

Chapter 7

ELLEN G. WHITE'S INFLUENCE ON SDA APPROACHES TO RACE RELATIONS

In our consideration of EGW's position in the SDA church, we have discussed this in terms of denominational history, authority, and her role as a prophetic-type messenger. In this and the following chapter we look at her influence in two areas of contemporary, theological discussion, viz., race relations and ecumenism. These are selected because they are particularly relevant to a church which claims to be international in character and outlook, and which conducts a very large mission programme. These topics are important not only for the SDA church but also for all Christian denominations as they seek to relate to the contemporary challenges. On the first topic EGW had much to say for it was a live issue in her later years.

While at the outset of investigation the present writer envisaged a wider treatment of this topic of race relations, his study and increasing acquaintance with the material available led him to the conclusion that the investigation must be narrowed, in order to write a chapter of acceptable length in relation to the total thesis. In the material that follows discussion is confined, therefore, to a) race relations within the SDA church, in the conviction that if there is true unity and harmony there it will be a witness to the wider community, and b) to the situation in the U.S.A. and Britain, as far as the SDA church is concerned, with occasional significant developments or problems elsewhere being noted if they are pertinent to the main thrust of the chapter.

In both locations there are similarities and differences. In the U.S.A. the SDA church met the problem of race relations after some fifty years of development as an organisation. SDAs were made aware of the problem as their evangelistic programme, based at first in Northern USA, moved into the unsettled, post-emancipation South. After an initial attempt at continuing their policy of racial integration in their churches, they then moved towards separate development for black and white. One cannot explain this on a rational basis. In a complex situation it is difficult to know which pressures to resist and which you can give into without violating principle. Moreover, because of their distinctive beliefs, as we will notice, the SDAs faced unique problems in the South. Later, however, they responded to both internal and external pressures in a more thoughtful and Biblical approach. In Britain it was again some fifty or sixty years after the beginning of the SDA church in that country that a small denomination was confronted with the issue through an influx of immigrant members. The early welcome and acceptance of these black members was to lead later to frustration and even occasional friction on both sides. The prophetic messenger was no longer alive to give contemporary counsel as she did in the U.S.A., so her utterances had to be interpreted for the situation today.

In the U.S.A. the SDA church was confronted with an increasing proportion of its national population coming from a non-white background ethnically. In Britain the SDA church was to find itself as a minority group, denominationally, heavily populated with a minority group nationally. In the U.S.A. the moral and political backgrounds of the problem were largely rooted in slavery and abolition. In Britain the

moral and political problems historically were rooted in colonialism and the patronising attitude toward missions. They were made more complex however, by the pressures of contemporary thought developments of the twentieth century in a) political thinking, especially socialism; b) the rise of black power and black consciousness; c) a greater awareness of sociological backgrounds to ethnic origins and cultural ideas; and d) debates on human equality and rights.

Our task, then, is to endeavour to trace the problem within the historical perspective both of the secular environment and the development of the denomination, and to notice the influence of EGW's ministry and writing as the SDA church faced the issue of race relations.

Early SDA Approaches to Race Relations

It was in the midst of the American Civil War (1861-1865) that the SDA denomination was formally organised. In that year, 1863, all the members of the SDA church were resident in the Northern States of the U.S.A. Their early leaders were undoubtedly abolitionists in the mould of Garrison; - men and women who opposed slavery on moral grounds.¹

They expressed themselves clearly on this point in their official church paper, especially in response to a correspondent who had "been engaged for the last twenty-five years in the anti-slavery cause." This man had always "regarded the Review as an auxiliary" but now he chided the editor that in his opinion the paper had not acted in this capacity during the last two or three years. "It had failed," he said, "to aid the cause of Abolition."²

Uriah Smith, as editor replied categorically: "Our feelings in regard to slavery could hardly be mistaken by any who are acquainted with our position on the law of God, the foundation of all reform, the radical stand point against every evil. Slavery is a sin we have never ceased to abhor; its ravages we have never ceased to deprecate; with the victims locked in its foul embrace, we have not ceased to sympathise."³ Smith's concern is that "the tyranny of oppression" prevents effective help being brought to the slaves either as a body or as individuals. He does see, however, considerable opportunities for reform near at home. Then he writes:

"In saying this, we do not tell the slave that he can afford to be content in slavery, nor that he should not escape from it whenever he can, nor that all good men should not aid him to the extent of their power, nor that this great evil should not be resisted by any and all means which afford any hope of success. All this should be done. And we rejoice when we hear of one of that suffering race escaping beyond the jurisdiction of this dragon-hearted power. But we would not hold out to him a false ground of expectation. We would point him to the coming of the Messiah as his true hope."⁴

This same emphasis appears in his conclusion when he affirms that their primary task as Christians was "to emancipate our fellowmen, from the worst of all bondage, the service of sin"⁵ James White made a similar antislavery approach in the midst of the Civil War in an editorial entitled "The Nation".⁶ In this he commented on the apparent contradiction between the strong antislavery position of the SDAs and their non-involvement in the war. He sought to redress the "fanaticism growing out of extreme non-resistance"⁷ that had been developing among some SDAs and went so far as to say that in this "most hellish rebellion

since that of Satan and his angels" it might be inexpedient to refuse to fight if conscripted.

This editorial provoked voluminous correspondence in the Review, discussing opinions both pro and con, until the end of October 1863. In a final article James White modified his position from that taken in "The Nation" and wrote:

"We did say in case of a military draft, it would be madness to resist. And certainly, no true disciple of non-resistance would resist a military draft... We have struck at that fanaticism which grows out of extreme non-resistance, and have labored to lead our people to seek the Lord and trust in him for deliverance. How this can and will come, we have no light at present."⁸

The discussion petered out after this leaving the SDAs still perplexed and divided on the issue. EGW had kept out of the controversy, but, in 1863 when her Testimony no. 9 was published showing pro-Northern sympathies, she disagreed with both James White and the extremists on the opposite side, and stated plainly that the SDAs could not "engage in this perplexing war, for it is opposed to every principle of their faith"⁹ Her reasons were that in the army there would be a continual violation of conscience, and that there were wrongs on both the North and South sides. The Rebellion must be condemned, but she points implicitly in the direction of non-combatancy. After further study and because of their convictions a) on the perpetuity and sacredness of the ten commandments, with particular reference to their sabbatarian concern, and b) that the shedding of human blood in war was contrary to the Christian faith, the SDAs chose a position of non-combatancy in the Civil War, - a practice they have recommended to their members ever since.¹⁰

The SDAs were activists, however, to the extent that some well-known members assisted the escaping slaves via the so-called "underground railroad,"¹¹ and, on the basis of Deuteronomy 23:15, - Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped," - they were prepared to go contrary to the law of the land on this matter; which law, they considered, contravened the law of God.¹²

EGW was one with her people in the condemnation of slavery which she denounced as an "accursed system,"¹³ an "enormous and grievous sin" for which God's "wrath burns against this nation."¹⁴ Those who sided with the Rebellion and supported slavery must be disfellowshipped.¹⁵ The "few" in the ranks of the SDAs who were sympathising with the slave holder needed to understand that "God gives him no title to human souls, and he has no right to hold them as his property... The colored race are God's property."¹⁶ As already noted, she advocated violation of the law demanding the surrender of a fugitive slave.¹⁷ There is no doubt that the people of the Negro race were very close to the heart of EGW.

Prior to the Civil War there were evidently Black SDAs¹⁸ and in the freer atmosphere of the North there is no indication of anything other than complete acceptance and racial harmony. In the post-Civil War period the SDA church was still in its formative stages and apparently continued its policy of preaching to all who would listen, and accepted both black and white as members of the one church.

There were some initial misunderstandings on the concept of mission, as we have noted,¹⁹ and when in the early 1870's the SDAs began to consider a broader perspective for their work, it was to Europe that they turned their attention, sending out their first "missionary",

J.N. Andrews, to Switzerland in 1874.²⁰ About thirteen years later their first missionaries went to Southern Africa but this was in response to requests from white settlers who had been reading SDA literature.²¹

Like many of the denominations, with strong roots in Northern U.S.A., the SDA church rejoiced that the slaves were freed at the end of the Civil War, but then forgot that there were great needs to be met among these people; that the church had responsibilities in rehabilitation. This was a neglect that was to have far-reaching consequences.

Although the SDA church was looking increasingly to the possibilities of evangelistic work outside North America, there were some efforts directed to the Southern States of U.S.A. These were largely of an individual nature and originally initiated by white ministers of Southern origin.²² Silas Osborne and W.K. Killen are two examples. Spalding writes of their work and approach as follows:

"They had no difficulty in dealing with their converts, to the satisfaction of both races. In Georgia, indeed, the color-line question hardly appeared, the colored members being few and scattered. In Kentucky Osborne formed the two races into separate companies and churches."²³

Spalding claims that when Osborne visited Battle Creek in 1877,²⁴ he discussed the problems of the South with James White, then president of the General Conference, and that he agreed with Osborne's programme.²⁵ He then avers:

"But a few years later, Northern laborers being sent to aid in the work in Kentucky, and one of them being elected president of the little conference to succeed Elder Osborne, insistence was made that the two races be joined in the churches.

Neither of these laborers stayed long but the results of their work remained in enfeebled churches, injured public feeling and conditions which were a source of weakness..."²⁶

Whether Spalding's evaluation can be accepted is open to question. It is clear, however, that his next paragraph is patently a fact. "The matter," he says, "however, did not come prominently to the attention of the denomination, because it was in only two or three places that the difficulties were acute, and the cause in the South was not extensive enough in those years to take overmuch of the time of the annual conferences."²⁷ Not until 1887 is there any record of official discussion on the situation in the South relative to the integration of the races in the church.

The General Conference Bulletin of 1887 reports the "animated discussion" of the delegates on the resolution "That this conference recognize no color line."²⁸ A much longer amended resolution was finally carried which stressed that "no distinction whatever" should be made "between the two races in church relations."²⁹ In addition it was voted to request a committee of three "to consider the matter carefully, and recommend proper action to the Conference."³⁰ This committee reported a week later that after careful discussion they saw "no occasion for this conference to legislate upon the subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken."³¹ Individual ministers were thus left to their own discretion in their evangelism.

In the 1888 General Conference Bulletin there is a brief mention of the issue when the leader for the work in Georgia and Florida states

"that he had had no trouble with the color line."³² In 1889 the Bulletin reports a comment by an Elder Kilgore concerning the "Southern Field" as follows:

"The prevailing sentiment against those of Northern birth, and that which is brought to them by those not of Southern proclivities, makes the work...in that field more difficult than in those fields north of the 'Mason and Dixon's Line. He who labors in this field must be acquainted with and adjust himself to the customs and usages of this people in order to reach them."³³

In view of later discussion it is also significant that he mentions the problem of Sunday laws, especially in Mississippi, which were causing difficulties for the SDAs who evidently took the statement "six days shalt thou labour" very literally.³⁴

Several impressions emerge from a study of the sparse records of these pre-1890 times. The SDA work in the South was small and did not enjoy strong support from the Northern headquarters where a rapidly developing overseas mission programme, together with increasing doctrinal and institutional tensions were consuming the time of the leaders. Where the church was established, the degree of integration depended on whether the initiating evangelists were of Northern or Southern origin, and on the degree of local prejudice and pressure. Elsewhere the acceptance of whites and blacks into church fellowship was on the basis of equality in the faith.³⁵ The first black SDA church was organised at Edgefield Junction, Tenn., in 1886³⁶ and the first black, SDA minister was ordained in 1889.³⁷ EGW has little to say during this period although there is evidence of her concern at what she calls

"haphazard" approaches.³⁸ The fact is that by 1890 there were only 20-50 black, SDA members south of the Mason-Dixon line.³⁹

EGW's Primary Statements on Race Relations

EGW's basic approach to the SDA church concerning its responsibilities to the blacks, especially in the South of the U.S.A., was read by her to thirty leaders of the church on March 21, 1891, in connection with a General Conference Session at Battle Creek, Michigan.⁴⁰ She recognised that her statement would not be acceptable to all. "I know that that which I now speak will bring me into conflict. This I do not covet,...but I do not mean to live a coward or die a coward."⁴¹ After stressing the example of Jesus, who refused to withdraw himself from any class of humanity, EGW presents her platform. The key emphases are: a) The fact that in Christ all are brethren; - "The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ. Birth, station, nationality, or color cannot elevate or degrade men. The character makes the man. If a red man, a Chinaman, or an African gives his heart to God, in obedience and faith, Jesus loves him none the less for his color. He calls him his well-beloved brother."⁴² b) Opposition to all forms of prejudice: "...selfishness, tradition, and prejudice pollute the soul... Those who slight a brother because of his color are slighting Christ."⁴³ c) The responsibility of the church to work for the blacks especially since there has been neglect. "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made a greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people."⁴⁴ d) The concept that when a person is converted they will have the same

spirit that Jesus had. "If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be offended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the Kingdom of God... They (i.e. the blacks) should hold membership in the church with the white brethren. Every effort should be made to wipe out the terrible wrong which has been done them."⁴⁵

Throughout this basic appeal there is the evidence that EGW recognised the perplexing nature of the problem confronting the SDA church and its complexity. She referred to the "perplexing questions."⁴⁶ She noted that it would not be easy to correct the lifelong practices of the downtrodden peoples and "to implant ideas of purity and lowliness, refinement and elevation."⁴⁷ The appeal also contains the warning in embryo, to be amplified later, that the workers in the South "must not carry things to extremes and run into fanaticism on this question."⁴⁸ She did not see it as the time for the encouragement of inter-racial marriage. The closing paragraphs reiterate that which was a principle in all EGW's writings on the question of race. Believers "cannot by their practice sanction any phase of oppression or injustice to the least child of humanity... Let none of those who name the name of Christ be cowards in His cause."⁴⁹ What this principle meant in terms of practice in differing situations she would spell out in later communications.

This appeal evidently had some influence on the SDA leaders of the time for it was printed in pamphlet form and circulated, but little was done as a result. Not until J. Edson White, a son of EGW,⁵⁰

"discovered" this pamphlet in 1893 while attending a Bible Institute at Battle Creek, did any practical action develop.⁵¹

EGW left for Australia late in 1891, but she had not forgotten the needy Southern field. Her 1891 appeal had been addressed primarily to the leaders of the denomination. Now in 1895, with specific efforts underway in the South, she prepared a series of ten articles for the Review. These were addressed to the whole church.⁵² The opening one was printed some nine months before the others.⁵³ In these messages her concerns were the same as those given two years earlier. There must be no animosity or prejudice toward the blacks.⁵⁴ She urged that "national and denominational distinctions be laid aside. Caste and rank are not recognized by God and should not be by His workers."⁵⁵ She recognized that there were still major problems in the matter of practicing the brotherhood of all mankind and that procedures might need to be different in different places.

"No human mind should seek to draw the line between the colored and the white people. Let circumstances indicate what shall be done, for the Lord has His hand on the lever of circumstances. As the truth is brought to bear upon the minds of both colored and white people, as souls are thoroughly converted, they will become new men and women in Christ Jesus... Those who are converted among the white people will experience a change in their sentiments. The prejudice which they have inherited and cultivated toward the colored race will die away."⁵⁶

Then she pointed out in this appeal to the whole church that "the test will come not as regards outward complexion, but as regards the condition of the heart. Both the white and the colored people have the same Redeemer, who has paid the ransom money with His own life for every member of the human family."⁵⁷

In her closing sentences she again stressed the need for prompt yet wise action. "As a people we should do more for the colored race in America than we have yet done. In the work we shall need to move with carefulness, being endowed with wisdom from above."⁵⁸

The remaining nine articles underlined these themes, and stressed particularly the need for SDA families to move down into the South, not to colonise, but to demonstrate by example of life what Christianity was all about. Moreover they were to seek to share with the blacks, their expertise in agriculture and other trades, and do as much as they could to assist in a literacy programme. They were to so work that they would lead the blacks to a position of self-help.⁵⁹

These primary writings of EGW on the subject of race relations set down for SDAs, and for all Christians really, the responsibility they had to redress the evils of slavery as much as possible; to eschew prejudice in all its forms; and to recognise the black as a brother both in worship and in work. This was the laying of the foundation. Now the detailed work built on this must be carefully considered.

The Work of J. Edson White in the Southern U.S.A. and Subsequent Developments 1895-1909

As we have noted already, the SDA work in the Southern States prior to 1895 was on a small scale and it was a struggling enterprise. It was diversified in its approach because of local conditions with but few separate, black churches.⁶⁰ The denomination was already confronted by problems because of its Sabbatarian principles, which meant that its black converts refused to work on Saturday but would work on Sunday. This was an affront to white, traditional-Christian employers.

Politically and historically the mistakes and neglect of the Reconstruction Period in the South were being felt by the blacks at this time, and indignity was to be piled on indignity in the years ahead.⁶¹ Through compromise and political scheming the North had failed to carry through the intent of Emancipation. As one writer expresses it:

"The acquiescence of Northern Liberalism in the Compromise of 1877 defined the beginning, but not the ultimate extent, of the liberal retreat on the race issue. The compromise merely left the freed man to the custody of the Conservative Redeemers upon their pledge that they would protect him and his constitutional rights. But as these pledges were forgotten or violated, and the South veered toward proscription and extremism, Northern opinions shifted to the right, keeping pace with the South, conceding point after point, so that at no time were the sections very far apart on race policy."⁶²

EGW's writing much nearer the time, saw things similarly. In 1895 she wrote:

"The colored people might have been helped with much better prospects of success years ago than now. The work is now ten fold harder than it would have been..."

"After the war, if the Northern people had made the South a real missionary field, if they had not left the negroes to ruin through poverty and ignorance, thousands of souls would have been brought to Christ. But it was an unpromising field, and the Catholics have been more active in it than any other class."⁶³

Again in 1900 she wrote:

"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 labor would have done much to prevent the present condition of suffering and sin."⁶⁴

Yet once again in 1908 she stated her opinion:

"Much might have been accomplished by the people of America if adequate efforts in behalf of the freed men had been put forth by the government and by the christian churches immediately after the emancipation of the slaves. Money should have been used freely to care for and educate them at the time they were so greatly in need of help. But the government after a little effort, left the Negro to struggle, unaided, with his burden of difficulties. Some of the strong Christian churches began a good work, but sadly failed to reach more than a comparatively few; and the Seventh-day Adventist church has failed to act its part."⁶⁵

Ronald Graybill, who has made a special study of this period as it related to the SDA church and race relations,⁶⁶ has noted other facets of the problems in the South. He refers to the development of imperialism in American thought, to the trend of disfranchisement of the Negro, to lynching, riots and violence, all of which led increasingly to the enactment of segregation laws. He considers that in this period, - the close of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, - the concept of segregation was accepted by the majority in both North and South as the American way. The people were led, says Graybill, "by their president, the Supreme Court, and ironically enough, the chief leader of the Negro race (i.e. Booker T. Washington)."⁶⁷

The official records of the SDA General Conference Sessions of this time mirror some of these developments in the South. There are references to prejudice and especially the need for educational facilities to train blacks to work in the South.⁶⁸ This concern is summarised by R.M. Kilgore, the Superintendent of the SDA mission, in simple terms. He is reported as saying, "We must do something toward educating workers to labor among this people, and to provide facilities

whereby the children and youth of our colored brethren and sisters may have equal advantages with those of fairer complexion."⁶⁹ In 1895 O.A. Olsen, then General Conference President, spoke optimistically of the Southern work, referring to it as "a very promising field", but in his presidential address he also recognised that "the time has come when if we would do our duty, we must lay larger plans for the work in the South."⁷⁰

It is at this time that J. Edson White, during a period of spiritual renewal in his life, read, apparently for the first time, the 1891 appeal of his mother to the church leaders concerning the needs of the South, and determined with W.O. Palmer, to work for the black race there, in the context of prevailing conditions we have outlined above. He chose to build a paddle steamer, named Morning Star, which he took down the Mississippi to serve as a floating evangelistic and educational centre.⁷¹ He was accompanied by a small group of missionary recruits. They reached Vicksburg, Mississippi in January 1895. Two years later they moved to Yazoo City working in both places, and intermediate river locations.

Edson White founded the Southern Missionary Society,⁷² whose aims were to promote "mission schools and evangelism among the Negro people in the Southern States."⁷³ While it operated under General Conference approval, it was a volunteer programme, financed by the sale of publications authored by Edson,⁷⁴ and one book of EGW composition entitled Christ Our Saviour. The work in Mississippi also attracted contributions from the church at large.

Edson White was also responsible for the publication of a magazine, the Gospel Herald,⁷⁵ whose object was to "carry the principles of Christian education to the people of the South."⁷⁶ He was concerned to assist the black farmers to make profitable use of their land, and placed great stress on a literacy programme.⁷⁷ He laid the foundation for what was to become in later years the Southern Publishing Association.

The picture of the SDA work in the Southern U.S.A. at this time divides into two perspectives. In the foreground is the more flamboyant and daring programme of Edson White, - a programme which was undoubtedly needed to stir the wider conscience of the church, but one that was destined to run into trouble shortly. In the background were what might be called the "official" programmes of the central organisation of the church which had begun to exert itself for the people of the South. These were simultaneous with Edson's thrust and were concerned with two educational institutions and, at the turn of the century, attempts to establish a sanitarium.

An early SDA educational institution in the South was opened in the small village of Graysville, Tennessee, in the autumn of 1891.⁷⁸ Its primary purpose was to train Christian workers for the South. In its inception it was a private venture, but then, in 1895, it was accepted by the General Conference when the property was turned over to that organisation. From the scanty records and reminiscences available it appears that the school was to be for both blacks and whites, but this plan created problems with the local neighbourhood.⁷⁹ It also appears that there was a tendency to put more money into the operations there than into the less favourable situation at the other school in Alabama.

EGW speaks strongly against this, urging that the purposes of each school be understood and that both be supported in their respective tasks.⁸⁰

The second educational venture has been referred to already above. In 1895 the General Conference determined to open a school in the South primarily for black youth. They purchased a 360 acre farm about five miles north-west of Hunstville, Alabama, deciding to name it "Oakwood" because of "65 towering oaks that stood on what was to become the heart of the campus".⁸¹ The early records reveal the struggle to establish and maintain this infant institution.⁸² Part of the problem was the desperate poverty among the blacks in the South and a consequent inability to pay fees. In his presidential address to the General Conference Session in 1899, G.A. Irwin said:

"We regret exceedingly that we cannot report more progress among this people. (i.e. the blacks.) Many causes combine to make this a difficult field. Education lies at the foundation of this work; but owing to the extreme poverty and destitution of the majority, it must of necessity be largely gratuitous for the present."⁸³

There were constant appeals to the membership in the North to support the Oakwood venture, and EGW endorsed these plans. Despite her concern for the steady development of the Hunstville project there is evidence that such counsel was neglected.⁸⁴ Her continuing concern expressed itself in a letter to F.E. Belden, her nephew. She believed that her nation had "been guilty of a great wrong... In comparison with the great need there has been very little outlay of means to improve them by teaching them the knowledge of God. After being deprived of their rights, and for generations treated like cattle, they have been

deprived of the means of bettering their condition. Virtually they have been left in heathenism, when they might have been helped to educate and elevate themselves. Their color has closed to them almost every possible avenue to improvement."⁸⁵

In this unhappy situation the Hunstville enterprise struggled on. An Oakwood Archives document refers to a visit by the General Conference president in 1904 amidst fears that the school might be closed.⁸⁶ However in June of the same year EGW visited the campus and is reported to have declared "not one foot of this land should be sold and instead of fifty students in attendance there should be a hundred."⁸⁷ This was in harmony with her previously expressed convictions that the stronger must help the weak.⁸⁸

EGW's appeals did prevail, and although she was never satisfied that the best had been done for Oakwood, yet she rejoiced that some progress was made and that an uplift programme was being maintained.⁸⁹ The attempts to establish medical work in the form of a hydrotherapy sanitarium and health education outreach were not very successful. However, even here there were some who persisted and eventually a more permanent work emerged.⁹⁰

Now we must turn back to Edson White and note briefly the later phases of his work. While he was interested in all aspects of the SDA programme in the South, his particular concerns were in the Mississippi region. EGW showed a keen personal interest in his endeavours, giving financial and moral support.⁹¹ In addition to her personal encouragement to Edson, there are pages of letters, articles, and, when she returned from Australia, addresses, on behalf of the work in the South.

Almost from the beginning of his mission in Mississippi Edson White had recognised some of the special difficulties confronting his work in the milieu of the Southern States. In a letter to the General Conference president in 1895 he wrote about the differences between working in the North and working in the South. He illustrated this by referring to the fact that in the North it was often customary for the evangelist to stay with those among whom he was working. This was different in the South. "Here we do not dare accept any entertainment from the colored people, even if they were able to give it. A missionary a little ways from here was taken out by a masked band and shot because he made common with the colored people."⁹² This fear of mob action was never far from his mind although it did not seem to halt his intrepid approaches.

His first serious crisis did not occur until late in 1898. F.R. Rogers, one of his white associates, was severely threatened and told that the building in Yazoo City would be burnt and the Morning Star sunk.⁹³ Edson recalled his mother's constant counsel for caution in the work in the South so that the effort for the blacks would not be hindered or closed down. In a letter to a "Friend and Fellow-Worker" he speaks of issuing an extra edition of his magazine the Gospel Herald.

"In this we will show our leading denominational institutions... It will explain that we have nothing whatever to do with politics that we have not come down to invade the customs of the country, but only to make better men, better citizens, better Christians out of the people. The general impression is that we have some kind of a hocus pocus religion that we cannot get the white people to accept, and so have come down to try to get it off on the negroes. They want to know why we do not take it to

the white people and not make a business of working among the negroes. This extra will show that we are taking it to All classes and races."⁹⁴

Whether this had an effect is not known. No further dramatic trouble is reported, however, until May 1899.

This incident was more serious than the former and took place at Calmer. Here one of the white workers, Stephenson, was taken to the railroad station and forcibly deported. The church was looted and materials burned. A black worker named Casey had managed to escape, but another black named Olvin was taken and severely whipped and his wife was shot in the leg.⁹⁵ We should note here that it was almost immediately after this affray that EGW wrote in even stronger terms concerning the caution that must be exercised if the black was not to again suffer unjustly.⁹⁶

It is interesting to note that in the same year Edson White expressed himself to a woman in Washington D.C. who was preparing to work for the blacks there and who evidently appealed to him for some interpretation of the "Testimonies". We quote the key portions of his reply:

"Now in regard to the Testimonies requesting colored schools unmixed with whites. I understand that this refers to the South only where mixed schools will not be tolerated. God forbid that we should build up color lines where they do not now exist..."

"I think there is a rule that we may safely follow in this color line business. We must regard it only as it affects the outside element in such a way as to close up our work and injure our usefulness... You cannot make divisions where God regards us all blood relations to the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ... God

has made of one blood all nations of the earth and He so regards them. If we are the children of God we will regard them in the same way. We are not to regard the prejudice of men in matters of this kind only as we are compelled to do so in order that we may be allowed to work for them where a different course would close the field to our work and make it difficult and impossible to reach the people at all."⁹⁷

As Graybill has pointed out, Edson White cannot be regarded as an authoritative interpreter of his mother's counsel above others, but "certainly he worked more closely with her on this subject of race relations than any other person, and certainly he was closer to the situation than any other person."⁹⁸ For this reason his emphasis on avoiding white prejudice for the sake of ultimate black development and advancement is significant.

Edson's problems with white prejudice were not over by any means. In June 1900 both the Yazoo City Herald and the Yazoo Sentinel, two local newspapers, unleashed further attacks and threats, and again F.R. Rogers was their luckless victim.⁹⁹ Their bones of contention were both the Sabbatarian principles of the sect and the fact that with this they had thrown in a "large slice of social equality."¹⁰⁰ It was this latter charge that was to be magnified and especially attacked.

These historical factors have been emphasised because they provide the background for understanding the later, published statements of EGW on the question of race relations in 1909. The material for these statements had been produced in most cases before 1909 in different manuscripts addressed as a result of certain events, a number of which we have highlighted here.

Before we consider these later statements there is need to say a word concerning Edson White's further work. The threats and attacks did not stop the SDA mission in the South. They did hinder it and make it more perplexing. Both Edson and his wife Emma suffered a break down in health, and had to leave the Mississippi valleys and plains for a time. When he returned he established his headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee. This seemed a sensible choice because of the opportunities for advancement of educated blacks in the already established institutions there.¹⁰¹ In 1912, because of his wife's failing health, he moved back to the North and remained there until his death in 1928.¹⁰²

EGW's Later Statements on Race Relations

Graybill has shown that there was nothing racist in the EGW expressions, with satisfaction to both black and white SDA thinkers,¹⁰³ and the present researcher concurs with such an opinion. However, there is a problem which led Graybill into his particular research. This is that, in spite of her many statements on the equality of all races before God, and her consequent disavowal of racial prejudice, there was published in 1909 an EGW testimony which included such phrases as "the mingling of whites and blacks in social equality was by no means to be encouraged,"¹⁰⁴ and "the colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people."¹⁰⁵ A longer passage read:

"In regard to white and colored people worshiping in the same building, this can not be followed as a general custom with profit to either part, - especially in the South. The best thing will be to provide the colored people who accept the truth, with places of worship of their own, in which they can carry on their services by themselves. This is particularly

necessary in the South, in order that the work for the white people may be carried on without serious hinderance."¹⁰⁶

All this was to be explained to the black people. "Let them be shown that this is not done to exclude them from worshipping with white people, because they are black; but in order that the progress of the truth may be advanced. Let them understand that this plan is to be followed until the Lord shows a better way."¹⁰⁷ This counsel can only be understood in the context of the circumstances which occasioned it. These have been outlined above. In considering this aspect of the EGW messages on race relations, careful attention must be given to her overall approach. As she saw it, the options in the early 1900s in the South were either to proceed regardlessly on the programme of integration, or to move more cautiously temporarily. The first approach EGW believed would be harmful to all concerned but the blacks would suffer especially. This she did not wish to see. The second approach, although painful and open to criticism, she believed would be for the greatest good of all. But it was not to be permanent policy.

In the same "Testimony" it is emphasised that the unregenerate whites are the real problem. They "are not willing that special efforts should be put forth to uplift them (i.e. the colored people) ... Some act as if slavery had never been abolished."¹⁰⁸ Once again the dominant theme of all her statements is restated: "He who is closely connected with Christ is lifted above the prejudice of color or caste."¹⁰⁹ But these sentiments are often forgotten by the quoters and the other difficult and apparently contradictory statements are stressed. Why did EGW write in this way?

We have tried to emphasise that EGW's pronouncements must be considered both in their historical context and also in relation to her avowed, guiding principles. It would seem, unfortunately, that both black and white SDAs have taken the 1909 statements and used them differently without attempting to understand their immediate and total context.

EGW approached the delicate and difficult subject of race relations, as far as the SDA church was concerned, in a threefold way. First, it was her task to declare in no uncertain terms that there could be no such thing as racial-superiority thinking within the church. The whole body must recognise this foundational principle.¹¹⁰ Second, it was her task to remind a church which was mainly Northern in origin and outlook of the responsibility that rested upon the whole nation to make restitution for the past iniquities of slavery, and further that this activity was long overdue on the part of the North and the SDA church.¹¹¹ Thus her earlier articles depict a depressing picture of the depravity and need of the blacks who have been left to themselves, largely since the close of the Civil War.¹¹²

Her third approach is to spell out the specifics of the work she believed needed to be done for the blacks and whites of the South. Her main emphasis is for the blacks, naturally, and she views everything in this light in the majority of her counsel. Right from the outset she urges caution that the prevailing prejudice in the South be recognised and that every care be taken so that the necessary work for the blacks can continue.¹¹³ She sees this work not in terms of political or revolutionary activity but in the steady development of education so

that they can become self-reliant economically, coupled with this they are to be taught health and hygiene so that they may enjoy the blessings of good health and comfortable homes.¹¹⁴ As far as the whites are concerned they are to be led to an increased understanding of the Gospel as an antidote to their unwarranted prejudice.¹¹⁵ None of these principles changes in the 1909 statements. The very reason for these statements is the concern that she has had as outlined above. We have already noted that the sentiments of 1909 were expressed in 1899 after the experience in the Mississippi regions. These are temporary counsels. The suggestions are "until the Lord shows us a better way."¹¹⁶ As far as the counsels of the SDA church are concerned the voice of the black representatives is to be heard.¹¹⁷ There is no finality in the counsel and twice the emphasis is that no exact course can be laid down for dealing with the issue in the future.¹¹⁸ The expediency she advocated was better than that large numbers of black believers might lose their livelihoods and even their lives.

One might wish that the balanced statements of EGW's convictions had been issued in 1909, and that, failing this there might have been an earlier attempt to place them in historical perspective. This was done to some extent in the republishing of The Southern Work.¹¹⁹ A similar approach in an earlier decade would have saved much bitterness and uninformed discussion in the opinion of this writer.¹²⁰

Whatever may be the rights or wrongs of the past it is perhaps appropriate to conclude this section with a comment by Otis B. Edwards, a black SDA, long connected with Oakwood. He said, "Perhaps the

greatest stimulus to missionary efforts for the Negro came, however, from Mrs. Ellen G. White."¹²¹ The contemporary documents appear to support his opinion.

SDA Approaches to Race Relations in the U.S.A. 1909-1976

In the history of the Negro in the U.S.A. the year of 1909 is an important one. Some four years earlier, in June 1905, the Niagara Movement had been founded which, amongst other things, called for "the abolition of all distinctions based on race."¹²² In 1909, however, a conference was called which led to the organisation in 1910 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Among its stated objectives the NAACP pledged itself "to work for the abolition of all forced segregation, equal education for Negro and white children, the complete enfranchisement of the Negro, and the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."¹²³

1909 was also an important year in SDA history. In a further reorganisation of their work at that time, the SDAs established a Negro Department so that the interests of this group could be promoted and cared for more adequately.¹²⁴ Some eight years earlier a leading black SDA minister had made an eloquent appeal for the development of his people in leadership posts in the church's work.¹²⁵ This department was to result in such progress. In the minutes of its first meeting, the Negro Department noted that in 1907 there were 700 SDA members "south of the Mason and Dixon line."¹²⁶ Nine years later this number had increased to 3,500.¹²⁷ During this period three white SDA ministers served as directors of the Department. In 1918 W.H Green,

a former lawyer in the District of Columbia, U.S.A., became the first black director of this department, - a practice that has been followed ever since.¹²⁸

1909 was also the year that the well known testimony of EGW on race relations, to which we have already referred, was published. It came at a time when resident whites in the South were strongly opposing sometimes violently, the SDA mission work there. Yet even before this, as we have also noticed, EGW had expressed her concern at the diminishing efforts, and even neglect, in the work for the blacks in the South.

It is difficult to ascertain why there was this measure of neglect and even indifference to the denominational programme in the South. Certainly strong personalities became involved other than Edson White. Both P.T. Magan and E.A. Sutherland pioneered their particular brand of "self-supporting" SDA education in the Southlands, but apparently their work was mainly for needy whites.¹²⁹

The issue is made more complicated because of the character of the chief promoter of SDA work among the blacks, namely Edson White. He was an erratic individual as far as SDA denominational service was concerned, being in and out of it on several occasion. Many of his ideas were unorthodox and, most seriously, he was financially unstable.¹³⁰ It is extremely difficult to evaluate whether the neglect, therefore, was because of basic prejudice toward blacks on the part of the white leadership, or whether the lack of enthusiasm was because the work was the brain child of Edson. In other words, it is not easy to assess whether there was evil prejudice of either type, or whether there

was a genuine desire to avoid making it more difficult to preach the SDA message to all races and classes. The contemporary evidence suggests the latter. The fact is that the SDA work in the Southern States continued, but it was still largely white-led. Gradually the separateness between the black and white work increased. While it may have been expedient originally, it became a set pattern later.

There are those in the SDA church, who, looking back, consider that EGW's 1909 statements were followed to the exclusion of the other counsel she gave. Senior, black, SDA leaders believe that the testimony of 1909 became a veto on their progress.¹³¹ They consider it came about as follows: The EGW articles, comprising the book The Southern Work were printed privately by Edson White, that is they were not a publication of a denominationally owned publishing house. As his edition was sold out there was no reprinting. Thus this important aspect of EGW's teaching was largely lost, or at best obscured, - privately circulated. Consequently the majority in the SDA church tended to hide behind the EGW statement of 1909, especially as the racial climate in the U.S.A. did not improve and segregationism became the way of life.

Many of these same leaders are convinced that the undue emphasis on the 1909 testimony was a contributory factor in the apostasy of black SDA leaders such as L.C. Sheafe¹³² and John Mann.¹³³ It may also have contributed to J.K. Humphrey's "black Zionism" approach in the early 1920's, although other factors seem to have been influential in that situation.¹³⁴

Until the 1940's the SDA work at local congregational level was generally separate, especially in the territories that had formed the Confederate South, but at local conference level it was not. So while there was this separateness and even segregation at local church level, all the congregations, black and white, were under one administrative umbrella, - the local conference committee, - led generally by whites. This was, of course, a mirror or the pattern of local U.S.A. society. In the SDA church it frustrated the local black leadership and meant that at a wider level only few blacks were able to develop as conference leaders or administrators.

From the time of Edson White's mission in the South, where after the initial troubles he had encouraged separate black and white development,¹³⁵ there had been talk of separate black conferences for the SDA work. This idea continued to surface through the next two decades. In 1929 the SDA General Conference Committee Minutes indicate that a recommendation for the organisation of Negro Conferences be submitted to a special commission on the future of SDA Negro work.¹³⁶ The appointment of a secretary for the Negro Department was left in abeyance pending the report of this commission.¹³⁷ Its findings were submitted in September 1929. The suggestion for Negro Conferences does not surface. Instead the action states "in each union conference where there are as many as 500 colored believers except in the Southeastern, Southern, and Southwestern (where they already had same) a Negro secretary be elected, this secretary to be a member of the union conference committee." (the governing body).¹³⁸

The stark, official minutes give no indication of the discussions preceding this decision. Senior black leaders today contend that the whites resisted what the blacks considered both a necessary and progressive move. The years of depression followed swiftly in the U.S.A. Both black and white SDAs suffered in the general difficulties, and with the problems of a world work to sustain in such conditions, the general Headquarters had little time or opportunity for further discussion of the Negro work in U.S.A.¹³⁹

As the country entered the 1940's, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, the movement towards integration of black and white generally, began to gather momentum. Other denominations began to make declarations of intention, but still the SDAs were generally silent on the issue. And the question has been asked, was it that EGW testimony of 1909, isolated from the many other statements, that still dominated official SDA thinking? There is no definite answer. Perhaps human inertia is more powerful than a prophetic message.

The change came in 1944. A year previously the appointment of a committee to study "the future development of our colored work in North America" is noted in the General Conference minutes.¹⁴⁰ Their report was presented and accepted in 1944. There were now 233 largely Negro SDA churches in North America with a total membership of 17,000. The committee's reaction read as follows: "That in unions where the colored constituency is considered by the union conference committee to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant, colored conferences be organised." These conferences were to

be administered by colored officers and committees. They were to sustain the same relation to their respective union conferences as the white conferences.¹⁴² The way was now open for the development of much needed black leadership and integration. A black SDA leader has commented recently on this decision as follows:

"April 10, 1944 was a historic day in records of the black work in North America. J.L. McElhany president of the General Conference, served as chairman of the General Conference Spring Council held in Chicago, Illinois, when the action was taken to organize black conferences in North America. Many whites and blacks resisted this new untried action. In spite of all the pros and cons the last 28 years have proved this was a wise course of action."¹⁴³

This assessment seems justified as the events from 1944 are surveyed.¹⁴⁴ Three colored conferences were organized in 1945, two in 1946, and one in 1950 and another in 1952. (In 1966 one of these original conferences, - Allegheny, - was divided into two conferences.) The decision on integration in all health and education institutions came in 1953.¹⁴⁵ The first black associate secretary of the General Conference, F.L. Peterson, was appointed in 1954, and the first vice-president in 1962. Now the SDA church was moving close to the ideal set for it by its prophet.¹⁴⁶

Around the time of the 1970 General Conference Session there was considerable agitation for the development of black unions, - the next higher organization in SDA church structure.¹⁴⁷ There was considerable discussion on this issue both publicly and privately but without any formal action the church appeared to move to a consensus that rather than strengthen separatism, which the black union conference could

produce, it would opt for a wider representation of races in its administrative structures at all levels. This it implemented in its World General Conference Session at Vienna in 1975 and has continued to do so since.

While the ideal is still not reached, there is a better atmosphere in Seventh-day Adventism today, with happier working relationships generally. White prejudice does exist in certain areas still, and feelings of past injustices still rankle in the minds of some black writers.¹⁴⁸ The SDA church has sought, however, at least since 1954, to take much more seriously the total counsel of EGW. Through firm declarations on Human and Race Relations;¹⁴⁹ through annual Black History weeks in many of its colleges in the Western world; through the example of Andrews University which has stressed integration;¹⁵⁰ and through Human Relations workshops in which prejudices have been examined in a residential atmosphere;¹⁵¹ - the SDA church has endeavoured to repudiate racism.

Before concluding this survey it is important to notice another aspect which has been a point of controversy in Seventh-day Adventism at times, and which has been connected with EGW's counsel, - this is the question of inter-racial marriage. In her life time EGW was opposed to this but there is no indication in the counsel given that this was a racist pronouncement. She did not advise against such marriages simply because two different races were involved. She does express concern for the children of such unions who, in her opinion, may be ostracised by those of either race in society at large. Generally, however, her comments on inter-racial marriage are set within both the

historical situation and the wider context of marriage counselling.¹⁵² A further dimension is the personal nature of this surviving counsel, i.e. its application to the individual in areas on which a historian is unable to comment. An example is found in a letter¹⁵³ written to a black believer, needed as a worker in the South, who was proposing to marry a white girl. This document illustrates well the general trends of EGW's counsel.

First, there is the historical setting. It is 1901 and the antagonisms in the South are increasing. EGW's concern is for the blacks, that nothing should hinder unduly the efforts on their behalf. Hence there are statements such as: "If you take this step it will create great difficulty for the work in the Southern Field and great trouble for the colored people," and, again, if such a marriage took place it is her conviction that it "would close up many openings in the Southern field." Since "souls are involved in the step you propose to take," the young man was to ask himself the questions, "How can I best glorify him (i.e. God) and promote the inerests of my people in the colored states?... Have I not a work to do for my oppressed, discouraged fellows?" Here, then, was pragmatice advice to an individual facing a specific, local, historical situation.

Second, EGW takes up one or two points of general marriage counselling. The hazards of marriage should always be reduced by careful pre-marital considerations. In this particular case she mentions that a black marrying a white in the Southern context might mean that both lives would be endangered in the then tense situation. This meant the marriage would be under a constant tension. For her marriage was

to be "ordered by the Lord" and she stressed the need, therefore, of adequate spiritual preparation, which she considered in this case was lacking. Then it appears that the girl's mother was unhappy about the proposal and her views should be considered. While there is an overlap between these points and the third area of counsel, they contain principles which many, who approach marriage seriously, recognise as worthy of consideration even today.

Third, EGW claims certain insights on which it is not possible for a commentator writing years later to make an evaluation. In this particular case she says that the young man concerned is rather self-opinionated, lacking humility, and concerned more with self-pleasing than a recognition of God's will. She sees these as problems for the success of any marriage regardless of racial differences.

This subject of inter-racial marriage is discussed at some length because while in the past there may have been an unwarranted attitude on the part of some SDAs that a marriage to one of another ethnic group was "wrong", per se, and while this impression, and thus racial prejudice, may have been unwittingly encouraged by the format of the Selected Messages, Book 2, in its early editions,¹⁵⁴ this is not EGW's position. For her marriage was a serious act and her counsel regarding it is wide ranging. Consideration of ethnic difference is only one aspect of the total evaluation necessary.¹⁵⁵

EGW was no racist. She was well aware of the problems and identified them. "The spirit which has held the colored people so long in slavery is alive today (1899), and among the whites there are those who will work in every possible way against that which has a tendency

to uplift the colored people... If you would make the southern whites and the colored people your friends, you must meet them where they are, not to act as they act, to sin as they sin, but to present the truth to them in your daily life."¹⁵⁶ Yet she believed that the practice of true Christianity would be effective. "When the love of Christ is cherished in the heart as it should be," she wrote, "when the sweet, subduing spirit of the love of God fills the soul-temple, there will be no caste, no pride of nationality; no difference will be made because of the color of the skin. Each one will help the one who needs tender regard and consolation, of whatever nationality he may be."¹⁵⁷ It was in this direction that she pointed her church, and all Christians.

Race Relations in the SDA Church in Britain

While their fellow church members in the USA were facing the problems of the South, the SDAs in Britain were struggling to establish a foothold in a land that was not over enthusiastic about "new American sects", as the SDA movement was considered. The subject of race relations remained a theoretical one for them since there were few black residents of Britain. In the one or two seaports where a black person accepted the SDA beliefs they were integrated into the existing church fellowship.¹⁵⁸

In the pattern of most Christian denominations in Britain, SDAs here did not discuss race relations. It was not a contemporary issue. The few who had had contact with their American cousins considered the problems of black and white living together in the same nation, and so in the church, as an "American problem". During the World War II, a few

British SDA congregations were visited by US serviceman SDAs, and some of these were black. In one such church where there were quite a few black visitors, there was some surprise that the black soldiers tended to sit on one side and the white soldiers on the other, but again it was dismissed as part of the American scene.¹⁵⁹

After World War II as the Union Jack was lowered and the flags of independent nations were unfurled in its place, as the Commonwealth replaced the British Empire, and as economic problems affected certain, former, colonial areas, especially the West Indies, the scene changed in British Seventh-day Adventism. While there have been some attempts to evaluate this change, no complete study has been made,¹⁶⁰ and this thesis does not seek to make such a study, for it is concerned here with what effect, if any, EGW's counsels on race relations had on the British, SDA church.

In the early years of this development, that is the 1950's, the general picture was one of happy acceptance of the immigrant as a "brother in Christ".¹⁶¹ Occasionally there was some bewilderment at certain cultural and sociological differences, but these did not weaken the welcome given. It is doubtful if the average SDA in Britain knew about EGW's counsel as found in The Southern Work, and there seems no evidence that the 1909 testimony had any particular influence, except that there was a certain reticence in the matter of inter-racial marriage. Apart from this British SDAs were clear on the concepts of racial equality and brotherhood in Christ.

Through the decade of the 1960 however, changes began to occur. There were few other denominations in Britain that were facing the

challenge of receiving immigrant members, certainly not in large numbers. Seventh-day Adventism, with its international organisation and practice of membership transfers,¹⁶² was in an unusual, if not unique, situation. It had never been a very large body in Britain,¹⁶³ and consequently had attracted little support or notice. In some cases it had been vigorously attacked by more established denominations or competing groups especially for its Sabbatarianism and the role of EGW in its history. Now this small, struggling, largely indigenous church was suddenly flooded with enthusiastic, zealous, expressive West Indian brethren and sisters. Congregations which had counted their accessions previously in single figures on an annual basis, now saw their numbers increasing noticeably week by week.

The Sociologist has praised the British SDA church for its initial acceptance and integration of the immigrant into its fellowship.¹⁶⁴ At the grass roots level, however, the SDA church was not prepared physically for the influx. Its church buildings, where possessed, were small and inadequate for the full church life and programme to which the immigrants were accustomed. Since the problem was largely in London and the major industrial areas, it did not effect more than about 40% of the SDA church membership, and there is no explicit mention of the problem in the official records of the time.¹⁶⁵

Tensions did begin to develop, however, at the local level. The immigrants were equal members with the previously indigenous; and, through the system of local SDA church government, (where church officers are elected by the whole membership annually), soon found themselves in leadership positions. As their numbers increased so they introduced,

naturally, patterns of worship to which they were accustomed, - freer in style and with more congregational response. Two effects began to be noticed.

First, the local populace appreciated what was being done for the immigrants in their midst, but assumed, in many cases, that the local SDA church or meeting was just another "West Indian Club". This attitude made even more difficult the already problematic task of communicating SDA beliefs to the still largely white population. Some blacks understood this point of view and the expressed concern of the administration to maintain its public evangelistic thrust.¹⁶⁶ Others were very opposed to it, pointing instead to the low-key, lack-lustre, half-hearted evangelistic zeal of the original members and seeing themselves as catalysts for renewal and greater action.¹⁶⁷

Second, some whites, unable to adapt to this freer, more charismatic type of worship favoured by the West Indian, began to attend other churches, largely white-led, or ceased attending church at all. In one or two cases a white minority group left the original church to form a worshipping group on their own. These met in a hired hall continuing in their own liturgical style.¹⁶⁸ Such a departure generally meant leaving a church building which they had sacrificed financially to obtain over many years. Since at this time many of the West Indians were still sending their tithes and a generous portion of their offerings "back home", it is not difficult to see the emotional tensions that such actions created on both sides. The concepts of Christian love and unity were being sorely tested. By now in the late 1960's the world, and the church, was aware of the subject of race relations as never before.

Racism had become an ugly reality in Britain. Inevitably there was an osmosis type reaction between these environmental pressures and the church situation. Consequently such withdrawal, as noted above, tended to be magnified and interpreted as racial prejudice by some of the black members.¹⁶⁹

A further exacerbating factor was the paucity of black ministers. Only one came from the West Indies and a number of the black young people who completed ministerial training at the SDA college in England did not in fact enter the ministry but chose to study in the U.S.A. (By 1970 there were four black, SDA ministers in Britain, by 1976 the number had doubled, and will continue to increase as those now in training complete their course and other students take their place.) A number of black lay leaders believed that it would be easier for the black youth to identify with a black pastor; the older members did not see it as such a problem.

As the SDA church in Britain came into the 1970's a period of difficulty faced certain places on the question of race-relations. As described above a polarisation had occurred in a few areas. From the scant evidence available there seems to have been virtually no discussion at local level of EGW's counsels. The British SDA administration stressed the need for unity and brotherhood. The local conference sessions each appointed a black representative to their governing committees in 1967.¹⁷⁰ In 1970 one of the five lay representatives appointed to the British Union Conference Committee was a black. These moves, however, were not sufficiently satisfying to certain black lay leaders, for reasons which are difficult to identify. A sub-committee

report on race relations was submitted to the British Union Conference Committee in December 1972. It recommended, among other things, that a Human Relations Day be observed annually on a set Sabbath (Saturday), that a standing Committee on Race Relations be maintained, and that "clarification of Ellen G. White's views on race relations and explanations of certain statements in Vol. IX Testimonies" be sought. It also recommended that "evangelistic presentations should include the moral obligations of all christians to believe in the dignity of man and practice the brotherhood of mankind."¹⁷¹

In June 1974 the London Laymen's Forum was established. This was led by black Seventh-day Adventists. In the first edition of their duplicated news-sheet Comment they set out their grievances. These may be summarised as dissatisfaction with the local and union conference leadership; the desire for greater representation on the conference-committees; the implication that those who were already on committees may be unaware of the issues "or do not care to know"; the suggestion that there is need for greater integration; and the explicit statement that while they supported an increase in white membership "it must not be at the expense of the kin of those who faithfully support the greater part of the ministry." As previously noted, they felt the need for more black ministers.¹⁷² Three points may be noted. First, the group made it clear that they were the only ones "in a position to speak for the coloured membership."¹⁷³ Second, they stated at this time that they were not seeking for a separate conference but greater integration. Third, there was from the beginning little, if any, reference to EGW. Over the next years only the second point changed.¹⁷⁴

Some began to call for a black conference like the regional conferences in the U.S.A. This led to the British Union Conference conducting a postal ballot during October 1976 in which all its members were invited to vote on the issue.¹⁷⁵ A number of the Forum leaders opposed this approach.¹⁷⁶ The result of the ballot was announced in December 1976. 5478 of the approximately 12500 members had participated. 849 were in favour of a regional conference, 4629 were not in favour. The Union President stated: "There is no doubt that the large majority of our members believe that our church in this Union should be organized and operated with Christian concern and consideration for all races within and without the church."¹⁷⁷ This referendum largely settled the issue, but in Birmingham and London several churches apparently still wish to form a regional conference and the outcome is still uncertain with discussions continuing.

It would not be accurate to describe this tension as typical of the SDA church in Britain. As indicated the issues are especially debated in a few areas. It is the present writer's evaluation that had the full EGW counsel been studied generally by the SDA church in Britain much earlier, some of the tensions could have been avoided. It could be argued that, as in the USA, there may have been a slowness in British Seventh-day Adventism to recognise the problem and dimensions of the race relations issue, especially in their church. Questions of greater representation and a more adequate supply of capable black ministers obviously need study to see how they can be implemented satisfactorily. While this study notes an occasional, regrettable act or statement which could be interpreted as arising from racial prejudice,

it does not reveal an inherent racism in the rank and file of the SDA church in Britain. Nor, on the other hand, is there evidence that the London Laymen's Forum has the confidence of the majority of the black SDA membership.¹⁷⁸ A number of SDA churches in predominantly immigrant areas are developing as co-operative, multiracial congregations. This would seem in harmony with the counsel of their founder, who stressed the need for harmonious development of church life regardless of colour, caste, or class, with the occasional separate development only as an interlude or as a prelude and preparation for more effective integration ultimately.

EGW and Race Relations in the SDA Church Today

It is not easy to evaluate EGW's overall influence on SDA race relations, since she died in 1915, just twenty years after SDA efforts in earnest for the black people of the Southern U.S.A. had commenced. If she had been younger when this work began and had lived on, the picture might have been different. It is possible, however, on the basis of evidence from written sources and interviews to draw some tentative conclusions.

It seems clear that EGW was ahead of the leaders of her denomination in her thinking and convictions concerning the black race, especially in the area of responsibility for redeeming the past. In dramatic tones she addressed the 1901 General Conference Session:

"As it has been presented before me, the Southern field has been so long neglected that the cries of distress have gone up to heaven, and there never can be a clearance of our people until that field

shall have fourfold more than any other field should have. They must have it, because they have nothing with which to carry forward their work. From the light that God has given me, our people will never stand as they should stand before Him, until they redeem the past."179

The neglect of the SDA church in carrying out these responsibilities weighed heavily upon her.

In the 1903 session she expressed herself once again:

"You say that the colored people are depraved and wicked, that their standard of morality is very low. Who made them wicked? Who spoiled their morals? I want you to think of this and of the burden that rests upon the white people to help the colored people..."

"The workers in the school at Huntsville are to have our tender sympathy and our practical aid. Do not let them suffer for the lack of facilities, for they are trying to educate the colored people. The school at Huntsville is in positive need of our care and donations..."

"Not one-thousandth part of the work has been done that should have been done for the colored people, who need help more than any other people in America."180

It appears that not until the 1960's were these appeals understood and acted upon in any major way.

She was equally clear that decided efforts should be made to develop capable workers from among the black race at that time. She saw this as essential if the work on their behalf was to survive. Typical of this type of appeal is one made in connection with a plea to support the work at Huntsville:

"For the accomplishment of the Lord's work among the colored people in the South, we can not look wholly to white laborers. We need colored workers, O, so much! to labor for their own people

everywhere, and especially in those places where it would not be safe for white people to labor. Without delay most decided efforts should be made to educate and train colored men and women to labor as missionaries."¹⁸¹

This emphasis on what would be termed today indiginisation, - development of national leadership, - is one that the SDA church should have recognised more readily and earlier, not only in the Southern USA but also in other areas of the world. For a long time its efforts were limited or dependent on the foresight of an individual mission superintendent.¹⁸² In some cases it was not until crisis occurred in the form of war or political re-alignments within a country that the need for trained, local leadership was fully realised.

It is apparent that EGW's counsel, especially in its emphasis on the basic principle of the equality of all men, was liberal and advanced for her time. Not only did she stress this equality as persons, as we have noticed, but she also stressed the equality of spiritual need. In one of her appeals for both black and white teachers in the South, she said: "The white people as well as the colored, need to be saved. Many of the white people in the South are as ignorant and degraded as the colored people. God wants to save them."¹⁸³

So today her counsel could reinforce the thinking and expression of many contemporary Christian writers on the subject of race relations. This counsel may be emphatically propounded remembering also her associated advice that where there is prejudice such counsel should be carefully introduced and argued.

One might say, then, that the SDA church had a body of counsel on race relations which was non-racist, forward looking and progressive. Because this counsel was closely associated with specific historical or local situations, some of it required careful interpretation, but the principles provided illumination for what was a difficult question. Denominational history does not show that the counsel was repudiated or rejected theoretically, but it was certainly neglected, if not ignored, particularly in the USA.

EGW was evidently conscious of these possibilities, for in the EGW Estate Files there is evidence of her concern. It takes the form of two documents. The first is an unpublished work entitled, "The Southern Work", and subtitled, "A Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Work of the Seventh-day Adventists in the Southern States of America." EGW evidently reviewed this material in her eighty-fourth year and made the following notation in her own handwriting on the front page: "This matter must be fully considered."¹⁸⁴ The second exhibit is another unpublished book manuscript by Spaulding, "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt".¹⁸⁵ It is an open question as to why these books were not published, since EGW was certainly concerned that there should be some such publication. Some point to her decease in 1915 as precluding production. Others, notably SDA historians, have examined the manuscripts and consider that the approach is not one that would be acceptable in the present time of historico-critical research. Perhaps it is just a further indication of the inability, or unwillingness, of the SDA denomination to follow through on their prophet's counsel at that time.

If this latter observation is true it is especially disappointing because of the intrinsic character of Seventh-day Adventism which is one of enterprise. This point is grasped by Spaulding who lived much closer to the early situation. In his unpublished manuscript he expresses it as follows:

"Among the smallest of the Christian bodies at the close of the war was the Seventh-day Adventist church. It started no work and it had no agent among the freedmen. While its individual members had a deep interest in the slave, holding, indeed, abolition sentiments and doing service on the Underground Railroad, the part they acted in behalf of the freed man was at first not great, and found play only through other organizations.

"There were reasons for this. In the first place, the denomination was young and small... Starting in New England and New York, its faith had found firmest root in the middle west, and Iowa and Minnesota were then its frontiers. Stopped by slavery, which it unalterably opposed, it had made no progress into the South.

"Another fact prevented the knowledge that inspires action. It was the soldier and army chaplain who saw the freedman in his rags and his ignorance, and either engaged himself or incited others to engage in the Negroes behalf. But Seventh-day Adventists, like the Quakers, were opposed on principle to war, and few of their members had been in the army. Of such as there were, probably none dated their connection with the body from a point before the war.

"Further than this, the sect, being new, was more concerned in presenting the truths it regarded as vital to the Christian world, than in dealing with social problems. The members were for the most part poor, and their slender resources seemed scarcely equal to the enterprises then on foot. It did not seem good policy for so small a body, precariously entrenched in recently occupied territory, to venture into the troubled field of the South.

"Nevertheless, while the above statement may present a plausible reason for the neglect by SDA's to enter upon a work for the freedman, it is rather, in view of the policy of that church, but an excuse. For it is the genius of SDA work to inspire every member with the sense of responsibility and personal initiative wherever a need is presented."¹⁸⁶

We have quoted Spaulding at length since, as we have indicated already, his material is not generally available.

Now in the light of this evaluation of EGW's material we suggest the following:

1. Since her counsel has not always been followed with discernment, and since at times it appears to have been used by some SDA's to go contrary to what EGW herself intended,¹⁸⁷ there needs to be a much more thorough examination of what she actually said on the subject of race relations, and much greater care taken both in the way the subject is introduced and in the manner particular positions are argued. This would seem to be more necessary in British Seventh-day Adventism than in the USA at the present time. In the latter country, over the last decade, decided efforts to correct past mistakes and misunderstandings have been made, as we have noted.
2. Such a study of the EGW counsels on race relations should lead to a wider recognition of the rationale behind her statements on the part of both blacks and whites. In every individual, both black and white, there is latent prejudice. This needs to be recognised within the sympathetic framework of the Christian community. For the white this means generally the need to develop Christian love,

compassion, co-operation; to avoid patronising attitudes, and to seek understanding of the difficulties blacks face when they are a minority group in society. For the black it means the overcoming of alienating suspicion and unnecessary assertiveness, together with a willingness to seek Christian solutions rather than score political victories. Within the SDA church, and possibly elsewhere, such study as we are recommending should also lead to a realisation that the demand of either ethnic group, naturally more noticeable in the black minority, to make church appointments solely on the basis of a person's race, would be out of harmony with EGW's understandings.

3. Most prophets find themselves expressing an ideal and then having to live in, and give counsel to people to relate to, what is less than the ideal proposed. This was certainly true of EGW's ministry and is connected with her counsels on race relations. She was very clear on the ideal. "The test will come, not as regards the outward complexion, but as regards the condition of the heart. Both the white and the colored people have the same Redeemer, who has paid the ransom with his own life for every member of the human family."¹⁸⁹ However, in order that this ideal be placed before all, EGW recognised the pragmatic necessity that at certain times and in certain places less than the ideal might need to be practised in the hope that the ideal would be reached eventually. This led her, as one who placed great emphasis on the necessity of personal salvation, to stress the responsibility of the "believer" to act at all times in such a way, - even being willing to suffer

personally, - so that the "non-believer" might not be denied the opportunity also of grasping, what EGW referred to so often as the "truth". Much of her counsel can be interpreted adequately only in the light of this conviction, and such an evaluation needs to be understood both by SDAs and others who study her writings.

4. In all discussion of EGW's race relations' counsels, especially those that relate to temporary separateness, both the flexibility and the non-finality of these counsels must be kept in mind. This is necessary to differentiate between separateness, which may be a necessary expedient, and segregation, which EGW would condemn because it is based on a philosophy of inequality and superiority which she consistently repudiated.

Footnotes and Sources to Chapter 7

1. See Julia Neuffer, "How Activist Were Adventist Abolitionists?" RH, September 10, 1970, p.11.
2. Anson Byington, Letter to U. Smith, RH, March 10, 1859, p. 124. (See also RH, April 21, 1859, pp. 174, 175; April 28, 1859, p. 181; May 3, 1860, p. 190.)
3. RH, March 10, 1859, p. 124.
4. Idem.
5. Idem.
6. RH, August 12, 1862, p. 84.
7. RH, September 9, 1862, p. 118.
8. RH, October 21, 1862, p. 167.
It is interesting to note that although James White wrote: "We have spoken against slavery and the rebellion in the most unsparing terms. We have taught that slavery would exist till the second coming of Christ and that the prosperity of the nation was gone forever." (RH, September 9, 1862, p. 118), no one took him up in their correspondence on these latter points.
9. IT, p. 361.
The original "Testimony for the church, No. 9" was published in 1863. The "Bro. A.R." to whom it was addressed acknowledges the veracity of the testimony in a letter to the Review. (See RH, April 21, 1863, p. 167.) This Testimony is found today in IT, pp. 355-368.
10. See F.M. Wilcox, Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1936. (On the American Civil War see pp. 57-65.) See also "Appendix" in IT (1948 printing), pp. 716, 717: cf. Peter Brock, "The Problem of the Civil War", Adventist Heritage, Vol. I, No. I (January 1974), pp. 23-27.
11. The "underground railroad" was the name given to the organisation and programme to assist fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. For some details of John Byington's involvement (he was the first president of the SDA church), see John O. Waller, "John Byington of Bucks Bridge". Adventist Heritage, Vol I, No. 2 (July 1974), pp. 5-13, 65-67. John P. Kellogg (father of J.H. and W.K. Kellogg), is said to have used his farm in Michigan to harbour fleeing slaves.

12. cf. EGW, "The law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating this law." IT, p. 202.
13. IT, p. 254 (1862). cf. "It is so strange that Northern men can sympathise with this terrible rebellion and the institution of slavery." EGW, RH, September 16, 1862, p. 126.
14. EW, p. 275 (1858).
15. IT, pp. 359, 360 (1863).
16. Ibid., p. 358.
17. See footnote 12 above.
18. EGW records in her diary a visit to the Hardy home: "We were heartily welcomed by the family. A good dinner was soon in readiness for us of which we thankfully partook. This is a colored family, but although the house is poor and old, everything is arranged with neatness and exact order. The children are well behaved, intelligent, and interesting. May I yet have a better acquaintance with this dear family." EGW, Diary, January 25, 1859.

The Oakwood College Library Files give the impression that Sojourner Truth (alias Isabella Van Wagener), a famous self-made black woman, was a SDA. cf. James E. Dykes, "Lifted Lamp in the Worlds Wild Storm", Message Magazine, February 1958, pp. 17-19, 27. However, the SDAE, pp. 1331, 1332, does not accept this view. cf. F.M. Wilcox, "Our Illustrious Dead", RH, December 1, 1932, p. 1133; "We stood by the grave of Sojourner Truth, a Sabbath keeper, and one deeply interested in our work, although we believe she never united formally with the church."

19. See a discussion of this in Chapter 4.
20. See SDAE, p. 35. Undoubtedly an important factor in this move was that the SDAs in U.S.A. of immigrant, European stock were sending back to their relatives in Europe SDA literature and were anxious for the interests developing from this activity, together with those from M.B. Czechowski's work, to be contacted.
21. See an account of this in SDAE, pp. 1209, 1210.
22. The details which follow are taken from an unpublished book manuscript entitled "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt." EGW Estate, DF 376. A.W. Spaulding, ("Spalding" is his pen name), is evidently the author from the correspondence between him and W.C. White on file in the EGW Estate Office. Ron Graybill, an

EGW Estate researcher, considers that this MS is very valuable as a source book for the facts of Adventist Negro history, but "its interpretation of that history, and its coverage of Negro history generally, are often open to debate." (Interview with writer, May 1974). See also footnote 185.

23. Spalding, Lights and Shades, p. 137. (Emphasis supplied by writer.)
24. See RH, May 31, 1877, p. 172.
25. Spalding, loc. cit., p. 137.
26. Idem.
27. Spalding, loc. cit., p. 138.
28. See General Conference Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 1 (November 14, 1887), pp. 2,3.
29. Idem. The full text of the resolution is as follows:
"WHEREAS, the Bible says that there is neither Jew nor Greek,
there is neither bond nor free, but that all are one in Christ
Jesus, therefore
RESOLVED, That it is the decided opinion of this Conference, that
when the colored people of the South accept the Third Angel's
Message, they should be received into the church on an equality
with the white members, no discrimination whatever being made
between the two races in church relations."
30. Idem.
31. See General Conference Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 7 (November 21, 1887), pp. 2,3. The full text is as follows: "Your committee, to whom was referred the question known as 'the color line' respectfully submit the following report: - As the question pertains to the best methods to be pursued in the presentation of the truth in the South where persons of African descent are most numerous, and as no one of the committee has had any personal experience in that work, we have deemed it proper to confer with those whose fields of labour have been in that section of the country. As the result of these interviews we find those who are present who have labored in the South unanimous in the opinion that it is easy to pursue a course which will create no disturbance, and do no injustice to the colored people. This being the case your committee can see no occasion for this Conference to legislate upon the subject, and would, therefore, recommend that no action be taken and that all reference to the question be omitted from the minutes."

32. See General Conference Bulletin, Vol. 1, No.1 (October 19, 1888), p.2.
33. General Conference Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 1 (October 18, 1889), p. 25.
34. cf. The case of R.M. King, a Tennessee farmer who became a SDA in 1884 and who was prosecuted for ploughing on Sunday. (See SDAE, p. 661.)
35. These points are well illustrated by a report in the Review by R.M. Kilgore of a council held in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1889. He writes: "Many important questions were considered during the council, among which the race question was probably the most serious and perplexing. It is hard for our brethren in the North to realize that anything like the color line, or a distinction between the two races, should exist in the minds of any; but there is no question about it here in the South, and any effort made on the part of those from the North to break down the distinction between the races, thus ignoring popular prejudice, is simply fanatical and unwise. Those who have not labored in the South cannot possibly appreciate the situation. It is not only a difficult problem to solve among our white brethren, but the perplexity and embarrassment of the situation are realized as fully by the colored people... We are glad however, to note this fact: That with those who have received the truth in the love of it, and know the power of the truth in their own hearts as it is in Christ Jesus, the prejudices that once existed are gone; and were it not for the feeling on the part of those from without, there would be no trouble on this question, even in the Southern States.

"The advisability of our white brethren from the North laboring indiscriminately among the whites and colored, was considered quite fully, and declared by all to be wholly impracticable and out of the question, for he who does it can have no influence whatever among the whites in any part of the South. And unless the white laborer should come with an understanding that his labor was to be exclusively among the blacks, and make no effort whatever to labor for the whites, it will be useless for him to try to labor at all."

RH, October 29, 1889, p. 683.

Kilgore continues in this report to speak of the decision by consensus that "canvassing", i.e. the selling of Christian literature from home to home, was probably the best way to conduct the SDA programme in the South if it was to reach all people. "While the canvassing work is considered merely a business transaction, those who engage in it are not considered as having any great public influence, and are, therefore, in many localities, permitted to canvass all classes indiscriminately, though in some places this

is not to be tolerated, especially if the individual is from the North." Idem. He also refers to the problems the SDAs were facing due to the "stringent Sunday laws."

36. See SDAE, p. 1062.

37. Charles M. (Kinny) Kinney, (1855-1951), See SDAE, p. 665, and RH, October 29, 1889, p. 683.

Ronald Graybill has styled him "the founder of Black Adventism" (in an interview with the writer in May 1974). In Kinney's obituary it states that when he joined the SDA church in 1878 "he was the only Negro member of the Reno Seventh-day Adventist church and the church welcomed him warmly." (See RH, September 27, 1951, p. 20). Cf. C.M. Kinney's reminiscences in RH, February 6, 1930, p. 23. It was through the preaching of J.N. Loughborough and EGW that Kinney became a SDA. (cf. Signs of the Times, August 8, 1878, p. 240.) He appeared to work primarily for his "own people", i.e. the blacks, cf. RH, January 29th, 1889, p. 77, and the following poignant report: "Unfortunately for my people, three great obstacles stand in the way between them and the truth; namely, ignorance, superstition, and poverty, and besides they have drank (sic) deep of the wine of Babylon. In view of these difficulties, large accessions of this people cannot be expected, at least not at the present time; but should there be, it would not add to the financial strength of the cause. But these considerations should not deter me or any one else from doing all possible for them. Therefore I earnestly ask the prayers of all who wish to see the truth 'brought before many peoples, and nations, and tongues,' that I may have strength, physical, mental, and spiritual to do what I can for the colored people." RH, October 27, 1885, p. 668. (Emphasis in the original.)

38. See EGW, Letter 37, 1887, in MS. Release No. 125.

39. The figure of membership varies in the different reports available. The most pessimistic say "20" the more optimistic say "50". Cf. RH, March 24, 1966, p. 4, and SDAE, p. 1062.

40. cf. EGW, The Southern Work (herein after abbreviated as SW). p.9 and RH, March 24, 1966, p. 4.

41. SW, p. 10. These and the following quotations are taken from the 1966 reprint of SW. The original was printed by J. Edson White in his little print shop on his boat the Morning Star in the summer of 1898. He had gathered together the articles of his mother with reference to work in the South which he considered pertinent to the task there.

42. Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

43. Ibid., p. 13.
44. Ibid., p. 15.
45. Ibid., pp. 14, 15.
46. Ibid., pp. 9, 15.
47. Ibid., p. 16.
48. Ibid., p. 15.
49. Ibid., pp. 17, 18.
50. James Edson White (1849-1928). He was the second son of James and Ellen White. For a brief biography see SDAE, pp. 1418, 1419. He was somewhat of an enigma and problem because of his inability to handle finances adequately. His ideas outstripped his financial acumen.
51. See Graybill, Mission to Black America, pp. 16, 17.
52. They appeared in the RH, April 2, 1895, November 26 to December 24, 1895 and January 14 to February 4, 1896. Today they are found in SW, pp. 19-65.
53. See above. Some of the issues were discussed by A.L. White in a series of articles in the RH, March 24 - April 21, 1966, under the general title "Race Relationships". These articles were re-printed in a 12 page pamphlet, undated, under the title "Guiding Principles in Race Relations".
54. SW, pp. 19, 20.
55. Ibid., p. 21.
56. Ibid., p. 22.
57. Idem.
58. SW, p. 24.
59. See SW, pp. 25-65. N.B. pp. 27, 33, 43, 53, 63-65.
60. The churches at: Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, organised in 1886; Louisville, Kentucky, 1890; Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1891; New Orleans, 1892; Nashville, Tennessee, 1894. (See SDAE, p. 1062.)
61. For a background to the period under discussion see especially Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, and Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow. In the Oakwood College Library (an SDA

institution) are seven scrapbooks entitled "The Negro Problem". These are newspaper clippings preserved by a Clarence Crisler, one of EGW's secretaries, during the period 1903-1912. The majority of the cuttings are taken from the New York Age newspaper which styled itself "An Afro-American Journal of News and Opinion". The present writer read through these scrapbooks during a visit to Oakwood in 1974 and found they gave a useful background also to the conditions of the period being discussed.

62. Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, pp. 69-70.
63. EGW, Letter 5, 1895 (July 24). "To Brethren in Responsible Positions in America".
64. EGW, Letter 37½, 1900 (February 26) "To Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office".
65. 9T, p. 205.
66. See Ronald D. Graybill, "Historical Contexts of Ellen G. White's Statements Concerning Race Relations", Unpublished B.D. Thesis, Andrews University, SDA Theological Seminary, Berrien Springs, Michigan, August 1968. (Out of his work on this thesis came two books authored by him - E.G. White and Church Race Relations, and Mission to Black America.)
67. Graybill, Thesis, op.cit., p. 26.
68. See General Conference Bulletin 1891, pp. 21, 71; and 1893, pp. 269, 311-313.
69. GCB, 1893, p. 313.
70. GCB, 1895, p. 150.
71. For the details of the story see Graybill, Mission to Black America, and SDAE, pp. 825, 826.
72. See SDAE, pp. 1238-1240.
73. Ibid., p. 1238.
74. Two of Edson White's books were especially popular. The first was a Gospel Primer, consisting largely of Bible Stories. This was a joint production by Edson and W.O. Palmer. The second was The Coming King, In addition Edson authored Best Stories from the Best Book, and The Story of Joseph. (See SDAE, p. 1239.)
75. See SDAE, p. 472.

76. Gospel Herald, December 1899, p. 105. (Also quoted in SDAE, p. 1239.)
77. See Graybill, Mission to Black America, especially pp. 96, 101, and 114.
78. For details see SDAE, p. 1237. cf. GCB, 1893, pp. 279, 354.
79. See Anna Knight, Mississippi Girl. (This is an autobiography of one of the first black SDA teachers. She went as a missionary to India in 1901.)
She speaks of enrolling as a student at Graysville, and attending classes on that first day. However "in the afternoon a group of first day citizens of the village came to the principal of the academy and told him they heard from their children who attended the school that a 'nigger' had been admitted to the School. They would not stand for that in Graysville." p. 31. Anna Knight stayed at Graysville, rooming with the matron and receiving private tuition. She reports the result as follows: "I had learned so much in those ten weeks that no one at home dreamed that I had not been to school. I never told any of my people of my disappointment although it was deep and bitter. I knew it was not the fault of the management of the school or of any of the faculty. The members of the church were all very kind to me and made me welcome at the church on Sabbath." p. 32.
80. See 7I, pp. 231, 232. EGW Letter 87, 1902 (Ms Release no. 106), and footnote 84 following.
81. SDAE, p. 905. cf. GCB, 1897, pp. 230-232.
The original Oakwood Industrial School became in turn Huntsville Training School, and Oakwood Manual Training School. In 1917 it became Oakwood Junior College, and in 1943 Oakwood College, a liberal arts degree-granting institution. Its original acreage was extended to about 1000 acres. When the present writer visited in the 1973/74 academic year 1000 students were enrolled all of whom were black except 3.
82. See a variety of materials in the Oakwood College Archives.
83. GCB, 1899, p. 6. (See also p. 16.)
84. Thus when Smith Sharp, a former secretary-treasurer of the Southern Conference Association, reminisces in a letter to W. C. White (May 2, 1916) he refers to these problems and to an interview in which EGW expressed her concern at the building up of Graysville at the expense of the work at Huntsville. (See also EGW MS. 100, 1904, and MS. 12, 1905.)
85. EGW Letter 165, 1899 (October 22), Ms. Release no. 125.

86. Ms. in Oakwood College Archives, "Oakwood Manual Training School". This Ms. is undated. It was written by Clarence J. Boyd who was Principal 1911-1917.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

88. cf. "God's means are not to be abundantly bestowed on a few privileged ones, so that they shall become exalted in pride, spreading themselves like a green bay tree, while the most needy, suffering ones are left without succor. Let not those who are in positions of responsibility rest satisfied saying, Be ye warmed and clothed and fed, and do nothing to relieve the temporal and spiritual necessities of the suffering ones." EGW Letter 5, 1895 (July 25). "To My Brethren in Responsible Positions in America."

"If the managers of the Review and Herald Office had been walking in the fear of the Lord, they would have esteemed it a privilege to make personal sacrifices, and would have seen ways to use the facilities of the great publishing house under their control for the advancement of the Southern work. If they had felt the responsibilities of faithful stewards, they would have seen the needs of the colored people, and would have given sympathy to those working for them. Instead of laboring to take all they could get from the workers to add to the profits of the publishing house, they would have freely given the profits of the publishing house to help the poverty stricken mission." EGW Letter 37½, 1900 (February 6). "To the Board of Managers of the Review and Herald Office."
(Both these Mss. are previously unpublished and released by the EGW Trustees for this thesis, Ms. Release no. 375.)

89. cf. "In this field (the Southern States) there are thousands and thousands of negroes many of whom are ignorant and in need of the gospel. Upon the white people (sic) of the United States the Lord has laid the burden of uplifting this race. But, as yet, Seventh-day Adventists have done comparatively little to help them." Ms. "Oakwood Manual Training School", p.4.

"But the means that ought to have gone to Huntsville did not go, and we see the result in the present showing." *Ibid.*, p. 7.

"This work has been greatly retarded by neglect and because means sufficient to supply its needs have not been provided." *Ibid.*, p. 12.

"Do not lose interest in the work for the colored people... In the past much labor has been given to this people under the most trying circumstances; and you should not overlook what has been done by the hardest kind of labor. Do not ignore what has been done but unite your sympathies with the sympathies and labors of those who have gone before you and prepared the way." EGW Letter 154, 1907 (April 17), Ms. Release no. 106.

90. EGW was especially anxious that sanitarium work should be started in Huntsville. "A small building should be put up, in which the students can be taught how to care for one another in times of sickness." EGW Letter 215, 1904. Ms. Release no. 106. Three years later she wrote again "Let the erection of the buildings for the school and the sanitarium be an education to the students." EGW Letter 289, 1907 (September 10). Ms. Release no. 106.

By 1912 a sanitarium building was listed as part of Oakwood campus and a sanitarium was also operated at Graysville. It was at Nashville, Tennessee, however, that after two short-lived efforts Riverside Sanitarium was established in 1927. It was listed in 1966 as an 84-bed general hospital and is still functioning today. (See SDAE, pp. 1088, 1089.)

91. cf. From Australia she wrote: "I sent a letter to go to you in the last American mail... At that time I sent an order to have one hundred dollars paid to you at Battle Creek, to be used in such cases as you may meet who, if they embrace the truth, must have some help in the lines of food and clothing." EGW Letter 80a, 1895. "Edson and Emma, win all you can, and when you need one hundred dollars more to invest in the work you have been doing, you may draw on my account at the Review and Herald Office." EGW Letter 119, 1896.

"I was glad to receive your letters. They were encouraging. And if you shall get into a strait place for money to help the poor to help themselves you may draw upon me for one hundred more from the Review and Herald." EGW Letter 121, 1896. (These are taken from Ms. Release no. 229.)

92. J. E. White, letter to O. A. Olsen, July 14, 1895.
93. See Graybill, Thesis, pp. 47, 48.
94. J. E. White, letter to "Friend and Fellow-Worker", December 18, 1898. (Also quoted in Graybill, Thesis, p. 48.) Emphasis in the original.
95. See J. E. White, Letter to EGW, May 25, 1899. (For details in story form, based on the original documents, see Graybill, Mission to Black America, pp. 128-132.)
96. cf. EGW, Letter 90, June 5, 1899. (Quoted in SW, pp. 83-87.) "It is from the whites that the greatest opposition may be expected... The white people will stir up the blacks telling them all kinds of stories;...and the whites who want an occasion will seize upon any pretext for taking revenge even upon those of their own color who are presenting the truth. This is the danger. As far as possible, everything that will stir up the race prejudice

of the white people should be avoided. There is danger of closing the door so that our white laborers will not be able to work in some places in the South." SW, p. 84.

97. J. E. White, Letter to M. A. Cornwell, October 10, 1899. (Also quoted in Graybill, Thesis, p. 56.)
98. Graybill, Thesis, p. 57.
99. Yazoo City Herald, June 1, 1900, quoted in Gospel Herald October 1900, pp. 88, 89; Yazoo City Sentinel, June 7, 1900. Quoted in Ibid., p. 86.
100. Yazoo City Herald, June 1, 1900.
101. cf. EGW Letter, December 4, 1901, in which she refers to "large institutions of learning for colored people there." See also J. E. White Letter to EGW, January 6, 1900, and EGW Letter 228, 1907. (See also Graybill, Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations, pp. 95-107.)
102. See SDAE, p. 1419.
103. See Graybill, Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations with its foreword by a prominent black SDA leader, E. E. Cleveland.
104. 9T, p. 206.
105. Ibid, p. 214.
106. Ibid., p. 206.
107. Ibid., pp. 206, 207.
108. Ibid., pp. 204, 205.
109. Ibid., p. 209.
110. See her basic appeals SW, pp. 9-24.
N.B. "When the sinner is converted he receives the Holy Spirit, that makes him a child of God, and fits him for the society of the redeemed and the angelic host... Whoever of the human family give themselves to Christ whoever hear the truth and obey it, become children of one family...The black man's name is written in the book of life beside the white man's. All are one in Christ."
SW, p. 12.
111. See SW, pp. 15, 17, 26, 27.
112. See Introduction to SW, p. 7.

113. cf. "It will always be a difficult matter to deal with the prejudices of the white people in the South and do missionary work for the colored race." SW, p. 15 (1891). See also SW, p. 22.
114. cf. "Means are required. Let farmers, financiers, and builders come in and use their art and craft to improve the lands to build humble cottages, for this field can be made a fruitful field." EGW Letter 80a, 1895 (August 16). Ms. Release no. 375.

"Without delay workers must be prepared for this field. Our people should now be raising a fund for the education of men and women in the Southern States, without regard to color, who, being accustomed to the climate, can work there without endangering the life. Promising young men and young women should be educated to become teachers. They should have the very best advantages. School houses and meeting houses should be built and teachers employed." EGW Letter 37½, 1900 (February 26). Ms. Release no. 375.

Some have misunderstood this stress on education considering that greater emphasis should have been placed on the proclamation of the Gospel, - "the calling of sinners to repentance". EGW did not neglect this aspect, as we have noted. It would appear, however, that she showed a good grasp of black psychology in the thrust of her counsel. What she advocated is similar to the approach of Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. (See George, Segregated Sabbaths, especially pp. 4-6.) "...in the first instance, he recognized the distinctive religious and theological needs of black people; and in the second, he applied his theological views to the practical solution of immediate physical and social problems." Ibid., p. 5. EGW's concern was to restore the dignity and selfhood of the blacks. Thus the kind of education was important. She called for teaching that would assist them to develop this self-awareness. They were to be taught how to achieve self-reliance within their existing environment. This coupled with the Gospel proclamation, she believed, would result in a genuine change of character both personally and as a group, and would provide the incentive for continuing change and development in other spheres of life.

115. cf. "Those white people who appreciate the ministry of Christ in their behalf, cannot cherish prejudice against their colored brethren." EGW Ms. 107, 1908.

"Those who are converted among the white people will experience a change in their sentiments. The prejudice which they have inherited and cultivated toward the colored race will die away. They will realize that there is no respect of persons with God." SW, p. 22.

116. 9T, p. 207.

117. Idem.

118. cf. "We are not to be in haste to define the exact course to be pursued in the future regarding the relation to be maintained between white and colored people." 9T, p. 209.

"We are to avoid entering into contention over the problem of the color-line. If this question is much agitated, difficulties will arise that will consume much precious time to adjust. We can not lay down a definite line to be followed in dealing with this subject." 9T, p. 213.

119. The need for this historical perspective was recognised by the EGW Trustees. See their Introduction to the 1966 re-publication of SW, pp. 5-7. See also a letter from Arthur L. White to Elder N. G. Simons, Secretary of the South Atlantic Conference, June 10, 1958. (Filed as Q 7 A File 43 C 40 EGW Estate.)

120. This is said on the basis of interviews with both black and white SDA leaders and laity. It is confirmed by the change in attitude by those who have studied the issues and the documents available for research, cf. unpublished papers in AU Document File 43e by Jerome L. Davis, Dave Friesen, Franklin S. Hill III, and Allen Sovory.

121. See Otis B. Edwards, "Origin and Development of the SDA Work among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference", unpublished MA Thesis, Andrews University, August 1942, p. 21.

This is an example of a number of individual research papers which have been produced on the topic of SDA work and approaches to the blacks in USA. The present writer is not aware of a carefully documented, comprehensive presentation of this subject. The basic materials are available and it is hoped that the initial outline given in this thesis and the sources indicated may provide a basis for such a work.

122. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 445.

123. Ibid., p. 447.

124. Details of the organisation and development of this Department are given in SDAE, pp. 1058-1064.

125. See L. C. Sheafe's statement as follows:
"The colored people, not simply because they are colored but because they are ostracised, need help and aid, that this truth

may be brought to them. The great inquiry everywhere as I meet my people in different parts of the country, is, as to what body I am connected with, and whether it is a mixed body. I tell them there are all kinds of nationalities together. They then ask what treatment and representation we are accorded. These questions, come, and it seems to me if an effort could be made along this line, so our people would see some of their own men who accepted the truth being put into, and encouraged in the work; and if lines were marked out where they could work with freedom, that they might do the work, I believe the work would wonderfully advance, and more would be coming into the truth."
GCB, Vol. IV, p. 389.

126. See minutes of the meeting of the North American Negro Department of the General Conference held on September 29, 1909. (In EGW Estate DF 42.)
127. SDAE, p. 1063.
128. Many black and white SDAs would prefer the ideal of integration. cf. Calvin B. Rock, "A Better Way", Spectrum, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring 1970, pp. 21, 22. For arguments supporting the regional (ethnic) conferences see Frank W. Hale, Jr., "Commitment vs. Capitulation", Ibid., pp. 31-40; and E. Earl Cleveland, "Regional Union Conferences", Ibid., pp. 41-46. However the majority of the black leaders recognise the benefits of the regional conferences for the development of black potential in the SDA church, at least in the USA.

As far back as 1922, when there was some discussion about disbanding the Negro Department the following resolution was submitted to the SDA General Conference Executive Committee:

"Greetings: This is to inform you that the Negro delegation in session, 5.15 p.m., May 24, 1922, met to consider the present situation of the Negro department, and respectfully submit the following:

- (1) That we request the continuance of the Negro Department for the good and prosperity of our work.
- (2) That the present incumbent, W. H. Green, who is secretary is our first and unanimous choice...
- (3) That if it is impossible for him to be retained as such, we have all unanimously united in requesting that Elder J. K. Humphrey be, and is our next choice.

In good faith hereof, we the colored delegates, ministers and workers, with one or two exceptions have solemnly directed the following named persons - Elders P. G. Rodgers, U. S. Willis, and G. E. Peterson, J. G. Dasent, to present to you the foregoing statement, with such remarks and explanations as may be necessary to make the same plain to you. Randall Johnson, Acting Chairman, H. D. Greene, Secretary." (Memorandum in Oakwood College Library Archives)

129. For brief account of Sutherland's work in the South see SDAE, pp. 733-735.
130. Edson White recognised his weaknesses in a letter to his mother, October 27, 1896 (EGW Estate DF 771-A). "I have felt that my duty was to clear up my affairs, and get my business matters where the worry and care and reproach would not attend them. I have felt that there are dark times ahead and that for me the only safety was in getting free from debt, where any financial stringency would not pinch me." EGW was also well aware of her son's problems. In 1895 she wrote to him: "Make no unwise investments. Owe no man anything. Do not bind up borrowed money, making future calculations too abundantly to repay, for this has ever been your weakness." EGW letter 85, 1895 in Ms. Release no. 229, p. 4.
cf. "You said that you had decided to heed the instruction given you by the Lord not to mingle temporal financial enterprises with your work. This, I know, has ever been your danger." EGW Letter 149, 1897, in Ibid., p. 5.
131. The points which follow have been taken from several interviews, especially one with H. D. Singleton, June 14, 1974. He was then secretary of the Regional Department, the present name for the original Negro Department.
132. L. C. Sheafe had been a Baptist minister before joining the SDA church. He appears to have been an outstanding personality but could not agree with SDA racial policies and from 1910-1915 he was in and out of church fellowship, finally staying out. EGW wrote a personal testimony to him on February 10, 1907. (Ms. S-44-07).
133. There is little available evidence on John Mann. He sought to establish a "free" SDA organisation in Savannah in the period 1913-1914. He apparently used the 1909 EGW testimony as his evidence that the SDA church was racially prejudiced. (This information supplied by H. D. Singleton in an interview, June 14, 1974.)
134. James K. Humphrey was a native of Jamaica and an ordained Baptist minister before he became a SDA. He was the founder of the First Harlem SDA church and by 1920 its membership was about 600. In addition he had started three other congregations in New York. He was a member of the 1929 commission (q.v.) to investigate the future of the SDA Negro work. When the proposed Negro conference idea was dropped, Humphrey proceeded to lead a large number of his congregation into a separate organisation which became known as the United Sabbath Day Adventists. (This group publishes (1974) a monthly magazine Unification Leader. It is distributed from West 110th Street, New York 26.) In addition

to his secession from the SDA church, Humphrey also endeavoured to establish a "Utopia Park", - a colonisation project, - on the Eastern seaboard of the USA, which was to be a development exclusively for blacks. In this movement there are considerable similarities to the work of Marcus Garvey, also from Jamaica, and his Universal Negro Improvement Association, which had a chapter in New York from 1916. (See Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 489-492.) Two SDA writers have suggested that attempts to reunite Humphrey's followers with the SDA church have foundered because of his group's rejection of EGW as a "divinely inspired messenger." Mrs. Clara P. Rock (nee Peterson), of the Oakwood College Library Archives, queried this, however, in an interview with the present writer, May 1974. (For details of J. K. Humphrey's activities see Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," Adventist Heritage, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 1974), pp. 34-41, 53, 54. See also two pamphlets in the present writer's possession. An untitled, undated 24 page pamphlet printed by The Russwurm Pub. Co. Inc., obviously published by supporters of J. K. Humphrey but no author is indicated; and an undated 30 page pamphlet published by the General Conference of SDAs, "Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey." This is also unauthored, although at its conclusion J. L. McElhany, Vice-president of the General Conference for North America, accepts responsibility for its publication.)

135. See letter of J. E. White to EGW, June 28, 1900.
136. General Conference Executive Committee Minutes, April 29, 1929, pp. 838, 839.
137. Ibid., May 2, 1929, p. 860.
138. Ibid., September 26, 1929, p. 947.
139. It was during this time, however, that the Message Magazine, primarily designed for blacks, was commenced in 1935 (See SDAE, pp. 769, 770), and in 1936 a sanitarium, primarily for blacks, was opened near Nashville, Tennessee. (See SDAE, pp. 1088, 1089.)
140. General Conference Executive Committee Minutes, November 3, 1943, p. 1132.
141. See Ibid., January 13, 1944, p. 1219.
The Negro Department became the Colored Department in 1942 and the Regional Department in 1954. (See SDAE, p. 1063.)
142. See Ibid., April 10, 1944, pp. 1314-1315, and RH, June 1, 1944, p. 17.

143. See Frank L. Jones, "The Black Man and the Seventh-day Adventist Church", p. 15. Unpublished paper (March 8, 1973) filed in DF 42 at Andrews University EGW Vault.
144. The facts which follow are a summary of the details set out in Frank L. Jones' paper cited above, pp. 24-30. More details on each point are found in individual references in the SDAE.
145. Although this was a General Conference Committee action there is evidence that certain black groups considered that there was some "dragging of feet" on the issue. This is particularly highlighted by the development of the Layman's Leadership Conference chaired by F. W. Hale, Jr., and Mylas Martin IV, in 1961. (The former was to be elected President of Oakwood College in 1966.) They were especially concerned that there be a "follow through on the writings of Mrs. E. G. White (specifically The Southern Work) in the area of race-relations." (Full details are in a pamphlet in the Oakwood College Library Archives and in material given to the present writer.) In bold type they proclaimed: "Anger, resentment, and bitterness over past injustices have no part in the LLC Movement. We seek progress."
146. That some progress had been made earlier is seen in some non-SDA observations, e.g. Malcolm X, in his autobiography, speaks of attending SDA meetings at one stage and describes the people as "the friendliest white people I had ever seen." Malcolm X, with Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press Incorporated, 1964), p. 17. By 1966 of the 385,000 SDAs in North America, 57,000 were black. cf. Hiley H. Ward; religious editor of the Detroit Free Press, commenting on the 1966 World General Conference held in his city: "It is evident that the Seventh-day Adventists are one of the most integrated denominations in the United States." (Quoted by Louis B. Reynolds, "Detroit in Retrospect", North American Informant, Vol. XX, no. 107, p. 3.
147. Two main meetings were held January 13, 1970, and April 16, 1970. The motion to establish black unions was defeated by 41 votes against and 28 for. (See Letter April 19, 1970 written by C. E. Bradford in Andrews University EGW Vault DF 43e.) See also undated open letter by C. E. Bradford in same file: "An Appeal to the Leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church to give special study to the position of the Negro Seventh-day Adventist in American Society and in the Church." cf. E. E. Cleveland, "Brief on Regional Conferences", April 11, 1968, and David Yates, "Is there a Trend in the Concept and Mission of the Church toward Black Unions", February 21, 1972, both papers in Andrews University EGW Vault DF 42. See also RH, June 4, 1970, pp. 9, 10, 15.

148. cf. "Thus our white church leaders are ignorant on the residual effects on the black man both of slavery and of the nitty-gritty problems of survival in the black community. Many white leaders believe it is a waste of time to study these issues, much less to provide the massive reparations due the black man for past indignities suffered at the hands of the slave owner and the generations that succeeded him." And, "...many a black young person has left the church because both black leaders and white leaders were more concerned about foreign missions by proxy than they were about the poor at hand." Calvin B. Rock, "A Better Way," Spectrum, Vol. 2, no. 2, Spring 1970, pp. 23, 27.
149. See footnote 53 above.
A sample of the SDA declaration on Human and Race Relations are reproduced in A. L. White's pamphlet "Guiding Principles in Race Relations". For more recent statements see RH, June 17, 1970, p. 19; July 31, 1975, p. 13, "Goodwill and Understanding Between All Men".
cf. "A Christian Declaration on Race Relations", Spectrum, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring 1970), pp. 53-55.
150. cf. President Richard Hammill's letter in The Student Movement, May 27, 1971, p. 3. This was in response to an editorial suggestion the previous week in the student paper that a black church be started at Andrews University. We quote two sentences. "The editors of the SM have taken such a provincial and insular view of this matter. They did not consider that AU represents Adventist people from all over the world, and that we cannot cater to any form of separation... At AU we need to learn to live together and to worship together. Those who advocate separation of any kind are not helping but hindering the development of the tolerance, mutual love and forbearance that are the marks of genuine christians."
151. A leading figure in these Human-Relations Workshops has been C. C. Crider, Professor of Sociology at Andrews University. (Full reports of these workshops are on file in the Andrews University EGW vault DF 43-q, and have been studied by the present writer.) An account of one workshop (HRW 20) is given in RH, January 25, 1973, pp. 21, 22. It may also be noted here that in an effort to disseminate the concepts of human brotherhood as widely as possible the Sabbath School Lesson (Weekly Bible lessons studied on a world wide basis in every SDA church where such adult and youth education is possible), for the First Quarter of 1971 took as its overall theme "Christian Social Behaviour". It included in its 13 lessons topics such as "Equality of Believers", and "The Christian's Relationship to His Neighbours of Other Races."
152. This has been recognised by the EGW Estate as is illustrated by the publication of Selected Messages, Book 2. In the first two

editions there were two brief statements from EGW on the subject of inter-racial marriage without any reference to the historical position (pp. 343, 344). In the 3rd edition, and subsequent printings there are an additional 8 pages (2SM, pp. 481-488) of EGW material on the subject together with some historical comment. This is discussed in a letter of November 26, 1958, by Arthur L. White. (See EGW Estate Question and Answer File no. 37-B-2.)

153. EGW Letter R4, 1901, from which the quotations following are taken.
154. See footnote 152 above.
155. A succinct statement on the issue of inter-racial marriage is made by a SDA Professor of Pastoral Care. See Charles E. Wittschiebe, God Invented Sex (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1974), pp. 241-243. We quote two sentences:
"Neither anthropology nor theology supports a bias against any race in marriage." p. 241.
"If two persons of different racial background can find a milieu in which they can function as totally accepted individuals, then we can have no other question as to the propriety or wisdom of their marriage." p. 243.
156. EGW, Ms. 118, 1899 (August 21, 1899). Available in Ms. Release no. 210, pp. 11, 12.
157. EGW, Letter 26, 1900 (February 15, 1900). Available in Ms. Release no. 210, pp. 14, 15.
158. The present writer knows personally of this happening in Liverpool, Cardiff, and Glasgow.
159. This incident was related to the present writer by Mrs. Vera Cooper (nee Howard) now in Collegedale, Tennessee, but who lived and worshipped in Southampton during World War II (Interview May 1974).
160. A preliminary SDA study by D. S. Porter was included in "A Century of Adventism in the British Isles", the 1974 Centennial Historical Special of their British Church magazine, Messenger, (See chapter 13, "The West Indies", pp. 40-44.)

Roswith Gerloff, Lutheran pastor of the German congregation in Oxford, has written an important chapter on certain aspects of the topic in a forthcoming thesis on Black Churches in Britain, to be submitted at the University of Birmingham. Although up to the present time she has not permitted this writer to read her chapter, there have been a number of discussions between us on an informal basis. In the light of these conversations the following observations are made:

Roswith Gerloff is to be commended for her considerable research, and sensitivity to, the issue of race relations. She has also had the advantage in connection with Seventh-day Adventism of visiting their churches both in the West Indies and Britain. Her analysis in terms of both socio-religious and missiological concepts will serve undoubtedly as a base for further study, which is certainly necessary. It may be questioned as to whether the pastor is really au fait with the structure and procedures of SDA church government and, further, whether she has taken adequate account of the background and development prior to the 1973-1976 period of controversy on which apparently she concentrates. It is to be regretted that, up to the present time, she has limited her approach to black SDAs in Britain to three or four articulate individuals who have aired their grievances in published form. The present writer suggests that Roswith Gerloff's study would have been strengthened, and her conclusions modified possibly, had she made contact with a wider, and consequently more representative, group of black SDA laymen in Britain. These men and women, though possibly less articulate, certainly would have provided a valuable input to this important study. The limitations of her thesis to "Black Churches" is the reason, presumably, that little consideration is given to other groups, such as Asians and Mauritians, who are represented in British Seventh-day Adventism.

161. This statement and much of what follows, except where otherwise indicated, is made on the basis of personal experience and contact through the period under review. The present writer served as a SDA pastor in London in 1952-54, and was a member of their South England Conference Executive Committee 1957-58, of the North England Conference Executive Committee 1959-61, and of the British Union Conference Executive Committee 1967-1976. It is from the many personal papers, interviews and memoranda, together with official documents, that the picture as presented is drawn.
162. The membership of the individual SDA church member resides in his local church fellowship. If he is to be absent from this for a period of more than six months he is encouraged to transfer his membership to the church in his new location. (This cannot be demanded by the church, it is the individual's choice.) He is recommended by vote of his original church as a "member in good and regular standing." The new church receives him into fellowship on the basis of the vote of the church. He is then a full member of the church into which he has been thus received and is eligible for election to office. (See SDA Church Manual, pp. 64-69.)
163. SDA membership in Britain as at the end of 1961 was reported as 9,561. (See British Advent Messenger Union Conference Special, 1962, p. 1.)

164. See Hiro, Black British, White British, pp. 31, 32; Patterson, Dark Strangers, p. 232; and an unpublished paper: Cynthia D. Handysides, "West Indian Integration in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Britain", written in connection with B.Ed. studies at the University of Reading, England, 1969. (Copy in possession of present writer.)
165. At the 1962 Quadrennial British Union Session of SDAs the then President of the South England Conference, speaking in his official report of membership growth in his conference, said: "While a large proportion of our membership net increase has resulted from public and sundry other forms of evangelism, we cannot overlook the fact of immigrants from parts of the Commonwealth, particularly the West Indies accounting for a fair section of the balance." British Advent Messenger Union Conference Special, 1962, p. 10.
166. See News Note in British Advent Messenger, Vol. 80, No. 2, January 24, 1975, p. 8.
167. This point of view was expressed by a black, SDA layman N. Kennedy at Newbold College, Bracknell on February 23rd, 1973. In his lecture under the title, "The Role of the SDA West Indian in Britain", he said "We must go out of our way to help the British membership recognise that we are here to assist general growth, not specifically West Indian growth." He further added that "we must organise in such a way that people on the outside see that we are not just a West Indian community." Mr. Kennedy has since become a prominent leader in the London Laymen's Forum (q.v.).
168. The only cases known to the present writer where this happened were in Nottingham and in Lewisham, London.
169. A further problem was that the Central London SDA church, which had met in the New Gallery, Regent Street, was asked by the South England Conference administration, to withdraw to a new location in Chalk Farm, London. The President claimed that in this way, - by the cessation of distinctly SDA church activities at the New Gallery, - its original purpose as an evangelistic centre for the whole population of London could be better realised. This church, although multi-racial, was predominantly black. The undoubted well-intentioned request was interpreted as racial prejudice. No solely black group was ever asked to form a separate church however.
170. See lists of elected committee members in the British Advent Messenger, Vol. 72, No. 13, June 23, 1967, and Vol. 72, No. 14, July 7, 1976.

171. Taken from the Sub-Committee report in possession of the present writer.
172. See Comment (The Paper of the London Laymen's Forum), Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1974, pp. 2, 3.
173. Comment, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1974, p. 3.
174. In its inception and ideals the London Laymen's Forum was very similar to the 1961 Laymen's Leadership Conference, - an SDA black group in the USA referred to earlier in footnote 145. They also stressed the need for integration but then moved later to support for greater regional development.
175. See British Advent Messenger, Vol. 81, No. 21, October 15, 1976, pp. 1, 2.
176. The public were made aware of some of the issues in British Adventism in a newspaper article by Colin Cross in the Observer, Sunday, June 27, 1976. The present writer received two duplicated papers, "One Faith, One Church," by Rudi Bailey arguing the black case for separate conferences, and "Why We are against a Referendum," by Ambrose Nicholson and Orville Baxter, claiming that the Referendum, or postal ballot, was simply a "ploy" on the part of the administration "to secure the rejection of a regional conference", p. 2. It is interesting to note that the black members' material is not based generally on EGW statements or Biblical principles, but is couched more in sociological and political type terms and analogies.
177. See British Advent Messenger, Vol. 81, No. 25, December 10, 1976, p. 8.
178. It has been reported to the writer that in some London Churches with majority black membership certain Forum leaders were not returned to local church offices in the annual church elections for 1976.
179. GCB, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 70.
180. GCB, 1903, pp. 203, 204. cf. SW, pp. 14, 15.
181. Ellen G. White, The Huntsville School (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1909), p. 4.
182. cf. A comment by S. G. Maxwell, an SDA missionary in Africa for 42 years (1920-1962) in a privately published book produced in 1975 in offset. (A copy in the Newbold College, Bracknell, Berks., archives.)

"The circulation of the Word, either by the preacher or the printed page has always involved sacrifice and danger. Too much prominence is given to the names of white missionaries in comparison with those of black Africans. There are far more black missionaries than white in Africa. Hundreds have been willing to leave their own tribes to go to other parts with the Gospel message. Tribal jealousies still exist, and often their lives have been in danger among strange people. They have been willing to meet new customs, eat unfamiliar foods, and learn another tongue.

"No white missionary can succeed without the help of his black brother. Most white missionaries in their travels need a dark-skinned companion as guide and interpreter. Very few white workers really get to understand their people. They may be very efficient in "directing" the work. But the basic needs of the people are met through their own pastors. Too often reports in home papers refer to the white missionaries by name and discuss the others as 'nationals'. The white worker is always in the centre of the photograph, as though everything depended on him. The true story of our African missionaries remains to be written." I Loved Africa, pp. 143, 144.

While some changes are noticeable in recent years, Maxwell's comments are very germane to the topic under discussion.

183. GCB, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 86.

184. See EGW Estate File DF.78 (p. 7 of this document).

185. See footnote 22 above.

In the Preface, Spaulding noted: "The credit for the initiation and successful prosecution of the work of this book is due to that lifelong friend of the colored people, Mrs. E.G. White, and to her son, William C. White.

Their deep interest in the welfare of the race led them to propose such a work, and to provide for the research and effort necessary to produce it." Preface, p. 2.

There is a reference in the EGW Estate DF.96 to a Ms. being prepared jointly by C. C. Crisler and Professor A. W. Spaulding. (See W. C. White Letter to M. A. Creeper February 13, 1913.)

This may be "The Southern Work" Ms. referred to in Df.78 or "Lights and Shades". See also a report of an interview between EGW, W. C. White, P. T. Magan, and D. E. Robinson, dated April 29, 1907. (Photostat copy in present writer's collection.)

186. Spaulding, Lights and Shades, pp. 181-183.

187. cf. Graybill, Ellen G. White and Church Race Relations, p. 115.

188. An interesting attempt to discuss the theological issues of race and Seventh-day Adventism by a black SDA lecturer in theology is Talbert O. Shaw, "Racism and Adventist Theology", Spectrum, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Autumn 1971), pp. 29-38. Shaw concludes that it is not Adventist theology which engenders racism but that too often Adventism gives in to psychosocial forces.
189. SW, p. 22.