of Black protest present in the zeitgeist of the 1960s.⁴²⁰ In her essay, Fisher expounds upon this dilemma by identifying four conservative guiding beliefs that informed the Adventist theological and ethical responses of the Oakwood students to the racial problem in Alabama and other parts of America. The four beliefs were, 'apocalyptic historical eschatology, sectarian ecclesiology, radical deterministic doctrine of God, and the "free-will" image of man'.⁴²¹ Conversely, she turned to the Black liberation theology of James Cone to explain the Black experience of the students' dilemma.

In my analysis of the problem, this sense of conflict between the Oakwood students' conservative theological beliefs and their burgeoning Black consciousness, provided them with an either/or dilemma that failed to reconcile their faith and ethnic identities. In this case, I am arguing that the SDA vision of wholeness had been rendered practically weak and ineffective by the pervasive reproduction of the pseudo-vision in church and society. For this reason, when it came to confronting the racial divisions of America in the 1960s, some SDAs experienced an identity crisis that left them subjected to a black/white dichotomy in Adventism that to some degree still

⁴¹⁹ Fisher provides anecdotal evidence of a former student who claims that in the 1930s, 'students called the practice of "separating the races" on campus "an overseer plantation relationship"'. Fisher, 'Oakwood College Students' Quest for Social Justice Before and During the Civil Rights Era', 110, 114.

⁴²⁰ Fisher, 'Oakwood College Students' Quest for Social Justice Before and During the Civil Rights Era', 112-13, 119.

⁴²¹ In sum, these conservative guiding beliefs were inherited from the Millerite movement. The four beliefs inform SDAs that the end of the world is imminent, and its fate depends solely on the saving intervention of God in history. The Lord alone will resolve all the injustices of the world, but in the meantime all the church needs to do is focus on spreading the gospel, while keeping itself uncontaminated and separate in the private realm rather than the public. These guiding beliefs obscure the differences between political action and moral responsibility. See Fisher, 'Oakwood College Students' Quest for Social Justice Before and During the Civil Rights Era', 112-13; Calvin B. Rock, 'The Church and Society', *Bible Research Institute* (2020), 5-9 <<https://www.adventistbiblicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/ChurchSociety.pdf>> [accessed 20 March 2022]; London Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 66-71.

persists in the USA and other parts of the world.⁴²² In the ‘webbed network’ of ‘the black Atlantic world’, racial division and disharmonious relationships of any kind between human beings is a hindrance to the SDA pursuit of a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness.⁴²³ This is why the participation of the PUC students and others who were present at Selma is significant because their faith stories provide an insight into what a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness might be as it is lived out as a theological ethic that is counter-visionary to the pseudo-vision.

The PUC Adventists who were present at Selma were convicted that the pseudo-vision could not dissuade them from acting responsibly by participating in the frontline of the final march to Montgomery. They participated alongside several others from Oakwood who decided to “flip the script” by joining the protest, while practicing non-conformity to the church’s policy of non-interference in racial conflict.⁴²⁴ Like their fellow protesters, I imagine they sang with conviction the freedom song, “We ain’t goin let no body turn us around.”⁴²⁵ Unfortunately at Selma, the Alabama state and many of its citizenry were complicit in a legacy of racial hatred that divided society rather than reconcile it. In order to maintain the invisibility of whiteness as the norm, they were

⁴²² Winsley B. Hector, *Racial Reconciliation and Privilege: The Debate Within the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Claremont, CA: Claremont Press, 2017), pp. 81-114.

⁴²³ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 29. For an example of the Black British and Afro-Caribbean diaspora of Seventh-day Adventists in ‘the webbed network of ‘the black Atlantic world’, see Ciro Sepulveda, *On the Margins of Empires: A History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Huntsville, AL: Oakwood College Press, 2007), pp. 234, 387-96.

⁴²⁴ Bill Knott, ‘A Journey and a March’, 5-6; Stephen T. Porter, ‘The Mighty Walk’, *Liberty* (2013), 3 <<http://libertymagazine.org/article/the-mighty-walk>> [accessed April 16 2020]; Roy Branson, a Loma Linda SDA theologian, ethicist and social activist, was a participant in the marches at Selma. James Ponder, ‘In Memoriam: Roy Branson’, *Today* (2015), 2 <<https://myllu.llu.edu/newsoftheweek/story/?id=22439>> [accessed 6 May 2020]; also see Richard Bland’s testimony of his experience at Selma, *Richard Bland Talks About Selma*, online video recording, YouTube, 17 March 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-NcqP0pdx7Q>> [accessed May 24 2020].

⁴²⁵ King Jr., ‘Our God is Marching On’, in *A Testament of Hope*, p. 227. Freedom songs often involved improvisation. For example, in the civil rights mass meeting rallies, two third graders Sheyaan Webb and Rachel West, recall leading out in the singing of freedom songs. They state, they would improvise with the older folk singing “Ain’t gonna let George Wallace turn me around/ I’ll keep on walking’, I’ll keep on walking’, /marching to freedom land”. See Robert Darden, ‘Selma, January 1965’, *Nothing but Love in God’s Water: Black Sacred Music from Sit-ins to Resurrection City*, 2 vols (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2016), [n.p.], Google ebook.

willing to employ any means necessary to preserve the racial hierarchy of a pro-white social order. In contrast, the SDAs present at the march recognised this script of superiority as a false one, a powerful lie opposed to the truth.⁴²⁶ In my assessment, their presence at Selma affirmed Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dictum that “no lie can live forever”.⁴²⁷

So, what did the Adventists who participated in the Selma to Montgomery march bring to it as participants in a post-canonical Moses generation? These Adventists realised that if they were going to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness, they had to be willing to test the vision in the crucible of the *sitz im leben* of the Black protest tradition.⁴²⁸ This meant they could not default to a private or silent ecclesial sectarianism; instead they had a moral obligation to engage in an antiracist, counter-visionary struggle from “below” as opposed to “above”.⁴²⁹ This required the SDAs present at Selma to find congruence between their theological identity, vocation and ethics, in order to strike a balance between their prophetic fore-telling and forth-telling. By establishing this balance, they would be able to resist the evil of racial injustice that was perpetuated in an antitypical Exodus struggle in the final epoch of redemptive history.⁴³⁰

Although the Adventists and the other non-violent civil rights protesters managed to literally cross the bridge leading from Selma to Montgomery, the Adventists knew that their journey towards achieving a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness was not yet over; instead something better was still to be achieved by

⁴²⁶ Brueggemann, *Speaking Truth to Power*, pp. 27-28.

⁴²⁷ King Jr., ‘Our God is Marching On’, p. 230.

⁴²⁸ Paris, *The Social Teaching of the Black Churches*, pp. 3-4, 11.

⁴²⁹ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1954), p. 17. Here, Bonhoeffer like Martin Luther King Jr., advocated that Christians must follow Jesus into the world, rather than remain in seclusion from it.

⁴³⁰ Martin Luther King, Jr. *Strength to Love*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), pp. 80-83.

subsequent generations.⁴³¹ For now, the invisibility of whiteness had been made visible and the perpetuation of racism temporarily halted in the victory of the final historic march to Montgomery, but the dominant racial script was still not yet fully overturned. This task would need to be taken up by succeeding generations.

3.4 Recounting the Story of Selma for a Constructive SDA Theological Ethic

In this chapter, I identified Selma as a nexus for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition. For dialogical attunement to occur at Selma, I identified this historical city as the focal point for the Adventist story as it intersects with the story of race relations in America. These two intersecting stories exist within the broader scope of my re-narration of SDA's theology of history.⁴³²

To further my theological re-narration of the fifth epoch in Adventism's theology of history, I employed a typological lens that enabled me to perceive correspondences between the world of the biblical canon and the post-canonical world of contemporary life. I appropriated Barack Obama's typological use of the term the Moses generation in order to depict God's people in the Exodus as a prefiguration of God's people during the period of slavery through to the civil rights era. As I have documented, it was during the civil rights era that a historic interracial struggle occurred at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. As part of my re-narration of this particular struggle, I used a theological lens that I have called a typology from "below", as opposed to "above". Here, "above" represents the social location or viewpoint of the

⁴³¹ Hebrews 11:23-40, 12:1. Calvin Rock, 'A Better Way' *Spectrum* (1970), 21-30 <<http://www.blacksdahistory.org/files/40119009.pdf>> [accessed 22 April 2020].

⁴³² In my previous chapter, I followed Ellen G. White's articulation of this theology of history or prophetic timeline, by dividing it into five epochs. In my own re-narration of the significance of America in the fifth epoch (The Great Controversy period), I divided this last epoch into three historical periods: the antebellum, the American Civil War and the postbellum era. In this chapter, I go a step further by identifying Selma as a nexus or focal point for dialogical attunement in the postbellum era.

dominant group that promotes a racial script of superiority and white Euro-American exceptionalism, whereas “below” represents the viewpoint of the other, or non-white minority groups that have been marginalised on the underside of hegemonic power, just as the Hebrew people were in Egypt and the African Americans were at Selma.

Next, I made the distinction between Black religion in general and Afro-Christianity as a point of origin for the Black protest tradition. I focused on Afro-Christianity and the Black Church as the progenitor of the BPT. Furthermore, I examined the relational components of the term BPT, its compatibility with the gospel and Christian belief, in addition to the legitimacy of the term within the discourse of Black theology and African American religious history. I found that the term in one form or another is relevant to Black SDA Christians and Black non-SDA Christians.

In contrast to the Christianity of the white enslavers, the BPT was formed as an alternative to the cruelty and inhumanity of the white enslaver’s religion. The combination of faith and learning among enslaved African Americans empowered them to become literate and skilled in critical thinking and this resulted in them re-envisioning and translating their own circumstances and the teachings of Scripture through a survival, resistance and liberation hermeneutic that was counter-visionary to the institution of chattel slavery.⁴³³ For enslaved African Americans, the Bible became a catalyst for re-imagining their social world, and it empowered them to become agents of freedom and inheritors of a tradition of antiracist protest opposed to a social order that sought to dehumanise and other them as racially inferior to white people.⁴³⁴

⁴³³ Stewart, III, *Soul Survivors*, pp. 20-25; Powery and Sadler, Jr. *The Genesis of Liberation*, p. 39; Paris, *The Social Teaching of the Black Churches*, p. 5.

⁴³⁴ Peter J. Paris states that when African Americans re-imagined the racialised social order that surrounded them, they created the Black Church as a surrogate world for their own independence, self-determination and belonging. Also, the Black Church had a political significance because it functioned like ‘a nation within a nation’ that served the whole community of black and brown people. Paris, *The Social Teaching of the Black Churches*, pp. 5-7.

In my re-narration of this part of SDA's theology of history, I focused on the Adventist story and America's racial story as they converged in the racial confrontation and transformation that took place during the three marches that began in Selma and ended in Montgomery, Alabama. This historical event is a part of Adventism's heritage because a number of Adventists became involved in the interracial struggle that took place at Selma. The SDAs who were involved there were dialogically attuned to the BPT, and this caused them to direct their vision of wholeness towards the cries for racial justice and peace at Selma. They knew that if a fuller realisation of the vision of wholeness was to be achieved then their way of seeing, being and acting responsibly in the world must be part of the solution for exposing, contesting and overturning scripts of superiority that dominate church and society. So, in this chapter I made the argument that a counter-script or a flipped script provides a solution to racial scripts of superiority because they change the terms of the dominant racial script by focusing attention away from the social location of "above" to "below". Below or the underside, is where dialogical attunement occurs between the SDA Church and the BPT. A counter-script or flipped script that is oriented towards antiracism provides a dialogic framework for the construction of a theological ethic that is counter-visionary to the pseudo-vision.

In conclusion, I am arguing that dialogical attunement ought to be central to the construction of a Seventh-day Adventist theological ethic that is counter-visionary to the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. Even though Seventh-day Adventists have a strong heritage of pursuing wholeness in certain contexts, their theology and ethics in the past has often remained unattuned to the racial struggle that exists within America and beyond its national borders. By focusing on the interracial struggle at Selma, I have provided a focal point for Adventists to rediscover within their heritage an example of dialogical attunement that has an antiracist tradition

that began not in the slave-holding social order of white American racial superiority, but in a counter-visionary collaboration with Afro-American Christianity.

In this chapter, another move I made towards the construction of a theological ethic was to employ typology as a lens through which to identify correspondences between the struggle God's people (the ancient Moses generation) were involved in during the Exodus that prefigured the struggle God's people (the contemporary Moses generation) were involved in at Selma. Some SDAs were participants of this latter-day struggle, where Selma provided an entry point into the historic conflict that took place at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. On one side of the bridge were the state troopers who were there to protect and preserve the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. They correspond with Pharaoh and his armies who are figures in a typology from above. However, at the opposite end of the bridge were religious people and people of good will and they were dialogically attuned to the BPT. This group correspond with the marginalised Hebrew people in the Exodus narrative, so they are re-presentations of these figures in a typology from below.

Also, in the process of constructing a theological ethic, I conveyed that Selma as a nexus has no neutral ground because the participants that were involved there were either on one side of the struggle or they were on the other side. For Adventists who were not physically present, a side was still taken. So, in this nexus in time, SDAs could be dialogically attuned or unattuned to the cries for racial justice and shalomic peace in America. Unfortunately, at this particular time in postbellum America, the SDA Church conformed to the socio-cultural construction of Jim and Jane Crow segregation, and this divided the church according to the colour line. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, this racial dichotomy or dualism was problematic, especially among SDA members who could not embody their pursuit of a fuller realisation of a vision of wholeness or enact it

in their everyday experience because the leaders of the church at the time required them to opt for remaining subservient to the dominant script of Egypt, rather than pursue a counter-vision of God's shalom in the Promised Land. To make this transition, the Moses generation typology is one step in constructing a theological ethic for achieving a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness, however the next step in the construction is the Joshua generation typology.

Chapter 4:

The Joshua Generation

In this chapter I resume my re-narration of SDA's theology of history by moving beyond Selma in the twentieth century to Selma in the twenty-first century. By focusing on the twenty-first century, I make the transition from the Moses generation (Slavery to the civil rights era) to the Joshua generation (Late civil rights era to Barack Obama's presidency and beyond).⁴³⁵ As a result of making this transition, it is possible to continue my investigation into how the Adventist story intersects with America's racial story across different generations. To facilitate this investigation, I ask the question how might SDAs participate in the Joshua generation in order to achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness?

In the twentieth century, I depicted the struggle in Selma, Alabama as a typological representation of the biblical struggle in Egypt. The interracial struggle that took place at Selma involved a post-canonical Moses generation who were the forerunners of the post-canonical Joshua generation. However, in the twenty-first century, I do not depict Selma as a typological site of struggle, rather I argue that it is a typological site of remembrance that corresponds to the biblical narrative of the Joshua generation and the stones of remembrance they took from the River Jordan as they crossed over to the Promised Land.⁴³⁶ In the biblical account of (Joshua 4.1-9) the stones were used for a memorial, so that succeeding generations could remember God's providential and redemptive acts in history and learn their significance for the

⁴³⁵ As I have mentioned in my previous chapter, the post-canonical Moses generation constitutes not only those who participated in the civil rights movement, but many of its predecessors who protested and resisted white supremacy and racism since slavery began in America. At certain times in their history Adventists were participants in the Moses generation.

⁴³⁶ The story of Joshua and his generation placing the stones of remembrance in the River Jordan can be found in Joshua chapter 4.

flourishing of God's people in the present and the future. In the twenty-first century, Barack Obama's post-canonical Joshua generation visited Selma as a place of commemoration in order to learn a similar lesson to the biblical Joshua generation that prefigured them. Later in this chapter, I will show that Barack Obama's Moses and Joshua generation typologies originate from his connection to the BPT. This connection to the BPT is present in several speeches Obama gave in the early part of the twenty-first century and in the historic visit of his generation to Selma. I will elaborate on these sources for Obama's connection to the BPT shortly.

In the case of Seventh-day Adventism, Barack Obama's historic visit to Selma as a typological site of remembrance is significant because it provides another point of entry for showing how the Adventist story intersects with America's racial story. By identifying with the Joshua generation, it becomes incumbent upon the Adventists to remember the providential and redemptive acts of God in history as well as their own religious heritage, in order to learn their significance for the present and the future.

In this chapter, I engage in a comparative analysis of typology that works in unison with dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the BPT. I make the claim that typology has been an integral hermeneutical lens for the SDA Church and the BPT. Furthermore, I aim to convey how the typological approaches of the BPT, and the SDA Church might be articulated in the development of my own typology from below. I am developing this typological lens from below, in my own re-narration of specific events and periods of SDA's theology of history. I pursue my aim in conjunction with the broader goal of achieving a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness, by constructing a theological ethic that modifies it so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision. Therefore, the Joshua generation is the next step in this process.

4.1 The Typology of Barack Obama and its Connection to the Black Protest Tradition

In this section, I identify a number of Barack Obama's speeches and the correspondence he had with two prominent African American ministers who provided him with sources for his typological approach and a connection to the BPT. During the period '2007 to 2017', Barack Obama made several speeches at the White House and influential centres of African American heritage. During that time, he spoke at Brown Chapel in Selma, Alabama, Howard University in Washington, D.C., Ebenezer Baptist Church, the former spiritual home of Martin Luther King Jr. Also, he spoke at the fiftieth Anniversary of Bloody Sunday at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, and at the White House Press Conference about Trayvon Martin's death and the acquittal of his killer George Zimmerman. Lastly, he gave the eulogy at the Reverend Clementa Pinckney's funeral at the African American Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina.⁴³⁷

I make mention of Obama's speeches because they are notable for their theological content and discourse concerning the problem of racism being perpetuated in America. I will begin with the speeches Obama gave to address some of the racial problems that exist in America, such as: the white supremacist attack of Dylan Roof on an Afro-American Christian congregation in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015; the

⁴³⁷ Barack Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemorative Speech', *American Rhetoric Online Speech Bank* (2007), 1-12 <<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobama-brownchapel.htm>> [accessed 19 May 2020]; Barack Obama, 'Remarks at the Howard University Convocation in Washington, DC', *The American Presidency Project* (2007), 1-8 <<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-howard-university-convocation-washington-dc>> [accessed 19 May 2020]; Barack Obama, 'Ebenezer Baptist Church Address', *American Rhetoric Online Speech Bank* (2008), 1-10 <<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobama-ebenezerbaptist.htm>> [accessed 19 May 2020]; Igor Bobic, 'Read the Full Transcript of Obama's Powerful Speech in Selma', *Huffpost* (2015), 1-11 <https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/obama-selma-bloody-sunday-transcript_n_6823642?ri18n=true> [accessed 14 April 2020]; James S. Brady, 'Remarks by the President on Trayvon Martin', *The White House Office of the Press Secretary* (2013), <<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/07/19/1-5-remarks-president-trayvon-martin>> [accessed 10 November 2020]; PBS NewsHour, *Watch President Obama deliver Eulogy at Rev. Pinckney's Funeral*, online video recording, YouTube, 26 June 2015 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZDXMoO9ABFE>> [accessed 8 April 2022].

racial unrest that occurred as a result of Michael Brown's death in Ferguson in 2014; the cases of inequality and injustice perpetuated by racial profiling and Stand Your Ground Laws operating throughout the US; the indifference of white America to black and brown suffering in the 2005 Hurricane Katrina crisis that happened in New Orleans; the failure of the criminal justice system in the Jena Six lynching case; unjust police brutality and mass incarceration of black and brown bodies leading to the need for police and prison reforms.⁴³⁸ All of these problems have contributed to an America that has made the invisibility of whiteness the norm in which racism is perpetuated.⁴³⁹

In the theological content of Obama's speeches, he introduces a hermeneutical lens that is familiar to his audience because it has been used in the BPT. He accomplishes this by appropriating from the BPT a typological lens through which he is able to enrol his listeners as participants in the biblical struggle of the Exodus.⁴⁴⁰ Then he repeats this method, but this time he does not use the Exodus as his primary biblical type, instead he departs from this much used African American religious paradigm by choosing Moses' successor Joshua as his corresponding biblical type. He makes this typological move in order to merge the latter figure with himself and his own

⁴³⁸ The Stand Your Ground Law provides a person with the right to defend his or her life as if it were a castle. Douglas, *Stand Your Ground*, pp. vii, xi-xiii. Also, Stand Your Ground Laws protect Americans who bear arms by removing the duty for them to retreat in a confrontation they deem to be reasonably threatening to their lives. See Andrew R. Morral and Rosanna Smart, 'Stand Your Ground Laws May Be Causing More Harm Than Good', <<https://www.rand.org/blog/2019/09/stand-your-ground-laws-increase-violence.html>> [accessed 10 November 2020].

⁴³⁹ In his book entitled the *Black Presidency*, Michael Eric Dyson has recognised similar concerns he shares with Obama, regarding the problems that perpetuate racism in American life. Michael Eric Dyson, *The Black Presidency: Barack Obama and the Politics of Race in America* (New York: Mariner Books Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2017), pp. 8, 39.

⁴⁴⁰ John M. Murphy, 'Barack Obama, the Exodus Tradition, and the Joshua Generation', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 97 (2011), 387-410 (pp. 392-93); Richard Lischer articulates how Martin Luther King, Jr. used typology as a hermeneutic to move between the world of the Bible and his own context. Richard Lischer, *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. And The Word That Moved America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 7; Keith D. Miller argues that in the Holy Scriptures, God has provided believers with a typological universe in which they can recognise themselves and other things in their world through various corresponding types. Keith D. Miller, *Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King Jr., and its Sources* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), p. 22.

contemporary twenty-first century generation.⁴⁴¹ In the original Greek the term for typology is τύπος and in Latin it is *figura*. Both terms mean: to create a hollow mould, impress from a stamp, a mark, image, icon or shape that can be replicated.⁴⁴²

In Obama's typology, the world of the Bible relates to the world of contemporary daily life because each one imitates the other much like a reflection in a mirror. In this relational context, typology acts as a vehicle for moving between the corresponding worlds of the Bible and everyday life.⁴⁴³ This statement indicates that embedded within the biblical canon are mimetic impresses in the stories, persons, institutions, places and events that may be copied or re-presented again at any point in redemptive-historical time, while finding their typological correspondence in the lives of the hearers and readers of the sacred canon.⁴⁴⁴ These typological correspondences or

⁴⁴¹ In his autobiography, Obama describes the stories of biblical types and their world, merging with the stories of post-biblical people in their own particular historical contexts. Barack Obama, *Dreams From My Father* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2007), p. 294; Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemorative Speech', 1-12; Obama, 'Remarks at the Howard University Convocation in Washington, DC', 1-8; Obama, 'Ebenezer Baptist Church Address', 1-10; Theophus H. Smith, 'Exodus' in *African American Religious Thought: An Anthology*, ed. by Cornel West and Eddie S. Glaude Jr., (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), p. 319.

⁴⁴² Richard M. Davidson, 'Typology in the Book of Hebrews', in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. by Frank B. Holbrook, 4 vols (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1989), pp. 132-33; Richard M. Davidson, 'Typology and the Levitical System – 2', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors*, 57 (1984), 10 <https://cdn.ministrymagazine.org/issues/1984/issues/MIN1984-04.pdf?_ga=2.60622509.1800658991.1651356820-1764723496.1651356819> [accessed 31 September 2021]; Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 152, 192-93. Young notes that the Latin and English translation for typology do not appear in modern usage until the 1840s. The modern application of this terminology follows the Reformers use of it to distinguish typology from allegory.

⁴⁴³ In the history of Christian typology, the understanding that the Bible as a sacred literary text mirrors or imitates the realities of history and life was a position held in antiquity by the Antiochene exegetical school, so this understanding of typology predates the BPT. See Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, pp. 175-76; the Bible or Scripture as a mirror metaphor has also been utilised by contemporary thinkers such as Søren Kierkegaard and Paul Ricoeur. Although I have not been able to obtain Paul Ricoeur's original manuscript, I am aware that he delivered a Gifford Lecture in 1986 entitled, 'The Self in the Mirror of the Scripture'. This paper was not published. See Amanda Kirstine Ford, 'The Self in the Mirror of Scriptures', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012), p. 2; Søren Kierkegaard, *For Self-Examination/Judge For Yourself: Kierkegaard's Writings*, ed and Trans. by Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong, 21 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 25-26.

⁴⁴⁴ Frances M. Young argues that *mimēsis* 'provides a framework for understanding typology' because 'types are forms of *mimēsis*, the *mimēsis* of a story or act, of a drama, a thing done, a life lived'. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, pp. 152, 209; Smith, 'Exodus' in *African American Religious Thought*, p. 310; Concerning the subject of *mimēsis* as a strategy for identifying

re-presentations become meaningful as they become manifest in the relevant historical context of their interpreters.

Typology's mimetic quality implies that it is not fixed to a specific time period or location because the mimetic quality of typology gives it the ability to move through the course of sacred time, and be replicated across generations within the entire scope and unity of the biblical canon.⁴⁴⁵ According to Richard Lischer, the old metaphor of the "book as a mirror" is an apt way to describe how the BPT has employed typology as a hermeneutical lens to move from shadows to the real within the scope and unity of the sacred literary canon, as well as the interpreter's own historical context.⁴⁴⁶ In this approach, 'the Bible mirrors or contains all of life, and life mirrors or replicates the figures and stories of the Bible'.⁴⁴⁷ This means that there is a divinely intended correspondence between the two.

Allen Dwight Callahan in his own articulation of the metaphor, conveys its meaning through the experience of how enslaved African Americans used the Bible to traverse between the biblical world and their own. He states that 'it was under the slaver regime that African Americans learned to read the Bible into their lives. They also learned to read their lives into the Bible'.⁴⁴⁸ This hermeneutical approach of reading the Bible like a mirror provided the necessary foundation for different generational figures

oneself within the Bible, Howard Thurman wrote, 'what they [the enslaved African Americans] had found true in their experience lived for them in the sacred book'. Howard Thurman, *Deep River and the Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press 1975), p. 15.

⁴⁴⁵ Northrup Frye has described typology's mobile quality as being fluid. See Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 78.

⁴⁴⁶ Lischer, *The Preacher King*, p. 201; Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, p. 176. Here Young specifies that typology in the Antiochene period was rooted in the rhetorical idea that literature mimics life.

⁴⁴⁷ Lischer, *The Preacher King*, p. 201.

⁴⁴⁸ Allen Dwight Callahan, 'Reading Scripture in the African American Tradition', in *The Oxford Handbook of African American Theology*, ed. by Katie G. Cannon and Anthony B. Pinn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 28-30; Lischer, *The Preacher King*, p. 200; Brian K. Blount, *Then the Whisper Put on Flesh: New Testament Ethics in an African American Context* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2001), pp. 23-24.

in the BPT, such as Harriet Tubman, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Barack Obama to be able to view the Scripture through a typological lens that gave them licence to identify persons, places, institutions and events in their own contemporary context with corresponding realities in the biblical world.⁴⁴⁹

The Moses and Joshua generation typologies were not original to Barack Obama because he appropriated these hermeneutical lenses from his correspondence with the Reverend Otis Moss Jr. and his son Otis Moss III. The two ministers belong to the BPT, and the latter is the pastor of the Trinity United Church of Christ where Obama attended when he was based in Chicago.⁴⁵⁰ In the ministers' correspondence with Obama, Moss Jr. and Moss III wanted to encourage Barack to persevere in his run to be elected as the U.S. president. They directed Obama to the Holy Scriptures in order for him to identify himself with the BPT and preserve the legacy of the Moses generation, so that he could establish continuity between it and his own twenty-first century Joshua generation.⁴⁵¹

This typological continuity between generations is apparent in Obama's 2007 *Selma Voting Rights Commemoration Speech*. In this speech, Obama names prominent male and female civil rights protesters in his typology of the Moses generation. He continues his typology by making the claim that by being at Selma he is in the midst of 'a lot of Moseses', a group of giants to whom his generation are indebted.⁴⁵² Moreover, Obama's indebtedness was aptly captured in the lyrics of the rapper Jay Z, when he said, "Rosa Parks sat so Martin Luther King could walk. Martin Luther King walked so

⁴⁴⁹ Keith D. Miller avers that in the 'this-worldly' aspect of the religion of the enslaved they learned to identify with figures from the Hebrew Bible. Miller, *Voice of Deliverance*, p. 18.

⁴⁵⁰ Reverend Moss Jr. is a Civil Rights protester who marched with Dr King at Selma. 'Otis Moss Jr. Reflects on the Civil Rights Movement at the Maltz Museum', *Cool Cleveland* (2017), <<https://coolcleveland.com/2017/01/otis-moss-jr-reflects-civil-rights-movement-maltz-museum/>> [accessed Jan 4 2021].

⁴⁵¹ Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemoration Speech', 2-3; Holmes, *Where the Sacred and Secular Harmonize*, pp. 141-42.

⁴⁵² Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemoration Speech', 5; Murphy, 'Barack Obama, the Exodus Tradition, and the Joshua Generation', 392.

Obama could run. Obama's running so we all can fly".⁴⁵³ In the lyrics of Jay Z, the BPT is carried on in the legacy of one generation transitioning to the next. This is why Obama does not envision himself in his speeches as another Moses figure, but as a transitional, post-canonical Joshua who has been formed by the BPT.⁴⁵⁴ For example, in his own words, Obama identified himself with the Joshua generation when he stated:

The previous generation, the Moses generation, pointed the way. They took us 90% of the way there. We still got that 10% in order to cross over to the other side. So the question, I guess, that I have today is what is called of us in this Joshua generation?⁴⁵⁵

How can Obama's question be answered? What does his question beckon his generation to do? I would argue that as Obama's Joshua generation commemorated the Selma march for freedom and equality in 2007 and 2015, his question summoned its participants to remember their past, so that they would not forget their history, but return to it, in order to discern how they ought to live and flourish as a people in the present and in the future. This way of remembering the past in order to discern how a community of people ought to live and flourish in the present and the future also has its parallel in the Hebrew biblical narrative because it recalls God's instruction to the typical Joshua generation to place twelve stones in the River Jordan, so that their descendants could learn about their past by discerning the meaning of God's providential and redemptive acts in their history, and this would empower them to move forward in their present by faith into a future made whole in God's peaceable reign (Joshua 4.4-9, 19-24).

⁴⁵³ Dan Martin, 'Jay-Z: Obama's Running So We Can All Fly', *The Guardian* (2008), 1-2 <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2008/nov/05/jayz-falloutboy>> [accessed 27 May 2020].

⁴⁵⁴ Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemorative Speech', 3.

⁴⁵⁵ Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemorative Speech', 5.

The question Obama poses to his generation is also applicable to Adventists. Why is this so? It is applicable because it creates another entry point for the Adventist story to intersect with America's racial story.

4.2 Looking Back to Look Forward: Remembering the Way the Lord has led the SDA Church

This principle of looking back in time to discern the meaning of God's providential and redemptive acts in history, in order to move forward by faith in the present and envision a future that flourishes, is familiar to Adventists because Ellen G. White advanced this principle in a letter she wrote to the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in 1892. In her letter she wrote:

In reviewing our past history, having travelled over every step of advance to the present standing, I can say, Praise God! As I see what the Lord has wrought, I am filled with astonishment, and with confidence in Christ as leader. We have nothing to fear for the future, except as we shall forget the way the Lord has led us, and His teaching in our past history.⁴⁵⁶

Put in context, Mrs White penned this statement because she was concerned about the high calling God had given the Adventist Church to fulfil. She recognised how the church had grown from its humble beginnings and expanded to its present day form, so she attributed this growth as God's response to the church's prayers for wisdom and direction regarding its need for organisation, unity and 'harmonious action' as they moved forward into the future.⁴⁵⁷ As I mentioned in my second chapter, not all Adventists were unified on this point, some dissented against the idea of organisation, but Ellen. G. White reviewed the history of the church to reinform the Adventist community about how God in his providential care had prospered their publishing,

⁴⁵⁶ EGW Writings, 'Letter 32, 1892', *Letters and Manuscripts 7* (1891-1892), p. 1.

⁴⁵⁷ EGW Writings, 'Letter 32a, 1892', *Letters and Manuscripts 7* (1891-1892), p. 1.

educational, medical and evangelistic expansion at home in the U.S. and abroad.⁴⁵⁸ In general, White's statement about reviewing the church's past history indicates that she counselled Adventists to be confident about their present and future because Christ was leading them. However, I want to draw attention to the last part of her statement because of its cautionary nature. White warns the church that it is still imperfect, so it might forget "the way the Lord has led" and taught them in the past.⁴⁵⁹

4.3 The SDA Church a Prophetic and Typological Movement

In order not to forget what the Lord has done for the SDA Church, Adventists constantly re-narrate their denominational history in relation to their broader theology of history, mission to proclaim Christ to the world and eschatological hope in the Second Advent.⁴⁶⁰ In light of this re-narration, I contend that typology, as a hermeneutical lens has been integral to the church's collective theological self-understanding, sense of vocation and ethics.

During the SDA Church's early history, its pioneers employed biblical typology as a hermeneutic for resolving the meaning of the theological crisis that occurred in 1844. As former Millerites, the Sabbath-keeping Adventists continued William Miller's theological formula of combining prophetic historicism with 'Calvinist-Puritan' typology.⁴⁶¹ In SDA theological hermeneutics, historicism provided the Adventists with an interpretive approach to prophecy that intrinsically followed the linear, sequential

⁴⁵⁸ EGW Writings, 'Letter 32, 1892', p. 1.

⁴⁵⁹ EGW Writings, 'Letter 32, 1892', p. 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Erick Mendieta, 'Typology and Adventist Eschatological Identity: Friend or Foe?', *Andrews University Seminary Student Journal*, 1 (2015), 1-23 (p. 46) <<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/aussj/vol1/iss1/5/>> [accessed 11 November 2020].

⁴⁶¹ Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, p. 22; Calvinist – Puritan typology has its basis in Reformation theology. Generally, Luther, Calvin and the Puritans followed William Tyndale in their approach to typology by rejecting the Alexandrian allegorical approach due to its spiritualisation of Scripture. Thomas M. Davis, 'The Exegetical Traditions of Puritan Typology', *Early American Literature*, 5 (1970), 11-12, 29, 35-37 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25070447.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A9313775d141fa0830964c9e10a8b8cf2>> [accessed 24 January 2021].

progress of world history as it is recorded in Daniel and John's apocalypse.⁴⁶² Eric Mendieta's essay 'Typology and Adventist Eschatology: Friend or Foe?' is a useful guide for understanding how Adventists have thought about the interrelationship between typology and prophecy. According to Mendieta, 'historically, Seventh-day Adventism is not only a prophetic movement; it is also a typological movement'.⁴⁶³ So in SDA history, typology has been integral to the church since it began. In relation to the past, Mendieta argues that the 'initial biblical understanding of Adventism was marked by eschatological expectations based on a historicist prophetic interpretation of the book of Daniel, as well as the typological interpretation of the sanctuary rituals'.⁴⁶⁴ Ellen G. White also supported this interpretative view in her book *The Great Controversy*. In her book, she argued that the sanctuary was pivotal to an understanding of the 'mystery of the Great Disappointment in 1844'.⁴⁶⁵ Mendieta follows White, when he contends:

without the use of typology early Adventists would not have been able to understand and interpret the first disappointment in the spring of 1844, and again, in the fall of the same year. The use of typology moved them closer to clarifying their position from scripture, using it to advance their comprehension of the sanctuary.⁴⁶⁶

Even though the pioneers of the SDA Church continued to preserve various aspects of their Millerite heritage, the typological approach of Hiram Edson, Franklin B.

⁴⁶² For further insight on the Seventh-day Adventist historicist and typological interpretation of the books of Daniel and Revelation see Hans K. LaRondelle, 'The Heart of Historicism', *Ministry: International Journal for Pastors* (2005), 1 <<https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/2005/09/the-heart-of-historicism.html>> [accessed 24 February 2021]; Frank B. Holbrook, 'What Prophecy Means to This Church', *Biblical Research Institute* '[n.d.]', 1, <<https://Adventistbiblicalresearch.org/es/node/286>> [accessed 25 January 2021]; George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association), p. 46.

⁴⁶³ Mendieta, 'Typology and Adventist Eschatological Identity', 45.

⁴⁶⁴ Mendieta, 'Typology and Adventist Eschatological Identity', 45.

⁴⁶⁵ White, *The Great Controversy*, p. 374; Mendieta, 'Typology and Adventist Eschatological Identity', 46-47.

⁴⁶⁶ Mendieta, 'Typology and Adventist Eschatological Identity', 46; William Miller calculated a date for the Second Advent and the end of the world to occur between '21 March 1843' and '21 March 1844'. Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p. 126.

Hahn and O. R. L. Crosier set the Sabbath-keepers apart from the other Adventists who had experienced the crisis of 1844. The other groups that splintered from Millerite Adventism indulged in further speculative dates for the Second Coming of Christ and their own spurious typologies.⁴⁶⁷ Prior to the Great Disappointment of 1844, William Miller and his followers had understood that the cleansing of the sanctuary spoken of in Daniel 8.14 meant that Christ would return to cleanse the earth on ‘22 October 1844’. However, when this did not happen the Sabbath-keeping minority did not give up their Advent hope, but persevered in their study of the Scriptures until they came to accept a revised interpretation of the meaning of 1844.⁴⁶⁸ Edson, Hahn and Crosier re-interpreted the crisis of 1844 using typological connections they found in the biblical books of Leviticus, Daniel, Hebrews and Revelation.⁴⁶⁹ As a result of their revised interpretation of 1844, the Sabbath-keeping Adventists understood that the original Millerite movement had the correct prophetic date, but the location of the cleansing of the sanctuary was wrong. By employing the typological lens proposed by Edson, Hahn and Crosier, the Sabbatarian Adventists realised that on the date of ‘22 October 1844’, Jesus Christ embarked on his High Priestly ministry by cleansing the heavenly sanctuary rather than its earthly shadow.⁴⁷⁰

As this fledgling group of Adventists began their trajectory towards the future, their revised interpretation of 1844 would have implications for the development of

⁴⁶⁷ Larondelle, ‘The Heart of Historicism’, 25.

⁴⁶⁸ Bull and Lockhart, provide a statistic that the Adventists who became Sabbath-keepers approximated about 0.2% of the entire Millerite movement. Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, p. 101. Adventist scholar, Charles W. Teel, Jr., has referred to the Sabbatarians as the “little remnant”. See Charles W. Teel, Jr., ‘Remnant’ in *Remnant and Republic*, p. 7.

⁴⁶⁹ Daniel and Revelation Committee General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, ‘To the Reader’, in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, p. xi.

⁴⁷⁰ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, pp. 40-41; Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, (Ellen G. White Estate, 1882), pp. 18-19 ebook; White, *The Great Controversy*, pp. 374-81; Anon, ‘Lest We Forget’, *Adventist Pioneer Library*, 4:3 (1994), 4-5 <<https://www.aplib.org/files/lwf/LWV4N3.pdf>> [accessed 31 January 2021]; London Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, p. 17. The new theory was based on Hiram Edson’s vision of the heavenly sanctuary and the activity of a priestly figure moving from one compartment of the sanctuary to the next.

their collective theological self-understanding.⁴⁷¹ Like their counterparts in the BPT, the typological lens used by the SDAs came directly from their encounter with the Bible because typology was a legitimate use of the authority of the principle of *sola Scriptura*.⁴⁷² In other words, the Bible alone became like a mirror in which the Adventists could identify themselves within the *tota Scriptura* of the sacred canon with its types and antitypes, which they applied to their own lived experience and historical context.

By using typology and historicism as hermeneutical lenses to interpret Scripture, the SDA pioneers were able to use Daniel and Revelation to locate their prophetic movement within the flow of historical time as it pertains to last day events.⁴⁷³ They located their prophetic movement in the final epoch of redemptive history as it is recorded in the apocalypse of John. Eventually, as the Sabbath-keepers developed their theological identity as Seventh-day Adventists, they used typology and historicism to identify their present day movement as the remnant mentioned in the cosmic conflict of Revelation 10-14.⁴⁷⁴ By assuming the identity of the remnant in the Holy Scriptures, it meant that Adventists understood themselves to be God's last day commandment-keeping people. So as God's remnant people in the last days, Adventists are a mimetic re-presentation or antitypical fulfilment of all the believers who have faithfully testified

⁴⁷¹ *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, p. xi; London Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 17-34; White, *Early Writings*, p. 16; the late William G. Johnsson argued 'Seventh-day Adventists are not Millerites. The latter were not a denomination, but a movement of Christians from many denominations. Miller never accepted the Sabbath doctrine. Nevertheless, several aspects of the 1844 revival passed over into the collective theological understanding of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Among them was the emphasis on the books of Daniel and the Revelation'. Johnsson, 'The Role of Eschatology in Seventh-day Adventist Thought and Practice', in *Living the Christian Life in Today's World*, pp. 187-88.

⁴⁷² SDAs inherited the principle of *sola Scriptura* from the Reformation and their Millertite heritage. The principle meant that the Bible was its own expositor because each Scripture expounded upon another, in order to arrive at the truth, therefore the Bible had its own internal authority rather than an external one. Knight, *A Search for Identity*, pp. 40-41, 93-94; C. Mervyn Maxwell, 'A Brief History of Adventist Hermeneutics', *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 4 (1993), 209-26, (pp. 209-10).

⁴⁷³ Holbrook, 'What Prophecy Means to This Church', 1, 3.

⁴⁷⁴ The cosmic conflict in Revelation 10-14 builds in intensity towards a showdown between the dragon and his demonic beasts and the Lamb of God and his faithful followers.

about Jesus the Messiah throughout the generations. As a collective religious group, SDAs came to understand that their theological identity could be lived out according to the calling God had given them; this meant they were to proclaim the message of the Three Angels of Revelation 14.6-12, while remaining faithful to their Creator as his remnant people who do not conform to the domineering power of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13.⁴⁷⁵ From this theological understanding of their identity, a missionary impetus sprang forth that took their apocalyptic message across national, ethnic, linguistic and cultural boundaries in the American Republic so that it could reach ‘every nation, tribe, language and people’.⁴⁷⁶ Ideally, this sense of mission required the SDA Church to maintain their collective theological self-understanding by preserving the core beliefs of Adventism, while not losing sight of the centrality of the gospel and their theo-ethical vision to perform wholeness by being dialogically attuned to the ones Christ called “the least of these”.⁴⁷⁷ By maintaining this balance, Adventism would be able to move closer towards the broader goal of constructing a theological ethic that modifies their vision of wholeness, so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision. Without the application of this type of modification to their vision of wholeness

⁴⁷⁵ Revelation 14.6-12; George R. Knight, ‘Remnant Theology and World Mission’, in *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century*, p. 89; Teel, Jr., ‘Remnant’ in *Remnant and Republic*, pp. 8-11, 16; Jack Provonsha, Charles W. Teel Jr., Gerald R. Winslow and Douglas Morgan have all explored the idea of a prophetic minority as a contemporary re-reading of the term “remnant” in early Millerite and Sabbatarian Adventism. Here, I would point out that there is a tension between the reality that SDAs are a religious minority in some countries, but they also operate as a global church. See Teel, Jr., ‘Remnant’ in *Remnant and Republic*, pp. 1-19; Jack Provonsha, ‘The Church as a Prophetic Minority’, *Spectrum* (1981), 18-23 <https://www.andrews.edu/library/car/cardigital/Periodicals/Spectrum/1981-1982_Vol_12/1_September_1981.pdf> [accessed 1 June 2021]; Gerald R. Winslow, ‘A Prophetic Minority: Reflections on Adventist Social Ethics’, in *Journeys to Wisdom: Festschrift in Honour of Michael Pearson* (Bracknell: Newbold Academic Press, 2015); pp. 133-50; Douglas Morgan, ‘The Great Controversy and the Coming of Global Christianity’, in *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa*, ed. by Emory J. Tolbert (U.S.A: The Sabbath in Africa Study Group, 2005), pp. 52-56. ebook.

⁴⁷⁶ Revelation 14.6; Teel, Jr., ‘Remnant’ in *Remnant and Republic*, pp. 8-11.

⁴⁷⁷ Matthew 25.40; London Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 39-59; Here, London Jr. gives an account of the church’s mission to African Americans in the South during the Jim Crow era. He contends that the church was involved in social activism during this period of history.

it will be difficult for them to participate in the Joshua generation in the twenty-first century.

4.4 How Might the SDA Church Participate in the Joshua Generation in the Twenty-first Century and Beyond?

If the SDA Church is going to participate in the Joshua generation in the twenty-first century and beyond, then the Adventist story needs to intersect with America's racial story in a different way than it previously did in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the postbellum era was dominated by the pseudo-vision. For the SDA Church to participate in the Joshua generation it will need to re-evaluate its theological identity and institutions, as well as its vocation and ethics, so that the invisibility of whiteness and racism are not perpetuated in its Christian witness in America and abroad. I propose that one way to re-evaluate the church's theological identity, institutions, vocation and ethics is to choose a different mould or mimetic impress for participating in the Joshua generation. This mould or mimetic impress would either be a typology from above or a typology from below.

Which typological mould/impress should the SDA Church choose? I would argue that the choice of mould/impress depends upon how SDAs choose to identify with the Joshua generation. On the one hand, it is possible to identify with the Joshua generation through the typological lens of conquest over others, or it is possible to identify typologically with the Joshua generation through a revelatory lens that generates new possibilities for understanding the self or group in dialogical attunement with others. I contend that the lens of conquest represents a typology from above, whereas the revelatory lens represents a typology from below.

As I mentioned early on in this chapter, I have chosen to follow the canonical reading of the Hebrew Bible that names Joshua as the successor of Moses.⁴⁷⁸ Also, I have shown in the chapter that Barack Obama took this approach in his articulation of the Moses and Joshua generation typologies that he appropriated from the BPT. However, Obama's use of Joshua as a type is not without its problems because sometimes Joshua and his generation have been received in Christian history as being unethical in the merciless treatment of their enemies, thus creating a persisting model for an us-versus-them superiority.⁴⁷⁹ On this point, Ellen F. Davis' essay 'The Un-Conquest Narrative – Joshua' is helpful because in it, she indicates that over the centuries, interpreters of the Joshua story have misused it whenever the theme of conquest has been made primary for reading the narrative. This approach to the Joshua story has generated a catalogue of unethical actions in history that have led to conflicts between the Abrahamic religions, colonial conquests in the "New World", the categorisation of some human beings as Canaanites, or some other term of inferiority

⁴⁷⁸ Numbers 27.12-23; Deuteronomy 31.1-8; Joshua 1; In Deuteronomy 18.15-19, Moses informed the Israelites that the Lord would raise up another prophet like himself. Furthermore, as part of the Hexateuch, Joshua is the continuation of the Pentateuch. J. Gordon McConville, *Joshua Crossing Divides: An Introduction and Study Guide* (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), pp. 1, 22-23; in addition to Acts 3.17-26 and 7.37, there is a long typological tradition that links the figure of Joshua with Jesus the Saviour. In my research, I follow the Moses-Joshua typology, rather than the Joshua-Jesus typology pattern. In history, Zev Farber claims that there is no explicit use of the Joshua-Jesus typology by New Testament authors because its first usage has been dated to the second century C. E., see Zev Farber, *Images of Joshua in the Bible and Their Reception*, ed. by John Barton, Reinhard G. Kratz and Markus Witte, 457 vols (Berlin/ Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2016), pp. 82-86, 275-88, 364-65; Richard M. Davison used the Joshua-Jesus typological model in the 1995 *Adult Sabbath School lesson*. The Sabbath School lesson is produced every quarter as a Bible study aid to be taught globally each Sabbath in local Adventist Churches. See *Joshua: Entering God's Rest* ed. by Richard M. Davison, *Adult Sabbath School Lesson, Teachers' edn* (Silver Spring, MD: Department of Church Ministries of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1995), pp. 17-28.

⁴⁷⁹ Douglas Scotohu Earl, 'Reading Joshua as Christian Scripture' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2008), pp. 2-3; Warrior, 'Canaanites, Cowboys, and Indians, 21-26. In his essay, Warrior argues that the conquest theme in the Exodus and Joshua is not appropriate for the liberation theologies of indigenous people because they privilege the voices of the conquerors while muting the voices of the Canaanite people; Also see, Roy Adams, *Crossing Jordan: Joshua, Holy War and God's Unfailing Promises* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2004), pp. 131-34, 141-66.

that marks them for extermination, displacement, coerced conversion, discrimination, gender violence or some type of othering.⁴⁸⁰

Conversely, there are counter-readings to the conquest theme in the Joshua narrative.⁴⁸¹ As Davis has shown in her essay, she goes beyond a surface reading of the biblical text in order to discover the narrative voice of the author(s).⁴⁸² Using a literary criticism approach, she identifies contradictory voices in the narrative because one voice states that Joshua and his generation were successful in carrying out the divine prerogative to completely take over the land and totally annihilate its indigenous people, while a conflicting voice states that the Israelites fell short of the divine imperatives of YHWH. Davis argues that the Israelites' pattern of failure to be loyal to YHWH's covenant is typical throughout Joshua to Second Kings and it results in the people of God being taken into captivity during the Babylonian exile.⁴⁸³ Lyle Eslinger avers that the rationale for these differing voices is to introduce the literary element of irony into

⁴⁸⁰ Ellen F. Davis, 'The Un-Conquest Narrative – Joshua', *Opening Israel's Scriptures* (2019), 1-2 <<https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780190260545.001.0001/oso-9780190260545-chapter-13>> [accessed 20 April 2022].

⁴⁸¹ Lori L. Rowlett reads the Joshua narrative as Deuteronomistic history. This means the narrative was composed during the fall and rise of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. During this period of history, King Josiah came to power, and in his reign the government sought to establish order over the forces of chaos that surrounded Israel at that time. According to Rowlett, the Joshua story provides a political ideology for galvanising the Israelites compliance to their king's rule, rather than a literal conquest of the inhabitants of Canaan as the Joshua story indicates in the HB. Lori L. Rowlett, 'Introduction', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series*, 226 (1996), 9-197 (repr. in Lori L. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence: A New Historical Analysis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 11-15; According to K. Lawson Younger, prejudice exists among some scholars towards viewing historical accounts like Joshua as figurative or allegorical. This is due to a modern privileging of empirical accounts of history. Also, Younger contends that ancient Near Eastern conquest narratives indicate that their authors sought to influence their readers by imposing ideological codes upon the written texts. K. Lawson Younger, 'Preliminary Issues', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series*, 98 (1990), 25-226 (repr. in K. Lawson Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), pp. 45-46).

⁴⁸² A literary text may include several voices that include the voice of the actual author, the implied author established by the reader's interpretation, and the voices of the characters present in the story. Lyle Eslinger, 'Introduction', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series*, 84 (1989), 1-285 (repr. in Lyle Eslinger, *Into the Hands of the Living God*, ed. by David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989, pp. 4-8); J. Gordon McConville argues that the discovery of an implied author is not reliant on an empirical identification of the actual author. See McConville, *Joshua Crossing Divides*, pp. 30-32.

⁴⁸³ Davis, 'The Un-Conquest Narrative – Joshua', pp. 4-5, 10. For an example of the varying voices in the Joshua narrative, see the Bible texts, Joshua 11.23, 13.1-2, Joshua 10-12 and 18.1-3.

the narrative.⁴⁸⁴ However, I want to argue that these differing voices in Scripture mirror or reflect the differing voices of human discourse in everyday lived reality, so they require readers to try to search for a resolution in the biblical story and in the personal stories of their everyday lives.

I agree with Davis' assessment that revelation is an alternative theme to the Joshua story rather than the theme of conquest. This is why in the Hebrew Bible the Joshua narrative belongs to the Former Prophets and its revelatory tradition is to make the Messiah known to the world through the typological and prophetic fulfilment of the Scriptures.⁴⁸⁵ This revelatory approach, motivates the reader of Scripture to use his or her imagination in a way that generates new questions and new possibilities about the Joshua narrative in relation to one's theological and ethical orientation, so that Scripture is not used to endorse any unjust status quo that empowers dominant groups to be authoritarian, discriminatory or divisive by excluding the voices of marginalised people.⁴⁸⁶

As the Adventist story and the American racial story continue to converge in the twenty-first century, I repeat my question concerning which Joshua generation typology should SDAs choose to participate in? Should they choose a typology from above or a typology from below? I would argue that if the church chooses a typological

⁴⁸⁴ Eslinger, *Into the Hands of the Living God*, pp. 29-33.

⁴⁸⁵ In Luke's gospel, Jesus refers to the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible as the Torah, the Prophets and the Writings. The Former Prophets would be located in the middle of Jesus' triadic division. See Luke 24.25-27, 44.

⁴⁸⁶ Davis, 'The Un-Conquest Narrative – Joshua', pp. 10-12. On the subject of revelation and generating new questions and possibilities, Rowan Williams argues that 'to recognise a text, a tradition or an event as revelatory is to witness to its generative power'. See Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), pp. 131-35. In the HB, the Former Prophets are the five books that follow after the Torah or Pentateuch. They also precede the major and minor prophets of the Hebrew canon. The Former Prophets include the history of God's people written in the books of Joshua, Judges, 1st and 2nd Samuel and 1st and 2nd Kings. Each of these books features some unnamed prophets and some recognisable prophets such as: Samuel, Nathan, Elijah and Elisha. See Rold Rendtorff, 'The "Former Prophets"', *The Canonical Hebrew Bible*, 7 (2021), 1-2 <https://brill.com/view/book/9789004397415/B9789004397415_s005.xml> [accessed April 26 2022].

mould/impress from above, it would be like looking in the mirror of Scripture and opting for a business-as-usual approach that continues to reproduce the pseudo-vision as the dominant norm for the Adventist faith. This would not generate new questions and new possibilities that lead to a counter-vision of living in wholeness before God, self, neighbour and world, instead it would just perpetuate the us-versus-them dualism of bygone centuries.

In contrast, a typology from below is a revelatory hermeneutical lens for reading Scripture from the social location of the underside. It is from this viewpoint that the reader of Scripture imagines new theological and ethical questions that generate the possibility for a new self-understanding that is counter-visionary to the pseudo-vision. As I have mentioned throughout my thesis, the social location I am referring to is the underside of the invisibility of whiteness the norm, in which racism is perpetuated. At other times, I have identified the underside as a social location either below a script of superiority, a dominant racial script or a typology from above; they are all synonymous. The pseudo-vision is the reproduction of all of these conveyed as an optic (or gaze) that dominates the social order.

4.5 Theology as Ethics

In constructing a theological ethic that achieves a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness, theology and ethics should not be separate from one another; instead, they should be integrated. In the SDA Church's pursuit of achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness, theology and ethics form an interrelationship. This interrelationship is conveyed in a typology from below (theology) and dialogical attunement (ethics). Acting together, they modify wholeness so that it becomes a theological ethic that is counter-visionary to the pseudo-vision. I will discuss typology from below and dialogical attunement in turn, before I conclude this chapter.

4.6 Theology: A Typology from Below

First, if Seventh-day Adventists are to leave behind the old mould or mimetic impress of theology and ethics that has been crafted to convey the image of Western conquest and domination, and this has occurred mainly through the formation of the white ‘self-sufficient’ male of modernity; then the church ought to alter its trajectory so that it is counter-visionary to this reality.⁴⁸⁷ Instead, an alternative mould/impress is needed that preserves and replicates the authenticity of the biblical tradition of the Hebrew prophets. In fact, the prophet Amos states, ‘surely the Sovereign Lord does nothing without revealing his plan to his servants the prophets’. (Amos 3.7, Daniel 2. 28, 47, Revelation 1.1). In the HB, prophets are often socially located away from the centres of power that are occupied by the dominant elite, so in the case of the Exodus narrative, the Moses generation were an enslaved people under the Egyptian empire of Pharaoh, however in the Joshua narrative, the protagonist and his generation existed at the borders of Canaan as unwelcomed outsiders.⁴⁸⁸

For those who exist in marginal spaces or on the borders of centres of power occupied by the dominant elite, a typology from below is a theological lens through which persons can see and identify with the struggles, pain, suffering and trauma expressed in the black keys and blue notes of redemptive history.⁴⁸⁹ Christologically,

⁴⁸⁷ In essence, when Willie James Jennings uses the term ‘white self-sufficient masculinity’ he is not referring to a person or people, but an idealised vision of the good that eventually creates a certain type of meaning and organisation that pervades the social order. Willie James Jennings, *After Whiteness: An Education in Belonging* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2020), pp. 6-8, 29-32. In response to Jennings, I would argue that ‘white self-sufficient masculinity’ has been cloaked in the ubiquitousness of the invisibility of whiteness.

⁴⁸⁸ Walter Brueggemann, *Living Towards A Vision: Biblical Reflections on Shalom* (New York: United Church Press, repr. 1990), pp. 28, 30-36. In his book, Brueggemann argues that there is a prophetic tradition of the have-nots and the haves. Prophets in the have-not group usually existed at the margins of society where people struggle just to survive. Conversely, prophets who belonged to the haves were usually located in the royal courts and other centres of power.

⁴⁸⁹ I am not using the black keys and blue notes to convey historical facts, but as theologically infused metaphors that represent turmoil, pain, suffering, trauma and even death. In African American culture, these ills of the human condition have been captured and expressed through their folk music.

the black keys and blues notes find their resonance in the figure of the prophet Isaiah's suffering servant; the Messiah who brought good news by his death upon the cross.⁴⁹⁰

The black keys (the Spirituals) and the blues notes (the Blues) are like two sides of a coin. In a typology from below, theology is done in a minor key that first stops by the troubles of the world before moving onto the hope of the eternal gospel.⁴⁹¹

Adventist Pastor Wintley Phipps expands upon the significance of the black keys by narrating a brief story about his life. Phipps talks about his experience with a Southern lady in the United States; she taught him the significance of the pentatonic scale. According to his teacher, the scale represented the black keys on a piano that were used by enslaved Africans to compose the melodies and rhythms of the Negro Spirituals. While narrating his story further, Phipps demonstrates that by using the black keys only on the pentatonic scale, the Negro Spiritual can be played.⁴⁹²

Theologically, using my typology from below lens, I want to emphasise that the black keys of redemptive history meant that enslaved people of African descent could participate in a universe where the past, present and future could be merged in sacred time in betwixt the world of the Bible and everyday life. Typologically, this meant that in the trials and tragedies, but also in the joyful experiences of life, the composers of the Negro Spirituals could identify and merge with the trials, tragedies and joyful experiences portrayed in the life stories of Moses, Joshua, the prophets, Jesus and the

⁴⁹⁰ Isaiah 53.

⁴⁹¹ Revelation 14.6; Otis Moss III, *Blue Note Preaching in a Post – Soul World: Finding Hope in an Age of Despair*, (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2015), p. 4; Stephen J. Nichols, *Getting the Blues: What Music Teaches Us About Suffering and Salvation* (Grand Rapids, MI: BrazosPress, 2008), p. 34.

⁴⁹² Bill & Gloria Gaither, *Amazing Grace ft. Wintley Phipps (Live)* online video recording, YouTube, '[n.d.]', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNuQbJst4Lk&list=RDqNuQbJst4Lk&start_radio=1> [accessed 2 May 2022]; Ariel the Artisan, 'Sounds of the Black Keys and Slavery', *Gateway Growhouse* (2021), 1-2 <<https://gatewaygrowhouse.wordpress.com/2021/03/11/sounds-of-the-black-keys-and-slavery/>> [accessed 13 May 2022].

great cloud of witnesses present in the Holy Scriptures.⁴⁹³ In other words, the composers of the Spirituals put the Bible as a mirror metaphor into practice.

In my construction of a typology from below, the black keys and the blue notes evoke the experience of an unhappy people, a people who have tasted bitterness in their past, but have emerged from a place of darkness and brokenness, equipped with the hope of a better future and a life where they can be made fully whole. This calls to mind the experience of the Advent movement; it began with the crisis of the Great Disappointment, but over time that bitter moment was turned towards the hope of a better life in Jesus, while awaiting his promised return at the end of temporal time.⁴⁹⁴

Also, in my construction of a typology from below, the black keys and the blue notes of redemptive history depict the reality that life is both bitter and sweet; therefore, if not for the grace of God, suffering and death are only a moment away. Blue notes strike a chord in the followers of Christ because they inform them that the world is full of darkness, but that darkness should not overcome them.⁴⁹⁵ When a typology from below does theology in the black keys and the blue notes of redemptive history, it signifies that the Sovereign God of Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah is still the one who makes a way out of no way and rescues his people from the darkness of deceit, exploitation, objectification and subjugation in this world, whilst stamping history with the impress of his grace and truth.⁴⁹⁶

Moreover, in a typology from below, the black keys and the blue notes of redemptive history become embodied in prophetic figures that speak truth to power. So in the same way that Jesus spoke truth to power in his darkest moments in the Roman

⁴⁹³Miller, *Voice of Deliverance*, pp. 18-22.

⁴⁹⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois referred to the Negro Spirituals as 'Sorrow Songs'; he described them as 'the music of an unhappy people, of the children of disappointment'. See Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 157.

⁴⁹⁵ Romans 8.21; Moss III, *Blue Note Preaching*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁹⁶ Daniel 1.6, 2.1-49, 3.1-30, 6.1-28, John 1.14.

Empire, so must Adventists speak truth to power in the darkest moments of empires raised to serve the dragon and his beasts as they become manifest in the last days.⁴⁹⁷

However, Adventists must be willing to speak truth to power to those empires or monopolising forces that threaten the social fabric of existence, but they arise like the pseudo-vision in a way that evades the church's prophetic-historicist hermeneutics.⁴⁹⁸

Lastly, as I have already mentioned a typology from below is revelatory because it fosters new questions about the human condition in redemptive history. These are not abstract scholastic questions done in the remoteness of seminaries and universities that are disengaged from the real-world problems of broken people who cry out for racial justice, peace and wholeness.⁴⁹⁹ They are questions that address what J. Kameron Carter has called 'the perennial though increasingly invisible theological problem of our times is not race in general but whiteness in particular' and the modern problem of supersessionism or replacement theology that severs Christianity 'from its Jewish roots' and reconstitutes it in a soteriology where a white-skinned Jesus facilitates 'Western conquest' over dark skinned people around the globe.⁵⁰⁰ A typology from below is revelatory because it is done with its boots on the ground in the midst of the perennial problem of the invisibility of whiteness and in the crises that occur in the everyday

⁴⁹⁷ Miroslav Volf argues that when Jesus was on trial, he bore witness to 'the power of truth', which is different from 'the truth of power' that is seductive and competes against, dominates over, manipulates and eliminates its rivals through some form of violence. Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), pp. 266-78; In response to Volf, I would argue that Jesus' truth-telling flips the script on the idea that there is one form of power that belongs to those who represent superiority and might.

⁴⁹⁸ In his critique of Adventism's prophetic historicism, Sigve Tonstad argues that this selective hermeneutical approach to history sometimes creates blind spots for the church that prevents it from recognising unpredictable threats to the social order, so when tested in a crisis the theology and ethics of its church members has in the past proved inadequate. Tonstad, 'Timeout, 2-4; J. A. O'Rourke, 'Toward an Adventist Theology of Social Justice', *Spectrum*, (2018), 8-10 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/views/2018/toward-adventist-theology-social-justice>> [accessed 7 December 2018].

⁴⁹⁹ Carter, *Race a Theological Account*, pp. 371-79.

⁵⁰⁰ Carter, *Race a Theological Account*, p. 372; Kristopher Norris, *Witnessing Whiteness*, pp. 36-51, James W. Perkinson interprets the perennial problem of whiteness 'as a surrogate form of "salvation", a mythic presumption of wholeness'. James W. Perkinson, *White Theology: Outing Supremacy in Modernity* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 3.

realities of people like George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, Heather Heyer and Ralph Yarl.

4.7 Ethics: Dialogical Attunement

As I have argued in previous chapters, dialogical attunement has been part of the Adventist story since the church began. In my construction of theological ethics, the Adventist narrative modifies wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision. In my account of the Adventist story and America's racial story, their convergence forms part of my re-narration of the church's theology of history. During the final epoch of earth's history, the church in the American context undergoes three transitional phases in its development that spans the antebellum, Civil War and postbellum periods of U.S. history. I am recounting these three phases because I want to situate dialogical attunement within Adventism's approach to ethics as it has changed over the course of time. Stefan Höschele's overview of Adventists ethics is helpful because it enables me to situate the church's ethics within the three phases of the denomination's development that began with the antebellum era.

During the antebellum period, the Adventist pioneers focused mainly on the development of their fundamental beliefs aided by the prophetic counsel they received from the visions of Ellen G. White. In addition to these factors, their attention to the moral life focused mainly on lifestyle habits that included sexuality, dress reform, diet and health as well as temperance. Also, involvement in Antislavery reform was another moral issue that confronted the SDA pioneers in the nineteenth century. During the Civil War period, the church turned its ethical reflection towards developing a non-combatant stance.⁵⁰¹ However, after the war, the church continued to grow domestically

⁵⁰¹ During the antebellum and the Civil War period, Höschele avers that the church's approach to ethics was its 'shared ethos of radical discipleship and (largely) a plain reading of the biblical texts', along with

and internationally, so during this period the church developed its ethics in relation to its fundamental theological beliefs along with a casuistic approach to the Bible and the writings of Ellen G. White. This approach to ethics varied as it was applied in different regional and cultural contexts.⁵⁰² As the twentieth and twenty-first centuries progressed, the SDA Church became more institutionalised and bureaucratic, and while these changes took place the majority of first-generation Adventists passed away in the early part of the twentieth century. Höschele makes the argument that up until the twenty-first century, no definitive form of Adventist ethics has been established for the whole church.⁵⁰³ For this reason he contends that within the SDA Church, ethics is still an evolving field that is increasingly gaining more academic attention.⁵⁰⁴

While the discipline of ethics continues to develop as an emerging field in the SDA Church, I want to draw attention to Sydney Freeman Jr.'s concern about the shortage of Adventist African Americans in North America who have been trained to doctoral level in 'systematic and constructive theologies', who then go on to further their careers in the church's educational institutions. He contends that this issue should be addressed urgently, if the church is going to make a shift away from the dominant theology of white Euro-American scholarship. Freeman Jr. states that beyond preaching and evangelism, there is insufficient attention paid to the intellectual potential of African American students doing advanced theological degrees, and there is little financial investment available for this demographic.⁵⁰⁵ In relating this problem to my

other sources such as life experience. Stephan Höschele, 'Adventist Ethics? Laying the Groundwork for an Evolving Field', *Spes Christiana*, 31 (2020), 5-40, (p.10).

⁵⁰² Höschele, 'Adventist Ethics?', (pp. 8-10).

⁵⁰³ Höschele and Dr Michael Pearson agree that as of yet, Adventists have not formulated a comprehensive Christian ethic that serves the whole church. Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, p. 13

⁵⁰⁴ Höschele, 'Adventist Ethics?', (pp. 5-11).

⁵⁰⁵ Sydney Freeman Jr. is a Seventh-day Adventist working at the University of Idaho. He is an educational theorist. See his essay: Sydney Freeman Jr., 'Emergency in the Adventist Church: A Shortage

research, this situation could have an impact on the contribution of this particular cohort's voice in the on-going modifications being made to the church's vision of wholeness so that its fullness becomes realised. In relation to people of African descent, their scholarly contributions would be few, and any new possibilities for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the BPT would exclude them or marginalise their activity from the main church.

Dialogical attunement is an important contribution to my construction of a theological ethic that is counter-visionary because in the context of responsible action, it represents wholeness with its boots on the ground in the lived reality of the other who is socially located on the underside of America's dominant racial script. Dialogical attunement occurs at various focal points in the Adventist story as it intersects with America's racial story. Unfortunately, sometimes the SDA Church has failed to notice its occurrence, especially when it has been displaced from the trajectory of its goal by a competing pseudo-vision.

Dialogical attunement directs the church's vision of wholeness towards the other by doing Christian ethics in a minor key. Moreover, it directs the vision towards responsible action in a cosmos of human difference. For this reason, individuals and groups become aware and responsive to the diversity that surrounds them. When a dominant script is a threat to difference, a flipped script or counter-script is produced from an alternative social location that provides a nexus for dialogical attunement to occur. In the case of the intersecting stories of Adventism and America, the nexus has been Selma.

4.8 Selma as a Nexus for a Dialogical Attunement and the Moral Imagination

In my overall re-narration of Adventism's theology of history, Selma has been a nexus or focal point for dialogical attunement. This nexus has provided the SDAs with a focal point for participation in the Joshua generation. Furthermore, it has facilitated the possibility for me to exercise my own moral imagination on this matter when elaborating on the dialogical attunement that occurred between the SDA Church and the BPT. Moreover, by using Selma as a nexus, I have been able to re-imagine the SDA vision of wholeness and modify it so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pervasiveness of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. In the exercising of my own moral imagination, Selma as a nexus became a gateway to a dialogically attuned universe that generates knowledge in response to the other, and knowledge generates new questions and new questions generate alternative possibilities and better ways of seeing, being and acting responsibly in the world that are counter-visionary to the pseudo-vision.

At this point, I want to provide a further demonstration of how Seventh-day Adventists and other persons of faith and good will can practise this type of moral imagination in relation to their own religious life story. To demonstrate what I mean, an autobiographical story from my own faith experience will suffice.⁵⁰⁶ To begin this story from my own faith experience, Selma is comparable to a gateway to the various libraries I have frequented throughout my theological education. I often searched these libraries with great curiosity because they represented a universe of knowledge to me. However, as I searched these libraries, it never occurred to me that in general, the

⁵⁰⁶ Heidi White argues that stories are an important source of nourishment for the moral imagination. Heidi White, 'The Mythic Imagination, the Moral Imagination, and the Beauty of Scripture', <<https://www.circeinstitute.org/blog/mythic-imagination-moral-imagination-and-beauty-scripture>> [accessed 27 June 2021].

gatekeepers of this universe were overwhelmingly white. However, I never questioned this reality in my mind because I had accepted it as the norm.⁵⁰⁷ This created a blind spot for me, so whenever I perused these institutions of knowledge, I paid no attention to the small section of books written by minority theologians and ethicists because they were never part of the required reading in my theological education and they occupied a very small space in each library. Sometimes I saw one of my student colleagues reading from these shelves, but it was rare because the dominant vision for theology and ethics in my courses of study obscured the knowledge to be found in the written work produced by these minority authors. Those shelves full of untapped knowledge and possibilities seemed strange and irrelevant to my life story and faith experience.

Overtime, this unattunement or unresponsiveness to these minority authors did not last. At some point, I can't remember when, I began to engage with their theological and ethical traditions, and as I compared their thought with my own reading of the Scriptures, the world that was presented before me appeared as if it were a mirror, I could see myself within. This mirror awakened my own moral imagination and this in turn produced new questions about my identity, literary surroundings, the gatekeepers of knowledge and the invisibility of whiteness that had evaded my understanding for so long. So, in relation to my own minority status and in my encounter with the reality of whiteness unseen, I came to realise that this phenomena is so dominant and vast in scope that it seems to pervade everything as if it represents the whole, but it does not, rather I aver that it has sought to conquer, divide and other non-white people through various acts of violence that in their fullness are yet to be fully disclosed.

What is to be learned from my autobiographical life story of the various libraries I have frequented during my theological education? I would suggest that I have used my

⁵⁰⁷ This has been the case for the various theological and non-theological libraries I have frequented throughout the whole of my education with a few exceptions.

moral imagination to locate a nexus where access to the good (in this particular case this means knowledge) is meant to be dialogic or multi-vocal, rather than univocal.

Therefore, access to the good should not be segregated into us-versus-them silos because this will result in some voices being heard, while others are marginalised, silenced and forgotten; the church is not exempt from this problem. In such cases, certain voices gain superiority over others, and they become a monopoly that represents the whole. However, when the voice of the voiceless is retrieved, dialogical attunement in conjunction with a typology from below become resources that SDAs can use to participate in the Joshua generation.

In sum, theology as ethics involves the Holy Scriptures, typology, dialogical attunement, the moral imagination and the re-narration of SDA's theology of history as resources for constructing a theological ethic that modifies the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision to the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. In particular, the process of re-narration re-evaluates the church's theological identity, vocation and ethics so that it becomes possible for the SDA Church to re-establish its trajectory towards achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness in a twenty-first century that is ethnically diverse, but universally human.

Chapter 5:

The Lucy Byard Story Retold and Re-evaluated From the Underside

Throughout this thesis I have been constructing a theological ethic in a minor key that fosters an interrelationship between typology (theology) and dialogical attunement (ethics). In fact, the argument of my thesis has been that it is possible for the SDA Church to achieve a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness by modifying it so that it becomes a counter-vision to the invisibility of whiteness, the norm that perpetuates racism and reproduces the pseudo-vision.

To continue this chapter, I want to return to a biographical narrative I included in the introduction to this thesis. I will use this life-story as a point of entry for examining how the Adventist story intersects with America's racial story. In the introduction, I briefly told the story of Lucy Byard, an African American Seventh-day Adventist who lived in the early part of the twentieth century. I want to return to her story in more detail so that I can pursue two questions that have arisen from the subsequent chapters that followed the introduction. First, in the twenty-first century, why should SDAs choose a typology from below as a lens for identifying with the Joshua generation and participating in it? Second, how might the story of Lucy Byard be retold and re-evaluated using a typology from below in relation to the rest of the thesis? A typology from below provides a view of reality that is consistent with dialogical attunement. Moreover, this approach is in accord with God's divine Word and how he has ordered the cosmos, so that types and antitypes function as a legitimate part of redemptive history and the moral order. Following my investigation of the two questions I have mentioned, I will provide a conclusion for the entire thesis. At this point, I will address the first question concerning SDAs and the Joshua generation.

5.1 A Prophet Like Moses

Throughout my thesis I have followed the narrative order of Scripture that presents Joshua as the successor to the prophet Moses. I have employed this narrative pattern for my typology. In the Hebrew Scriptures it is written that Moses informed the Israelites that after his death, God would raise up another prophet that resembled him. For example, Moses stated, ‘the LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your fellow Israelites. You must listen to him’ (Deuteronomy 18.15-22). To expound upon this Scripture further, I will pose the question: how was the succeeding prophet to resemble Moses? An answer to this question may be found in the description of Moses being a man of humility because it is written in the Scriptures ‘now Moses was a very humble man, more humble than anyone else on the face of the earth’ (Numbers 12.3). So, in the HB, Moses is depicted as a humble prophetic figure. In biblical Hebrew the term for humble is עָנָו (aw-nawv), which can also be translated as meek, afflicted or poor.⁵⁰⁸ So, in reference to my typology from below, I am making the claim that the prophet Moses was a humble man who prefigured the prophet Joshua who was also a man of humility. This typology provides me with a conception of Joshua as a prophetic figure, rather than a figure that has mainly been associated with the conquest of people designated as the enemy.⁵⁰⁹

In harmony with the Hebrew prophetic and messianic tradition that Jesus belonged to, I would identify the quality of humbleness with people that belong to minorities or outsider groups who exist on the underside of scripts of superiority. In the

⁵⁰⁸ I have taken this translation from Numbers 12.3; see *Strong’s Concordance* <<https://biblehub.com/hebrew/6035.htm>> [accessed 25 June 2022].

⁵⁰⁹ L. Daniel Hawk argues that the dominant view of the book of Joshua is: the Israelites took over the land of Canaan and killed all of its enemies in a ‘blitzkrieg campaign’. Daniel L. Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D: A Commentary on Biblical Conquest and Manifest Destiny* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010); L. Daniel Hawk, ‘The Truth about Conquest: Joshua as History, Narrative, and Scripture’, *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology*, 66:2 (2012), 129-40 (p. 135).

tradition of the Hebrew prophets, godly service to the humble or the meek or the poor was the reason Jesus entered his local synagogue in Nazareth and read from the prophet Isaiah. Jesus saw these groups as the recipients of the good news of his Father's kingdom (Luke 4.14-20; Isaiah 61.1). Speaking to this subject in their book *Kingdom Ethics*, Glenn H. Stassen and David P. Gushee identify the humble first as people who have surrendered their lives to God, but secondly as a people who exist at the very bottom of the social ladder with very little economic power.⁵¹⁰ However, in his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus called such people blessed and he promised they would eventually inherit the earth, but not as a result of religious, political, military, economic or corporate conquest, instead they would receive it as the outcome of Christ's own humility and affliction on the cross of Calvary (Matthew 5.5, Psalm 37.11, Isaiah 53.1-12, Philippians 2.6-8).

In the tradition of the Hebrew prophets along with a typology from below, the Joshua generation are representative of the humble or afflicted ones who live on the underside of scripts of superiority. In the biblical narrative, this generation includes the faith stories of marginalised women like Rahab the harlot, an indigenous Canaanite from Jericho (Joshua 2.1-24, 6.15-25, Matthew 1.5, James 2.25).⁵¹¹ Embedded within the biographic faith stories of the humble is a mould or mimetic impress for participating in the Joshua generation that provides an alternative to empire building and the conquest of nations and their people.⁵¹² For this reason, SDAs should choose a typology from below as a lens for discerning stories like these within their own faith heritage and moral tradition because they generate new questions and new possibilities

⁵¹⁰ Glen H. Stassen & David P. Gushee, *Kingdom Ethics: Following Jesus in Contemporary Context* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), pp. 33-36, 40.

⁵¹¹ According to Daniel L. Hawk, Rahab's inclusion in the Joshua narrative adds complexity to it because she humanises the indigenous people of Canaan and her faithful action is the reverse of Achan who fails to act like a faithful Israelite. Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, pp. xxiii-xxv, 26.

⁵¹² Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, pp. xxx-xxxii.

about what it means to achieve a fuller realisation of the SDA vision of wholeness as it pertains to marginalised people who exist on the underside of scripts of superiority. Here, I am arguing that the life of Lucy Byard, a woman of Seventh-day Adventist faith, represents such a story. The life story of Byard represents a ‘petite narrative’ that fits into a larger unit of stories about Adventism and race in America and this larger unit fits into the overarching story of SDA’s theology of history.⁵¹³ Therefore, Byard’s story is important because it provides an entry point into the intersecting stories of Adventism and America. By making her narrative central to this chapter, I bring her agency as a Black Seventh-day Adventist woman to the forefront. Right from the start, I want to acknowledge her agency by recognising her dignity as a child of God, despite the reality of the ‘tri-dimensional experience of racism, sexism and classism’ she encountered at the Washington Sanitarium and America in general.⁵¹⁴ Hereafter, I contend that Byard faced the triple oppression of anti-black racism, male ‘sexist ideology’ and the imposition of second-class citizenship in her exclusion from the Sanitarium; as well as being othered and marginalised from the church’s vision of wholeness intended for all creation by God.⁵¹⁵

In constructing a theological ethic, I want to experiment with the narrative of Lucy Byard so that I can retell and re-evaluate it in relation to the rest of the thesis. I do this with the broader aim of modifying the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision. As a point of departure, I will consider two written accounts about

⁵¹³ Jean-François Lyotard first coined the expression ‘petit récit’ or little narrative. However, I am using the idea of the smaller biographical narrative not in the postmodern sense of it being in opposition to a larger overarching narrative, but complementary to it. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report of Knowledge*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 60.

⁵¹⁴ Melanie L. Harris, *Gifts of Virtue, Alice Walker, and Womanist Ethics* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 1.

⁵¹⁵ Harris argues that ‘womanist religious thought centers the voices, experiences, theological reflections, and moral systems that come from “ordinary” women of African descent’. She avers that womanist ethics empowers ‘the voices of the historically silenced’, while ‘naming their perspectives as valid sources of theo-ethical inquiry’. Harris, *Gifts of Virtue, Alice Walker, and Womanist Ethics*, pp. 2, 50.

what happened to Lucy Byard in her final days at the Adventist Washington Sanitarium and Freedman's Hospital. The latter was a non-Adventist medical institution located six miles away at Howard University.⁵¹⁶ James Henry Byard, the husband of Lucy, and Robert Hare, the medical director of the Washington Sanitarium, produced the two written accounts. The former written account was produced six days after Lucy's death and sent by her husband to G. E. Peters, the director of the Coloured Department at the General Conference. Hare wrote the latter account, but there is no record that he ever met Mrs Byard in person.⁵¹⁷ I will include both accounts in my retelling and re-evaluation of her story.⁵¹⁸ In some ways the contrasting voices in the Byard story echo the contrasting voices that occur in the biblical account of the Joshua narrative.⁵¹⁹ So it may be said again that life mirrors the Scriptures and the Scriptures mirror life.⁵²⁰

The main concern I want to address in the Lucy Byard story is: why was she excluded from the SDA vision of wholeness in the final days of her life? Was the Washington Santarium not the ideal place for her to experience healing, wholeness and the redeeming grace of the gospel? After all, she was in her late sixties and her health

⁵¹⁶ Benjamin Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away: The Life, Last Days, and Legacy of Lucy Byard', *Journal of Black Studies* 5 (2020), 400. Freedman's Hospital is now called Howard University Hospital. Since 2020, Adventist Health Care has managed the Hospital.

⁵¹⁷ Lucy died a month after being rejected from the Washington Sanitarium. Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 398-99.

⁵¹⁸ Benjamin Baker originally produced the research for the letters written by J. H. Byard and Robert Hare. Both of the letters have been made available for public use in *The Visitor Magazine*. V. Michelle Bernard, 'More About the Lucy Byard Story', *The Visitor Magazine* (2019), 1-2 <[https://Columbiaunionvisitor.com/byard letters #swipebox](https://Columbiaunionvisitor.com/byard%20letters)> [accessed 7 June 2022]. Copies of the original documents produced by James Henry Byard and Robert Hare are included in the appendices for this thesis. For Byard see Appendix A, for Hare see Appendix B. I obtained these letters by email from the General Conference Archives, overseen by the office of Archives, Statistics and Research at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. The letters were sourced as James H. Byard to G. E. Peters, '28 September 1943'. RG11, Box 10991; Robert A. Hare to J. L. McElhany, W. E. Nelson, et al., '15 November 1943'. RG 11, Box 10991, Fld. Colored Situation.

⁵¹⁹ Daniel L. Hawk agrees with Ellen F. Davis that the written account of the Joshua narrative includes a number of contrasting voices and theological perspectives. Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, pp. xxi-xxv.

⁵²⁰ Daniel L. Hawk argues that the metaphor the Bible as a mirror enables readers of Scripture to gain 'greater clarity' about their lives and the world they live in by beholding themselves in the biblical canon. Hawk states that 'narratives are mimetic' because they 'present a view of the world' that invites the reader to participate in it. Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, pp. xi, xxvii.

had declined because she had ‘developed liver cancer with a chronic case of cachexia, or the wasting syndrome’, so she made the decision to get treated for her health at an Adventist sanitarium near Takoma Park, Maryland in Washington D.C.⁵²¹ In the 1940s, the Washington Sanitarium or lifestyle and retreat centre had not yet transitioned to the status of a hospital, however in the era of John Harvey Kellogg, sanitariums had gained a considerable reputation in American society.⁵²²

Historically, the first Adventist sanitarium was named the Western Health Reform Institute (WHRI), and then it was renamed as the Battle Creek Sanitarium at a later date.⁵²³ This institution thrived under the leadership of John Harvey Kellogg, and it became a model for other SDA lifestyle and retreat centres in America and abroad. At the start of the 1900s the SDA Church established twenty-seven sanitariums in the U.S. and internationally.⁵²⁴ The sanitariums gave their patients the benefits of Adventist health and temperance reform, knowledge of modern medical science and a vision of wholeness.⁵²⁵ Adventist medical staff at the sanitariums promoted wellness for the whole person through ‘proper habits of health’, ‘exercise, sunshine, fresh air’, and water treatments such as hydrotherapy and other types of preventative medicine, but most

⁵²¹ Lucy Byard was born ‘22 September 1877’; Baker, ‘Death by Wasting Away’, 392, 395-96.

⁵²² By 1902, Dr Kellogg had made the Battle Creek Sanitarium the largest medical centre in the world. Brian E. Strayer, ‘A History of Adventist Lifestyles’, *Spectrum* (2020), 12-13 <<https://spectrummagazine.org/news/2020/history-adventist-lifestyles>> [accessed 7 June 2022]. In the early days of the sanitarium, Adventists thought that these lifestyle and retreat centres were the best way to break down the prejudices of unbelievers, so they could receive the love of God. SDAs were reticent that hospitals could achieve the same purpose, but eventually they decided this was not the case. H. E. Rice, ‘How Sanitariums Became Hospitals, and Why: What is a Sanitarium?’ *Ministry International Journal for Pastors* (1965), 1-11 (pp. 2-6) <<https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/1965/10/how-sanitariums-became-hospitals-and-why>> [accessed 7 June 2022].

⁵²³ Strayer, ‘A History of Adventist Lifestyles’, 12.

⁵²⁴ Loma Linda University, ‘Whatever Happened to Those Good Old Sanitariums?’, [n.d.], 1-2 <<http://www.llu.edu/info/legacy/appendix/>> [accessed 28 September 2022].

⁵²⁵ Baker, ‘Death by Wasting Away’, 396; Strayer, ‘A History of Adventist Lifestyles’, 12-13.

importantly they were meant to promote faith in God as the ultimate Saviour and healer of humanity.⁵²⁶

In the written account of James H. Byard to Elder G. E. Peters, Mr Byard does not make it apparent in his letter that any particular factor played a part in him choosing the Washington Sanitarium for his wife's medical care because he simply informs the recipient that he felt a sudden impression to send her there. Byard states in his letter to Elder Peters that 'a few weeks ago, my wife became seriously ill and needed careful watch and attendance. I was undecided as to what hospital to take her to, but was suddenly deeply impressed to send her to the Washington Sanitarium, of which place, I was not referred by anyone'.⁵²⁷ However, it is possible that Lucy Byard's forty-year membership in the SDA Church was influential in her decision to agree to get treated at the Washington Sanitarium. After all, she would have held a conviction about its ethos and she would have expected to receive the loving care of her Adventist Christian family.⁵²⁸ In fact, further on in his letter, James H. Byard speaks of the excitement his wife exhibited when she learned about the possibility of being treated at the Washington Sanitarium. He states in the letter:

My wife had been looking forward with much anticipation to going to this particular Sanitarium, because she felt that she would be among her own people. There would be an understanding among them that she could not expect in an outside hospital. In fact her hopes were so high that her health was much better than it had been for days, and she even suffered the tiresome and painful train ride because of the expected destination.⁵²⁹

Concerning their journey to the Sanitarium, James H. Byard mentioned to G. E. Peters that Elder Cox from the Brooklyn SDA Church was responsible for making the reservation for Lucy Byard to be treated at the Washington Sanitarium. Elder Cox

⁵²⁶ Rice, 'How Sanitariums Became Hospitals, and Why, (pp. 2-3).

⁵²⁷ Byard to G. E. Peters, '28 September 1943'. RG11, Box 10991.

⁵²⁸ Lucy Byard was baptised as a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1902. At that time, she was 25 years old. See Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 393.

⁵²⁹ Byard to G. E. Peters, '28 September 1943'. RG11, Box 10991.

intended to drive the Byards to their medical appointment, but he was unable to, so Lucy and her husband travelled from New York to Washington by train even though Mrs Byard was very sick.⁵³⁰

To gain more clarity about why Lucy Byard was excluded from the SDA vision of wholeness in her final days, I will need to give a further account of the actual events that took place before she passed away. First, I will turn my attention to the version of events written by James H. Byard. In his account, he states that on arrival at the Washington Sanitarium he obtained a confirmation of the reservation that had been made on behalf of his wife. Furthermore, he records that a staff member of the Sanitarium acknowledged that a reservation had been made for his wife and then the staff member approached Mrs Byard before proceeding upstairs to an office to see someone else. When the staff member returned from the office, he informed the Byards with regret that it was not possible to admit Lucy to the Sanitarium because it was illegal in Maryland to accept American people of colour onto their premises. In light of this information, Mr Byard pleaded his wife's case, but he was unsuccessful. In the end the staff member referred them to Freedman's Hospital because it accepted people of her kind.⁵³¹

In Robert Hare's written account of what happened on that day, he informed Elder J. L. McHenry and Elder W.E. Nelson and others at the General Conference (GC) that it was necessary for him to make a statement about what occurred when Lucy Byard visited the Washington Sanitarium because the reaction to this event, and her subsequent death had become negative. In Hare's account he states that Mr Baker, one of the Sanitarium staff members, informed him that Lucy Byard was a woman of

⁵³⁰ Byard to G. E. Peters, '28 September 1943'. RG11, Box 10991; According to Benjamin Baker, the elder that made the reservations for the Byard's was Jeter E. Cox, he was a Black pastor from Bethel SDA Church. Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 396-97.

⁵³¹ Byard to G. E. Peters, '28 September 1943'. RG11, Box 10991.

African descent. Unfortunately, this fact had not been disclosed at the time the reservation was made, so Hare suggested to the staff member that a private room could be offered to Lucy so that the physicians at the Sanitarium could examine her condition in an after-hours service. Hare hoped that the Byards would be reasonable enough to perceive that the offer of a private room was sensible in light of Maryland's separate but equal doctrine. However, after returning from his medical rounds he learned that the Byards had refused this option because they preferred the other suggestion made by the Sanitarium staff for Mrs Byard to be treated at Freedman's Hospital.⁵³² Unfortunately, 'thirty eight days after being denied equal treatment at the Sanitarium, Lucille Byard died at Freedman's Hospital on October 30, 1943'.⁵³³

In both written accounts of what happened to Lucy Byard, the Sanitarium staff informed the Byards that it was not permissible to accept American people of colour because of the segregationist law in Maryland. However, in a letter written by Hare to W. E. Nelson, a GC official serving on the Washington Sanitarium Board, the law was not mentioned; instead, Hare conveyed his own personal views about maintaining racial purity in the Adventist institution in which he served. He argued that the Sanitarium's clientele should not be mixed because it would offend their Southern white patients. In addition he states 'I would just as willingly minister to the needs of a colored patient as anyone else, but mentally, emotionally, and in certain physiological respects they differ from the white, and I do not favour mixing them'.⁵³⁴ In response, Nelson wrote to Hare telling him that he agreed with his assessment that the Sanitarium's clientele would be offended at interracial mixing, but he added that this would be true for the white

⁵³² Robert A. Hare to J. L. McElhany, W. E. Nelson, et al., '15 November 1943'. RG 11, Box 10991, Fld. Colored Situation.

⁵³³ Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 400.

⁵³⁴ Robert A. Hare to W. E. Nelson, '6 April 1944'. RG31, Box 3621, Fld. 1944 –Washington Sanitarium. See Appendix C for a copy of the original letter.

clientele in Maryland and ‘every other state’. Also, he refuted the idea of a separate medical wing for people of African descent being attached to the Sanitarium.⁵³⁵ The racially divisive statements made by Hare and Nelson offer an insight into the us-versus-them racial hierarchy that existed in the Washington Sanitarium.

Now that I have provided both written accounts in my retelling of the Lucy Byard narrative, I will re-evaluate her story through the lenses of a typology from above and a typology from below in relation to the rest of my thesis and its broader aim of constructing a theological ethic that is counter-visionary to the pseudo-vision. I will begin with a typology from above.

5.2 A Typology from Above

First, I want to re-emphasise that when I use the term typology from above, I am talking about a particular mould or mimetic impress that Seventh-day Adventists can choose to identify themselves, as participants in the Joshua generation. As I have mentioned before this mould or mimetic impress has been associated with problematic readings of the biblical narrative that positions Joshua and his generation as superior and dominant to inferior groups.⁵³⁶ In a similar vein, during the post-canonical Joshua generation of the twenty-first century, white Americans of European descent have been trying to hold onto their position in society as the superior and dominant group.⁵³⁷

From the time they settled in the land of America, white Americans of European descent have promoted a racial script of superiority, especially in terms of an us-versus-them hierarchy and conqueror-takes-all ethnocentrism. By adopting a Puritan typology,

⁵³⁵ W. E. Nelson to Robert A. Hare, ‘9 April 1944’. RG31, Box 3621, Fld. 1944 –Washington Sanitarium; Baker, ‘Death by Wasting Away, 399. See Appendix D for a copy of the original letter. The letters in Appendix C and D were sent to me by the General Conference Archives, overseen by the office of Archives, Statistics and Research at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

⁵³⁶ Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, p. xx.

⁵³⁷ Dustin Jones, ‘What is the ‘Great Replacement’ and How is it Tied to the Buffalo Shooting Suspect’, *NPR* (2022), 1-6 <<https://www.npr.org/2022/05/16/1099034094/what-is-the-great-replacement-theory>> [accessed 10 June 2022].

the Euro-American settlers cast themselves as the ‘new Israel’ and they envisioned America as the ‘new Canaan’.⁵³⁸ In their typological interpretation of the Scriptures, they likened themselves to the ancient Joshua generation that had been divinely called by God to go forth and conquer the land.⁵³⁹

In a typology from above, George Washington, for whom the capital city was named, has been perceived as the ideal all-conquering Joshua for a pro-white America as expressed in Constantino Brumidi’s ‘Apotheosis of Washington’ and Ezra Stiles 1783 sermon that he preached to the General Assembly of the state of Connecticut.⁵⁴⁰ In the 1940s the Washington Sanitarium was located in the capital not too far away from the General Conference, the Adventist church’s world headquarters.⁵⁴¹ At the GC, the NAD is the governing body that provides leadership for the church in North America.⁵⁴² It was the governing body in 1943, and it remains so in the year 2022. However, in 1943, ‘the Adventist Church in America was organised and maintained by and for white men from 1860 to that present day’.⁵⁴³ At the time, this state of affairs in the church was the norm and it was no different at the Washington Sanitarium because this medical institution was predominantly a white space.

The Washington Sanitarium was an uncontested space where whiteness remained unexamined, and the pseudo-vision was constantly reproduced. Under these circumstances the invisibility of whiteness thrived as the norm in which racism was

⁵³⁸ Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, p. 20.

⁵³⁹ Hawk, *Joshua in 3-D*, pp. 15-19.

⁵⁴⁰ Ezra Stiles D.D., ‘The United States Elevated to Glory and Honour (1783)’, ed. by Reiner Smolinski, *Electronic Texts in American Studies*, 41 (1783), 1-53 (pp. 35-37, 42).

⁵⁴¹ Baker, ‘Death by Wasting Away’, 396, 401.

⁵⁴² The NAD is an acronym for the North American Division, and it is part of the global organisation of the SDA Church that includes the General Conference, Regional Divisions, Unions, Conferences and local church congregations. Seventh-day Adventist Church, ‘How Our Structure Works’, *Columbia Union Conference* [n.d.], 1-2 <<https://www.columbiaunion.org/content/how-church-structure-works>> [accessed 10 June 2022].

⁵⁴³ Baker, ‘Death by Wasting Away’, 401; Douglas Morgan, *Change Agents: The Lay Movement that Challenged the System and Turned Adventism Toward Racial Justice* (WestLake Village, CA: Oak & Acorn Publishing, 2020), p. xxiii-xix.

perpetuated. From a legal standpoint, it is possible to argue that the Sanitarium was in accordance with the societal norms of its day because it upheld Maryland's Jim Crow laws, so in theory this made the Sanitarium a law-abiding institution. By using this logic, the Sanitarium could organise its policies legitimately to exclude American people of colour. In both written accounts I have examined concerning Lucy Byard's final days, this logic was advanced by the Sanitarium to justify its actions. However, I find it strange that in the days of the Adventist pioneers they practised abolitionism and civil disobedience against unjust laws such as the Fugitive Slave Acts, but in the Washington Sanitarium's case, Ellen White's appeal to Scripture, her speeches and published work on the subject of racism, along with the church's historic work among African Americans in the South, seemed to be irrelevant to the modus operandi of the Sanitarium. Perhaps they were selective in only heeding White's admonition to wait for the Lord to show them 'a better way'.⁵⁴⁴

By the 1940s the pseudo-vision would have become prevalent in the ethos of institutions like the Washington Sanitarium, so this would have impacted its theology and ethics. For example, concerning their doctrine of God, the Almighty would have been reduced to a tribal God who made his dwelling place or sanctuary in a white-only space that marked non-white people as the inferior other.⁵⁴⁵ So when Lucy Byard arrived at the Sanitarium, even though she shared the same Adventist faith as the Sanitarium staff were supposed to, they othered her because of her racial difference. Othering takes place when a dominant group (Us) is constructed in opposition to an inferior group (Them). This binary process becomes the basis for prejudice,

⁵⁴⁴ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols., p. 178.

⁵⁴⁵ E. U. Essien-Udom, 'Tribalism and Racism', in *Race, Science and Society* (1973), 236-37 <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000013031_eng> [accessed 13 June 2022]. Essien-Udom argues that the ideology of racism arranges the human race in a hierarchy that designates whites as the genetically superior group and blacks as the inferior group. The superior group is placed at the apex of the human race.

marginalisation and inequalities against others who are different to the superior group.⁵⁴⁶ Clint Curle states:

We can use our differences as an opportunity to share and learn or we can use our differences as an excuse to build walls between us. When we highlight differences between groups of people to increase suspicion of them, to insult them or to exclude them, we are going down the path known as “othering”.⁵⁴⁷

In theory, it did not matter if the Sanitarium staff and Lucy Byard all kept the seventh day Sabbath, or they all believed in the Second Coming of Jesus as the name Seventh-day Adventist indicates. Nor did it matter if they all paid tithe, or they believed that the body is the temple of God or they were convicted by core Adventist beliefs such as the state of the dead and the resurrection; Lucy Byard was still othered by her fellow Adventists.⁵⁴⁸ As Robert Hare remarked to Elder W. E. Nelson, Black bodies were not valued in this space for white clientele, so whenever they die outside of these white spaces as many Black people in America have done, or they intrude on them without invitation, their temporal and eternal destinies are considered to be inconsequential. As one of these visible hyper Black bodies, Lucy Byard was a threat to the norm, an enemy to the status quo.⁵⁴⁹ She represented the other, someone who did not belong in the white spaces of 1940s Adventism.

⁵⁴⁶ I have adapted my articulation of othering from an essay by Jean-François Staszak. See Jean-François Staszak, ‘Other/Otherness’, *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* (2008), 1-7 (pp. 2-3). <[https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/geo/files/3214/4464/7634/Other Otherness.pdf](https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/geo/files/3214/4464/7634/Other%20Otherness.pdf)> [accessed 12 June 2022]. My articulation of othering is also adapted from John A. Powell and Stephen Menedian, ‘The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging’, *Othering and Belonging: Expanding the Circle of Human Concern*, 1 [n.d.], 17 <<http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/the-problem-of-othering/>> [accessed 4 May 2022].

⁵⁴⁷ Clint Curle, ‘Us Vs. Them: the Process of Othering’, [n.d.], 1-12 (p. 2) <<https://humanrights.ca/story/us-vs-them-the-process-of-othering>> [accessed 12 June 2022].

⁵⁴⁸ Bull and Lockhart raise the issue that the Sanitarium workers may have been lax in their observance of the distinctive theological beliefs and practises of the SDA Church. Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, pp. 303-07.

⁵⁴⁹ Clifford Goldstein, an Adventist theologian, recognises that when a person or group is othered because they are different, a power dynamic exists that causes the other to be deemed as not just a threat, but an enemy to those who represent the norm. Clifford Goldstein, ‘The Other-ing’, *Liberty* (2018), 1-9 (p.3) <<https://www.libertymagazine.org/article/the-other-ing>> [accessed 12 June 2022].

In my assessment, none of these circumstances detract from the fact that Lucy Byard was a sick woman in need of medical attention. This medical attention could have been given to her because the Washington Sanitarium was a beneficiary of the SDA Church's vision of wholeness and its legacy of eight decades of health reform, which, I have shown in my research, came into existence during the antebellum era of the Adventist pioneers. Concerning the church's vision of wholeness, the Adventist historian Benjamin Baker states that although the Washington Sanitarium was moving towards a hospital model, 'it still adopted a more holistic approach to health and wellness with a central social component'.⁵⁵⁰ The social aspect meant that patients could use the Sanitarium as a recreational retreat. However, I would argue that the Sanitarium did not genuinely practise a wholistic approach, but something inferior, because it propagated a theological view of anthropology that classified some humans as indivisible, multi-dimensional beings and others as something less.

Another issue that arises concerning the Washington Sanitarium is the likelihood that it inherited some characteristics from Battle Creek, the church's flagship Sanitarium. I contend that the Battle Creek Sanitarium was not immune to the pseudo-vision, so this would have made it vulnerable to the problem of the invisibility of whiteness and the perpetuation of racism. Why do I say this? I say this because even though Dr John Harvey Kellogg was a Seventh-day Adventist who ran the Battle Creek Sanitarium for many years, there were times when he was ambiguous about the issue of racism. So on the one hand, he promoted an inclusive health institution that rejected segregation and treated patients such as Sojourner Truth, while on the other hand, he subscribed to President Theodore Roosevelt's theory of 'race suicide', which claimed that white middle class and upper class Americans 'were being outbred by "inferior

⁵⁵⁰ Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 396.

“races”, primarily Southern and Eastern Europeans, Blacks and Asians’.⁵⁵¹ This ideology has startling similarities to the Great Replacement conspiracy being circulated by white supremacists in the twenty-first century.⁵⁵² To preserve the superior race, Kellogg promoted the science of eugenics in the Battle Creek Sanitarium, but his scientific beliefs were inconsistent with the traditional theological perspective of Adventism, so eventually he was disfellowshipped from the church, but this only gave him the freedom to invent his own version of eugenics which he named ‘race betterment’.⁵⁵³ So it would appear, whenever the Adventist sanitariums uncritically conformed to scripts of superiority, they acted less like the Lamb of God and more like the oppressive lamb-like beast of the apocalypse.

In sum, the Washington Sanitarium excluded Lucy Byard from the SDA vision of wholeness because it operated in accordance with an us-versus-them hierarchy. This oppositional binary led to Lucy being othered from a white space that was segregated by the Adventist staff’s uncritical compliance to the pseudo-vision. Lucy Byard’s story viewed through the lens of a typology from above depicts the SDA vision of wholeness as being diminished and displaced by a pseudo-vision that promotes tribalism, racism and unattunement to the lived experience of black and brown people who are socially located on the underside of scripts of superiority.⁵⁵⁴ Under these circumstances, when Lucy arrived at the Sanitarium, she failed to discover healing, wholeness or the redeeming grace of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ.

⁵⁵¹ Nick Buckley, ‘How John Harvey Kellogg was Wrong on Race’, *Battle Creek Enquirer* [n.d.], 4-5 <<https://eu.battlecreekenquirer.com/story/news/2019/03/21/john-harvey-kellogg-battle-creek-michigan-eugenics-race-nazis/3202628002/>> [accessed 10 June 2022].

⁵⁵² For example, in the twenty-first century, some white American nationalists believe that Jews, immigrants and people of colour are invading their land in order to commit a form of genocide against white Americans so that they become extinct. This conspiracy is known as the ‘Great Replacement’. Jones, ‘What is the ‘Great Replacement’ and How is it Tied to the Buffalo Shooting Suspect’, 1-6.

⁵⁵³ Buckley argues that Kellogg’s eugenics was rooted in white superiority. Buckley, ‘How John Harvey Kellogg was Wrong on Race’, 2.

⁵⁵⁴ Boubakar Sanou, ‘Ethnicity, Tribalism and Racism: A Global Challenge for the Christian Church and its Mission’, *The Journal of Applied Christian Leadership* (2015), 1-16.

5.3 A Typology from Below

Now I will re-tell and re-evaluate the Lucy Byard story through the lens of a typology from below. Lucy Byard was a woman of faith, and her humble experience and life story represents the mimetic impress or mould of the Joshua generation. This mould/impress modifies the SDA vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision. In time to come, the Lucy Byard mould/mimetic impress would become a catalyst for dialogical attunement between Black Seventh-day Adventists and the BPT in the Joshua generation.⁵⁵⁵ I will return to this point later, but for now I will provide further details about Lucy's Byard's background.

Lucy Byard was a minority figure who lived on the underside of America's dominant racial script. Her parents Harriet and Jesse Spence 'were born into slavery in southern Virginia in the 1850s', but they gained their emancipation by the close of the American Civil War. Their daughter Lucy was born '22 September 1877', she was one of eight children, and she went to school in Petersburg, Virginia where she received an education up to the level of second year high school. By the year 1922, Lucy had become a widow, so her economic status, and the intersectionality occurring between her ethnicity, gender and religious affiliation as a Sabbath-keeping Seventh-day Adventist would have been problematic in the era of Jim and Jane Crow.⁵⁵⁶

Using my moral imagination to look at this story from the nexus of Selma, Lucy Byard's humble existence would place her among the afflicted in America's racial story. When President Obama returned to Selma in 2007, he urged his fellow marchers not to forget those who had suffered before them because of the perpetuation of racism in church and society.⁵⁵⁷ He may have never heard the story of Lucy Byard, but she

⁵⁵⁵ Rock, *Protest & Progress*, pp. 42-48.

⁵⁵⁶ Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 392-93.

⁵⁵⁷ Obama, 'Selma Voting Rights March Commemoration Speech', 5.

would have been one of the many African Americans for whom protesters in the BPT and the SDA Church marched for in the 1960s, in order to achieve racial justice, harmony and peace in America. For the cause of Black minority persons like Byard, the protesters at Selma endured the humiliation of Bloody Sunday so that they could expose, contest and overturn the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. Similar to Byard, many of the African American protesters were churchgoers who believed in the gospel of Jesus Christ and the blessed hope of his soon appearing, but they were also familiar with a world full of trouble, or as Richard Rice has described the ills of this world as “the tragic effects of sin, alienation and conflict”, therefore they knew first-hand the black keys and blues notes of redemptive history.⁵⁵⁸

As I have mentioned, when the lens of a typology from below is employed, theology is done in a minor key that begins with the “troubles of the world” before journeying towards the hope of the eternal gospel.⁵⁵⁹ In the troubles of the world, theology done in the minor key was expressed in the Negro Spirituals sung across the plantations in the cruel heat of the day or in relation to the eerie spectre of “Strange fruit hanging on the poplar trees”.⁵⁶⁰ Moreover, theology done in a minor key weeps over the body of Lazarus, but also the body of Emit Till, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Sandra Bland, George Floyd and Tyre Nichols, but it does not stop there because it is embodied in the mourners of those who wept and still weep over the bodies of Stephen Lawrence and other Black, indigenous, and people of colour who have died because of the perpetuation of racism in every part of the world. Stephen J. Nicholls argues that theology in a minor key is helpful for understanding ‘what theologians call

⁵⁵⁸ Rice, *MinistryHealing*, pp. 1-3, 4-14, 18; Barbara Dianne Savage, *Your Spirit Walks with Us: The Politics of Black Religion* (Cambridge, MA: The Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 238-42.

⁵⁵⁹ Revelation 14.6.

⁵⁶⁰ Dorian Lynskey, ‘Strange Fruit: the First Great Protest Song’, *Guardian*, 16 February 2011, pp. 1-8.

redemption’ in terms of ‘all of the realities of life under the cross’ or ‘the downbeat of the human condition’ or in my own terminology “divinity in the flesh with boots on the ground”.⁵⁶¹

In redemptive history, the black keys and the blue notes have accompanied death’s heavy boots and the sound of feet limping wearily as teardrops fall from those who have lost their beloved ones to injustice in the world. This too was the case when Lucy Byard died at Freedman’s Hospital after being rejected from the Washington Sanitarium. Like many African American communities that have grieved for lost ones who have been unjustly knelt upon, or trampled under the weight of anti-black racism, sexism and classism, the Black SDA community mourned the loss of Lucy Byard, their dear sister in Christ.⁵⁶² Soon grief turned to outrage and outrage to a demand for justice. Lucy Byard’s husband and several of the members of the ‘First Jamaica S.D.A. Church, Long Island’, expressed their demand for justice by writing directly to Elder J. L. McElhany, the president of the General Conference. In their letter, Byard and the other church members informed McElhany that they resented how Mrs Byard had been treated at the Washington Sanitarium especially as ‘she was a SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST and after seeing her condition on arrival there (VERY ILL, AN AGED WOMAN AND WEARY FROM TRAVELLING)’, they treated her in an inhumane way before sending her off to acquire medical care from a ‘worldly institution’. The letter ends with a demand for financial compensation with the threat of an impending lawsuit if not paid immediately.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶¹ Nichols, *Getting the Blues*, p. 35; Justin Taylor, ‘Theology in a Minor Key’, <<https://www.the-gospelcoalition.org/blogs/justin-taylor/theology-in-minor-key/>> [accessed 14 June 2022].

⁵⁶² Baker, ‘Death by Wasting Away’, 400-401.

⁵⁶³ The original letter is entitled ‘Signed Letter First Jamaican Church’. The church sent the letter to the GC President of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Benjamin Baker has made an image of this letter available for public use. See Bernard, ‘More About The Lucy Byard Story’, 1-2.

In relation to the church's vision of wholeness, all of the documentation surrounding Lucy Byard's death indicates that under the influence of the pseudo-vision, an us-versus-them bias had caused the white workers in the Sanitarium to discriminate against Lucy on the basis of the colour of her skin, and the First Jamaica SDA Church to categorise the Washington Sanitarium and Freedman's Hospital in a sacred/secular, good vs. evil dualism. The latter group did this even though James Byard had written to G. E. Peters to inform him that his wife was receiving competent medical care at the Freedman's Hospital.⁵⁶⁴ Benjamin Baker avers that while Mrs Byard was at the hospital she was cared for by 'J. Mark Cox, a Black SDA who was interning there as a 'physician-in training'.⁵⁶⁵

Shortly after Byard had been turned away from the Washington Sanitarium the news about what happened to her spread quickly among church members in the NAD, especially among those in the African American community.⁵⁶⁶ This crisis prompted the all-white male leadership at the GC to do damage control, so it sent its vice president W. G. Turner to the Ephesus SDA Church in Washington, D.C. Then on a Sabbath day in 'October 1943', Turner sought to pacify the growing discontent among the Black membership of the Ephesus Church by preaching a sermon based on 1 Peter 4.12; the text reads as follows: 'dear friends, do not be surprised at the painful trial you are suffering, as though something strange were happening to you'.⁵⁶⁷ Unfortunately, Turner's plan backfired on him when a James Montgomery of the Ephesus SDA Church boldly chose to speak truth to power by protesting against his sermon with the response:

Think it not strange? Yes I, I think it very strange that there is an Adventist college nearby to which I cannot send my children. Yes, I think it is strange!

⁵⁶⁵ Baker, 'Death by Wasting Away', 400.

⁵⁶⁶ Douglas Morgan, *Change Agents*, pp. 5, 7.

⁵⁶⁷ Morgan, *Change Agents*, pp. 1-2, 12-14; Rock, *Protest & Progress*, p. 45.

A denominational cafeteria in which I cannot be served, and now this incident [Washington Sanitarium]– I think it very strange!⁵⁶⁸

The incident at the Ephesus Church was the start of many protests to come by Black SDAs throughout the period of the Moses and Joshua generation.⁵⁶⁹ These protests regardless of whether they were done individually or in a group, would act as a counter-vision to the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated.

Instead of going to the Washington Sanitarium, Lucy Byard could have gone to the Riverside Sanitarium in Nashville because it was the first Black SDA medical institution in the United States. In the early 1900s it catered specifically to the health needs of African Americans, so perhaps if Lucy had gone there, she would have lived longer.⁵⁷⁰ After her death, one of the voices of protest in the Black SDA community was the physician Stark O. Cherry. In his 1944 letter to J. L. McElhany, the GC President, Dr Cherry provided him with an overview of the multiple forms of racial discrimination happening to Black SDAs because of their fellow white Seventh-day Adventists. A number of times, Dr Cherry makes mention of the Lucy Byard case and the unjust, un-Christian-like policies of the Washington Sanitarium. Furthermore, he provides another perspective on why the Byards may have opted to go to the Washington Sanitarium instead of somewhere else. He states:

Masses of our people in the North and the East and the West tell me and complain that on account of the distance, the cost of travel, and the indignities to which the [coloured] people are subjected in traffic and travel going South, and being so far from their homes and families, they just cannot go to Riverside in Tennessee, notwithstanding the very efficient service that is rendered by Doctor

⁵⁶⁸ Morgan, *Change Agents*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁹ Calvin B. Rock has documented that The Committee for the Advancement of World-Wide Work among Seventh-day Adventists is ‘widely regarded’ as the first organised protest group of Black Seventh-day Adventists. Rock, *Protest and Progress*, p. 46

⁵⁷⁰ Lucas L. Johnson II, ‘First Black Seventh-day Adventist Facility Receives Historical Marker’, *Southern Tidings* (2018) 1 <<https://www.southerntidings.com/news/first-black-seventh-day-adventist-medical-facility-receives-historical-marker/>> [accessed 28 September 2018]. *The Southern Tidings* is produced by the Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists; Louis B. Reynolds, ‘Dedication of the Riverside’s New Hospital Building’, *Informant*, 2, (1948), 1-12 (pp. 1-2) <<https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/NAI/NAI19481001-V02-17.pdf>> [accessed 28 September 2018].

Dent and his staff nurses. They cannot understand why they are taken in other hospitals and institutions of the world, and particularly the Catholics, who will call them, welcome and give them good service and separate wards.⁵⁷¹

In his letter to the president, Dr Cherry conveys that Black SDAs are puzzled by how other Christian denominational health institutions treat African Americans better than the SDA Church does. As a solution, he argues that the church as a whole should raise funds for American people of colour so they could travel to Oakwood and Riverside in the South.⁵⁷² I would argue that Dr Stark O. Cherry's letter provides a direct account of the SDA Church's inability to realise its vision of wholeness in a postbellum era pervaded by the pseudo-vision. By engaging in protest, the Black SDA community sought to recover a counter-visionary ethic in their heritage by being in dialogical attunement with the BPT. However, it would need the whole church to be involved if they were going to achieve the goal of a fuller realisation of SDA's vision of wholeness.⁵⁷³

5.4 Lucy Byard, the Moral Imagination and Dialogical Attunement

There have been several reconstructions of the story of Lucy Byard within the Seventh-day Adventist community. As I have already shown, early reconstructions of her story were given in the letters produced by James Byard and Robert Hare. Then the story went through a number of anecdotal reconstructions as it spread among church members. However, in more recent years Benjamin Baker, Calvin B. Rock and a number of other scholars have produced more accurate accounts of the story through

⁵⁷¹ I have provided the full transcript of S. O. Cherry's letter in Appendix E of my thesis. I obtained this letter from the General Conference Archives, overseen by the office of Archives, Statistics and Research at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. The letter was sourced as Dr S. O. Cherry to Elder J. L. McElhany, '9 March 1944'. RG 11 Box 14120-14126.

⁵⁷² O. Cherry to McElhany, '9 March 1944'. RG 11 Box 14120-14126.

⁵⁷³ Although Calvin B. Rock, Douglas Morgan and Samuel G. London, Jr. and others have not used the term dialogical attunement as I have done in my thesis, their documentation of the church's denominational history supports my argument that SDAs at various times have been dialogically attuned to the BPT.

critical academic research.⁵⁷⁴ These academic reconstructions have been helpful for gaining a more rounded depiction of her life story, but I would argue that the letter of James Henry Byard provides the best point of access for engaging her narrative with the moral imagination and dialogical attunement.

In his letter to Elder G. E. Peters, James H. Byard expressed how his wife felt about the possibilities that lay before her. He stated:

my wife had been looking forward with much anticipation to going to this particular Sanitarium, because she felt that she would be among her own people. There would be an understanding among them that she could not expect in an outside hospital. In fact her hopes were so high that her health was much better than it had been for days, and she even suffered the tiresome and painful train ride because of her expected destination.⁵⁷⁵

This statement by James H. Byard, acts as an access point for the moral imagination to begin to work. The moral imagination works by enabling the self or a community to perceive a range of possibilities that provide an alternative to the status quo.⁵⁷⁶ So in the case of Lucy Byard, she existed in a racially segregated America that followed Jim and Jane Crow norms that were the antithesis to the SDA vision of wholeness. Before she went to the Washington Sanitarium, Lucy Byard anticipated that she would cross into an alternative space, a refuge away from the un-Christ-like racism that prevailed in the American social order. I posit that she perceived the Washington Sanitarium to be an inclusive space that was interconnected with the rest of the Adventist Church because of the SDA vision of wholeness. However, I am arguing that she was neither idealistic nor naïve about the reality of sin because she knew that while it existed on this earth, there would be no space free from conflict until Christ returns.

⁵⁷⁴ Morgan, *Change Agents*, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁷⁵ Bernard, 'More About the Lucy Byard Story', 1-2.

⁵⁷⁶ Anthony Weston, *A 21st Century Ethical ToolBox*, 2nd edn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 355; John Kekes, *The Enlargement of Life: The Moral Imagination at Work* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 26.

As a Seventh-day Adventist for over 40 years, Lucy Byard would have learned in her church community that throughout the ages, the human race has been involved in a cosmic conflict, but this does not mean that in spaces where conflict and division exists they cannot be transformed by God.⁵⁷⁷ So I am arguing that Lucy used her own moral imagination to perceive the possibilities for the white-only space of the Washington Sanitarium to become a nexus for dialogical attunement between Black and white members of the SDA Church. In sum, her humble, biographic, faith story viewed through the lens of a typology from below, re-presents a Joshua generation mimetic impress or mould that generates possibilities for modifying the SDA vision of wholeness, so that it becomes a counter-vision that enables Seventh-day Adventists to transform institutional spaces and people, so that they are no longer dominated by scripts of superiority that reproduce the pseudo-vision.

5.5 Conclusion

As I bring my research to a conclusion, I realise that there have been two major concerns underlying my thesis. The first underlying concern was: how might the SDA vision of wholeness become more central to the church's theology and ethics, especially in relation to issues that exist beyond the boundaries of health reform and the medical sciences? The second underlying concern was: how should I think and write about the SDA vision of wholeness so that it is inclusive of biblical, theological and ethical sources that represent people of African descent and other minority groups who are socially located on the underside of America's racial divide?

⁵⁷⁷ Adams, *Crossing the Jordan*, p. 162.

In my first chapter, I conducted a review of the literature on SDA wholeness and I found that the SDA vision of wholeness is still a work in progress.⁵⁷⁸ The vision is not a hardened creed or doctrine that is unchangeable, nor is it grounded in philosophy, rather the vision illuminates the various facets of the biblical terms shalom and *eirēnē*, therefore linking the Seventh-day Adventist Church back to its Judeo-Christian roots in the Holy Bible and the peace-making heritage of its pioneers.⁵⁷⁹

By making the claim that the SDA vision of wholeness is a work in progress, I sought to argue this claim in two ways. First, I argued that the *telos* or end of the vision has not yet been fully realised by Adventists, so they have been en route towards this specific goal, but as Gerald Winslow contends, this pursuit is a ‘lifelong quest’.⁵⁸⁰ I argue it will only be achieved in its fullness when Jesus returns.

Second, I argued that the work in progress is an on-going conversation taking place among Seventh-day Adventists that employs several approaches to their vision of wholeness. However, as the conversation progresses new contributions will be added to the dialogue. However, as I have shown in my first chapter, if new contributions are going to be added, including my own, then the SDA vision of wholeness must not be monopolised by one particular ethnic group or a particular form of discourse that becomes the dominant norm or an end in itself. This would be problematic because it makes one group or form of discourse superior over others. A prime example of this type of situation occurs when the SDA vision of wholeness is spoken of predominantly in terms of health or as Malcolm Bull has argued, it becomes co-opted into an all-

⁵⁷⁸ In order to provide a biblical basis for the SDA vision of wholeness, I explored the relevant Hebrew and Greek terms found in the Bible that relate to the word wholeness. However, it was not my aim to focus on the term wholeness as an end in itself, but to use it to generate further discussion about the SDA vision in particular.

⁵⁷⁹ Morgan, ‘Adventism’s Peacemaking Heritage’, p. 7. Here Morgan argues that wholeness runs like a ‘mighty stream’ through all of the truths that the Adventist Church proclaims.

⁵⁸⁰ Winslow, ‘The Grace of Wholeness’, *Pacific Union Recorder*, 19.

encompassing system of corporatisation that he identifies as medicalisation.⁵⁸¹ In his medicalisation thesis, Bull warns that in the case of health and religion, the former becomes the superior and the latter the inferior.⁵⁸² He argues this occurred when John Harvey Kellogg took over the Battle Creek Sanitarium, where he created an environment that medicalisation could flourish in.⁵⁸³

Since the time of the Adventist pioneers, health reform and the medical sciences have played a significant role in the church's vision of wholeness and its proclamation of the everlasting gospel to humanity. However, I argue that the church's conversation about its vision has not been static, but dynamic because various approaches have been developed to move the conversation beyond the parameters that usually associate wholeness predominantly with health. In accord with this development, I positioned my own thesis so that it contributes to the discourse on the vision of wholeness by moving it away from an Adventist preoccupation with health to other contemporary concerns. In contrast to the vast amount of discourse that Adventists have generated about their vision of wholeness in relation to health, there is hardly any discussion about the SDA vision of wholeness in relation to racism and antiracism, so I have identified this gap in the knowledge as a space for my own research. This gap in the knowledge about SDAs' vision of wholeness represents a space for the voices of people of colour who are situated on the underside of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. It is a space where the 'far reaching possibilities' and 'untapped' potential of wholeness can be investigated.⁵⁸⁴

The work on wholeness by Ginger Hanks-Harwood became the point of departure for my own thesis. Her work is important to my thesis because she has

⁵⁸¹ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 15-17, 20-21.

⁵⁸² Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 18-19.

⁵⁸³ Bull, 'The Medicalization of Adventism', 17-18.

⁵⁸⁴ Bull and Lockhart, 'The Intellectual World of Adventists', 31, 36.

envisioned wholeness as being central to SDA's theology and ethics. Also, her work provided me with the language I needed to articulate wholeness as a vision.⁵⁸⁵ In fact, I have argued that my thesis is a response to her challenge to Seventh-day Adventists to make their vision of wholeness realisable in its fullness.⁵⁸⁶ To make this challenge central to my own thesis, I formulated the critical question: how can Seventh-day Adventists achieve a fuller realisation of their vision of Wholeness? In response to this question, I have constructed a theological ethic that includes a re-narration of SDA's theology of history, the identification of Selma as a nexus for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the Black protest tradition and a typological lens for moving between the world of the Bible and the world of everyday life. Furthermore, this typological lens views redemptive history from the social location of the underside.

Another important contribution Ginger Hanks-Harwood makes in her work is her articulation of reality being interconnected in its various dimensions. The descriptors Hanks-Harwood gives to this multidimensionality and interconnectedness are: 'the total web of life' and the 'ecology of existence'.⁵⁸⁷ Her idea of interconnectedness brings together the theological, Christological, anthropological, ethical, missiological, ecclesiological and other dimensions of SDAs' vision of wholeness.⁵⁸⁸ It also reflects the interconnectedness and multidimensionality of the approaches used by Adventists in their differing contributions to the vision. The interconnectedness of the vision is probably what Lucy Byard expected to find throughout the ecosystem of the Adventist Church and the sanitariums that belong to it.

⁵⁸⁵ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', pp. 140-141.

⁵⁸⁶ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 143.

⁵⁸⁷ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 128.

⁵⁸⁸ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', pp. 131, 133.

5.6 Thesis Summary

Ginger Hanks-Harwood's challenge to SDAs to re-envision the task of Christian ethics has provided me with an outline for summarising the construction of my own theological ethic. This theological ethic is developed in chapters 2-5 in my thesis. I have divided my thesis summary into four phases that follow the outline of Hanks-Harwood's task for Christian ethics.

1) Re-visioned, the ethical task is to discern in our respective circumstances the possibilities for morally responsible action **2)** As we investigate the possible openings in the present that can lead to a transformed future **3)** we must act in accordance with our vision of the world, struggle with whatever is necessary in order to witness to and effect this alternative pattern. **4)** We must seek to discover and create a range of responses in our social context which will render the vision realizable.⁵⁸⁹

In the second chapter of my thesis, I addressed the first phase of this outline. This phase requires the moral agent to choose a course for 'responsible action' that has been discerned in the context of redemptive history and the circumstances it presents.⁵⁹⁰ The approach I used for 'discerning the respective circumstances and possibilities for morally responsible action' was the SDA theology of history paradigm.⁵⁹¹ I found a theological-historical paradigm provided me with a cosmic perspective of redemptive history that also acts as an overarching story for the thesis.⁵⁹² Furthermore, the paradigm provided me with a historical timeline that could be divided into specific epochs in which responsible action or irresponsible action could be discerned. In the complexity of the human condition with its varying circumstances there are numerous possibilities for either of these types of action to occur. I addressed the dilemma of responsibility

⁵⁸⁹ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 141.

⁵⁹⁰ Hanks-Harwood's outline for ethics is not rigid because the various elements interact and overlap with each other.

⁵⁹¹ Hanks-Harwood, 'Wholeness', p. 141.

⁵⁹² Gunnar Pedersen, 'The Bible as a Story': A Methodological Opportunity', in *Exploring the Frontiers of Faith: Festschrift in Honour of Dr. Jan Paulsen*, ed. by Børge Schantz and Reinder Bruinsma, Congratulatory edn (Luenneburg: Advent-Verlag, 2009), pp. 237-38.

and irresponsibility in the problem of the two contrary visions existing within the SDA Church. I argued that in the antebellum years, the church acted responsibly because it pursued a trajectory towards achieving a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness. Also, SDAs used their Millerite heritage and historical-prophetic reading of Scripture to critique America and the sin of slavery; as a result, they became active participants in the antislavery reform movement. Moreover, Abolitionism brought the Adventists into contact with a counter-visionary movement that I have called the Black protest tradition.

Conversely, in the postbellum years, I argued that the SDA Church became displaced from its antebellum course towards its goal, so its vision of wholeness diminished, so this made it susceptible to the growing pervasiveness of a pseudo-vision in church and society. In my judgement, the church acted irresponsibly because it gradually conformed to this false vision by creating a divisive hierarchy that positioned whites at the apex of church power and SDA people of colour beneath them. This institutional arrangement was perpetuated among its leaders and worshipping communities throughout the church's denominational history.⁵⁹³ Thus, the invisibility of whiteness as a script of superiority became the norm for an us-versus-them racial divide in the Adventist community that became a means for oppression and discriminatory behaviour towards people of colour who are socially located on the underside.

Another significant development in this chapter was my use of the narrative genre. I used this genre in several ways. First, I used it in my re-narration of SDA's theology of history that corresponds to the Bible's overarching story of redemption, and then I used it to convey the story of racism in America as it intersects with Adventism. So, my re-narration encompasses the overarching story and several 'petite narratives'.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹³ Birch, *A Third Great Disappointment for the Remnant*, pp. 45-46, 87-89; Calvin B. Rock, *Protest & Progress*, pp.19-20.

⁵⁹⁴ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 60.

These smaller narratives were significant for the thesis because they provided the historical, political, socio-cultural and religious landscape in which the problem of this chapter could be critically investigated in its nineteenth century setting. In relation to this landscape, I identified the invisibility of whiteness as a script of superiority that reproduces the pseudo-vision. Then I analysed the nineteenth century American landscape primarily through the art of Constantino Brumidi, and then I examined it through the institution of slavery and its subsequent transformations in American history as well as Adventism's development from a sect to a denomination. Furthermore, I argued that although the pseudo-vision had become the dominant norm in American life, its invisibility made it difficult for the Adventists to detect, but its detection was not entirely futile.

In terms of the church's development, the year of the Great Disappointment in 1844 was pivotal for the formation of the Sabbath-keeping Adventists. Among this group were the future leaders of the SDA Church. I argued that when the SDA pioneers prayerfully and carefully reviewed the apocalyptic events of 1844, they were encouraged to act responsibly by formulating a number of critical questions about the meaning of 1844 for their theological identity, vocation and ethics, but also about their relation to America because they had identified it as the two-horned beast of Revelation 13.⁵⁹⁵ In the antebellum period when the Adventists were formulating these critical questions in light of their reading of the sacred Scriptures, they were able to pursue a fuller realisation of their vision of wholeness and this put them on an alternative trajectory to America's millennial vision, which I have argued in the thesis was really a guise for the pseudo-vision.

⁵⁹⁵ Knott, 'Writing Against Wrongs, p. 2; O'Reggio, 'Slavery, Prophecy and the American Nation', p. 144.

As I continued to investigate the nineteenth century landscape of Adventism, it became apparent that during the three phases of the church's religious development, there were early indicators of dialogical attunement between Adventism and the Black protest tradition. However, in the post-bellum era as the pseudo-vision displaced and diminished the SDA vision of wholeness from its antebellum trajectory, the church's predominantly white membership became irresponsible in their actions towards people of African descent who were socially located on the underside of America's dominant racial script, until Ellen G. White challenged the church to take its gospel message to the South. In the North, there were very few opportunities for dialogical attunement with African Americans.⁵⁹⁶

Finally, a critical investigation of the two contrary visions existing in the SDA Church enabled me to gain a broader perspective of SDA's theology of history and its timeline. By gaining this view, I was able to locate a nexus in redemptive historical time that would establish SDAs' vision of wholeness at the centre of my construction of a theological ethic, so that I could begin to modify it as a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision.

In chapter three, I addressed the second phase of Hanks-Harwood's outline: 'the possible openings in the present that can lead to a transformed future'. For this part of the task, I identified the city of Selma in Alabama as the focal point of my construction of a theological ethic. I argued that Selma is a social location in the here and now that requires Adventists to decide whether they pursue their vision of wholeness from above or below. The social location from below represents the critical perspective from which enslaved African Americans learned to read the sacred Scriptures in relation to the pro-white social order that oppressed them, and this approach provided them with a counter-

⁵⁹⁶ Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, pp. 236-37.

vision to the dominant racial script from above. I have argued that the social location from below is where dialogical attunement occurs, so if Adventists are going to choose to pursue their vision of wholeness from the social location of the underside, this task will require them to re-evaluate their theology and ethics.

In my construction of a theological ethic, I identified Selma as a nexus for dialogical attunement between the SDA Church and the BPT. As a nexus in time, Selma is a focal point in the twentieth century where the Adventist story and America's racial story meet. When Adventists use this nexus in time, they can rediscover within their own heritage, twentieth century examples of dialogical attunement, especially in the biographical faith stories of Adventists who participated in the Selma to Montgomery march. Looking further back from this nexus in time, Adventists can also rediscover in their heritage early indicators of dialogical attunement between SDAs and the BPT in the nineteenth century. Moreover, Selma as a nexus in time provides the opportunity for Adventists to deliberate on the possibilities for responsible action in the here and now by re-reading the faith stories of Adventists who lived in this particular generation of counter-visionary protest.

In the construction of my theological ethic, I have called this generation of counter-visionary protest the Moses generation because I employed a typological lens that makes a correspondence between the Exodus struggle in the Hebrew Bible and the antitypical interracial struggle that began with slavery and continued at Selma⁵⁹⁷. In the biblical struggle, the Moses generation were socially located on the underside of the dominant script of Pharaoh, whereas in the interracial struggle at Selma, the post-canonical Moses generation were situated on the underside of the dominant script of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. So, Selma as a nexus

⁵⁹⁷ The struggle at Selma has its roots in the enslavement of people of African descent in the United States.

brings together dialogical attunement and a typology from below as a means for the next generation of Adventists to transform the future, so that it will be possible for the SDA vision of wholeness to be modified so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision.

In chapter four, I addressed the third phase of Hanks-Harwood's outline: 'we must act in accordance with our vision of the world, struggle with whatever is necessary in order to witness to and effect this alternative pattern'. The Bible is the primary resource for the SDA Church and the BPT to envision God's providential and redemptive acts of shalom in history. In this chapter, I demonstrated that it is possible to envision life in the Scriptures as a mirror of lived reality and vice versa. I did this by using a typological lens as a hermeneutic for passing on a God inspired vision from one generation to the next. By employing typology as a hermeneutical lens, I argued that it is possible to recognise mimetic impresses within the storyline of the sacred Scriptures. These mimetic impresses or types are arranged according to God's divine will, and they are repeated at various moments in redemptive history, thus creating patterns in time for those who see them in their own historical context. So, in this chapter and the previous one, the pattern has been a Moses-Joshua typology.

It is possible to discern the Moses-Joshua typological pattern in the Adventist story as it intersects with America's racial story in Barack Obama's visits to Selma. For Obama and his generation at Selma, the meaning of the Joshua generation is found in the continuity between them and their predecessors in the Moses generation who struggled against the status quo of white supremacy in its various forms. However, in Obama's Joshua generation typology, the theme of remembrance is emphasised rather than struggle, so that God's providential and redemptive acts in history and the acts of their forerunners are not forgotten. As a result, succeeding generations might learn how

to flourish by looking back to their past, in order to impact their present and their future.⁵⁹⁸

For the Adventists, the meaning of the Joshua generation is also found in the act of remembering God's providential and redemptive acts in the history of their predecessors, and this recounting of their past creates possibilities for the re-evaluation of what it means to be an Adventist in the here and now and in the future. I argue that in the here and now and in the future, the SDA Church ought to construct a theological ethic that is an alternative to the dominant us-versus-them racial divide instigated by the pseudo-vision. I contend that this requires them to re-read the Joshua narrative in order to look for an alternative theme to conquest, one that does not generate oppression against the other, but prophetic and responsible action to people who are socially located on the underside of scripts of superiority. In the outcome of this chapter, I argued for a constructive theological ethic that integrates theology (typology from below) with ethics (dialogical attunement) in the church's pursuit of a fuller realisation of its vision of wholeness. In concert with the moral imagination, the interrelationship between these theo-ethical resources generates an alternative vision of wholeness from below, as opposed to a pseudo-vision from above.

In the final chapter, I addressed the fourth phase of Ginger Hanks-Harwood's outline: 'we must seek to discover and create a range of responses in our social context which will render the vision realizable'. The social context I have been concerned with in this thesis is the "world of trouble" that has divided America by making the invisibility of whiteness the norm, in which racism is perpetuated. In my investigation of this problem, I have discovered dialogical attunement in the Adventist peace heritage

⁵⁹⁸ The taking of the stones from the River Jordan by the people of God, signals a different typological pattern to the Exodus. I argue that the typological emphasis is on a memorial act that recalls something old (God's providential and redemptive acts in their past), but reveals God doing something new in the midst of his redeemed people.

and recovered it through a re-narration of SDA's theology of history, while employing a typology from below to work in concert with dialogical attunement and the moral imagination, so that the possibility of a fuller realisation of SDA's vision of wholeness becomes achievable and realisable. However, in this chapter I emphasised that it is the humble, biographical faith stories of people like Lucy Byard that re-presents a mould or mimetic impress that modifies the SDA vision of wholeness, so that it becomes a counter-vision to the pseudo-vision.

5.7 Contribution to the Field of Theological Ethics

The construction of a Seventh-day Adventist theological ethic that modifies the church's existing vision of wholeness so that it becomes a counter-vision to the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated, is the main contribution this thesis makes to the field of theological ethics. This modification is especially relevant in a twenty-first century context where people are frequently choosing to see the world through the lens of post-colonialism, decoloniality and anti-racism, while critiquing and rejecting monopolising pseudo-visions of the past that have perpetuated racism through imperialism and Colonialism. I am arguing that the SDA vision of wholeness in this new century cannot just simply be a vision, rather it must be a counter-vision to the matrix of white supremacy, white privilege and colour-blindness that operate in a transnational web that includes an America that still reproduces a pseudo-vision that systematically harms people from the African diaspora and other people of colour who are socially located on the underside of the dominant racial script.

My research will contribute to several examples of Adventist counter-visionary activity already in existence in the SDA Church. I have encountered examples of these in Adventist sources that include periodicals, theses, multi-media sites, conferences, official statements and stories of activism initiated by the church in response to racial

injustice. An example is: the statement released by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, entitled: ‘One Humanity: A Human Relations Statement Addressing Racism, Casteism, Tribalism and Ethnocentrism’.⁵⁹⁹ However, I would argue none of these counter-visionary sources really foreground the SDA vision of wholeness for Christian ethics in relation to whiteness studies, Anti-racism and African American theology and religion as I have done.⁶⁰⁰

5.8 Further Research

In my thesis, I have identified Selma as one example of a nexus for dialogical attunement in accordance with the moral imagination and a typology from below. In my construction of a theological ethic, I have offered my own particular re-narration of SDA’s theology of history, but in future Adventist studies it will be possible to offer other re-narrations that identify different nexuses in the redemptive historical timeline, thus producing new stories perhaps on the African diaspora, diverse ethnic and religious groups, gender, sexuality, disability, refugees and other types of displaced people, as well as issues such as future pandemics, Artificial Intelligence (AI) bias and discrimination, environmental justice and human-non-human creaturely solidarity; a theological and ethical engagement with these issues approached from the underside may modify the SDA vision of wholeness further, so that it becomes more fully realised.

⁵⁹⁹ Seventh-day Adventist Church, ‘One Humanity: A Human Relations Statement Addressing Racism, Casteism, Tribalism and Ethnocentrism’, [n.d.], 1-3 <<https://www.adventist.org/official-statements/one-humanity-a-human-relations-statement-addressing-racism-casteism-tribalism-and-ethnocentrism/>> [accessed 4 July 2022].

⁶⁰⁰ More examples of Adventist counter-visionary activity can be found in the yearly Adventist Peace Fellowship Summits, The Conscience and Justice Council, Adventists for Social Justice, ADRA, Message Magazine’s ‘Your Liberation Library’ podcast, *Spectrum Magazine*, #It’s Time on the Andrews University website and on the church’s Public Affairs and Religious Liberty (PARL) website.

5.9 Concluding Remarks

Overall, my modification of SDA's vision of wholeness as a counter-vision provides the Adventist moral agent with a number of entry points in redemptive history for acting with responsibility towards minorities who are socially located on the underside of the invisibility of whiteness, the norm in which racism is perpetuated. Therefore, the Seventh-day Adventist vision of wholeness modified as a counter-vision, trains the church to see and act in a way that is morally responsible, by doing theology as ethics in a minor key.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰¹ Hauerwas and Willimon, *Resident Aliens*, pp. 84, 95; Hauerwas, *Vision and Virtue*, p. 45

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Appendix A

C O P Y

10302 159th Street

Jamaica, New York

Apt. 2 C

September 23, 1943

Elder G.E.Peters, Secretary
North American Colored Department
General Conference of S.D.A.
Takoma Park, Washington, D.C.

My dear Elder Peters:

A few weeks ago, my wife became seriously ill and needed careful watch and attendance. I was undecided as to what hospital to take her to, but was suddenly deeply impressed to send her to Washington Sanitarium, of which place, I was not referred to by anyone. I immediately informed Elder Cox, of Brooklyn, of my decision and he made reservations at the Sanitarium for my wife. In fact, he was intending to drive my wife and I down, but due to gasoline shortage, our plans were changed. We, after much effort, arrived in Washington by rail and went directly to the Sanitarium. I went to the office and informed them that I was Mr. James Byard, of Jamaica, Long Island, and that Elder Cox had made reservations for my sick wife. The attendant acknowledged my reservation, went out and spoke to my wife and proceeded upstairs. He returned shortly and called me into the office, and told me that he regretted to say this, but it was against the law of the State of Maryland to admit colored people into the Sanitarium.

I, of course, was stunned, for my wife had been looking forward with much anticipation to going to this particular Sanitarium, because she felt that she would be among her own people. There would be an understanding among them that she could not expect in an outside hospital. In fact her hopes were so high that her health was much better than it had been for days, and she even suffered the tiresome and painful train ride because of the expected destination. I warned the attendant of my wife's condition, and reminded him that she needed immediate attention; also that I was not acquainted with any hospital in Washington, D.C., hoping that he might examine her and find out her critical state, but to no avail. I was utterly confused and tried to get in touch with you, but was unsuccessful. The attendant recommended me to Freedman's Hospital, and assured me that she would be accepted there. He called a taxi, told the driver the hospital to take us to, and my wife and I were driven away.

My wife is now in Freedman's Hospital under competent and watchful care. I have now remorses, but I thought I might bring to your attention the sudden and unpredicted manner in which she got there. I would greatly appreciate it if you would, at your convenience, find time to visit her. Thank you.

Your brother in Christ,

JAMES H. BYARD.

Appendix B

WASHINGTON SANITARIUM and HOSPITAL

TAKOMA PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

SHEPHERD 2420

November 15, 1943

Elder J. L. McElheny
Elder W. E. Nelson, etal
General Conference
Takoma Park, D. C.

Dear Brethren:

I have thought that it might be well to make a statement regarding our contact with Mrs. Lucy Byard, a member of the Jamaica Church, Long Island, because of the impression that prevails that we turned her away coldly from the Sanitarium because she was colored. I will try to give the history of the case in a chronological order that you may know just what has happened.

First, we received a letter from Elder J. E. Cox, pastor of the Bethel Seventh-day Adventist Church, 457 Grand Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., under date of September 5, 1943, stating that Mrs. Byard and her husband had asked him to get in touch with us for a reservation in the Washington Sanitarium. He asked also that we make an estimate of costs. On September 9, Miss Brooke of our credit office replied, giving this information and enclosed a blank to be filled out in applying for part-pay, part-charity care. A second letter, dated September 14, from Elder Cox, stated that the church had arranged to take care of her expenses at the Sanitarium and that they would provide \$60.00 for the first week and thereafter bills were to be sent to the church.

On September 17, Mr. Baker of our credit office wrote saying that we could accommodate Mrs. Byard on Tuesday September 21, and acknowledged the receipt of Elder Cox's second letter.

On September 21, a telegram was received at 11:00 p.m. stating that Mrs. Byard would arrive on the 7:05 train Wednesday morning -- Elder Cox asking that she be met. As we do not have special means of meeting patients they took a taxicab and arrived at the Sanitarium between 9:00 and 10:00. Mr. Baker called me immediately and told me of the fact that Mrs. Byard was a colored person. In view of the fact that we had carried on our correspondence, not knowing that she was colored, I advised that we receive her into the institution giving her a private room and arrange for her meals to be sent on trays, and plan for her examination and diagnosis by our physicians in off hours, hoping that Mrs. Byard would see the fairness of this in view of our misunderstanding and the social sentiment that exists in Maryland. As an alternative Mr. Baker and I suggested the idea that she might go to Freedman's Hospital in Washington and have the diagnostic work done which she desired. I did not come to the office to meet Mrs. Byard at the time, feeling that in all probability she would elect to take the private room. When I finished my rounds I came back to my office and inquired what she had decided to do. I learned then that she and her husband had refused to accept our offer of a private room and had gone to Freedman's Hospital. That same day Mr. Baker wrote to Elder Cox and expressed our regrets over the incident and that we had arranged for her to be admitted to Freedman's Hospital, giving her a letter of introduction after having made arrangements for her admission.

The next we heard of this incident was from the General Conference office, when Elder Dick told us that communication had been received in which members of the home church manifested considerable hurt feeling because of what the Sanitarium had done. While he was talking to Mr. Baker and myself it was suggested that if the Sanitarium would repay the transportation expense involved in this trip that it would be at least a gesture on our part to make amends in a matter in which we were ignorantly innocent. Our House Committee accordingly voted that we send a check to the president of the Greater New York Conference, Elder C. M. Bunker, for \$30.00, asking that he pass it on to the church that raised the money. This check was forwarded on October 21, 1943. Under date of November 1, we have a letter from Elder Bunker recognizing its receipt and stating that he would be glad to pass it on, and adds, "I understand that Sister Byard has a very short time to live and we may hesitate just a little bit and add a little from the conference to help them out." He then comments upon the feeling that is present and explains that Elder Cox arranged for her coming here, not knowing that the Sanitarium had changed its policy since years ago when he worked in the Columbia Union.

The letter to Elder McElheny under date of October 25, signed by a number of the members of the First Jamaica Seventh-day Adventist Church, was undoubtedly written without their knowing that we had sent a check to the Conference office.

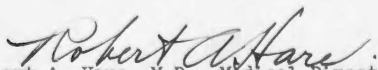
I would make the following comments regarding the position of the Sanitarium. There was a time when we accepted colored patients but there were very few of them and a separate unit could not well be maintained. To mix the white and colored was not a workable plan and so the Sanitarium Board authorized Elder Shaw who was then president to make known the attitude of the Sanitarium on the question of receiving further colored patients.

Since my connection with the Sanitarium we have not admitted colored patients except for emergency treatment in case of accident. We have endeavored to arrange for their return to their home immediately, or if their injuries have been serious we have arranged their transfer either to Gallinger Hospital or to Freedman's Hospital. So far as I know, no hospital in Maryland combines the care of white and colored patients. Where the colored are taken care of, special space is set apart for them. The State of Maryland has a law definitely specifying that the white and colored are not to be cared for in the same hotel, nor are they to attend school together. We would not, however, try to hide behind any of these legal points. In the Sanitarium we have many patients from time to time coming from Virginia and the Carolina's; acceptance of colored patients into the Sanitarium would result in driving them away. So far as the Staff is concerned we have no objection to waiting on colored patients.

We felt in the offer we made Mrs. Byard that we were doing all possible, under the circumstances, and that in case a question should ever be raised by any of our patients we could explain the circumstances and not involve ourselves in any misunderstanding with white patients.

The letter under date of November 3, addressed to "Dear so-called Christians" and signed by "Your Colored Brethren" is the latest communication we have seen pertaining to this case.

We have written this account so that you might know all that has transpired in our contact with this case.


Robert A. Hare, M.D., Medical Director

Appendix C

WASHINGTON SANITARIUM AND HOSPITAL

TAKOMA PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

ROBERT A. HARE, M. D.
MEDICAL DIRECTOR

April 6, 1944

Elder W. E. Nelson
Stevens Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

REC'D APR 9 - 1944

Dear Elder Nelson:

I have looked forward several weeks with a good deal of interest to being present at the meetings called for this week-end in which the relations existing between the white and colored groups of our denominational work would come up for discussion. This has been a subject that I have tried to give some thought to in the recent past, particularly in view of the political items that appear from time to time along the same general line.

I think you know that I made a satisfactory recovery from the face infection which prevented my being present at our Constituency meeting, but I was immediately seized with what appears to be a complication of the urinary system. At first treatment gave prompt and apparently complete relief but one week ago this morning I was seized with a second attack that would not move out of the picture, and so certain internal examinations were necessary to locate the difficulty. It has been my lot to react rather severely to this examination, and for four days this week I have subsisted on intravenous supplies only. I am feeling fine today and eating quite well, and if my temperature stays down thruout the day I will probably sit up a short time.

I did not make any attempt to discuss this question with you, anticipating to be in Chicago, but I do have one or two opinions that I would pass on to you simply that you may know my feelings. I was born in a country where there were two races, the white and the native Maori. In Australia we had the white and the native blacks, as well as some of the Kanakas of the southseas. I can recall in my early memories discussions of the relations of the races and it has seemed to me that the British attitude of late years has been a fair one; and I believe essentially this same attitude prevails in the fundamental ^{USA} law of today. In the eyes of the law there must be granted an equality in things that are common to law and to citizenship. The law of the land, however, does not specify our social practices beyond setting a limit at certain gross irregularities.

I cannot feel that the Sanitarium should be called upon to carry a mixed clientele. We have persons of high degree and low degree of the white race and no question exists with regard to their presence here, but were colored patients seen in our buildings there

will immediately rise numerous complicating questions and certain groups of our patients such as those coming from Virginia and the Carolinas would be expected to take a degree of offense at their presence. I would just as willingly minister to the needs of a colored patient as anyone else, but mentally, emotionally, and in certain physiological respects they differ from the white, and I do not favor mixing them.

The possibility of setting aside a ward for men and a ward for women is something that has been mentioned. This would require a small outlay in building changes. Unless the beds were kept reasonably full it would mean a constant depreciation of our patient count because of empty beds which now are occupied. Furthermore, the problems of whether these patients and their friends would have the privileges of the lawns equally with other patients would rise at once. Should we take a portion of the first floor of the hospital, that would bring in visiting negro groups and cars close to our nurses' dormitory. I do not see any just grounds on which we could say we would maintain a negro ward and limit admissions on a religious basis. This would be quite contrary to hospital practice so we would possibly open a contact with the negro population entering our grounds more or less regularly. And right now I feel that the Sligo creek and the woods along it are little enough barrier between us and the local negro settlements. I would sooner make a contribution to the establishment of a small negro sanitarium, or if we have a duty in our local colored churches particularly, I would favor joining with the local conference and contribute a percentum toward the care of local negro adventists in their own sanitarium.

I realize that there are many angles to this question that I have not touched, but I wanted to write these few lines since we had not had any opportunity of discussing the question together.

With best wishes for all that you have in hand

Sincerely,

Robert A. Haru

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as I view the whole situation. By here, it is not a matter of the colored people wanting a little sanitarium of their own where they can receive attention, but that they want in racial and social equality. I think we will have to make provision some time for a sanitarium for colored folks in the north of the Mason & Dixon line; but that would be a hard problem and not one primarily resting upon the medical institution. You can see very clearly that there is a real problem involved. What they want is for Washington Sanitarium and every one of our other sanitariums to take in a goodly number of negro patients to be treated as whites.

Appendix D

Dr. Hare--3

The situation as it pertains to education is a little different for there we are dealing quite largely with Seventh-day Adventist youth and there can be more freedom as far as enrollment is concerned; and yet from my experience at Pacific Union College we must not permit a very large percentage of Negro enrollment if we are to maintain proper standards.

The Stevens, Chicago.

April 9, 1944.

I regret very much that I am not here to hear all the discussion. We start in again this morning at 8:30 and I suppose then the real fireworks will begin.

Dr. R A Hare,
Washington Sanitarium,
Takoma Park, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

My dear Doctor:

Your letter of April 6 is received. I did so much want to see you and have a visit with you before I left Washington, but they told me you were in the Sanitarium and no one was allowed to see you. I inquired daily and was glad to know the day I left that you were some better, and I sincerely hope that each day may witness real improvement and that you will soon be up to your usual health.

Now in regard to the colored problem which we are here discussing. We had our first meeting last night. I want to say very emphatically that as far as I am concerned I have exactly the same view you have. These colored folks talk about different hospitals in the District of Columbia and also in Maryland where there are wards in the hospital that receive colored patients; but our institution is not a hospital, primarily it is a sanitarium and as such is entirely different as far as its social standing is concerned. We have a dining room, we have a campus, and many ambulatory patients and among them there is a certain social relationship which does not exist in hospitals. It would be absolutely disastrous at the present time for the Washington Sanitarium to carry a mixed clientele.

You mention that patients from the Carolinas and Virginia would object, but I believe patients coming from the District of Columbia and Maryland and from every other State would object almost as strenuously. The Psychology of these black people is so different from the white that it would be impossible for us to mix them. Some have suggested that we have a wing in the hospital. That would be all right if we did not have a sanitarium in connection with it. It has been amusing to me to observe the colored brethren who have attended the bookmen's convention. There have been 20 or 30 present, and in years past they used to find seats together. But now they studiously scatter themselves in every part of the room, many times only one colored person in a place.

As I view the whole situation, Dr. Hare, it is not a matter of the colored people wanting a little sanitarium of their own where they can receive attention, but what they want is racial and social equality. I think we will have to make provision some time for a sanitarium for the colored folks north of the Mason & Dixon line; but that would be a church problem and not one primarily resting upon the medical institutions. I can see very clearly that there is a real problem involved. What they want is for Washington Sanitarium and every one of our other sanitariums to take in a goodly number of Negro girls to be trained as nurses.

Dr. Hare--2

WASHINGTON SANITARIUM AND HOSPITAL

ROBERT A. HARE, M.D.

The situation as it pertains to education is a little different for there we are dealing quite largely with Seventh-day Adventist youth and there can be more freedom as far as enrollment is concerned; and yet from my experience at Pacific Union College we must not permit a very large percentage of Negro enrollment if we are to maintain proper standards.

Elder W. E. Nelson

I regret very much that you can not be here to hear all the discussion. We start in again this morning at 8:30 and I suppose then the real fireworks will begin.

Dear Elder Nelson:

With kind personal regards, I am

I have looked forward several weeks with a good deal of interest to being present at the **Sincerely yours,** or this week-end in which the relations existing between the white and colored groups of our denominational work would come up for discussion. This has been a subject that I have tried to give some thought to in the recent past, particularly in view of the political **Treasurer.** appear from n-r to time along the same general line.

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Appendix E

(11)
General Conference Office
Washington 12, D.C.
March 9, 1944

Elder J.L. McElhany
Office

Dear Brother McElhany:

The purpose of my visiting you and of subsequently writing you is that I might lay before you some observations that I have made through the years and some information I have gathered in talking to my colored brethren and members of my race relative to the present issue that faces our people at this time. I am not sent by nor do I represent any group or constituency. I came on my own initiative, feeling that I might lay before you certain observations that would be of service to you and possibly the brethren in dealing with this apparent storm that now presents itself on the horizon in the coming meeting of the Spring Council.

I do not believe that the recent regrettable experience when one of our sisters was taken to the Sanitarium here in Washington, the manner in which she was treated, and the subsequent speech that was made by Brother Turner in the colored church, was but a climax to a policy that has been exercised toward our people through the years, and has now precipitated this apparent storm. From what I can gather from our workers through the years their complaint is that regardless of ability or character the steadfast policy of this denomination for years has been, thus far shall you come and no farther, and that if our colored brethren do get beyond the prescribed limitations of a preacher or a Bible worker or a teacher, it is obtained by a struggle; and if such is secured, as for instance a secretarial position, it is more of a form devoid of power. But when it comes to setting goals and other financial burdens, the Colored Department comes in for its share of consideration, but for the problems and the needs of our group, little consideration is given to their study when similar problems and needs are considered among the white brethren for their people.

That you call them brethren, but treat them as stepchildren, and that the fact that they are colored and of an inferiority complex is ever held up before them with a total disregard to their feelings as ministers and workers in the Lord's work. Examples: They cite cases in which they are refused service at the Review & Herald Cafeteria even when they are down here on meetings that necessitate their presence; that they have to go away out to the city to secure something to eat. That at the Fall Councils the white brethren have the nice hotels to live in and they have nice places to eat, and the colored brethren have to find here and there places to sleep and to eat. Even on other occasions, such as the meetings in Texas, their feelings have been hurt by their having to ride freight elevators. Yet they do feel that when plans are made for these meetings they would deeply appreciate it if the white brethren would take into consideration their feelings, being brethren, as do the C.I.O. and the Y.M.C.A. and other organizations in their joint meetings at such hotels, et cetera. And some have gone so far as to say that they see little difference in the policy exercised along this line toward them, and Naziism, Germans against Jews. They say that in Germany if you are a Jew, regardless of your education or refinement, you are all treated alike, and that in our denomination the same principles are held out in our attitude toward our colored brethren

That the white leaders from time to time are given trips over the entire world to broaden their views and increase their experience and their

-2-

usefulness, while at no time has such consideration been given to any of our leaders, not even so much as a trip to Cuba or Panama. Therefore some feel that if separated and permitted to handle their own funds they can do for themselves what the white brethren will not and apparently do not intend to do.

I shall now attempt to give you what I feel is the attitude of the masses of our people toward this present issue. They sympathize with their brethren in these indignities that they suffer, and they feel 100% that the time has long been present when there should be a change in policy in this direction towards them in our schools and in our sanitariums. That it is neither just nor Christian. But that the remedy of separation is not the right course to pursue. They feel that, as Sister White has said, Satan would use race prejudice in an attempt to separate our people from our white brethren, and they feel that Satan would be happy if such a condition obtained, but they are not in sympathy with it.

Brother McElhany, there are 16,000 of our colored people who are Adventists, while there are 13,000,000 of our people in America to be reached by this message. You brethren I feel are only acquainted with the servant type and with a few doctors as members of our race who have come in in the years past, but are not cognizant of the thousands of colored doctors, dentists, lawyers, businessmen, bankers, and brokers, legislators, even in our Federal Government in Washington, and large insurance brokers, to whom this message must go. But I as an individual, when I attempt to take this message to my fellow physicians, am met by their throwing into my face, "Doctor Cherry, I cannot see how any self-respecting race-loving colored doctor can be a Seventh-day Adventist and submit to the racial discrimination that is practiced by them against our people." I have no answer to their charges. I can do very little for them. They state that they know and believe that religion is a racket with the other denominations such as the Methodists and the Baptists and the rest of them; that they do have respect for our teachings and for our writings and for our method of handling disease; but they cannot harmonize the treatment the denomination extends to its own colored members, and they are thankful that the Adventists do not control all the educational institutions and hospitals of the country. I believe if there is a change of policy along this line that a large number of this type of people in our race would eventually respond to the message and be saved in the kingdom, and that many, many thousands of dollars would come into the cause through their tithes and offerings that do not thus come in.

The policies of our sanitariums toward our people have no parallel in any other such institutions or in any other states. This is often thrown into my face and the faces of the other colored doctors. I do not, nor would I presume to offer you and the brethren, Brother McElhany, any course of procedure. But I thought that out of my deep interest and love for this message I might offer some suggestions that might be helpful in your deliberations and in giving consideration to this question.

(a) So far as I can ascertain, I would recommend that serious study be given to the set-up in the Southern Union relative to our people. I understand that the colored workers there are happy and they are satisfied, and the work is going by leaps and bounds, and it may be that such a set-up in the North and the East and the West might work equally well.

-3-

(b) In planning your meetings, if you would give thought and consideration to the feelings of our brethren as far as possible, and not let them be subjected to such indignities relative to eating places and so on as aforesaid. They state that they expect it from the outsiders who are not supposed to be Christians, but when the wound comes from their own brethren it hurts. They remember the experience of Jesus who said that the thing that broke His heart was the wounds He received in the house of His friends--not the Roman wound but the wound of His own people.

(c) The masses of our people in the North and the East and the West tell me and complain that on account of the distance, the cost of travel, and the indignities to which the colored people are subjected in traffic and travel going South, and being so far from their homes and families, they just cannot go to Riverside in Tennessee, notwithstanding the very efficient service that is rendered by Doctor Dent and his staff of nurses. They cannot understand nor see why they are taken in other hospitals and institutions of the world, and particularly the Catholics, who will call them welcome and give them good service in separate wards. In other states like Virginia and the Southern states where they do not put them in wards they have wings; but at no time and in no state do they absolutely refuse to give them service as is practiced in our institutions. This thing they cannot understand, we claiming to be sisters and brothers looking for the soon coming of Jesus. I as a doctor know, and it appears to me that the Catholics put forth an extra effort to be kind to the Negro people who come to their institutions, and they practice segregation less than any other denominations such as the Methodists and the Baptists and the Presbyterians.

The recent case at the Washington Sanitarium has precipitated a nationwide comment both among our people and other people of the world, and the question has often been asked and is being asked, Why don't you Seventh-day Adventist people who publish a journal in the name of liberty, take part in the inter-racial meetings for racial betterment which are trying to precipitate better feelings between the races both North and South?

Our people so far as I can see have a complaint relative to our schools, for they feel that if a member of their race is admitted to these schools, if he is a Christian, a gentleman, and has character, he should be treated as such and not proscribed or "Jim Crowed" and forced to eat in a corner by himself, simply because of his race. They feel that does not lend itself to or encourage the building of character and unity, and when these young men go out to the field to work they carry with them a feeling of resentment that has been built up in our schools while students, and they become ready prey for propaganda such as separations and divisions in the denomination.

I would earnestly recommend for your consideration, Brother McElhany, that since we have the institutions of Riverside and Oakwood in the South, and since our people are not asked, at least in some sections, to raise institutional funds, and since a day has been granted once a year to raise funds by our people for these institutions, that this should be emphasized and promoted by all if not put in the category of the Ingathering. Then I know it would be raised by the brethren. Sometimes we do things when we have to do them. You can see that I am very plain on some points. I can visualize that since we have 16,000 of our people, if they raise \$16,000 yearly--\$8,000 to Riverside, \$8,000 going to Oakwood--together possibly with similar amounts coming from you brethren, a great deal can be accomplished and a good many needs can be filled

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in these institutions year by year. In other words, I am advocating the gospel of our people helping themselves as far as lies in their power, and I believe you brethren will do the same for them.

I understand since coming to Washington that the lay members are desirous of having a voice in this meeting of the Spring Council. I would not presume to suggest what course of action you brethren should take, because you have large experience in these matters. But personally I am somewhat inclined to the idea that it would not be a bad plan for some representative lay members to be there to express themselves and to see how this thing is discussed so that they will not have to receive it second hand; to the intent that this virus of separation like sin in this great denomination shall be thoroughly eradicated, and that in its place shall rise up a plan or policy conceived in justice and brought forth in the lap of Christianity, real Christianity, such as will be approved of man and blessed of God; so that we can as admonished in the Spirit of prophecy, instead of being divided be drawn closer and closer together for the finishing of the work, and be ready to receive the Well done from Jesus as we expect Him in the near future.

Sincerely your brother,

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